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The Nandimitrāvadāna: a living text from the Buddhist tradition

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The *Nandimitrāvadāna*

A Living Text from the Buddhist Tradition

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As a child born into a Buddhist family, I cannot but conclude the acknowledgements in a conventional fashion: For whatever meaning I have distorted in this dissertation, I beg pardon from Buddhas. But if this humble piece of work has any merit, I share it with my family and all sentient beings!

Heidelberg
September, 2018

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* The acknowledgements have been abridged due to the limited space allowed by the PhD regulations. I will publish the full version on another occasion.

Conventions

The present dissertation deals with primary sources mainly in three Buddhist languages, namely, Khotanese, Classical Tibetan, and Classical Chinese. For the sake of clarity and consistency, I adapt the following conventions with regard to the transcription and presentation of the multilingual materials included in the present study.

In my transcription of the Khotanese inscription, I use numbers in bold to indicate the beginning of the lines in the original, while different readings by Ernst Leumann and Ronald E. Emmerick are recorded in footnotes. The apparatus of the reconstructed Khotanese text consists of two tiers: my emendations of the original readings (i.e., Insc.) are found under the dashed line, while parallels and *testimonia* are adduced under the double line. The symbols used in my transliteration of Khotanese texts are as follows:

(abc)	restored *akṣara*(s)
[abc]	illegible or partially presered *akṣara*(s) for which a reading can be suggested
<abc>	editor's supplement for which there is no lacuna
{abc}	editor's deletion
.a	illegible or partially preserved consonant (cluster) for which no reading can be suggested
b.	illegible or partially preserved vowel mark for which no reading can be suggested
+	illegible or partially preserved *akṣara* for which no reading can be suggested
Xa	legible consonant (cluster) for which no reading can be suggested
///	place where a fragmentary text breaks off
<u>abc</u>	*akṣara*s which Leumann and/or Emmerick read differently
¶	the double *daṇḍa* or *siddham* at the beginning of a text
$^{+}$abc	editor's emendation or conjecture

All the Tibetan words are romanized throughout the dissertation according to the Wylie system. The apparatus of the critical edition of the Tibetan text is also two-tiered: the variants in the manuscripts and blockprint editions that are subject to stemmatic analyses are found under the dashed line, while differences in punctuation, orthographical peculiarities, and codicological

features are recorded under the double line. The symbols used in my transliteration of Tibetan texts are as follows:

/abc\	letter(s) added below the line
\abc/	letter(s) added above the line, or on the top margin with the location of the addition indicated by a special symbol
<<abc>>	letter(s) added on the right or left margin
∴abc∴	scribe's deletion by adding three dots above every letter
.a	illegible or partially preserved consonant (cluster) for which no reading can be suggested
b.	illegible or partially preserved vowel mark for which no reading can be suggested
///	place where a fragmentary text breaks off
ï	reverse *gi gu*
$^{+}$abc	editor's emendation

All the Chinese characters are transliterated in standardized orthography. The Mandarin or reconstructed Middle Chinese pronuncation of every character is noted in pīnyīn romanization or according to the Baxter/Sagart system, when specific words or proper names are under discussion. The apparatus of the diplomatic edition of the Chinese text has likewise a two-tier structure: the variants attested in the other manuscripts and blockprint editions are found under the dashed line, while orthographic variants and quotations in later works are jotted down under the double line. The symbols used in my transliteration of Chinese texts are as follows:

<abc>	editor's supplement for which there is no lacuna
□	illegible or partially preserved character for which no reading can be suggested
abc	restored character(s)
A→B	A is to be read as B
{abc}	editor's deletion
///	place where a fragmentary text breaks off
||	end of a paper sheet
$^{+}$abc	editor's emendation

In principle, I transcribe Korean proper names and titles of Chinese texts composed by Korean authors in McCune-Reischauer romanization, and those in Japanese according to the Hepburn system.

∴

> "This leaves me, then, with a double agenda: to try to reconstruct the actual experiences of real people (which is undoubtedly difficult), and to proceed on the assumption that in the problem posed by the sources lies the solution to our difficulties … we have to rise to the challenge of taking the texts seriously, as referring in some way to actual historical events and to the real people who were caught up in them, rather than either writing them off as fiction, or taking them literally."
>
> Paul Harrison, "Mediums and Messages"[1]

What Paul Harrison has proposed 15 years ago for the study of Mahāyāna scriptures holds *mutatis mutandis* for the research undertaken within the scope of the present dissertation, which focuses on the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, a text well known as the core text of the cult of the sixteen Arhats (or Elders) prevailing in East Asia since the second half of the first millennium. Doctrinally speaking, the text in question is not as seductively sophisticated as many Mahāyāna scriptures, so the effort to grasp its literal meaning may not be so demanding as to exhaust our energy to come to terms with its religious significance, as is often the case with Mahāyāna scriptures. Another notable factor differentiating the text from the rich body of Mahāyāna literature is its uninterrupted relevance to religious practices. While most Mahāyāna scriptures are shorn of context due to the scant evidence of their use for religious purposes, the historical practices of the Arhat cult are relatively well-documented and continued even nowadays in some Buddhist cultures. In this case, we are thus in a privileged position to investigate the text from the perspective of its interplay with various practices in reality, which is impossible with the lion's share of Mahāyāna scriptures.

Be that as it may, there are commonalities shared between the present text and Mahāyāna scriptures, especially those not extant in any Indic language but only in Chinese and/or Tibetan translations. In both cases, we are dealing with normative texts, whose textual history is shaped by cross-cultural dynamics to a great extent. Thus, if only to properly understand what the texts say, it is the comparative approach that holds out any hope of success. This point has unfortunately gone unnoticed in most previous studies on the **Nandimitrāvadāna**. The first, and by far the most thorough, modern study of the text by two French savants, i.e., Sylvain Lévi and Edouard Chavannes,[2] is based on Xuanzang's translation alone. This may give rise to an ungrounded presumption that the Chinese version is *the* **Nandimitrāvadāna** and

1. Harrison 2003: 117.

2. See Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 5–50, 189–304.

represents how *the* **text** looked in India.[3] However, given the existence of the Khotanese and the Tibetan versions, it is at least overhasty to exclude the possibility that the Chinese version is but *a* **Nandimitrāvadāna**, before a comparison of all the three versions.[4] Although their fundamental identity and family resemblance are beyond doubt, the degree to which they vary from one another, as is shown below in detail, is sometimes surprising. Therefore, it is a futile quest to seek a unitary origin, and the attempt to create an artificial unity out of this natural diversity blurs, if not distorts, the genuine character of the tradition.

On the other hand, it is staggering to see how the text is glossed over by scholars working on the Arhat cult. Since the publication of the monumental monographic study by M.W. de Visser,[5] significant progresses have been made by scholars of East Asian studies and art historians, who have greatly improved our current state of knowledge about the historical development of the cult in various Buddhist cultures.[6] Nevertheless, most of the scholars content themselves with a brief summary or free paraphrase of the Chinese version, as if this is what the **Nandimitrāvadāna** is all about. Little effort, if any, has been made to investigate the rôle(s) played by the text in the religious life of people who engaged in the cultic activities. Even though the text has long been recognized as the core text of the cult, no serious attempt has been made to shed light on the ways in which it was used in practice. Normative texts like this one, to be sure, cannot be read literally as a faithful record of what actually happened in history. But it is a move to the opposite extreme to dismiss them as fictional and thus irrelevant to the living religion. "Once again," to quote from Harrison, "the well-known middle path seems to be the right one to follow."[7] And in order to embark on the middle path, a close reading of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** against a broader socio-religious background is indispensable. The present study has the ambition to take some experimental steps in this direction.

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3. It is inevitable for me to use the expression 'the **Nandimitrāvadāna**' or 'the text' below for the sake of simplicity, but the reader is to be alerted to a potential misunderstanding that reads the meaning of singularity into the definite article. Whenever I use the expression, it refers to a diverse textual tradition rather than a single fixed text.

4. Shih 2002 claims to have undertaken such a comparative study, but the outcome of the dissertation has hardly made any contribution to this end.

5. See de Visser 1918–1919: 87–102, 222–231, 1920–1922: 117–144, and 1922–1923: 60–102.

6. For the studies of the Arhat cult in various cultures: a) late imperial China (especially during the Song dynasty), see Joo 2007 and 2009: 81–116; b) medieval Japan, see Faure 1996: 88–96; c) post-imperial Tibet, see Hadano 1955: 39–52, van der Kuijp 2016: 260–262, n. 146. Art historical works on the Arhat paintings, which have been published since the 19th century, are too numerous to survey, and the following listing is by no means exhaustive: Watters 1898: 329–347, Ōmura 1909, Fong 1958, Donohashi 1992, Little 1992: 255–281, Wang 1993: 25–36 and 118–121, Kent 1994: 183–213, Ōtani 2007: 15–69, and Lee 2010: 113–140.

7. Harrison 2003: 117.

Before delving further into the text and its various versions, I start this prolegomenon by addressing an issue and elucidating a concept so as to highlight some theoretical and methodological considerations, which remain the overall guidelines for the following chapters of this thesis.

The Issue of Historicity

Gregory Schopen is the first scholar who calls into question the predilection for text-based approach in the field of Buddhist Studies, which he considers a symptom of the "Protestant presuppositions" underlying the modern Buddhist scholarship in the West.[8] In framing his argument against this predilection, Schopen sets out to characterize the scriptural materials as – in most cases – undatable, over-exploited, and normative, as opposed to archeological and epigraphic materials which are datable, under-exploited, and descriptive. This well-contrived dichotomy between the two bodies of materials leads in due course to the question: To which of the two should the primacy be given in historical studies of Buddhism? The answer to the question is, in that context, not far to seek.

Schopen's thesis turns out to be seminal in the last two decades, and is often understood as a corrective to the over-reliance on literary sources, or a call for an extension of the Buddhologist's toolkit,[9] or some kind of "evidential criticism" or "cultural criticism".[10] In stark contrast to the popularity of Schopen's article, the voice of his opponents seems to fall into a spiral of silence, as it were, insofar as very few scholars, to my knowledge, have critically engaged with his thesis. Among the few opponents, Jan Nattier stands out by offering the most in-depth critique of the thesis to date. Against Schopen's claim that normative texts cannot be read as historical evidence, Nattier proposes four principles, which can be used to extract historical data from scriptural sources, furnishing each of these with examples of their *modus operandi*.[11] With respect to the representativeness of scriptural texts, Nattier argues that both their production and preservation involve a huge number of Buddhists who represent a diversity of religious views, rather than,

8. See Schopen 1991: 1–23 (= 1997: 1–22).

9. See Nance 2012: 9: "[Schopen 1991] can be (and should be) taken as a corrective to a one-sided model of Buddhist Studies that opts to focus exclusively on texts while ignoring other available data. Read in this way, Schopen is encouraging us to broaden the body of data from which we draw our conclusions."

10. See Gómez 1995: 207, n. 13: "I believe Schopen is also doing a special kind of cultural criticism, although I have not seen him state anything like this publicly. Even his paper on 'Protestant presuppositions' shies away from the implicit cultural criticism."

11. For the four principles (i.e. of embarrassment, of irrelevance, of counter-argument, and of corroborating evidence), see Nattier 2003: 63–69.

as Schopen believes, only a "small, atypical part" of Buddhist community.[12] In addition, Nattier goes so far as to suggest that even an unactualized ideal is able to shape, in one way or another, some facts of the actual life of Buddhists who fall short of it, as is the case with the cult of amulets blessed by forest monks in Thailand. Therefore, normative texts, to Nattier's mind, are not necessarily otiose in everyday life of the faith community.[13]

Robert Sharf has attempted a more balanced view in his introduction to the **Treasure Store Treatise**. Agreeing with Schopen to the effect that exclusive textual focus results in misconception about, if not distortion of, the history of Indian Buddhism, Sharf does not fail to appreciate the perpetual tension between normative ideal and living practice, which is instrumental in bringing about functional model(s) of normative Buddhism laying claim to the authority and prestige under different socio-religious circumstances. In other words, idealized norms are meant to be distinguished from reality and detached from specific historical and cultural contexts so as to create such a tension, which perpetuates the modes of authority throughout the transmission of Buddhism in space and time. It is precisely this tension that Sharf considers part and parcel of 'Buddhism', an essentialist reading of which he is seemingly disposed to defend.[14]

Both Nattier and Sharf make considerable contributions to what seems to me a rehabilitation of the textual approach to Buddhism by demonstrating how the study of normative texts, a category under which the **Nandimitrāvadāna** is also subsumed, can still be a worthwhile endeavor in post-Schopenic terms. Yet, neither of them demurs to Schopen's assertion that normative texts are not historical, insofar as these do not directly reflect what actually happened. This assertion seems to be *prima facie* plausible, but is based on a facile understanding of what 'history' is and a not quite fruitful definition of 'historicity'. In what follows, I argue that normative texts are just as historical as descriptive ones, if not more so.

For Schopen, 'history' is what people actually did in the past, and 'historicity' is the reliability of a certain body of materials to reflect what actually happened.[15] But if we briefly suspend the perennial inquiry into the hazy

12. See Nattier 2003: 103–105. She also points out that epigraphic data, on the contrary, are not as descriptive as Schopen claims, given their monotony and formulaic character (p. 104, n. 3). This point is corroborated by Nance 2012: 10–12, where more evidence in support of Nattier is adduced.

13. See Nattier 2003: 105.

14. See Sharf 2002: 12–17.

15. The word 'historicity' does not occur in Schopen 1991. But the paper abounds in the following expressions (emphasis added): "what someone <u>actually</u> did/practiced/believed" [8x], "<u>actual</u> practice/people/behavior etc." [12x], "what was <u>actually</u> occurring" [2x]. These occurrences may serve as an indication of his predisposition to define history through historical actuality. At least in two cases, we read Schopen juxtaposing "actual (religious)" with "historical"; see Schopen 1991: 9, 20 (= 1997: 5, 13).

records of the past and remain alert to voices from other fields, it is possible to view the matter from a different angle. In the present study, I adopt a different definition of 'historicity' informed by phenomenological and hermeneutical philosophy. According to the phenomenological tradition, the concept of 'historicity'[16] not only concerns what actually happened, but rather signifies that human beings are always "entangled in" history,[17] which is not to be identified with the past *tout court*. To speak in a Heideggerian vein, historicity (*Geschichtlichkeit*) is based on temporality (*Zeitlichkeit*), which is the "unified phenomenon of a future which makes present in the process of having been" (*gewesend-gegenwärtigende Zukunft*).[18] This somewhat abstruse definition can be further clarified: (1) Every moment of human experience has three dimensions: the past, the present, and the future. (2) Temporality lies in the unity of these three dimensions: "[A]ny moment is a crossing point of past and future. The present bears within it the past and the future. Past and future make it up."[19]

To be sure, Heidegger addressed the issue of historicity at an ontological level; but his theoretical framework provides a heuristic device for better understanding some empirical phenomena. Viewing acts of making and transmitting normative texts as one of the human attempts to cope with temporality is plausible and promising, since both the engagement with the past and the anticipation of the future are involved therein. The making of Buddhist texts is, in many cases, not so much a process of free composition as that of superposition, which consists in laying down building blocks stemming from different chronological strata. Thus, the outcome of the process is, as it were, in the grip of the past. On the other hand, the future makes its force felt to the extent that it sifts through texts or parts thereof – only those coming up to some expectations for the future stand a chance of survival. If we understand the historicity of normative texts through the entanglement of every moment of their development in the past and the future, we may not make a fuss over their inadequacy of reflecting what actually happened, but can come to terms with a not insignificant aspect peculiar to this body of materials, namely their fluid shape. Compared with descriptive texts which are concerned above all with the here and now, normative texts, conveying what ought to be, are rather Janus-faced, to wit,

16. For this concept and its history, see Bauer 1963, von Renthe-Fink 1964.

17. The interpretation of 'historicity' through the human entanglement in history was first formulated by Wilhelm Schapp in 1953 as the title of his classic book *In Geschichten verstrickt: Zum Sein von Ding und Mensch* (Hamburg: Meiner).

18. See Heidegger 1967: 326 (tr. Stambaugh). For the philosopher's systematic disquisition on the relationship between historicity and temporality, see Heidegger 1967: 372–404.

19. See Dostal 1993: 156. It should be kept in mind that the future, within Heidegger's philosophical system, ends in death. This theory, implied by the finitude of temporality and underlying the idea of being-toward-death, is not compatible with the Buddhist idea of transmigration (*saṃsāra*), and thus not implied in my thesis.

looking both backward and forward by interweaving paragons of the past with blueprints for the future. Thus, they are more susceptible to textual alterations so as to keep up with the times, and thus irreducible to a single textual archetype. This is exactly the case with the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, whose protean form bears witness to its entanglement in history and evinces its historicity. It is in this sense that I regard the present text as historical, or more precisely, historical as a 'living text'.

The Living Text

The concept of 'living text' has its origin in the field of New Testament Studies and has undergone a shift in focus during the last decade of the 20th century. The term appeared to be descriptive, when Kurt and Barbara Aland, in 1989, used it to characterize the text of the New Testament, especially the Gospels, as alterable and free from sacred rigidity:

> Until the beginning of the fourth century the text of the New Testament developed freely. It was a 'living text' in the Greek literary tradition, unlike the text of the Hebrew Old Testament, which was subject to strict controls because (in the oriental tradition) the consonantal text was holy.[20]

Although the presumed dichotomy between the Greek and the so-called oriental tradition is questionable, the concept of 'living text' undoubtedly brings to the fore the noteworthy fact that there is a huge number of textual variants in the Gospels which cannot be stemmatically analyzed and are probably due to the texts' transmission in early Christianity, and that similar phenomena are not observed in the text of the Old Testament. However, since that was something well known among the specialists, this new term addressing an old problem remained largely ignored up to the mid-1990s.

The watershed moment was David C. Parker's 1997 monograph *The Living Text of the Gospels*. Taking as a point of departure some methodological considerations presented in his 1991 paper "Scripture is Tradition,"[21] Parker successfully breathed new life into the not quite old, but largely neglected, concept, which he reinterpreted and foregrounded in his book. In contrast to the Alands who anchored the term 'living text' historically to the literary tradition of ancient Greece, Parker understood it rather in the context of a living tradition which finds its expression in every manuscript:

> It is as the written tradition which has survived and as the oral tradition which we have received that the tradition lives. The surviving manuscripts and the spoken word are not simply bearers of some prior living tradition. They are the living tradition.[22]

20. Aland/Aland 1989: 69.

21. See Parker 1991: 11–17 (= 2009: 265–272).

22. Parker 1997a: 210.

Rejecting the idea that there is "a greater reality" apart from the written and oral traditions, Parker did not see the fluidity of the Gospels as a peculiarity of the Greek literary tradition which ended at some point in early Christianity, but hypothesized that there is a "continuing interplay between the Scripture – the text copied – and the tradition – the person engaged in the process of copying in and for the church."[23] This hypothesis, if accepted, has fundamental implications for the study of the manuscripts. That is to say, in identifying the manuscripts with the tradition or part thereof, Parker understood the study of the surviving Gospel books as that of a living tradition, which is specific for every faith community. In this regard, the attempt to recover a single 'original text', an ill-defined term which has long been regarded as the obvious goal of the discipline,[24] is not only futile but also impossible.[25] Rather than reconstructing the 'original text' (in whatever definition of the word), Parker considered determining the sequence in which variants arose as the goal of textual criticism.[26] The determination, to his mind, aims at a framework for making sense of the tradition that has come down to us, and the process of textual investigation is focused on extant witnesses rather than reconstructed (hyp)archetypes. Tracing the textual history downward in time, Parker also drew attention to the rôle played by exegetes and scribes:

> The textual scholar has to reckon with the fact that such a text, based on a period of transmission extending over (in the case of the Gospels) at least a century, will already show signs of what its readers rather than its author thought it should contain.[27]

The same line of thought also finds expression in his contention that the distinction between 'authorial' and 'scribal' activity cannot be made.[28] In other words, Parker found it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between what an author – if this concept can be expediently used for the nonce – does with the evangelical sources at his disposal and what a scribe does with a manuscript. In doing so, he raised a fundamental issue at the heart of New Testament Studies, namely, the concept of authorship,

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23. Parker 1997a: 204. See also *ibid.*: 209–211.

24. For this term and its multivalence, see Epp 1999: 245–281.

25. For a very similar viewpoint published almost simultaneously, see Epp 1997: 48 (emphasis added): "Thus, textual criticism, often conceived as having a singular goal of establishing the 'original' text, is in reality a discipline with broader goals, including the display of the variety of opinions and convictions that enlivened the life of the church throughout its early history. Exegetes, therefore, should never consider the New Testament text to be static or inert, for it was and remains <u>a living text</u> that, in turn, reveals <u>the living church</u> that transmitted it."

26. See Parker 2008: 159.

27. Parker 2011: 20.

28. See Parker 1997b: 54: "[T]he line between separate gospels as retellings of the story of Jesus, and separate manuscripts which are literally re-writings (often with many differences) of the four Gospel stories is a line that cannot be drawn."

which has been fiercely contested in a number of fields bearing on pre-modern literary traditions, such as Jewish Rabbinic literature, Pseudepigrapha, and medieval literature.[29] Scholars working in these fields have by and large the same conception of the texts on which they work: They are not the kinds of texts that have authorial originals,[30] but display a set of characteristics which Parker attributes to a 'living text'. In the present thesis, I argue that it is promising to adopt 'living text' as a heuristic device to describe a certain number of Buddhist texts (including the **Nandimitrāvadāna**), which exhibit more or less the same characteristics.

First, these are texts characterized by alteration and re-composition, to the extent that no reconstruction of a single originating text is possible. To scholars of Buddhist texts, this feature is well known to be typical of Mahāyāna scriptures. Certain Mahāyāna scriptures, e.g. the **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka**, the **Kāśyapaparivarta**, the **Kāraṇḍavyūha**, the **Samādhirājasūtra**,[31] are transmitted in multiple recensions, which vary from one another in wording to such an extent that their derivation from a single oral or written *Urtext* through scribal or aural variations is unlikely. The fluctuating nature of the Mahāyāna scriptures has attracted the attention of David Seyfort Ruegg who, with special reference to the **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka**, remarked as follows:

> We are seemingly confronted here with a remarkable and highly important phenomenon in the history of religio-philosophical literature that has still to be fully addressed by modern scholarship, namely a Sūtra extant in recensions closely related in their contents but not necessarily in their verbal expression … to postulate some *Urtext* from which distinct recensions derive, in the manner of a *stemma codicum*, would here appear to constitute a misapplication of otherwise sound philological method. What we seem to have before us in such cases is, instead, records of a set of teachings / ideas / narratives in parallel wordings, oral or written, that are all somehow linked with a more or less compact – but nevertheless not univocally expressed – Sūtra tradition that came to be expressed in distinct recensions.[32]

Unlike the recensional variations in the canonical texts of mainstream schools (i.e., the Nikāyas and the Āgamas) which seem to correlate with school affliations and can be explained through oral transmissions,[33] what is

29. For a historical reappraisal of this concept in Jewish, Hellenistic, and Christian traditions, see Wyrick 2004. For the complex of problems concerning authorship and authority in medieval literature, with special focus on the difference between modern and pre-modern understandings, see Weisweiler 1995.

30. See Holmes 2012: 670–672.

31. For useful references to previous studies of various recensions of the individual Mahāyāna scriptures, see Ruegg 2004: 20f., n. 27.

32. Ruegg 2004: 20–23.

33. For previous studies by way of attempts at explaining the recensional variations in the old canonical sources, see von Simson 1977: 479–488, von Hinüber 1994, and Allon 1997 (with further references).

attested in the various recensions of those Mahāyāna scriptures cannot be fully accounted for by orality alone, but may well have something to do with the ways in which such texts were (re)produced and used. To better understand the latter requires empirical inquiry into the historical background against which such kinds of textual variations took place.

Schopen has taken a step forward in this direction through a case study of the **Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra** at Gilgit.[34] Having meticulously examined four (or perhaps five) exemplars of this scripture, Schopen concludes his historical and philological investigation with notes on two chronological factors: (1) There are "very great differences in the linguistic shape" of the various **Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra** known in 6th/7th-century Gilgit which "cannot be a visible function of chronology or development over time", since the various manuscripts "all circulated or were available at the same time at the same place". (2) The manifold verbal formulations of **Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra** at Gilgit may chronologically not be far removed from the inception of this scripture; in other words, "[t]he great variation seems to occur nearer the beginning than the end of the textual tradition," which implies that "Mahāyāna sūtras like the **Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra** had in their early phases no fixed, standard form."[35] These observations are historically buttressed by a reinterpretation of the find-spot of the Gilgit manuscripts as "a kind of sacred workshop, a combination of genizah and scriptorium, where old, unusable, or returned manuscripts … were kept, along with some master-copies, and where new manuscripts were manufactured and were for sale."[36] In this sacred workshop, "more laymen than monks were involved in the production and use of these manuscripts,"[37] and lay participation in the process may well have contributed to the formation of their fluid linguistic shape.

A similar phenomenon is observed in the **Fanwang jing** 梵網經, a Chinese apocryphal text composed, in all likelihood, in the 5th century AD.[38] Having collated 21 manuscripts and block-print editions of the text, Funayama Tōru finds himself confronted with an extraordinarily large number of variants,[39] the majority of which is not comprised of "scribal errors or careless mistakes

34. See Schopen 2009: 189–219.

35. For the conclusion of his article summing up the two chronological factors, see Schopen 2009: 214–215.

36. Schopen 2009: 203.

37. This observation is based on the colophons of the manuscripts, see Schopen 2009: 203.

38. For the formation and prehistory of this apocryphal text, see Funayama 1996: 54–78.

39. The quanitity of variants becomes more noteworthy, if compared with the cases of other translated texts; see Funayama 2017: 127f.: "The second fascicle of the **F[an]w[ang] j[ing]**, seven pages long in the Taishō edition, has 304 locations for which variant readings exist … Guṇabhadra's translation of the **Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra (T353)** … is of nearly the same length, i.e. seven pages in the Taishō, but has only 78 locations of variant readings. Similarly, the first seven pages of Xuanzang's translation of the **Great Sūtra of Wisdom** (T220) have only 24 locations of variant readings."

but results of intentional rewriting or emendation." The breeding ground for the proliferation of variants might well have been a persistent milieu, in which the **Fanwang jing** was used as "a foundational resource for the daily life and practice of ordinary monastics and laity", who readily made changes or improvements to the text(s) that had come down to them.[40] In this regard, the distinction between such apocryphal texts and the aforementioned Mahāyāna scriptures is a distinction difficult to make.[41] It is also to be kept in mind that the dichotomy between apocrypha and canonical scriptures is theological rather than historical by nature,[42] and thus not necessarily useful for philologists and historians of religions. Therefore, it may be reasonable to subsume some apocrypha and Mahāyāna scriptures under the same rubric of 'living text', insofar as the two groups of Buddhist literature have been subject to an open process of transmission, in which variations were the norm rather than the exception.

Second, it is impossible, in the case of a 'living text', to draw a clear-cut line between the work of the author – if there is one – and that of every scribe or copyist who laid his (or her) hands on the text. When it comes to the literary tradition of Buddhism which was disseminated across linguistic and cultural boundaries, equal, if not more, credit should be given to every translator, whose activity is often as shadowy as the authorial and scribal.

This is not to repeat what we have learned from modern Translation Theorists, namely, every translator is an author under the skin, since translation is a process of textual manipulation which involves rewriting what is written by someone else.[43] With regard to Buddhist scriptural sources, however, it is fair to say that every author is essentially a translator, whose work consists in making known in his (or her) own language what is believed to have been taught by the Buddha. Although we have no idea what those who composed Buddhist scriptures thought they were doing, such a *confessio poetae* is found in the **Book of Zambasta**, a Khotanese poem which, albeit not scriptural, may have enjoyed a quasi-canonical status among the Khotanese-speaking Buddhists. By modern standards, this poem is a

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40. See Funayama 2017: 141. Genealogically, Funayama divides all the manuscript and block-print editions at his disposal into two fundamental lineages, and the main differences between the both consist in stylistic improvements. For the two lineages of the received editions, see Funayama 2010: 179–211.

41. In the case of the **Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra**, the boundary is all the more blurred, since some philological evidence has recently been brought to light, which might suggest a possible Chinese apocryphal origin of the text, which does not seem to have been transmitted in Sanskrit until the 6th century; see Fang 2014: 90–100, and Loukota 2018. This issue is very controversial and thus better to be suspended for the moment.

42. For a reflection on the definition of 'apocrypha' and the fluid criteria for canonicity in the Buddhist tradition, see Buswell 1990: 3–7. For the problematics of designating this group of Chinese texts as 'apocrypha', see Funayama 2013: 173, and Silk 2015: 208.

43. See Bassnett 2002: 45f.

composition rather than translation. However, the anonymous poet, to whom we owe this *chef-d'œuvre*, apparently conceived of the nature of his own work not as authorial. In a number of statements in the first person singular dispersed throughout the poem, he referred to his own activity as either 'translating' (*byūh-*),[44] or 'preaching' (*hvāñ-*),[45] or 'extracting' (*thaṃj-*).[46] However the verbs are construed, on no account would he have made a claim to authorship, which, in this case, would have been tantamount to taking the credit due to the Buddha. On the contrary, he considered himself as something of a messenger conveying what the Buddha taught to his benighted fellow countrymen, who only valued the teachings in a language incomprehensible to them.[47] More than once, he expressed his apprehensions about occasional distortion of the meaning (*artha*) and possible contamination with what the Buddha had not taught.[48] From an emic perspective, there is virtually no difference between his activity and that of every translator or scribe of Buddhist sūtras.

The concepts of 'translation', 'sermon', and 're-composition' do not seem to have been clearly distinguished from one another in quite a number of pre-modern Buddhist cultures. In early Chinese Buddhism, lectures delivered by Indian monks were not seldom handed down as if they were translations, as Funayama has convincingly demonstrated.[49] At least one way to make

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44. Cf. **Book of Zambasta** 1.189a *cu aysu ttū hvanau byūttaimä* 'since I have translated this teaching …'; 23.2c *hvatanau yi haṃjsäte byūhä* 'I intend to translate it into Khotanese'; 23.372a *cu aysu ttū hvatänau byūttaimä* 'since I have translated this into Khotanese …' [ed. Emmerick 1968: 8, 342, 366].

45. Cf. **Zambasta** 2.244a *cu aysu ttū dhātu hvataimä* 'since I have preached this law …'; 6.1c *panina ttau sūtriṇa vaysña śśälo hvāñīmä pyuvī'rä* 'of each sūtra thus for you now a verse shall I preach: Listen!'; 9.1cd *dharmānu paṃjinu rraṣṭu sūtryau jsa hvāñämä arthu* 'according to the sūtras, I preach the true meaning of five things (*dharma*): …'; 10.34cd *bodhisaṃbāru hvataimä sūtryau jsa ttatvata rraṣṭo* 'I have rightly, truly preached the *bodhisaṃbhāra* according to the sūtras.' [ed. Emmerick 1968: 50, 116, 140, 150].

46. Cf. **Zambasta** 14.98cd *ku aysu ttuto ttändäko thīyaimä bataku* 'whence (i.e. from the sūtras) I have extracted this brief, short (epitome).' [ed. Emmerick 1968: 226].

47. See Emmerick 1968: 343, 345 (= **Zambasta** 23.4–6): "But such are their deeds: the Khotanese do not value the Law at all in Khotanese. They understand it badly in Indi[c]. In Khotanese it does not seem to them to be the Law. For the Chinese the Law is in Chinese. In Kashmirian it is very agreeable, but they so learn it in Kashmirian that they also understand the meaning of it. To the Khotanese 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 thus a different Law."

48. See Emmerick 1968: 9 (= **Zambasta** 1.189): "I seek pardon from all the *deva* Buddhas, for whatever meaning I have distorted here", and *ibid.* 141 (= **Zambasta** 8.48): "Whatever there may be here which the Buddha has not spoken in a sūtra, one should not accept. That is all my fault."

49. See Funayama 2006: 39–55. His *ad hoc* description of this phenomenon as "masquerading" (in the title) might be in a way misleading. Since there is no evidence that Chinese Buddhists at that time drew a distinct line between such lectures and genuine

sense of this peculiar phenomenon is to presume that the two types of literature were not clearly distinguished from each other at their receiving end. It follows from the presumption that translating and lecturing on Indic texts were not considered mutually exclusive activities at that time. In several Central Asian languages, the verb 'to translate' seems to have such diverse connotations that it cannot be clearly distinguished from 'to compose' or 'to recast'.[50] In other words, erstwhile speakers of these languages were incapable of articulating a clear-cut distinction between the two activities. It is thus not far-fetched to argue that the indistinct verbal expression reflects the speakers' view of the world, in which the translatorial activity was not distinctly demarcated. Although the situation later in China and Tibet was different,[51] the lack of a clear distinction between those literary types seems to have existed in various cultural spheres under Buddhist influence for a significantly long time, and thus should be taken seriously.

Methodologically, the concept of 'living text' raises the old question of authorship, especially with regard to Buddhist scriptures, which, to be sure, are attributed to the Buddha in most cases.[52] However, pondering over the questions of how texts developed over time, how to interpret and translate them, we often find this simplistic attribution not quite helpful. Or to take it a step further: the very idea of 'author' raises more problems than it resolves, inasmuch as it implies some kind of historical hierarchy, which is repudiated by Jonathan Silk in the following rhetorical question:

> What is it we, as scholars of Buddhist literature, study? If we answer this question by

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translations, no historical attempt was made to disguise the former as the latter, and the impression of pretense arises only *ex post facto*.

50. In Khotanese, the verb 'to translate' (*byūh-* < **vi-yaufya-*; SGS: 106) is often "used in the literal sense of 'transfer' from one place to another," and thus "means accordingly 'transfer' from one language to another. It is used both of literal translation as in the case of the close rendering of the **Siddhasāra** and of free paraphrase as in the case of the **Book of Zambasta**." See Emmerick 1983b: 17. In the Uighur colophons of the **Maitrisimit**, two verbs in the same semantic field, i.e. ***y'r't-*** (in reference to the transfer from Indic to Tocharian A), and ***(')'βyr-*** (from Tocharian A to Uighur), are attested. According to Werner Thomas, ***(')'βyr-*** does not mean a literal rendering of the Tocharian texts, but rather a sort of translating which is relatively oriented to the original and thus results in a considerable degree of conformity in the Tocharian and Uighur versions, between which discrepancies are by no means thus excluded. By contrast, ***y'r't-*** refers to a free recasting, which varies considerably from the original by shortening, summarizing, and recomposing the Indic sources. See Thomas 1989: 8–9. The counterpart of ***y'r't-*** in Tocharian A is *ritw-* (< PIE **rith*$_2$*-u*-C- ~ **rith*$_2$*-u̯*-V-, cognate of Latin *rīte*, *rītus*, Avestan *raēϑβa-*; Weiss 2015: 181–198), which means originally 'to join, mix, combine' and thus 'to put together, compose'.

51. For the Chinese translation process during the Sui-Tang period without audience and lectures, see Funayama 2006: 40. For the complexity of Tibetan translations from Sanskrit, illustrated with selected examples, see Hahn 2007: 123–149.

52. Note that there are some cases in which a beginningless transmission and an authorless production of the text are presumed, see Silk 2015: 223.

> saying not that we seek the Buddha's sublime, transcendent and ahistorical message, but that instead we, even as text scholars, are primarily historians of Buddhist traditions, then instantly any pretense that origins actually matter must disappear like evaporating dew in the morning sun. There is no conceivable objective reason to value the product of one community over that of another, no reason why we should seek the earlier form of a text rather than a later one: why would the form in which Buddhists in 6th century China copied a *sūtra* translation be more valuable to us as historians of Buddhism *tout court*, than the form in which it was copied in the 16th century?[53]

Such a historical hierarchy is not only, as Silk points out, unjustified in terms of the value system of historians, but also factually ungrounded as regards a living text, whose process of formation and transmission knows no clear-cut distinction between an authorial hand and an editorial / scribal / translatorial one. To reject the hierarchy entails reflecting on some commonplace terms used in literary criticism, e.g. 'author', 'transmitter' and 'translator', the usefulness of which is questionable in this context. As a substitute for all these terms, I use the concept of 'tradent' throughout the present study so as to steer clear of the problem of authorship.

The term 'tradent' has long been used in the study of Jewish Rabbinic literature to describe the ways in which Rabbinic sages themselves understood their rôle in the making of this body of materials. As the *de facto* creators of Rabbinic literature, they denied any creative rôle for themselves in the composition of the texts, but only took responsibility for "preserving the integrity of the received version as received from an authoritative teacher".[54] The first attempt at adopting this term into the field of Buddhist Studies is made by Robert Mayer, who thereby wishes to bring to the fore the creative rôle played by the so-called Treasure revealers (*gter ston*) in the formation of Treasure (*gter ma*) literature peculiar to Tibetan Buddhism.[55] Although the texts on which Mayer works differ from those under discussion in several respects, they have one characteristic in common, namely, their genesis cannot be adequately accounted for through the assumption of the absolute creativity of authors. In order to come to terms with some of their compositional features, more focus on communal aspects of their authorship is in order. Therefore, there is a good reason to follow in the wake of Mayer by making consistent use of the term 'tradent' in my discussions of the multifarious literary activities shaping the living text.

In short, the concept of 'living text' is a useful device to cope with some idiosyncrasies of Buddhist literature. To be sure, the aforementioned examples are derived from a limited number of texts, but at least some of the ideas engaged above may well have wider applicability. This is illustrated below with the specific case of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**.

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53. Silk 2015: 211f.

54. See Jaffee 2007: 21–26.

55. See Mayer 2015: 227–242.

Modularity and Fluidity

This section begins with a synoptic presentation of what we know about the content of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** on the basis of the multilingual textual sources treated in the following chapters. The presentation must be preceded with a *caveat*: I try to incorporate all the textual units attested in any of the extant versions into the synopsis only for the convenience of comparison and analysis; therefore, what is presented below should by no means be misunderstood as a 'complete' – much less 'original' – shape of the **Nandimitrāvadāna.** The fact that almost all the units are testified to by both the Chinese and the Tibetan versions cannot be overgeneralized. The alphabetical headings of the sections, which are followed throughout the chapters below, are adopted from Hakamaya Noriaki, who has divided up the text thus in his *editio princeps* of the Tibetan version:[56]

Sections	Content	Khot.	Tib.	Chin.
0	Title (+ translator or invocation)	×	√	√
A	*The frame narrative* (*incipit*): 800 years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha Śākyamuni, Nandimitra, an Arhat of great attainments, before passing into Nirvāṇa dispels the sorrow or anxiety of his fellow monks by telling them that the Buddha Śākyamuni, when he was about to pass away, entrusted the teachings etc. to the sixteen Elders.	√	√	√
B	The fellow monks inquire about the names of the sixteen Elders, which Nandimitra enumerates one by one.	√	√	√
C	The fellow monks inquire about their places of residence, which Nandimitra enumerates one by one, along with the numbers of their accompanying Arhats.	√	√	√
D	*The timetable of the decline*: **a.** The increase in the human lifespan after the scourge of warfare (*śastrāntarakalpa*). **b.** The return of the sixteen Elders to Jambudvīpa when the	×	√	√

56. See Hakamaya 2007: 45–46.

	human lifespan reaches 100 years. **c.** The complete Nirvāṇa of the Elders and the ultimate disappearance of the teachings when the human lifespan reaches 700/70,000 years. **d.** The emergence of numerous Pratyeka-buddhas in the world after the decline.			
E	*The prophecy of Maitreya*: **a.** The advent of the Buddha Maitreya in the world when the human lifespan reaches 80,000 years. **b.** The auspicious signs in Jambudvīpa. **c.** Three assemblies of the disciples under the preaching of the Buddha Maitreya.	×	√	√
F	Three types of wholesome potentialities (*kuśalamūla*) engendered under Śākyamuni will lead to the rebirths in the three assemblies under Maitreya, respectively:	×	√	√
	1. Wholesome potentialities with respect to the Buddha: commissioning images or stūpas for the Buddha.			
	2. Wholesome potentialities with respect to the teachings (*dharma*): disseminating, worshipping, and decorating the texts as the receptacle of the teachings, including: **2.1.** Mahāyāna scriptures **2.2.** The three Baskets (*tripiṭaka*) of Śrāvaka-yāna: Āgamas, Vinaya, and Abhidharma **2.3.** Jātakamālā etc.			
	3. Wholesome potentialities with respect to the community (*saṅgha*): various offerings and donations to monks and monasteries.			
G	*The frame narrative* (*explicit*): **a.** Having displayed miracles, Nandimitra passes into complete Nirvāṇa. **b.** The worship and offerings to him made by his fellow monks. **c.** The circulation of the narrative.	×	√	√
0’	End title (+ colophon)	×	√	√

√ = found in the specific version; × = not found in the specific version.

At first glance, we discern three building blocks, through combinations of which the versions of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** are constructed: (1) the frame narrative centering around the last words of Nandimitra and the list of the sixteen Elders [= **ABCG**]; (2) the timetable of the decline, which provides a relative chronology correlating various incidents (e.g. the return of the Elders, the disappearance of the Buddha's teachings) with the steadily increasing human lifespan [= **D**]; (3) the prophecy of Maitreya, the future Buddha, and the ways to be reborn in the three assemblies of his disciples [= **EF**]. Judging from these building blocks, the modular nature of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** is transparent. That is to say: rather than conjuring words out of their mind, the tradents, who produced the texts known as the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, drew on a "pool of tradition" – to borrow a term from scholars of oral epics[57] – consisting of a register of pre-existing textual modules, which were independently transmitted oral textual units at the very beginning and could be used to construct a more complex textual structure. The modularity of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** is brought home to us, when we subject two out of the three building blocks to historical analysis.

The textual module underlying the building blocks (2) & (3) mentioned above is otherwise testified to by a sermon, which the Chinese pilgrim monk Faxian 法顯 claimed to have heard around 410 CE in Sri Lanka. The sermon begins with the legend of the Buddha's bowl, whose passing from sight is said to result in the gradual decline of the teachings,[58] and the story goes:

佛法滅後，人壽轉短，乃至五歲。五歲之時，粳米、酥油皆悉化滅；人民極惡，捉木則變成刀、杖，共相傷割殺。其中有福者，逃避入山。惡人相殺盡已，還復來出，共相謂言：“昔人壽極長，但為惡甚，作諸非法故，我等壽命遂爾短促，乃至五歲。我今共行諸善，起慈悲心，修行仁義。”如是各行信儀，展轉壽倍。乃至八萬歲，彌勒出世。初轉法輪時，先度釋迦遺法弟子、出家人及受三歸、五戒、齋法、供養三寶者，第二、第三次度有緣者。[ed. Zhang 1985: 162][59]

After the extinction of the teachings has taken place, the life of man will be shortened, till it is only a period of five years. During this period of a five years' life, rice and ghee will all vanish away, and men will become exceedingly wicked. The wood which they lay hold of will change into swords and clubs, with which they will hurt, cut, and kill one another. Among them, the lukcy ones will manage to escape into the mountains; and when the wicked have exterminated one another, they will again come forth, and say among

57. For a nuanced explanation of this term in the context of oral epics, see Honko 2000: 18: "We cannot postulate a well-arranged library of earlier performed oral texts in the mind of the individual but rather a 'pool' of generic rules, storylines, mental images of epic events, linguistically preprocessed descriptions of repeatable scenes, sets of established terms and attributes, phrases and formulas, which every performer may utilize in an imaginative way, vary and reorganize according to the needs and potentials present at a new performance." The same applies *mutatis mutandis* to the present text.

58. For the relationship between the Buddha's bowl and the decline of the teachings, see Wang-Toutain 1994: 69–73.

59. Emphasis added, cf. also Adachi 1936: 246. For this section translated in English, see Legge 1886: 110; in German, see Deeg 2005: 571, §168.

themselves, "The men of former times enjoyed a very great longevity; but through becoming exceedingly wicked, and doing all lawless things, the length of our life has been shortened and reduced even to five years. Let us now unite together in the practice of what is good, cherishing a gentle and sympathising heart, and carefully cultivating humaneness and righteousness." When each one in this way practises faith and righteousness, life will go on to double its length. When it reaches 80,000 years, Maitreya appears in the world. At the time of his first turning of the Wheel of the teachings, he will in the first place save those among the disciples [following] the teachings left by the Śākya[muni, those] who have quitted their families, and those who have accepted the three Refuges, undertaken the five Precepts and the Abstinences, and given offerings to the three Jewels; at the [time of] the second and the third [turning], he will save those with whom he has a [karmic] connection.

This sermon is obviously based on an oral tradition, if we take at face value Faxian's record that he once wished to copy the sūtra, only to be informed by the preacher that it was not taken from any scripture, but merely transmitted through oral recitation.[60] By and large, this discourse is reminiscent of a section of the **Zhuanlunshengwang xiuxing jing** 轉輪聖王修行經 of the Chinese **Dīrghāgama**, in which a similar parable correlating the increase in the human lifespan with the cultivation of morality after the intermediate period of violence and warfare is also integrated with the prophecy of the future advent of Maitreya.[61] Faxian's notes of what an Indian monk preached in early-5th-century Sri Lanka contain all the essential elements of its canonical counterpart, albeit in an abridged form. An innovation which differentiates the former from the latter is the emergence of the idea of the three assemblies under Maitreya, who will first save *inter alia* those who have made offerings to the three Jewels. The tradents of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, as is evident above, elaborated on a similar idea, but did not assign all the munificent donors to the first assembly. Instead they reinterpreted every donor's merits accumulated in relation to the Buddha, the teachings, or the community as a prerequisite for his (or her) rebirth in the first, the second, or the third assembly, respectively.[62]

Another significant change which the tradents of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** made to the module extracted from the "pool of tradition" is the interpolation

60. Cf. **Faxian zhuan** IV: 法顯爾時欲寫此經，其人云：“此無經本，我止口誦耳。” [ed. Zhang 1985: 162]. According to the principle of embarrassment, it is unlikely that the story was made up by Faxian, who must have been eager to claim authenticity of every text that he had brought back. Such hearsay would hardly have served his purpose.

61. See T1, 1.41a27–42a9 (tr. Anālayo 2014: 11–14). This section finds parallels in the **Cakkavattisīhanādasutta** of the **Dīghanikāya** (no. 26, III 75ff.) and the ***Cakravartisūtra/Zhuanlunshengwang jing** of the Chinese **Madhyamāgama** (no. 70, T26, 1.523b1–524b29). However, the latter does not make any reference to Maitreya at all, while the former, though mentioning Metteya, precedes his paragraph with that of the Wheel-turning king Saṅkha; see Karashima et al. 2000: 310, n. 121. Thus, neither of the two texts could have been the direct source of what Faxian overheard.

62. This reworking of the module seems to have already been completed in the **Book of Zambasta** (no later than the late 5th century), see below pp. 55–60.

of the sixteen Elders in the timetable of the decline, which puts back the vanishing point of the Buddha's teachings. In the canonical versions of the parable, there is no mention of the disappearance of the teachings at all. In Faxian's notes, the teachings are said to have already become extinct before sentient beings are caught up in the maelstrom of war. But in the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, it is taught that the sixteen Elders will return to Jambudvīpa, performing all kinds of benevolent acts, when the human lifespan reaches 100 years; and that the teachings will not vanish away until it reaches 700 or 70,000 years. These two numbers are apparently contrived, since they do not fit in with the pattern of the gradual increase in the human lifespan, as attested in the three canonical versions.[63] This manipulation, artificial and indelicate as it may seem, betrays an organizing literary hand which (re)shapes every pre-existing module so as to integrate the latter into a larger rhetorical, narratological, or soteriological program.

The frame narrative forms part and parcel of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, insofar as it provides information about the occasion on which the aforementioned timetable and prophecy were preached. In order that the reader believes in the veracity of what Nandimitra narrated, one would expect to see in the frame narrative a historicizing attempt, which sets out to convince the reader that this is what actually happened. It is precisely the conviction that makes it possible to use a narrative like the **Nandimitrāvadāna** as an authoritative text in religious terms. However, such an attempt, even if it has ever been made, is not traceable in the three versions, which, so far as the frame narrative is concerned, differ from one another in many a detail.

As a matter of fact, not a single proper name in the frame narrative is shared by any two of the three versions, except for the name of the secondary narrator Nandimitra (or Nandamitra).[64] First and foremost, there is no agreement on where the story is set. Xuanzang's Chinese translation unequivocally refers to Sri Lanka (zhí shīzi guó 執師子國 < Siṃhala). This reference tempted Lévi and Chavannes to go into great detail about the socio-religious environment of Sri Lanka, which was characterized by the syncretism between Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna ideas and practices. It is in such a milieu, as they argued, that a text like the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, which assigns to the Arhats the rôle of the Bodhisattvas, might have taken root.[65]

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63. For the series of numbers attested in the **Dīrghāgama**, the **Dīghanikāya**, and the **Madhyamāgama** (i.e. 20, 40, 80, 160, 320, 640, 2,000/2,500 ...), see Anālayo 2014: 18.

64. The variant Nandamitra is certainly attested in the Khotanese version and some manuscript editions of the Tibetan version (i.e. LSZ), whereas the title of the Chinese version seems to suggest Nandi- instead of Nanda- (cf. nántí 難提). An Elder under more or less the same name (i.e. Nandīmitra) is attested in the Skt. **Ajitasenavyākaraṇa** from Gilgit and Khotan (see Hirabayashi/Rasmussen/Shomakhmadov 2015, *passim*).

65. See Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 47–50. Their arguments touched upon the long-debated problem of the so-called Mahāyāna-Sthaviras, and paid attention to the significant tendency of the convergence of the seemingly opposed ideals of the two vehicles in Sri

But the evidence for the Sri Lankan hypothesis evaporates into thin air, if we compare the Chinese text with its Tibetan counterpart, in which Sri Lanka is replaced by Śibika, a mythical tribe or country possibly located in northern Pakistan.[66] Geographically speaking, this is the polar opposite of Sri Lanka. The picture is further complicated by the Khotanese version, which points to the country of Surāṣṭra, i.e., the present-day Surat in the western Indian state of Gujarat. The Khotanese reading was considered superior by Jean Przyluski who, drawing on a record in Tāranātha's history of Buddhism, wished to see evidence of the presence of the Dharmaguptakas at Surāṣṭra in the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, whose 'authentic' text was, to his mind, rather preserved in the Khotanese version.[67] Such instances of unsophisticated historicism can easily be disproved by a systematic comparison of the three versions of the text in question. The closer we scrutinize the ways these vary from one another, the more we are convinced of the fact that there has never existed a unitary Indian original, as Przyluski took for granted.

The name of the king under whose rule Nandimitra was a subject is another element, which might have rung a bell with the target audience of the narrative. On this point, the three versions testify to three different names with the same second component (i.e., Chin. shèngjūn 勝軍 < *Vijitasena, Tib. *rig pa'i sde* < *Vidyasena,[68] Khot. Vajrasena). Phonologically, it would be possible to trace them back to a hypothetical originating form *Va^{i}j(j)asena; still it remains unclear what the form exactly means, much less how it could have been historicized. To historians and epigraphists, the king's name is redolent of the Oḍi kings, who reigned over the territory of the Swat valley approximately from the end of the 1st century BCE to the middle of the 1st century CE. Among them there was a Vijitasena, who was the grandfather of the famous Senavarman, the patron of by far the longest inscription written in the Kharoṣṭhī script.[69] His son and the successor to his throne, by the name of Ajitasena, is otherwise known to us through another Kharoṣṭhī inscription dated around 20 CE.[70] It is tantalizing to note in this connection that an eponymous Buddhist text entitled **Ajitasenavyākaraṇa** is extant in

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Lanka. This line of thought was followed in Lamotte 1958: 770. For the problem of the Mahāyāna-Sthaviras, see most recently Tournier 2014: 44 (with further references).

66. See the annotation on my translation below, pp. 166f., fn. 3.

67. See Przyluski 1928: 328f., especially: "La comparaison de ce fragment avec la *Relation de Nandimitra* traduite par Hiuan-tsang prouve que ces deux textes reproduisent, l'un en khotanais, l'autre en chinois, un même original indien. Toutefois, le manuscrit qu'utilisait Hiuan-tsang devait être incorrect … La supériorité de la traduction khotanaise où ces noms sont donnés correctement n'est pas douteuse." Nothing can be farther from the truth than this statement.

68. *Pace* Hakamaya 2007: 64, who opts for *rigs pa'i sde* < *Yuktisena; see below p. 167, fn. 4.

69. For editions of the Senavarman inscription, see Bailey 1980: 21–29, Fussman 1982: 1–46, Salomon 1986: 261–93, von Hinüber 2003, and Baums 2012: 227–233.

70. See Fussman 1986: 1–14, plates 1–6.

Sanskrit, in which a monk named Nandīmitra also figures.[71] The almost identical name has led some scholars to surmise that the text, which is doctrinally also intriguing in a number of respects,[72] is kindred with the **Nandimitrāvadāna**.[73] If we presume that their surmise has some validity, we may hypothesize that the two Oḍi kings were the model for the respective characters in the two related texts, which were in turn adapted to different narrative frameworks in an anachronistic manner.[74] This hypothesis is not as far-fetched as it may seem, if we take into account the case that Aśpavarman, a warlord in the neighboring kingdom of the Aparacas, appears as a character in a 1st-century Gāndhārī avadāna, some birch-bark fragments of which have been brought to light.[75] It is thus not unprecedented in this milieu that new Buddhist literature was produced with well-known local historical figures appearing as *dramatis personae*. Be that as it may, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to further substantiate the hypothesis, given the scarcity of evidence. What merits more attention is the very fact that, for the tradents of the three versions, whether or not the king has a fixed name and is thus identifiable with a certain historical figure did not matter at all. The protean form of the king's name is but one example of the fluidity characteristic of such a living text as the **Nandimitrāvadāna**.

Not only the setting of the frame narrative is unsettled, but also the list of the sixteen Elders enumerated by Nandimitra, which constitutes the core of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, seems to be susceptible to change. The basic information on the Elders (i.e., names, dwelling places, retinue numbers, order in the list), as attested in the three versions and other related sources, is summarized below in the **Appendix 1**,[76] a cursory skim through which may suffice to perceive how divergent the list has become in various traditions. Although I have made every effort to account for the intertextual dynamics underlying the divergence, it turns out to be impossible to reconstruct an archetype, which forms the starting point of all the variants. In this regard, the numbers of the accompanying Arhats serve as a good example. The Khotanese version seems to attest a sequence of numbers quite similar to that in the Chinese version, although the Khotanese tradent omitted most of the numbers with the exception of the first and the last. But in the Tibetan version, most of the numbers have multiplied tenfold. Whether this is to be attributed to an

71. For editions of the Sanskrit text with translation, see Rasmussen 1995, and Hirabayashi/Rasmussen/Shomakhmadov 2015: 89–133.

72. See Schopen 1977: 179–182, Cohen 1995: 5, and Williams 2009: 27.

73. See Dutt 1939: 73f., and Hirabayashi/Rasmussen/Shomakhmadov 2015: 86.

74. In the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, the king reigned over Sri Lanka, Śibika, or Surāṣṭra 800 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, while the royal character in the **Ajitasenavyākaraṇa** was a king of Magadha when the Buddha was still alive.

75. For an edition of the fragmentary text with translation, see Lenz 2010: 85–93. For a discussion on this character with references to epigraphic data, see Salomon 1999: 145–151.

76. See below pp. 248–253.

intentional revision in Tibet or a different source-text remains for the moment inconclusive. With regard to the order in which the Elders are arranged, even though the Khotanese version differs from the other two versions on several points, a largely identical pattern is discernible. However, the illusion of regularity is dissipated if we extend the scope of the examination to include some later Tibetan liturgical texts and three Dunhuang Khotanese documents paying homage to the Elders incorporated into a Buddhist pantheon.[77] In those texts, the sixteen Elders, as is demonstrated in detail below, are arranged in completely different orders, some of which cannot be explained through casual deviations from the aforesaid pattern. Especially noteworthy is one of the three 10th-century Dunhuang documents, in which some of the Elders have been substituted with other well-known disciples of the Buddha, as the tradent may have wished.[78] It thus transpires that more forceful reconfigurations of the list seem to have taken place in some texts, which were more closely tied up with practical uses in everyday religious life.

To sum up, the above historical and structural analyses of the building blocks used by different tradents to assemble the **Nandimitrāvadāna** in various contexts clearly demonstrate their modularity and fluidity. On the one hand, the tradents seem to have availed themselves of a "pool of tradition", from which textual modules were derived and adapted to the literary and theological scheme unique to the **Nandimitrāvadāna**. On the other, the extant versions and witnesses vary from one another to such an extent that there seems to have never been a standard form of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** at any point of its long history. Therefore, the text produced by every single tradent at best represents a kind of freeze-frame of the tradition, which remains fluctuating and unfinished.

Religious Affordances[79]

Handed down as an edifying tale (*avadāna*), the **Nandimitrāvadāna** may raise a number of questions in terms of its position in Buddhist literature: In what sense does it qualify as an avadāna? To what degree is it deemed authoritative? What makes it usable as an authoritative text triggering religious practice? It is to these questions that we now turn.

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77. See below pp. 65–70 and pp. 129–135.

78. See below pp. 66 (doc. α).

79. The term 'affordance' is not found in any dictionary, and is a coinage by psychologist James J. Gibson (Gibson 1979: 127). It was originally used to designate what the environment furnishes the animal. Later on, new meanings have been developed, since the term was borrowed into other fields. One of those meanings is 'action possibilities perceivable by an actor' (plurale tantum); my use of the term is based on this meaning.

The classic definition of avadāna, widely accepted by modern western scholars, analyzes the genre into four structural components: (1) an introduction, (2) a tale of the present, (3) a tale of the past, and (4) a conclusion which ties them together. In some cases, the tale of the past is replaced by or juxtaposed with a prophecy of the future.[80] According to John Strong's theory, these were works of a self-conscious group of specialists, labeled by him as 'Avadānists' (*avadānika*, *avadānārthakovida*), who intended to propogate some core doctrines of Buddhism, such as the karmic law (i.e., the reward of evil action is evil, and that of good action good) etc.[81] His theory is partially corroborated by some new findings from Gandhāra, namely, a collection of Gāndhārī avadānas, which appear to have been written by such an 'Avadānist', who, as Timothy Lenz puts it, "wrote nothing but avadāna-type literature".[82] The contents of the avadānas, however, seem to be at odds with the preconceived definition outlined above, inasmuch as they contain only a single tale, either one of the past or one of the present, labeled in the fragments as 'pūrvayoga' or 'avadāna', respectively. The latter category, from an emic perspective, should be regarded as the avadāna *stricto sensu*.[83] The simple structure of the Gāndhārī avadānas is contrasted with the diversity of thematic issues addressed therein, the majority of which have no direct bearing on the karmic links between past and present.[84] In addition, it is also noteworthy that the Gāndhārī texts contain sporadic notes of abbreviation, which indicate that the tales should be expanded by the story-teller.[85] Such an expansion could have involved the addition of the other components, which are mentioned in the aforesaid definition and attested in the full-fledged avadānas at later times.

Judging from its structural format, the **Nandimitrāvadāna** does not quite fit into the standardized mold of avadāna. It mainly consists of a tale of the present (i.e., the frame narrative) and a tale of the future (i.e., the timetable and the prophecy of Maitreya), and the latter is embedded in a sermon delivered by Nandimitra to his fellow monks in the former. But there is virtually nothing about the past except a passing reference to the Buddha's appointment of the sixteen Elders as the protectors of the teachings before

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80. See Feer 1891: xi–xiii, Speyer 1909: vii–viii, and Winternitz 1913: 215f. For the history of this concept, see von Hinüber 2008: 88f. For the original meaning of *avadāna*, see most recently Fukita 2018: 139–148; in which to much credit is given to the **Śrāvakabhūmi** by Asaṅga who ventured etymological speculations of a word that he also poorly understood.

81. See Strong 1985: 862–881. The functionality of avadānas, especially with regard to their emphasis on the karmic law, has been pointed out by other scholars previously; see Feer 1891: xiv, Speyer 1909: viii, and Mayeda 1964: 458 (with references).

82. See Lenz 2003: 104, and 2010: 6.

83. See Lenz 2010: 6.

84. See Lenz 2010: 7, 13.

85. E.g. *sarvo vistaro yaṣayupamano siyadi* "The complete expansion should be according to the model"; see Lenz 2010: 7.

his complete Nirvāṇa, which can by no means be regarded as a tale. On the other hand, the two tales are not bound together by the karmic law, so there is no need for a conclusion to identify the lesson. Judging from its subject matter, the tale of the present resembles some of the Gāndhārī avadānas, which, if expanded with a prophecy, would have the same format as the **Nandimitrāvadāna**. The resemblance is all the more suggestive, since three of the Gāndhārī avadānas focus on the same thematic considerations, namely, the disappearance of the Buddha's teachings.[86] As is the case with the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, at least two out of the three avadānas have the storyline of the future demise of the teachings deployed in a conversation between the protagonist and (a) monk(s).[87] Therefore, it seems to me conceivable that these avadānas, if expanded, would have become something similar to, if not identical with, the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, which, despite the relatively late dates of its textual witnesses, is typologically quite archaic.[88]

In principle, avadāna-type texts, albeit dealing with subject matters meant to be authoritative, are themselves not deemed scriptural. The main distinction between sūtras and avadānas is the ways in which they are believed to have come down to us: Those which were heard and laid down by a personal disciple of the Buddha – whether he was Ānanda or not – are sūtras, and those which were handed down by tradition and passed on by saints from generation to generation are avadānas.[89] This distinction also finds expression in their opening formula: While sūtras are normally introduced by "Thus have I heard ..." (Skt. *evaṃ mayā śrutam*, Pāli *evaṃ me sutam*, Gāndh. *eva me ṣuda/śruḍa/rśodu*),[90] avadānas, as a rule, begin with a slightly

86. For the theme and summaries of the three avadānas, see Lenz 2010: 9–10 (i.e. Avadāna 7, Pūrvayoga 5, and Avadāna [unnumbered]).

87. Cf. Avadāna 7 (i.e. the **Avadāna of Zadamitra**), see Lenz 2010: 82–84; and Pūrvayoga 5 (i.e. the **Dharmāntarhita-Avadāna**), see Lenz 2003: 182–192. As Lenz 2003: 183 points out, the latter, though self-styled as pūrvayoga, differs from other pūrvayogas in the same collections significantly, and thus may well be a wrongly categorized avadāna. For more Gāndhārī avadānas touching upon the fear that the Buddha's teachings are ephemeral and will ultimately be subject to decline, see Lenz 2013: 135–142.

88. It should be borne in mind that the so-called archaic type of avadānas is not uniform at all, and it is quite likely that the texts subsumed under the category of avadāna before the formation of the influential collections such as the **Avadānaśataka** etc. are very heterogeneous and share hardly any discernible common feature, as Mayeda Egaku demonstrated in his study of the avadānas mentioned in the **Da zhidu lun** / ***Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa**; see Mayeda 1964: 462–468.

89. See below p. 198: "These causes are expounded, having been passed on from one saint to another." And see Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 23: "Cette Relation sur la durée de la loi, les maîtres de l'antiquité se la sont transmise et se la sont communiquée de l'un à l'autre; ils l'ont récitée et conservée sans l'oublier ..." That being said, there are some exceptional cases, in which the avadānas are put in the mouth of the Buddha, see Hayashiya *apud* Mayeda 1964: 471, n. 25(4).

90. For the received interpretations of this formula in various traditions, especially on the problem whether it should be construed with the following phrase "at one time" (Skt.

different formula, namely, "Thus it is (traditionally) heard" (Skt. *evam anuśrūyate*, Pāli *evam anusūyati*, Gāndh. *evo ṣuyadi*/*śruyadi*).[91] However, when it comes to a living text like the present one, the borderline between the two categories does not seem to be untraversable, since both of the formulas are attested in the three extant versions. In the Chinese tradition, Xuanzang obviously regarded it as an avadāna, when he translated the opening formula as 'Thus it is transmitted and heard' (rúshì chuánwén 如是傳聞), which presupposes Skt. *evam anuśrūyate*.[92] But the other two versions unambiguously testify to an introductory phrase meaning 'Thus have I heard' (Tib. *'di skad bdag gis thos te*, Khot. *tta-ṃ pyūṣṭä*), which is otherwise only attested as a rendition of Skt. *evaṃ mayā śrutam*. In other words, when the Tibetan and Khotanese tradents rendered the text into their native languages, they treated it as a sūtra rather than an avadāna.

Although it is *prima facie* absurd to inaugurate a narrative set in an era distant from the Buddha's Nirvāṇa with the opening formula of Buddhist sūtras, the fact that the same prestige was accorded to the text in some traditions does not seem to result from an error committed by ill-advised translators. There is good reason to interpret the seemingly paradoxical opening formula as witness to the tradents' attempt at coming to terms with the *de facto* quasi-canonical status enjoyed by the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, which may well have raised a few eyebrows. In Tibet, the 11th-century translation of the present text was included in the Kanjur, which, by definition, should only contain what was believed to be 'the Buddha's word', until the early 14th century, as the renowned scholar-monk Bu ston Rin chen grub made a proposal to reassign it to the Tanjur. His advice, as is demonstrated below, was taken by the redactors of the Tshal-pa canon, from which some widely consulted block-print editions are descended.[93] The Tibetan case is by no means isolated. The Chinese translation, despite its avadānic opening formula, was assigned to the sūtra-section in some Buddhist catalogs. Therefore, the Japanese tradent, to whom we owe the manuscript preserved at Kongō-ji (Nagano, Ōsaka), wrote an additional remark after the end title, attempting a theological explanation of the anomalous categorization of the text as a sūtra.[94] Whether his explanation convinced his contemporaries, we

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ekasmin samaye, Pāli *ekaṃ samayaṃ*, Gāndh. *eka ṣ̱amae*), see Brough 1950: 416–426, Silk 1989: 158–163, and Funayama 2007: 241–275.

91. A variant of this formula, i.e. *tad yathānuśrūyate* (cf. Pāli *taṃ yathānusūyate*), is attested in the **Jātakamālā**, the **Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā** and elsewhere.

92. Exactly the same rendering also occurs at the beginning of Xuanzang's translation of another non-scriptural text, namely, the **Samayabhedoparacanacakra** by Vasumitra (T2031, 49.15a17). Both the Tibetan version of the same text (cf. *'di skad ces grags te* [ed. Teramoto/Hiramitsu 1935: 1]) and another Chinese translation by Paramārtha (cf. rúshì suǒwén 如是所聞 [T2033, 49.20a17]) seem to hint at Skt. *evam* [*anu*]*śrūyate*.

93. See the detailed discussion below pp. 117–122.

94. For the additonal remark with a tentative translation, see below p. 241.

just do not know. But it is shown quite plainly by these testimonies that some tradents were at pains to cope with the nebulous status of this living text, which was oscillating between sūtra and avadāna.

Its undetermined status notwithstanding, the **Nandimitrāvadāna** was apparently recognized in more than one strand of Buddhism as more authoritative than most other avadānas, which were traditionally not deemed on a par with sūtras. This can hardly be serendipitous. At least one of the reasons that the present text was accorded more religious significance than the vast majority of Buddhist narratives might have been, I argue, related to its religious affordances.

'Religious affordances' are a type of 'textual affordances', which refer to the interpretive potentialities of a text or, put differently, the potential ways in which it can be interpreted. Religious affordances make possible a religious reading of a text, i.e., a reading underpinning a widespread belief in its content and various kinds of religious practices based thereon. In his innovative study of fiction-based religion, Markus Davidsen investigates the semiotic mechanisms that make fictional narratives usable as authoritative texts for religion. As a tentative conclusion, he highlights four types of religious affordances, one or more of which such religiously usable narratives usually contain: "a) they include *fantastic elements* which are real within the narrative world, but supernatural from the perspective of the world of the reader; b) they include *narrative religion*, especially in the form of ritual interaction with superhuman beings; c) they thematize and assert their own *veracity*; and d) they claim to stem from a *divine source*."[95]

Applying Davidsen's theoretical construct to the present case, we observe that the **Nandimitrāvadāna** contains all the four types of religious affordances, two of which are more decisive than the other. Buddhist narratives such as avadānas normally include fantastic elements (e.g. supernatural powers of monks, tutelary deities, and the underworld) and, on a lesser scale, narrative religion (e.g. offerings and rituals in which the characters are engaged). However, they rarely make claims to veracity, much less to an origin from the Buddha, which is exclusively reserved for sūtras. Thus, the potentialities to use them as authoritative religious texts are only qualified. In this regard, the **Nandimitrāvadāna** stands out as a narrative with increased religious affordances: Apart from what ordinary avadānas have (e.g. miracles displayed by Nandimitra; the building of stūpa, offerings to the Elders), the present text also includes a skillful thematization of the veracity of Nandimitra's last sermon through a rhetorical device in the frame narrative, and an inconspicuous claim to the Buddha's command, which constitutes, as it were, the text's ritual kernel particularly drawn on by worshipers of the Elders in ritual practices. I elaborate below on these two types of religious affordances (i.e., c & d), in which the **Nandimitrāvdāna** excels.

95. Davidsen 2014: 30.

In spite of the fluidity of the frame narrative in which all proper names can easily be changed, one of its elements remains unaltered, i.e., the narrative time at which the sermon was preached by Nandimitra. On this point, all the three versions agree that it was 800 years after the Buddha had passed into complete Nirvāṇa. The figure of 800 years is presumably significant, given that it remains unvaried in such an ever-changing text. Some scholars, who previously drew on this text, seem to have unjustifiably taken the figure at face value, venturing overbold hypotheses of the date of its composition.[96] Nonetheless, Lévi and Chavannes, as early as 1916, alerted us to the risks of such a pedantic 'historical' reading.[97] In all likelihood, the significance of the figure has to be sought elsewhere.

The extreme complexity and inconsistency of various Buddhist traditions on the dating of the Buddha's complete Nirvāṇa poses a thorny problem to modern historians of Buddhism.[98] The lack of consensus among the various traditions from the early phase onward leads us to suspect that hardly any attempt was made to harmonize internal discrepancies on this issue. We may further speculate that such numbers (i.e., "so-and-so many years after the Buddha's complete Nirvāṇa") were not historically calculated by ancient Buddhists from a certain point in time so much as ideologically associated with significant events which were believed to occur in sequence. In a recent monograph, Michael Radich draws attention to a closely related group of Tathāgatagarbha scriptures, which attest a prophecy complex placing the start of the end-times of the teachings specifically 700 years after the Buddha's complete Nirvāṇa.[99] According to Radich, this group of scriptures "was closely associated with a particular point in time, falling around the era of the florescence of the Śātavāhana kings and Kaniṣka,"[100] *viz.*, in the 1st and the 2nd centuries CE. If this is approximately correct, the idea that the beginning of the end-times actually falls 700 years after the complete Nirvāṇa may well have originated in the first two centuries of the Common Era and have been very influential across the Indian sub-continent, from Āndhradeśa in the South to Kashmir/Gandhāra in the Northwest.

Thus, it seems to me promising to interpret the figure of 800 years in the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, a text putting back the end-times much later than the

96. *Pace* Shih 2002: 32–36 and Schober 2002: 133, who date Nandimitra to the 4th or 5th century CE on the basis of this figure alone. Hirabayashi/Rasmussen/Shomakhmadov 2015: 86 also take this figure as an indication of the lateness of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**.

97. See Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 25–27.

98. For the tentative, and partially negative, results of the herculean task undertaken by previous scholars to tackle this problem, see Bechert 1991–1997.

99. For the figure of 700 years after the Nirvāṇa as a regular part of the prophecy complex, see Radich 2015: 66–83; for other shared literary motifs in the prophecy complex, see *ibid.* 199–205.

100. Radich 2015: 83.

700-year timetable, as a rhetorical device counteracting this prevailing idea. The veracity of the 700-year timetable is called in question at the outset of the story, when a monk such as Nandimitra is known to be still alive one hundred years after the advent of the so-called end-times. In other words, this figure sends a clear message to the target audience that the 'end-times' are no more and the Buddha's teachings persist in the foreseeable future. This rhetorical device, perched atop the frame narrative, not only constitutes a strong counterweight staving off the pervasive fear that the decline has started, but also thematizes the veracity of the alternate timetable contained in the same text, which was preached by an Arhat whose life itself alone suffices to invalidate the competing scenario.

My final remark in this section is on the text's source of authority. As a rule, avadānas do not claim to stem from the Buddha; but this does not exclude their potentiality of serving as an intermediate conveyance of divine messages from the Buddha, especially when the protagonist is an Arhat, whose extraordinary faculties (*abhijñā*), including clairvoyance etc., make him a trustworthy herald. This is exactly the case with the **Nandimitrāvadāna**. Another element which the three versions have in common is the reference to the Buddha's order that the sixteen Elders stay in this world so as to protect the teachings and generate merits to donors:

Khot. [**B1+C1: 4**] *Śācamuni baysä <u>parauna</u>* & [**B2+C4: 2f.**] *Śācamuni baysä <u>parauya</u>*
(The Elder dwells … with … Arhats,) by order of/at the command of the Buddha Śākyamuni.

Tib. [**B2: 9–11**] *bcom ldan 'das kyi <u>bkas</u> gnas pa yin no // sbyin pa po dang sbyin bdag rnams kyi sbyin pa yongs su dag par byed do //*
[T]hey stay [in this world] by order of the Blessed One, and fully purify the gifts of patrons and donors.

Chin. [**B2: 3–6**] 承佛<u>勑</u>故[…]乃至世尊正法應住，常隨護持；及與施主作眞福田，令彼施者得大果報。
Because they were given the order of the Buddha … so long as the true teachings of the Blessed One shall endure, they will always follow, protect and maintain (the teachings); and become a veritable field of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*) for donors so that those donors will reap great rewards.

It is of some interest to note that the three tradents seem to have comprehended the sense of 'order' along similar lines. All the three lexemes that they chose to render the word for 'order' (Khot. *parau*, Tib. *bka'*, Chin. chì 勑) mean also 'rescript' and were frequently used as equivalent to one another in some 10th-century letters from Dunhuang, which were exchanged between kings and rulers.[101] It is likely that they formed part of a clerical

101. See Takeuchi 2004: 341: "Pl[ate] 2 is the concluding part of a letter from the Khotanese king to the Chinese ruler in Shazhou (P[elliot chinois] 5538), where a large Chinese character *chi* 'rescript' is written"; and 346, n. 23: "In the Khotanese text, the word *parau*, which corresponds to the Chinese *chi* 'rescript', is written in large size at the beginning of the first line below the large *chi*. The corresponding Tibetan word *bka'*, which is missing from the cover page due to paper damage, is found on the last page of the booklet. Note

idiom entrenched in the tradition of the cross-cultural *Kanzleisprache* along the Silk Road in the late first millennium. Although we cannot know whether all the tradents who used the lexemes understood their clerical implications, it seems plausible that those who read or heard the **Nandimitrāvadāna** in those regions during the time period in question may well have been aware of the technical use of the terms, which assured them of the existence of a Buddhist edict governing the behavior of the Elders and their accompanying Arhats which parallels royal edicts governing bureaucrats.

This reference to the Buddha's order or rescript, brief and casual as it may appear at first glance, seems to have become one of the most important parts of the text for those who were engaged in rituals of the Arhat cult. Thus, it is no exaggeration to call it the ritual kernel of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, from which the text's religious authority developed, bringing about ritual efficacy in a variety of historical and cultural contexts. The importance of the ritual kernel is evinced in some 9th- and 10th-century Dunhuang manuscripts, which contain invitations to Piṇḍola (Bharadvāja), the first of the sixteen Elders, to preside over memorial services performed for the deceased.[102] A sample text of the invitations, dating from the mid-10th century, is as follows:

謹請西南方雞足山賓頭盧波羅墮上座　　和尚

右，今月六日，南瞻部州、<索>訶{何}世界，　　今於大漢國、　　沙州、修仁芳(→坊)巷，就<弊>居。　　奉為故父修七追念設供；伏願大聖誓壽(→受)佛勑，不捨倉(→蒼)生，興運慈悲，依時早赴。[103]

[I] humbly invite the Venerable, the Elder Piṇḍola Bharadvā[ja dwelling] on Mount Kukkuṭapāda[104] in the Southwest –

the aforementioned [elder], on the 6th day of this month, [to] come to my humble abode now in the Xiuren neighborhood of Shazhou, in the kingdom of the great Han (i.e., the later Han dynasty, 947–951), in the southern [continent named] Jambudvīpa [of] the Sahā world. [On that occasion, I will] humbly make offerings for the posthumous remembrance of my deceased father at his seven feast.[105] May

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that the word *bka'* is used in a similar way in a letter from the Uighur Qaghan in Ganzhou in the 10th c[entury] (P[elliot tibétain] 1082). The use of the words *chi*, *parau*, and *bka'* in emperors' letters seems to become prevalent in the 10th century." The concept of *bka'* in its imperial Tibetan context is discussed at length by Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 263–340.

102. For the memorial services and the invitations, see Teiser 1994: 22f.

103. Cf. Pelliot chinois 3645 *verso*. The same formula is copied twice on the same side of this manuscript with slight variations; here I transcribe the first occurrence. For other dated samples of the invitations to Piṇḍola Bharadvāja from Dunhuang, cf. BD7133 (dated 887), Or.8210/S.2974 (dated 961), Or.8210/S.4632 (dated 968), Or.8210/S.6424 *verso* (dated 968 and 972), and Or.8210/S.5696 (dated 992); see Kin 2000: 195–199.

104. The association of the Elder's dwelling place with Mount Kukkuṭapāda is unknown elsewhere, and may have derived from some kind of syncretism between the Piṇḍola Bharadvāja and Mahākāśyapa, see Kin 2000: 203–205.

105. For the seven feast (xiūqī 修七, qīqī zhāi 七七齋) as part of the deathbed rituals in the Buddhism of Dunhuang, see Teiser 1994: 24–27.

> the great saint (i.e., Piṇḍola), who swore[106] to obey the Buddha's order [and thus] did not abandon the common people, show compassion and betake himself early [so as to arrive] on time.

An almost identical formula, which follows the standardized format of a memorandum (shū 疏), is also attested in several invitations to monks to perform the memorial services, which are dated to the same time period.[107] The only difference between the two groups of invitations is the phrase underscored above, which those to monks lack, and the core of the phrase is precisely constituted by the reference to the order. The incorporation of the reference into a ritualized invitation to Piṇḍola Bharadvāja must have taken place quite early, as is evident from the **Qing bintoulu fa** 請賓頭盧法, the translation of which is attributed to Huijian 慧簡 (fl. 457 CE).[108] This brief ritual manual prescribes an Indian method of inviting Piṇḍola Bharadvāja, which recommends a layperson who wishes to have the Elder as his guest to ritually perform the following utterance:

> 大德賓頭盧頗羅墮誓，受佛教勑，為末法人作福田。願受我請，於此處食。[T1689, 32.784b12–13]
>
> O Reverend Piṇḍola Bharadvāja, you have been given the instruction and order by the Buddha to be a field of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*) for people [living] in the decadent period of the teachings. May you accept my invitation and dine in this place!

Although only Piṇḍola Bharadvāja is mentioned in this context, the utterance undoubtedly harks back to the aforesaid reference in the **Nandimitrāvadāna**. It transpires from the evidence adduced above that a belief in the order given by the Buddha to the Elders was well established in Chinese Buddhism from the 5th to the 10th century.[109] The belief is based on a religious reading of an unobtrusive, but exceptionally enduring element in the otherwise fluid text. Judging from its potentiality of triggering ritual practices, it is precisely this element that forms part and parcel of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, which thus outshines most other avadānas in terms of religious affordances.

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106. The peculiar occurrence of the verb 'to swear' (shì 誓) at this point is likely to have originated in an erroneous division of such a phrase as 賓頭盧波羅墮誓受佛(教)勑 by construing the last character of the Elder's name with the following phrase. Note that the character 誓 which should transcribe -ja, is consistently missing in the Dunhuang invitations; and that exactly the same phrase is attested in the **Qing bintoulu fa** quoted immediately below. See Kin 2000: 207–209.

107. For a list of such invitations to monks from Dunhuang, see Teiser 1994: 224–225. The dates of the manuscripts range from 887 to 993 CE.

108. Cf. T1689, 32.784b5–c17. For the translations of the manual, see Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 217–220, and Joo 2007: 295–298. The latter translation is misleading at some points, and thus to be used with caution. For the interrelationship between the manual and the invitations to Piṇḍola Bharadvāja from Dunhuang, see Kin 2000: 205–210.

109. A similar belief seems to be attested in some later Tibetan liturgies, which, before the invocation of the Elders, also make reference to the Buddha's order; see below p. 131, fn. 135: *bka' lung gi rjes su sgrub par* '[the Elders] obeyed the order [of the Buddha].'

Outline of the Chapters

This study sees as its objective a comprehensive treatment of a living text transmitted in at least three Buddhist languages, while doing justice to its historicity. The text, given its fluid character, presents quite a challenge for philologists. In order to cope with textual fluidity, a certain degree of methodological flexibility is in order. As is demonstrated in the following chapters, I treat the three versions of the text on a case-by-case basis, without adopting a sweeping, one-size-fits-all approach.

The Khotanese version, which forms the subject of the first chapter, differs from the other two versions insofar as it has never undergone the process of canonization, but is (re)discovered as a *codex unicus* inscribed on a wooden tablet, which may well have been used as a book cover. Therefore, the Khotanese text should not merely be studied as written words *tout court*, but also be interpreted as an integral part of an artifact, whose materiality and functionality ought to be duly understood. With this in mind, I probe into the inscription both philologically and from the perspective of material culture.

Among the two canonical versions which are handed down through uninterrupted transmission, the Tibetan version, dealt with in the second chapter, is available both in block-print editions and in manuscripts, and thus testified to by a number of witnesses which can be traced back to three lineages. Therefore, a quasi-Lachmannian method, on which I elaborate below in the "general considerations", is adopted to come to grips with the textual development over the course of the transmission, yielding a critical edition of the Tibetan text, which is in turn translated into English with extensive annotations. The introduction to the edition and translation contains some remarks on sundry issues of historical interest (i.e., the reassignment to Tanjur, the translators etc.) so as to facilitate further investigations into this translation's *Nachleben* in Tibet.

The third chapter focusing on the Chinese version, due to some methodological considerations detailed below, does not attempt a critical edition, but offers a diplomatic edition of the text transmitted in the first Koryŏ canon, against which a selection of block-print editions and two old Japanese manuscripts are collated. The diplomatic edition is introduced by some philological and bibliographical remarks, which set out to pave the way for an informed appreciation of the history of the Chinese version and its reception in Chinese Buddhism. Since the Chinese text has been rendered a few times into western languages, no new attempt at translation is made within the framework of the dissertation, in which innovative contributions should be foregrounded. An annotated translation reappraising the predecessors' work is a demanding task to be left for another occasion.

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The present chapter consists of a comprehensive study of a Khotanese inscription on a wooden tablet, which, to judge from its content, corresponds to the first few sections of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** represented by the Chinese and Tibetan versions. As a matter of fact, no such title is attested in any extant Khotanese material, although the reception of similar texts among the Khotanese-speaking Buddhists of the 5th to the 10th century is indubitable in light of the textual sources surveyed below. Hence, for the time being, it cannot be excluded that this fluid text or textual tradition was known in ancient Khotan under (a) different title(s). For the sake of convenience, I refer to the inscription in question as 'the Khotanese (version of the) **Nandimitrāvadāna**' in the following discussions, especially in a context where it is compared with the Chinese and Tibetan versions. But the *caveat* must be added that this designation is not to be taken historically.

Notwithstanding the limited space on the wooden tablet, this short inscription provides us with a piece of evidence, which may be invaluable from two perspectives. On the one hand, it is so far the only textual witness of the frame narrative of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** from Central Asia, and thus, along with a couple of other sources, produces testimony to the text at one point in its long history. Because of the tremendous popularity that the sixteen Elders enjoyed later in East Asia, most previous studies on the history of their cult have drawn on sources written in Chinese alone, paying exclusive attention to the East Asian background, against which the tradition developed. As a result, the Central Asian and Tibetan branches of the tradition are unjustifiably neglected. This regrettable result is in part due to the scarcity and inaccessibility of relevant materials, especially those in Khotanese, which are more often deciphered or interpreted by Iranian specialists rather than by Buddhist specialists.

On the other hand, textual scholars in various fields have become increasingly aware that both manuscripts and inscriptions are not only vehicles for human ideas, but also material objects produced by a society and classified within a variety of cultural frameworks.[1] In other words, such objects have a social life in their own right, which consists in the diverse ways they have been perceived and valued in different states of their existence. In order to do full justice to the historicity of those objects that are rich in cultural data, due attention should be paid to their materiality, that is, what

1. For a recent volume on this topic, which brings together manuscript scholars from various areas of specilization, see Quenzer/Bondarev/Sobisch 2014. The growing awareness of the need to consider the manuscript as material object in its own right and to interpret it in a reconstructed cultural context is especially articulated in Jörg Quenzer's introduction to this volume with a lucid outline of its presuppositions (p. 1–5).

rôle(s) they play in material culture. In his classic proposal for the so-called biographical approach to things, Igor Kopytoff recommended the following questions to be asked in a culturally informed investigation into objects:

> What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its 'status' and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized 'ages' or periods in the thing's 'life,' and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?[2]

Some of the questions can surely be asked of the inscribed wooden tablet in question, which had moved in and out of several conditions of identification before it ended up residing in the museum at Saint Petersburg. In all likehood, the tablet has passed through the hands of many human subjects who commissioned, made, owned, sold, collected, or studied it. Although not every detail about the long journey leading to Saint Petersburg is clear, it would be a worthwhile scholarly endeavor to retrieve, as far as possible, historical data about every single stage of the tablet's "life", which should be accorded just as much, if not more, importance as are the content and language of the inscription. In some cases, such data can also be useful for our understanding of the inscription, which was not a text *tout court*, but also an artifact serving some purposes other than conveying what the 10 lines of *akṣara*s have to say. These purposes and their socio-religious significance often go too easily unnoticed when we absorbedly divert ourselves with deciphering the arcane text. In what follows, as we trace the tablet's trajectory back in time, we move, step by step, to a reconstruction, if only partial, of the historical background against which the inscription was used and perceived by the agent(s) who had it made.

The Object

The object presented here is now preserved at the Institute for Oriental Manuscripts (IOM) of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg, where it is assigned the serial number SI 1929 (erstwhile SI P 6.1). It is an oblong tablet made of wood, ca. 39 cm long and 12 cm wide in its complete form. A string-hole, occupying the space of about one *akṣara*, is placed in the middle of the left part, ca. 11 cm from the left margin of the tablet, whence the writing on both sides starts. It is quite clear that the string-hole had been bored before the Khotanese words were inscribed, since it does not interrupt the text by erasing any *akṣara* from it. The fact that the string-hole is flanked by two *akṣara*s which are obviously to be read together is only explicable through the assumption that the tablet was already holed when it came into the hands of the scribe who thus had to separate the two *akṣara*s from each

2. See Kopytoff 1986: 66f.

other so as to skip the hole. As all wooden artifacts, the tablet has a unique surface texture, showing streaks of different colors. In some places, the color is so dark that the *akṣara*s are hardly discernible. A wormhole is visible on the 5th line of the inside, near to the right margin of the tablet. The whole tablet is now in a damaged state, for it has been split in twain at some point with a fissure stretching from the 9th line on the left to the 7th line on the right. When I studied the original in Saint Petersburg in mid-September 2015, I had to put the two parts together manually, in order to verify the reading of some *akṣara*s along the fissure. Fortunately, it has turned out that most of the *akṣara*s are still more or less retrievable.

The wooden tablet, coupled with another one, came under the scrutiny of Ernst Leumann in 1909. At that time, Leumann saw them used as the covering boards of the main manuscript of the **Book of Zambasta** (i.e., the so-called "Handschrift E"), and the tablet in question was the back cover. As a sharp-sighted philologist, Leumann immediately noticed that the two covers are inscribed on both sides. Having made a draft transcription of the inscriptions, he had to return the materials to Saint Petersburg for a time. When the **Zambasta** manuscript came back to Strasbourg about one year later, it came without the covers, so he was no longer in a position to check his transcription against the original.[3] This is the earliest record we have about the existence of the wooden tablet. Leumann explicitly mentioned the source of the materials as Saint Petersburg, where the wooden tablets, having been returned by Leumann, were probably held back for some reasons. It was not until the early 1990s that scholars outside Russia were informed of the whereabouts of the back cover again, when Ronald Emmerick, who was preparing a comprehensive edition of all the Khotanese materials preserved in Saint Petersburg, received and published facsimiles of it. Meanwhile, the front cover remained a mystery for a longer time. No facsimile of it was available to Emmerick when he wrote his introductory remarks on the back cover in 1995.[4] But it turns out that it was found afterwards and put at Emmerick's disposal, since a colored photograph of it is found in the latter's bequest.[5] Both of the covers must belong to the Petrovsky collection, which consists of manuscripts donated by Nikolai F. Petrovsky (1837–1908) in 1905 or purchased by the Russian Academy of Sciences after his death.[6]

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3. See Leumann 1920: 164f.

4. See Emmerick/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 34; note especially: "Unfortunately it has not proved possible to find the front cover."

5. In his (unpublished) glossary of the Khot. documents preserved in St. Petersburg, Emmerick made the following comments: "The front cover has meantime been found and is accordingly referred to as **SI P 6.0**." (p. 12). Moreover, he transcribed the whole inscription anew and translated the Khot. verses into English (pp. 249ff.). Thanks to the kindness of Ms. Alla Sizova, the secretary of IOM in Saint Petersburg, we are informed that the front cover now bears the new serial number SI 1930, and that it is ca. 52 cm long and 12.5 cm wide.

6. See Emmerick/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 19.

Yet, where did Petrovsky acquire the wooden tablets? As is well known, Petrovsky was the Russian consul general in Kashgar during the years 1882–1903. Being an assertive contender for Russia's supremacy in Central Asia, Petrovsky was so enthusiastic about collecting antiquities from Chinese Turkestan that he not only acquired a huge number of manuscripts and artworks but also made them available to leading Russian Orientalists of his time.[7] Like his fellow European diplomats based in Kashgar, Petrovsky did not conduct any fieldwork himself, so his acquisition of antiquities was in fact carried out through the agency of some purveyors of antiquities in Khotan, among whom Badruddhin, an ex-aqsaqal of the Afghan and Indian merchants, and Keraken Moldovack, an Armenian carpet dealer, stood out as the dearest factotums to those European gentlemen.[8] Therefore, the pair of wooden tablets were, in all likelihood, purchased by Petrovsky from one of the two purveyors as well. Given that they both are endowed with string-holes predating the inscriptions and were first sent to Leumann with the **Zambasta** manuscript sandwiched between them, it is not unlikely that they were originally used as the latter's covers and thus discovered and sold together with it. In that case, the quest for the prehistory of the wooden tablets inevitably leads us to the question of when and where the main manuscript of the **Book of Zambasta** was unearthed.

This is, however, not an easy question to answer. In toto 207 folios survive of this manuscript.[9] The consignment that Leumann was given for his perusal consists of 173 folios,[10] which make up 90% of the total 192 folios preserved in Saint Petersburg.[11] This large bundle of folios, purchased by Petrovsky in Kashgar, must have constituted the main body of the manuscript, from which separate folios were taken away at different points. First, some folios must have already been missing when the manuscript was first discovered probably at the site of Khadalik, since Ellsworth Huntington found one of these (i.e., fol. 214) *in situ* in 1905.[12] Second, some other folios had been taken out before the manuscript fell prey to the flames, which left traces in the fire-damaged parts (i.e., fols. 146–150, 267–299). Among those leaves which escaped the flames by a hair's breadth and remain complete, 6 folios (i.e., fols. 269, 271, 334–335, 385, 389) were purchased by the Asiatic Society of Bengal

7. For an introdution to the items collected by Petrovsky, see Elikhina 2008: 29–37. For his contacts with the renowned Russian Orientalist S.F. Oldenburg, who was offered the chance to study some of his manuscripts in the 1890s, see Popova 2008: 148f.

8. For various sources and accounts on the lives of the two purveyors whose activity as antiquities dealers continued down into the 1930s, see Waugh/Sims-Williams 2010: 72–75.

9. For information on the manuscript in general, see Emmerick 1968: xi–xix, and Waugh/Sims-Williams 2010: 85f.

10. See Leumann 1912: 11–15.

11. For the additional folios unseen by Leumann, see Vorob'ëv-Desjatovskij 1955: 68–71. All the folios in St. Petersburg were published in facsimiles, see Vorob'ëv-Desjatovskij/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1965.

12. See Huntington 1907: opposite 206.

(Calcutta) around 1910, while 1 folio (i.e., fol. 270) ended up in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst (Berlin).[13] This small bundle of folios, in all likelihood, had been in the hands of the Armenian carpet dealer Moldovack at one time.[14] Third, the rest of the manuscript, having suffered fire damage, was split up once again and sold off to different buyers. While the vast majority of it came into the hands of Petrovsky, 1 folio (i.e., fol. 279 = IOL Khot 154/8) was sent to Rudolf Hoernle in 1903, 1 folio (i.e., fol. 270) was taken to Japan by Tachibana Zuichō 橘瑞超 in 1912, and 5 fragmentary folios (i.e., fols. 150, 296–299 = Or.9614/1–6) were purchased by Clarmont Skrine around 1922.[15] Although neither Petrovsky nor Skrine specified from which of the two purveyors they acquired the manuscript leaves, some information about the Hoernle fragment points to a strong likelihood that they were purchased from Badruddin by different buyers at different times.[16]

Summing up the findings to date, we may safely conclude that the wooden tablets, along with the **Zambasta** manuscript, were probably found at Khadalik, an archeological site about 70 miles due east of Khotan. There is no record at all as to when they came to light, since the explorers credited with this discovery were not so much professional archeologists as "treasure seekers", who plundered the site in such a frantic manner that at least 1 folio of the same manuscript was left *in situ*, which has now become the only hint we have of the findspot. Along with the vast majority of the manuscript which had been split up and partly damaged by fire, the tablets came into the possession of Badruddin, who, in his turn, sold them to Petrovsky at some point before 1903, the year in which the latter retired from his office as the Russian consul in Kashgar. It was probably after Petrovsky's death in 1908 that the tablets and the **Zambasta** manuscript found their way into the

13. Three folios thereof (i.e., fols. 269–271), which should have belonged to the fire-damaged part of the manuscript, do not in fact show any trace of damage by fire; see Waugh/Sims-Williams 2010: 92, n. 35.

14. This can be inferred from the fact that two of these folios (i.e., fols. 269 and 335) were offered for sale to the Strasbourg University Library in 1908 by "a Russian from Jerusalem", see Leumann 1912: 11. This unnamed Russian dealer might be identified with the "Caucasian exile and Russian subject named Kara, who, in his turn, acquired them from Caucasian Jews, who had gone to Khotan as carpet dealers and bought the leaves there", see Konow 1914: 13. As Waugh/Sims-Williams 2010: 86 point out, the ultimate source of these folios may well have been Moldovack, who must have been on close terms with those Jewish carpet dealers from the Caucasus.

15. For the Hoernle fragment, see Waugh/Sims-Williams 2010: 86. For the fragment now preserved in Japan, see Inokuchi 1961: plate 10, and Leumann 1963: 80ff. For the Skrine fragments, see Skrine 1926: 170. Most probably, they belonged with the Petrovsky fragments to the fire-damaged bundle, inasmuch as the right half of 6 out of the 7 fragments (except fol. 150) had gone up in smoke.

16. A letter dated May 1903, received by Hoernle along with the consignment of fragments, explicitly states that the fragments "were purchased from Badruddin, aqsaqal at Khotan", see Waugh/Sims-Williams 2010: 86.

Asiatic Museum in Saint Petersburg.[17] One year later, they were sent to Leumann for decipherment, and we well know what happened thereafter.

The Inscriptions

The covers are inscribed on both the inside and the outside. The inscriptions on the outside are written in the upper left corner, consisting of merely seven or eight *akṣara*s. Leumann made a tentative transcription of the *akṣara*s, which, to his mind, might have been the title of the work, but he failed to construe their meaning.[18] Having access only to the back cover, Emmerick basically followed Leumann's reading, but added italics to indicate that he did not see every *akṣara*s which had been visible to Leumann. Furthermore, he voiced reservations about Leumann's surmise that they are the title of the work.[19] Before a proper interpretation of these *akṣara*s, no plausible conclusion can be drawn with regard to the nature of the outside inscriptions which remain mysterious for the time being.

On the inside of the front cover, there are altogether 9 lines of texts in Brāhmī-Script, which seem to have been written by the same hand. The first 2 lines are so mutilated that only a couple of *akṣara*s were visible to Leumann, who deciphered the rest of the inscription with admirable success. According to Leumann's reconstruction, the legible part of the inscription consists of four Khotanese verses in the meter of Type A after Emmerick's schema (ll. 3–5) and a *dhāraṇī*-like Sanskrit text (ll. 6–9). The Khotanese verse foregrounds the significance of compassion and forbearance, while the Sanskrit text, written in a smaller size and indented on the left by ca. 17 cm, invokes the Three Jewels and five Bodhisattvas, whose names all end in *-garbha*, and records several *hr̥daya*-type incantations, one of which might be instrumental in healing eye-diseases.[20]

The inscription on the inside of the back cover is the main object of the

17. See Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 2008: 103.

18. For his transcription, cf. front cover: /// *-ña-śrānta-śīhī* (or *-hā*) & back cover: *prasaṃcīña-śāka-kṣīhī* [Leumann 1933–36: 359]. Some attempts at decipherment were probably made by him, but to no avail, see *ibid.* 357f.: "Auf den Außenseiten der beiden Bretter steht anscheinend beidemal das gleiche Wort nur in verschiedener Orthographie (Lesefehler?). Man möchte darin den Titel des Werkes sehen, … Sollte das Schlußwort *śikṣā* sein?"

19. See Emmerick/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 35f.

20. Both texts are transcribed and translated in the next section. For Leumann's pioneering work on the texts, see Leumann 1933–36: 359 and 358; which is now a bit out of date. I had modified Leumann's work independently before Emmerick's unpublished notes became accessible to me. The latter confirm a certain number of my modifications, while some of his readings seem to me better than mine. Therefore, I have incorporated some of Emmerick's ideas in my own translation (see below).

present study. When Leumann first saw the wooden tablet, this inscription appeared to him as "having 10 lines".[21] But eighty-odd years later, Emmerick, having examined the facsimile of the same tablet, pointed out that the inscription actually has an 11th line which consists of some strange *akṣara*s at the bottom of the inside. These *akṣara*s are so strange that even Emmerick was not able to decipher them. Hence he published an enlargement of the 11th line in the hope that someone else might be more successful.[22] Be that as it may, it seems to me inconceivable that Leumann, a scholar well known for his prudence in philological matters, could have overlooked something in the original which Emmerick was able to read from the facsimile. Although the majority of the 11th line is blurred and illegible, some *akṣara*s, especially those belonging to the beginning part, are at least as clear as the rest of the inscription. This is especially true of the second *akṣara*, on which an extravagant diacritic mark is perched. This towering mark reaches to the bottom of the 10th line so that anybody who transcribed the text to that point could hardly fail to notice it. Even if Leumann could not decipher these *akṣara*s at once, he should have made a remark at least, as he did with the outside inscriptions mentioned above. But this was not the case. The sheer silence of Leumann on the 11th line makes me suspicious of its historicity. For the time being, it cannot be excluded that these *akṣara*s have come into being only after the wooden tablet was returned from Strasbourg in 1909.[23] On the other hand, even if we consider the opposite scenario that the 11th line was genuine ancient writing, to which Leumann, for curious reasons, turned a blind eye, the writing must not belong with the foregoing lines to the same inscription in Khotanese, inasmuch as the conspicuous second *akṣara* mentioned above, if it is Brāhmī, turns out to be *we*, which is a so-called *Fremdzeichen* so far only attested in Tocharian and Tumshuqese. In either case, these faint *akṣara*s have nothing to do with the Khotanese inscription, with which the present study is concerned.

The 10-lined Khotanese inscription, which occupies most of the space on the inside of the back cover, was first dealt with by Leumann, whose decipherment was incredibly successful given how little was known about this language back then. First and foremost, he identified the names and dwelling places of the sixteen Elders, which he understood as "Senior-Mönche" entrusted with the Buddhist Order after the Buddha's

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21. See Leumann 1920: 164: "Die Petersburger Blätter der Handschrift E haben … zwischen zwei Brettern gelegen, deren eines eine Aufschrift von zehn Zeilen trug."

22. See Emmerick/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 34, 285 (plate 188[b]).

23. It might be not impossible that this was a joke made by a mischievous Russian curator who imitated some Brāhmī characters he or she saw somewhere else. Besides, it is noteworthy that the vestige of some *akṣara*s on the 11th line resembles the cursive pseudo-Brāhmī-Script (i.e., Type [a] after Ursula Sims-Williams' typology) forged by Islam Akhun, a local treasure seeker notorious for counterfeiting manuscripts and blockprints. Cf. Sims-Williams 2000: 123f., esp. fig. 12. Similar forgeries, as we are informed, also found their way into the Petrovsky collection.

passing away. Following these clues, he detected the interrelationship between this inscription and the 22nd Canto of the **Book of Zambasta** (i.e., the 23rd after Leumann;[24] henceforth **Zambasta 22**), where an almost identical list of the Elders' names occurs. Although Leumann might have been informed about the Chinese translation,[25] he did not identify the inscription with its Chinese counterpart. Perhaps misguided by the fact that the Khotanese text is inscribed on the back cover of the main manuscript of the **Book of Zambasta**, he went so far as to suggest that it is a prose supplement to the aforementioned list in **Zambasta 22**.[26] That is, to be sure, an oversimplified conception of the matter, as I demonstrate below in a following section. But it remains influential, and sometimes even leads to serious misunderstandings. For instance, Shih Jen-Lang has misread Leumann's German and thus introduced a dreadful error into his oft-quoted dissertation, in which he regards the present inscription as "a revised prose-form of the presumably 'complete' text in verses, which is contained in the leaves between the boards."[27] Fascinated by the "complete" metrical version that only exists in his imagination, Shih has announced his future plan of a comparative study with the "complete" manuscript, the access to which is claimed to be a desideratum.[28] This ill-informed plan, in all

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24. The number of the cantos of the **Book of Zambasta** is a complex issue. Initially, Leumann 1933–36 divided the book into 25 cantos. The fragmentary state of the final part of the 2nd Canto led him to postulate a "3rd Canto", which is nothing but a figment of his imagination. His mistake was soon pointed out by Russian scholars and finally corrected by Emmerick, who, in his new edition, divided the book into 24 cantos. Emmerick 1968 has become the standard edition thereafter, and his division had not been questioned for a long time, until 1998, when Mauro Maggi, working on the **Zambasta** fragments kept in St. Petersburg, made a significant discovery that there is a short but independent section between the 21st and the 22nd in Emmerick 1968 (Maggi 1998: 287f.). Further progress has been made quite recently by the same author and Giuliana Martini (Bhikkhuṇī Dhammadinnā) in their co-authored paper, which reveals that the 18th Canto in Emmerick 1968 is no more, and that what Emmerick regarded as an independent canto should be attributed to the 17th Canto (Maggi/Martini 2014: 139–158). Therefore, despite the fact that the state of our knowledge has been drastically altered, the number of the cantos remains 24 and the canto in question remains the 22nd.

25. Probably through Lévi/Chavannes 1916 or his Japanese disciple Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡辺海旭, who had a profound knowledge of the Chinese Buddhist canon and assisted Leumann with the identification of parallels.

26. See Leumann 1920: 165 (emphasis added): "Unsere Brettaufschrift kann aufgefaßt werden als eine Ergänzung zu den Strophen E XXIII 93–95 (i.e., equivalent to 22.93–95 in Emmerick 1968: 302) … Unsere Aufschrift berichtet nun als eine Prosa-Überlieferung … Die Reihenfolge der Namen ist recht verschieden von der in den genannten Strophen gegebenen; auch stimmen ein paar Namensformen nicht ganz zusammen."

27. See Shih 2002: 17. On the same page, he goes on to remark: "In this case, the verse style of the Khotanese manuscript contained in the leaves makes it unique when compared to the Chinese and Tibetan versions, which are both in prose." Even a cursory skim through Emmerick's translation suffices to reveal his statement to be a far cry from the fact.

28. See Shih 2002: 29 for the phantom idea: "It is my hope to eventually have access to the

likelihood, has never been carried out. If Shih's notes on the Khotanese text are anything to go by, it is his explicit reference to the inscription as a version of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** known in both Chinese and Tibetan. This identification, however, is not his discovery. He probably owes it to the trailblazing work done in the 1920s by Jean Przyluski, who is explicitly referred to as one of his "predecessors".[29] Przyluski's remarks on the Khotanese text seem to have found little resonance among the specialists in this field. In the brief introdution to his new edition and English translation of the inscription, Emmerick did not mention a single word about the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, let alone Przyluski's observations.[30] Making no use of the Chinese and Tibetan parallels, he hardly made any significant improvement of Leumann's work apart from suggesting a couple of variant readings.[31]

As for the date of the inscriptions, it is my tentative hypothesis that they are later than the main manuscript of the **Book of Zambasta**, in light of, first and foremost, the greater wear of the manuscript relative to the wear of the covers. Since the manuscript is written in South Turkestan Brāhmī which Lore Sander dates to the 7th or 8th century,[32] the book covers may thus have been made from about the 8th century on, although, to my knowledge, no wood sample has yet been taken from the covers for radiocarbon analysis. By and large, the Khotanese language testified to by the inscriptions is no longer good Old Khotanese, but not yet Late Khotanese, as attested in 10th-century documents from Dunhuang. It may be justified to describe the language as a somewhat transitional type, which probably dates back to the 8th or 9th century.[33] Viewed from the paleographic and orthographic perspective, the

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verse manuscript collected in St. Petersburg. At that time, it will be possible for me to carry out the comparison of these three versions in a more thorough manner." He seems to have been unaware of the fact that **Zambasta 22** had been edited and translated at least thrice, i.e., Leumann 1919, 1933–36: 250–288, and Emmerick 1968: 301–341.

29. See Shih 2002: 39 with reference to Przyluski 1926: 326–331.

30. The Chinese translation by Xuanzang was not unknown to Emmerick, since Lévi/Chavannes 1916 was cited in Emmerick 1968: 303. It is not impossible that he would have regarded the connection as too well-known to bring up again. But in that case, a brief reference was at least to be expected.

31. Emmerick carefully noted every different reading by Leumann in interlinear minuscules, while using italics to indicate *akṣara*s which are not sufficiently clearly legible to guarantee Leumann's reading. See Emmerick/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 34–35.

32. For the date of the manuscript on paleographic grounds, see Sander 1989: 115f. The comparatively late date of the main manuscript might have inspired the received opinion on the date of the composition of the **Book of Zambasta**, which was thought to have been composed no earlier than the 7th century (Konow 1939: 35f.; Emmerick 1992: 40) or even as late as the 8th century (Emmerick 1983a: 964; Nattier 1990: 210). This dating has been disproved by Mauro Maggi, who adduces irrefutable evidence to demonstrate that the work's composition must be earlier than the late 5th century, see Maggi 2004: 184–190.

33. Such a description might be reminiscent of 'Middle Khotanese', an idea which P.O. Skjærvø has posited for many years (see Skjærvø 1999: 265–344 and 2007: 387–402).

inscriptions also give the impression of a transitional phase between the early and late orthography, while some *akṣara*s therein seem to be quite archaic.[34] Hence it would not be impossible to assign them to a relatively early stage of the transition, probably before the Tibetan occupation of Khotan (ca. 790–840).[35] In sum, even though a more systematic investigation is necessary to arrive at a more certain chronology, it may not run afoul of the truth to tentatively conclude that the inscriptions in question were written at some point in the 8th century. If the conclusion is even approximately correct, it might give us some clues about the religio-historical context, in which the wooden tablets are to be placed.

Functionality and Materiality

Some features of the inscriptions are noteworthy, and may shed some light on the functionality of this pair of wooden tablets. The four Khotanese verses[36] and the Sanskrit incantations on the front cover (i.e., SI 1930; erstwhile SI P 6.0) can be read as follows:

> (verse 1) If one has plenty of silver and gold, plenty of coins, jewels, pearls, many crores (*koṭi*) of immeasurable riches, and exquisite cloths of all kinds,
> (verse 2) [If] he has no compassion or forbearance towards sentient beings, he is to be

However, his classification of the Khotanese language into three stages still lacks a clear definition of the category of 'Middle Khotanese'. Therefore, I am not quite convinced by the usefulness of this new category in the historical description of the Khotanese language, and content myself with such a neutral term as 'transitional' in the present case.

34. After Federico Dragoni (Leiden), who has made a preliminary survey of the orthography of the present inscription. A potential merkmal would be the form of *ma*, which Mauro Maggi studies in his forthcoming article "A Khotanese Document on Wood from Karadong (90-YKC-040)"; for his classification of the orthographic form of *ma* into 13 stages, see the table on p. 16. In the present wooden tablet, *ma* is quite often written with a rightward tail, which is attested in some dated 8th-century manuscripts. The overall form of the *akṣara* seems relatively archaic; Dragoni tentatively posits that it should be positioned somewhere between nos. [2] and [3] in Maggi's table, which are evidenced by IOL Khot W5 (Rawak) and IOL Khot W8 (Farhad-Beg-Yailaki), respectively.

35. Dragoni suggests in his preliminary survey that the present inscription predates Hedin 33 and 52 (i.e., nos. [5] and [6] in Maggi's table), both belonging to a group of secular documents with Vaśi'rasaṃga as the central figure, who was active around 767 CE. For the date of Vaśi'rasaṃga, see Yoshida 2006: 51. But it should be kept in mind that this conclusion is highly tentative and hypothetical and should be critically verified in a systematic investigation into Khotanese orthography in the future.

36. All the four verses are numbered. Both the first and the fourth verses bear the verse number 1, hence I denote the latter as 1' so as to differentiate it from the former. For a previous transcription and translation of the Khot. part of the inscription, see Leumann 1933–1936: 358–359. Given that a philological treatment of the Khot. verses is not the objective of the present section, I leave out the transcription and apparatus of the Khot. part and give my new translation only.

regarded as pitiable and impoverished,[37] all his property (*artha*) is void.
(verse 3) Therefore, necessary are a benevolent mind and forbearance towards sentient beings. Such a property (*artha*) is to be maintained. This wealth is gained by merit (*puṇyajita*).[38]
(verse 1') Dear are [your] own compassion and kindness. Do not be confused by [sensual] pleasures! Look on this machine (*yantra*) of [your] own [i.e., body] as loaded with blood and flesh!

¶ *namau*[a] *ratnatrayāya tadyathā akaṭe cikaṭe* + + + + + + + + *culu culu* [*vi*]*ri vi*[*ri*][b] + + + *muṃca muṃca phuṭaṃ phuṭya svāhā* || *namau jñānagarbhā*<*ya*>,[c] *namau*[d] *candragarbhāya, namau maṇigarbhāya, namau kṣitigarbhāya, namau āryākāśagarbhāya*; *eṣāṃ paṃcānām avaivarrtikānāṃ bodhisatvānāṃ hr̥dayam āvartayiṣyāmi tadyathā*: *hi hi hi hi āviśa āviśa aihi ākāśagarbhā*{*ya*}.[e] *rūpacakṣur* + *cakṣu* + *cakṣu*[f] *nirmalaṃ karaumi. hana hana viṣuṃbha cakṣurauga svāhā* ||
[a] ***namau***] Leumann; *nama* Emmerick. [b] [***vi***]***ri vi***[***ri***]] Leumann; + + + + Emmerick.
[c] ***jñānagarbhā***<***ya***>] em.; *jñānagarbha* insc., *jñānagarbha* + Emmerick. [d] ***namau***] Leumann; *nama* Emmerick. [e] ***ākāśagarbhā***{***ya***}] em.; *ākāśagarbhāya* insc.
[f] ***rūpacakṣur*** + ***cakṣu*** + ***cakṣu***] Leumann; *rū* + + + + + + + + + *kṣu* Emmerick.

Homage to the Trio of Jewels! As follows: *akaṭe cikaṭe ... culu culu viri viri ... muṃca muṃca phuṭaṃ phuṭya* – HAIL! Homage to Jñānagarbha! Homage to Candragarbha! Homage to Maṇigarbha! Homage to Kṣitigarbha! Homage to Ākāśagarbha, the noble one! For these five Bodhisattvas [who are] not liable to turning back, I will recite the *hr̥daya*-type incantation, as follows: *hi hi hi hi* – Enter! Enter! Come [here], Ākāśagarbha![39] The form-eye [i.e., eye as material organ] ... eye ... I make the eye unsullied. Kill! Kill! Smother! The eye-disease, HAIL!

Both the Khotanese and Sanskrit parts of the inscription seem to consist of utterances implying some kind of speech acts, which find expression in the succession of imperative forms (in both Khotanese and Sanskrit). Either the exhortation to promote compassion and forbearance, or the admonition on the perils of sensual pleasures, or the invocation of a Bodhisattva efficacious against eye-disease assumed illocutionary force if, and only if, the respective utterance was properly performed. In other words, the intention of those who commissioned the object was fulfilled if, and only if, the respective utterance in the inscription was properly delivered to the addressed agency – be it an ordinary lay devotee or a mighty Bodhisattva. In order that the intended results be somehow brought about, a certain kind of performance of the speech acts, in which the tablet may well have been used, must be assumed. Furthermore, it is remarkable that the Sanskrit text seems to place the

37. For Khot. *dukhev-* 'to impoverish', cf. *dukhäta-* 'poor' ~ Skt. *alpabhoga-*/*daridra-*, and *dukhättauña-* 'misery, poverty' ~ Skt. *dāridrya-*; see Maggi 1995: 84f.

38. Following Leumann who gave superscript *je* in his transcription, I interpret the mark as indicating the letter to be *je* made over *jau*. For Skt. *puṇyajita*, see PW s.v. with reference to **Chandogya-Upaniṣad** 8.1.6 *tadyatheha karmajito lokaḥ kṣīyata evam evāmutra puṇyajito lokaḥ kṣīyate* 'Like a status (*loka*) gained in this world (*iha*) by work perishes, just so perishes a status gained in yonder world (*amutra*) by merit.' For the connotation of *loka* in this context, see Gonda 1966: 104. The compound is also attested in *kāvya*-literature.

39. For the Hybrid Sanskrit vocative singular ending *-ā*, see BHSG §8.27.

Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha in the foreground, for, among all the five Bodhisattvas mentioned in the inscription, only he is addressed as 'the noble one' (*ārya-*) whose entrance into a certain object seems to be a prerequisite for the healing effects of the *dhāraṇī*. In Khotan, the name of this Bodhisattva was connected, at least from the 8th to the 10th century, with a monastery called Satkāyaprahāṇa, which used to be located in the valley of Mt. Sa(t)kāya at the Kara-Kāsh river on the west side of the capital of the Khotan kingdom. It was a belief entrenched in Khotan that Ākāśagarbha was residing in that monastery, which must have been a breeding ground for the cult of this Bodhisattva in Khotan.[40] Although it is unknown whether the origin of the wooden tablet was related to the monastic community in Mt. Sa(t)kāya, this inscription is likely to have rung a bell with local Buddhists who readily connected it with the sacred place dedicated to Ākāśagarbha at the Kara-Kāsh river.

The inscription on the back cover (i.e., the Khotanese **Nandimitrāvadāna**), which is the main object studied in this chapter, is characterized by Shih Jen-Lang as "incomplete".[41] This attribute is problematic. If one claims that something is 'incomplete', it is normally presumed that the object used to be in a somewhat 'complete' state and has somehow undergone a process of deformation, in which parts of it got lost. To be sure, a comparison of the Khotanese inscription with its Chinese and Tibetan counterparts may give the impression of incompleteness, but it is anything but sure that such a 'complete' text as the two versions circulating later in China and Tibet ever

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40. The connection between Ākāśagarbha and the monastery is well attested in Khotanese, Tibetan, and Chinese sources: [1] Pelliot chin. 2893, line 13: *Ākāśagarbha ra jsāṃ ṣi' baudhasatvä Sakāyagīra satva-paripākä* 'And also Ākāśagarbha, this Bodhisattva (took his dwelling) in Mt. Sakāya for the ripening of sentient beings.' For a previous transcription and translation, see Bailey 1942: 893f. [2] **Prophecy of the Ox-Horn Mountain**: *de bzhin du nam mkha' ltar dpag du med par byang chub sems dpa' nam mkha'i snying pos kyang gtsug lag khang 'jigs tshogs spong byed ces bya ba 'byung bar 'gyur ba'i sa gzhi de mchod gnas su 'gyur bar byin gyis brlabs so* // [Q mdo sna tshogs, ke 231a6–7] 'Likewise also the Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha, having power as boundless as the atmosphere (*ākāśa*), blessed the spot [where] there was to be a monastery called Satkāyaprahāṇa [so that] it would become a place of worship'. For a previous translation, see Thomas 1935: 15, where the name of the monastery was mistakenly reconstructed as *Śaṅkāprahāṇa (n. 7). The names of the monastery and the mountain are otherwise attested in the Old Tibetan manuscripts of the **Prophecy [of the Arhat] of the Li Country** (i.e., IOL Tib J 597&598) as *San ka ya pra ha ṇa ya*[sic!] and *Sa ka ya gyi/ka ri*, while the Chin. translation by Chos grub gives 薩迦耶般羅訶郎 **sat-kae-yae-pan-la-xa-na* and 娑迦耶幾郎 **sa-kae-yae-kjij-na*[sic!] (cf. Pelliot chinois 2139; ed. T2090, 51.996a7–9.). [3] Or. 8210/S. 2113 *verso*: 虛空藏并如來於薩迦耶山寺住[...]虛空藏并於西玉河薩伽耶僊寺住 'The Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha, the Tathāgata, dwelt in a monastery [in the valley of] Mt. Satkāya ... The Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha dwelt in the monastery [called] Satkāya[pra]hāṇa at the West Jade river (i.e., Kara-Kāsh river).' More or less the same sentences also occur in the captions of some Dunhuang murals (in Caves 231 and 237), see Pelliot/Vandier-Nicolas/Maillard 1983: (vol. 3) 25, 29. For the location of the West Jade river, see Rong 2015: 165.

41. See Shih 2002: 17.

existed in Khotan at all. As a matter of fact, there was no evidence for such a 'complete' text anywhere until the early 7th century, when Xuanzang and his team produced the Chinese translation. However, the list of the sixteen Elders was probably known in Khotan no later than the second half of the 5th century, as it occurs in **Zambasta 22.**[42] At that time, the list was taken as a somewhat self-sufficient unit, which serves as a prelude to the Maitreya legend that is the subject matter of **Zambasta 22.** This may make one think of the possibility that the list of the sixteen Elders was circulating on its own and serving different purposes since a relatively early time in its history. If that was the case in Khotan, it is pointless to speak of an "incomplete" text, since there was no 'complete' one from the very beginning. Even if we suppose that such a 'complete' version did exist in Khotan, it does not follow that the Khotanese **Nandimitrāvadāna** is 'incomplete' in terms of its function. To put it another way, for those who had the wooden tablet made, the inscription was probably 'complete', insofar as what they wished to achieve was already fulfilled with the text being copied up to this point – no less, no more. Taking a close look at the photograph of the wooden tablet, one may not fail to notice that the inscription ends in the middle of the 10th line, the second half of which is intentionally left blank. The copyist would have not come to a halt if he had had the intention of continuing his work. On the contrary, some internal evidence seems to suggest that he was apparently at pains to shorten the text (by omitting the numbers of some Elders' retinue etc.) so as to fit it better into the limited space on the wooden tablet. For the copyist, the problem was that the text was 'too long' rather than 'too short'.

Someone might explain the discontinuation of the text through the assumption that the copyist was dissatisfied with what he had copied so far and thus gave up. In other words, what we have here is nothing but a defective copy which was done by halves. A counter-argument may be adduced against this theory. Speaking from a typological perspective, partial manuscripts, viz. manuscripts in which only the beginnings of texts are copied, are not necessarily defective copies. A similar phenomenon, for example, is observed with Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, in which prestige literature, such as Buddhist canonical texts etc., tends to be written only on the *recto* and is not continued on the *verso*. These manuscripts, however, are not defective copies. As the reason of this curious phenomenon, Stefan Baums envisages two possible factors, i.e., a continuation of oral transmission rendering the writing of the entire text unnecessary, and some special

42 For the *terminus ante quem* of the composition of the **Book of Zambasta**, see Maggi 2004: 184–190. To be sure, the oldest fragment (i.e., T III S 16), to judge from its folio number, should have belonged to a manuscript which begins with the 7th Canto and does not necessarily contain the 22nd where the list occurs (p. 186). But, as Maggi rightly points out, the **Book of Zambasta** is most probably the work of a single author, and is unlikely to have been composed piecemeal (p. 184f.). Hence T III S 16 is likely to have been a selection copy of a Vorlage similar to the main manuscript.

purposes served by this type of manuscripts.[43] The two factors are logically independent of each other; neither of them forms a prerequisite for the other. Therefore, in a time when written transmission held sway and oral transmission withered away, an increased emphasis on ritual uses alone could also have resulted in the same phenomenon. Some peculiarities of the inscription suggest the ritual orientation of the wooden tablet. Firstly, it is an idiosyncratic feature of the Khotanese version of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** that the sixteen Elders are not only enumerated but also revered. At the end of the sentences dealing with the names and the dwelling places of the first and the last Elders, two almost identical additional notes are found:

> **[B1+C1: 4f.]** *ays-ūṃ namasūṃ vanūṃ*
> **[B2+C4: 3]** *biśūṃ hā aysä namasūṃ vanūṃ*
> 'I worship and pay honor to (all of) them!'

These sentences apparently do not belong to the original text, not only because they are absent in the Chinese and Tibetan versions, but also in light of the active voice in the first person singular, which is not likely to be attributed to the secondary narrator Nandimitra. This verb usage seems to hint at a strong subjective intrusion of those who were somehow engaged with this material. For those people, the worship of the Elders and the Arhats accompanying them was to be utterly emphasized, and this interpolation in the text obviously rendered the wooden tablet more useful. Although such a sentence is not written in the case of the other fourteen Elders, it might have served as a refrain which was to be recited in addition to every single Elder's name and dwelling place, if my reconstruction of the few *akṣara*s after the sentence about the second Elder is approximately correct:

> **[B1+C1: 6]** *tta tta hveñai khu paḍājsye*
> 'So is to be spoken as [is spoken] to the previous one (i.e. the First Elder).'

This seems to be an instruction left by the copyist about how the inscription should be used. It turns out that it was to be "spoken", in other words, recited. To be sure, given the current state of our knowledge, not everything written on the tablet has been plausibly explained.[44] But it transpires from the

43. See Baums 2014: 206.

44. A case in point is the detail that every sentence dealing with a specific Elder ends in a high number in Brāhmī-Script, which ranges from 200 to 1600. Emmerick understood these numbers as the times homages should be paid to the Elders and Arhats, thus he translated: "I worship (and) revere them 1000 (times) … I worship (and) revere all of them 1600 (times)" (Emmerick/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 35). Oskar von Hinüber has come across a similar case, in which the number 800 was written at the beginning of the colophon of a **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka** manuscript from Khotan. Various interpretations proposed before (e.g. date, length of the text, price for copying) fail to convince him. In his recent article, von Hinüber seems to have had recourse to Emmerick's old interpretation by considering it a possible solution to take the number 800 as something similar in nature to the numbers inscribed on the wooden tablet. See von Hinüber 2015b: 219f. This is, of course, speculative. But if it is true, what the user in ancient Khotan did with the wooden tablet may well be repeating the words of veneration even a thousand times.

foregoing analyses that the inscription, along with its counterpart on the other tablet, was probably used for some kind of performance of utterances which might have taken place against a ritual backdrop.

Nothing speaks against the hypothesis that the two wooden tablets were originally used as book covers, although, in the case of the **Zambasta** manuscript, it is a bit strange that the back cover (ca. 39 cm) is considerably shorter than the front cover (ca. 52 cm). In other words, if the string holes of the covers and the folios are properly aligned, the back cover is placed somewhat left-of-center, leaving about 20% of the *verso* of the last folio exposed. The asymmetry between the two covers might be explained through the assumption that the wooden tablet now used as the back cover was taken from another manuscript, which was of a smaller size, while the original back cover, which should be identical to the front cover in size, had been lost at some point. Be that as it may, it is indubitable that the main manuscript of the **Book of Zambasta**, from a certain point in its history, has been preserved between this asymmetric pair of book covers up to 1909. Thus, the wooden tablets inscribed in Brāhmī Script, if a reconstruction of their functionality is possible at all, can only be historically understood in a constellation with related artifacts such as the manuscript.

This manuscript seems to have been owned or used by at least three people, who left their fingerprints, as it were. One of them was a monk (Khot. *āśä'rī*, Skt. *ācārya*) named Puṇyabhadra, who wrote two colophons on the 1st and the 11th Cantos, respectively. Both of these should be categorized as ownership inscriptions, which are not uncommon on Buddhist monastic implements from Gandhara and the northern rim of the Tarim Basin.[45] Another monk named Siddhabhadra, who also laid his hands on the manuscripts, seems to have taken a special interest in the 19th Canto on women (or the **Straiya-parivāra**, as was titled by him), which was instrumental in "restraining his mind" from the lure of female beauty, as we learn from his colophon to that canto. Apart from these signed colophons, a Sanskrit verse and a Khotanese prose text on the seasons were written by an even more cursive and possibly later hand on the *verso* of fol. 290, which the copyist had left blank. This anonymous scribe, in all likelihood, made use of

45. For a new interpretation of one of the two colophons, see Maggi 2009: 158. For some Indic inscriptions on a water jar from Kara Tepe and an oil lamp from Swat which express the same kind of concern, see Falk 2000: 251–257. For some fragmentary colophons in Tocharian which prohibit manuscripts being taken away, cf. SHT 525/56 b4: *cas postäk Por*[*o*]*ci*[*ṃ*] *sa*[*ṅ*]*krāmäṣ* [*p*]*re m*[*ar*] /// 'This book [may not be taken] out of the Porociṃ monastery.' THT 687 (on the margin above a string hole): *säs kisāsal postak Porocineṃ āllakäṃ simac mā präl* 'This *kisāsal*[?]-book of the Porociṃ [monastery] should not be taken out to another boundary.' MIK III 4048 (also an inscription on a wooden cover): /// *Mitrawarme paikānte pañäktäñe perneṣṣe akālksa ñuweṃne saṅkatse āyor wsare amplākäṃtte pärnāsim mā pralle ste* '... (and) Mitravarma, they wrote (this) with the wish for the glory of Buddhahood and gave (it), on the new moon day, as a gift to the monastery. Without permission, it should not be taken out of the boundary'. See Ogihara 2014: 114.

unemployed space in the manuscript to jot down some annotations on the text.[46] Taken together, the colophons amount to an indication of the manuscript's status as a monastic implement, which was placed, at different times, in the custody of various monks, who not only studied the text with great care but also vigilantly protected it from being taken out of the monastic boundary.[47] Yet, another significant aspect of the manuscript apart from providing monks with learning materials probably concerns the religious merit (*puṇya*) generated by its production and perpetuation. The merit was believed to have such efficacy that both the patron (i.e. Zambasta) and the tradent of this book, along with all sentient beings, would attain enlightenment and become a Buddha before long. Moreover, even the long-term stability of the Khotan kingdom was considered to be contingent on it.[48] Therefore, it would come as no surprise if the manuscript, in the Buddhist monastery at Khadalik, became a physical representation of the genuine teachings of the Buddha, and thus, by way of its materiality,

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46. For a thorough survey of these colophons added secondarily to the manuscript, see Maggi/Martini 2014: 153–157.

47. To be sure, the fact that the action was proscribed does not mean that people refrained from it, but rather points to the possibility that those objects quite often faced the threat of being taken away, of which their monastic custodians were apparently aware.

48. 'Merit' (Skt. *puṇya-*, Khot. *puña-*) is a recurrent theme in statements in the first person singular and two real colophons in rhythmic prose contained in the **Book of Zambasta**: 1. 190: *cu haḍe vā marä puña nātaimä avaśśä ttyau puñyau jsa sarvasatvyau jsa ro haṃtsa balysūśtu bustä hämāne* "By whatever merits I may have obtained here, may I surely through these merits realize [awakening] together with all beings also." 2. 244 + colophon: *cu aysu ttū dhātu hvataimä paramārthä sūttryau śūstä ttyau puñyau harbiśśä satva paramārthu dātu bvānde. pharṣata parste pīḍe Ysaṃbastä ttyau puñyau balysi panamāte ma dāru* "Since I have proclaimed this Law, the [highest truth] furnished with sūtras, by these merits may all beings realize the [highest truth] in the Law. The official Zambasta ordered me to write (this). Through these merits may he arise before long as a Buddha." 5. 113f.: *cu aysu ttū hvanau hvataimä ttyau puñyau avaśśä ma dāru balysūśtu hastamu bvāne biśśä parrījīñi uysnora. ttyau puñyau avaśśä hvatäna-kṣīra dāru śśāśani ṣṭāte hvatänä rre abuvatu kṣīru pharu salī vaṣṭa dr̥jsāte* "Since I have told this story, through these merits may I surely before long realize [the best awakening]. May I rescue all beings. Through these merits may the [teaching of the Buddha] surely last long in the land of Khotan. May the king of Khotan for many years keep the land unharmed." 14. 99f.: *cu aysu ttuto ttändäko tto vaysña hvataimä tyau puñyau haṃtsa biśyau satvyau biśśo balysānu hoto thatau bustä hämāne* "Since I have thus now taught this small (description), by these merits, may I quickly together with all beings be able to realize the whole power of the Buddhas." Colophon underneath 19. 94: *pharṣavata parste pīḍe ysaṃbastä biśyo pūryau dvataryau haṃtsa avaśśä balysä panamānä* "The [magistrate] Zambasta, with all his sons (and) daughters, ordered (me) to write (this). May I surely become a Buddha." 22. 335f.: *tta aysu vara mitrei väte hīśśo biśyo haṃtsa umyau jsa kye buro pyūṣṭāndi sta ttū dhātu saggauravina aysmūna* "Thus may I come there under Maitreya with all of you who have heard this Law with reverent mind." 23. 372: *cu aysu ttū hvatänau byūttaimä avaśśä balysä hämāne ttyau puñyau harbiśśä satva balysūśtu hastamo bvānde* "Since I have translated this into Khotanese, may I surely become a Buddha. Through these merits, may all beings realize [the best awakening]." All the passages and translation are quoted from Emmerick 1968 (with slight modifications).

symbolized a presence of the sacred which was deemed not only beneficial for the worshippers but also protective of the whole kingdom. It is thus in this connection that the use of the book covers could be somehow surmised.

In the cult of the Buddhist book in present-day Nepal, the use of book covers made of wood is well documented. On the outside of the covers, which are, in most cases, later than the 10th century, heavy accumulations of sandalwood paste, vermilion powder, and saffron are found, bearing witness to their enduring presence in some ritual environment, while the inside of the covers are more often than not painted and decorated with an iconographic program.[49] In a ritual worship of a 12th-century manuscript in 2004, Jinah Kim observed the following remarkable maneuver: "Once the book was ritually imbued with [the] presence [of the goddess Prajñāpāramitā], the book was divided into ten equal stacks and distributed to each Vajrācārya. The book covers were returned to the book's seat in front of which the main Vajrācārya continued to perform more *dhāraṇī* rituals before he could join the recitation."[50] In this context, the book covers were treated as a special part of the manuscript, which served as indispensable paraphernalia in auxiliary *dhāraṇī* rituals. To be sure, the ritual recitation, in its present form, and with its present organization, may not predate the 19th century,[51] and very meager, if any, evidence for a Buddhist cult of the book in India during the first millennium has come to light.[52] For the time being, it would be foolhardy to assume that a full-fledged ritual of worshipping a book similar to that in later Nepal was already practiced in 8th-century Khotan. Be that as it may, it may be argued that not every element witnessed by modern anthropologists is later innovation – for instance, the particular significance attached to the inside of book covers.

As is the case with the later Nepalese manuscripts, some manuscripts from Gilgit were also found between book covers, on the inside of which Buddhas and/or Bodhisattvas were depicted in company with kneeling donor figures.[53] None of the painted book covers can be unequivocally dated. According to the stylistic analyses by Klimburg-Salter, two out of the three pairs of covers, the inside of which are painted vertically, probably fall into the period when the Gilgit region was under the hegemony of the Palola Ṣāhis, i.e. from the 7th

49. See Lerner 1984: 87, Losty 1982: 23, and Kim 2013: 63f.

50. See Kim 2013: 273.

51. See Gellner 2001: 189, and Kim 2013: 285.

52. See Hartmann 2009: 104, where the reader is also alerted to the potential danger of taking seriously some Mahāyānasūtras' normative statements promising enormous merit, which could also be a way of promoting those texts in a highly competitive environment.

53. For the most up-to-date discussion of the three pairs of book covers, see Klimburg-Salter 2016: 396–400. For the first report on the discovery, see Kaul Shastri 1939: 2–12, esp. p. 3 and 6; see plates 1424A, 1433, 1436 for old photos of the covers and some folios. For colored photos of three book covers, see Klimburg-Salter 2016: 266–270, figs. 3–10; and Pal 2008: figs. 8 and 9 (https://www.asianart.com/articles/kashmir/index.html#9).

Figure 1 A pair of book covers with vertical iconographic depiction on the inside, Gilgit (ca. 7th or 8th century). Adapted from Pal 2008: fig. 9.

to the 8th century; while the third one, which shows a horizontal compositional pattern, represents an innovation and is thus of a later date.[54] Be that as it may, these earliest surviving examples of painted book covers demonstrate that at least the custom of painting book covers can be unequivocally traced back to the first millennium. Two commonalities between these covers have special relevance to the Khotanese case in question: First and foremost, the paintings show no necessary connection with the texts copied in the manuscript. The same holds *mutatis mutandis* true for the Khotanese inscriptions discussed above, none of which have direct bearing on the content of the **Book of Zambasta**. What is more, it is noteworthy that only the inside of the Gilgit covers show an iconographic design, while the outside, though embellished with the running vine motif, performs no more than a decorative function. This feature hints at a strong likelihood that the inside paintings, which are invisible to those who would see but not open the books, served some other purposes than decoration. In a comparative study of the inside paintings, Klimburg-Salter draws our attention to a number of wooden plaques from Kucha and Khotan, which are, as the two older covers, painted vertically, and were probably used as votive offerings. On the basis of similarities in size, style, and composition, Klimburg-Salter proposes that the two covers showing vertical compositions might have been the result of a functional convergence of the painted wooden plaques as votive objects and the wooden boards as book covers.[55] If that is true, a not insignificant phenomenon transpires: When the book covers were also used as votive objects, it was on the inside, not the outside, that cult images were painted. At least some of the factors that contribute to this remarkable phenomenon are to be found in the materiality of book covers: The inside, compared with the outside, is harder to become the worse for wear, and, perhaps more importantly, is more closely tied up with, or even incorporated into, the manuscript carrying the sacred words of the Buddha. Hence, it is conceivable that the manuscript, which was considered the source of enormous merit, invests the inside of its covers with efficacy. For this scenario, the cult of the book is not a necessary presupposition.[56]

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54. See Klimburg-Salter 2016: 399–402, with further references to previous studies. In his recent book review, von Hinüber argues that "these book covers can be dated safely to the early 7th century", see von Hinüber 2016: 374, n. 4. But the references given in that footnote do not seem to lend any support to this bold claim. Actually, this argument might go back to von Hinüber 1983: 49f., where some stylistic similarities are pointed out between the painting on one of the book covers and some rock paintings from the upper Indus valley, which Jettmar dated to the early 7th century (p. 49, n. 10).

55. See Klimburg-Salter 1990: 815–830.

56. Kim also takes note of the dynamics between inside and outside as a book's cultic potential, which she interprets through a paradoxical interplay between the visibility and the invisibility, see Kim 2013: 40f. This is an intriguing theory per se, but her proposal of "a ritual turning of folios of a manuscript that accompanied a continuous recitation of the text" (p. 64f.) is based on some misinterpretations of epigraphic sources, as is rightly criticized by von Hinüber 2016: 372f.

Figure 2 A wooden plaque (F.II.iii.002) with vertical iconographic depiction, Farhad-Beg-Yailaki, Khotan. © British Museum. Photograph courtesy of International Dunhuang Project.

Although very little, if anything, about the Buddhist cult in Gilgit has been known so far,[57] the cultic use of book covers with special emphasis on their inside could be assumed for this milieu with some certainty.

The strong political, religious, and cultural ties between Gilgit and Khotan are well attested during the 7th and 8th centuries.[58] It should therefore come as no surprise that a more or less identical manuscript culture was also shared between the two regions. In Khotan, wooden plaques with paintings akin to those painted on the aforementioned covers are discovered at several sites (e.g. 1907 11-11 67 [D IV 4] from Dandan-Oilik, and F II iii. 002 from Farhad-Beg-Yailaki) and attributed by various scholars to either the 6th or the 8th century.[59] In other words, they are more or less contemporaneous with, if not slightly prior to, the book covers from Gilgit. Should the functional convergence proposed by Klimburg-Salter not be considered as something exclusive to Gilgit, but as a shared innovation in the Gilgit-Khotanese manuscript culture, it may well be hypothesized that at least some of the book covers from Khotan (such as the present pair) were probably also considered as votive offerings. If this hypothesis is not quite wide of the mark, it may have paved the way for my speculation that the inscriptions on the inside of the book covers, despite the difference between writings and artworks, may well belong to the same functional typology as the paintings from Gilgit. That is to say, the book covers might have been offered or consecrated on certain ritual occasions, when the utterances inscribed on their inside were somehow performed (possibly through recitation).

Without further evidence, the details of the presumed ritual have to remain nebulous for the moment. Be that as it may, there are good reasons to believe that the religious background against which the ritual took place was somehow related to the monastery Satkāyaprahāṇa at the Kara-Kāsh river, at least in the collective memory of Khotanese Buddhists from the 8th to the 10th century. This relationship is not only borne out, as discussed above, by the prominence given to the Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha by the inscription on the front cover, but also evinced in the apprehensions about the decline of the Buddha's teachings (*dharma*) and the cult of the sixteen Elders, two themes which form part and parcel of the inscription on the back cover. In the **Prophecy [of the Arhat] of the Li Country** composed in the late 8th or

57. See Schopen 1977 for some pioneering discussions on this issue.

58. For the Saka orthographic features attested in Gilgit manuscripts and Khotanese elements in names and titles of some donors, see von Hinüber 1981: 121–127, 1983: 58f. For artistic evidence of communications between both regions, see Klimburg-Salter 1982: 89. For the popularity that the **Saṃghātasūtra** and the **Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra** enjoyed among Buddhists in both regions, see von Hinüber 1983: 52; Emmerick 1992: 22f. and 29f.

59. For different scholarly opinions with regard to the date of the plaques, see Klimburg-Salter 1990: 825f. For more iconographically similar plaques from the Khotan region, see Williams 1973: 119 and 125, figs. 14–22 and 23–26. A colored photo of the plaque from Dandan Oilik at actual size is found in Whitfield 1985: (vol. III) plate 71.

early 9th century,[60] the entire narrative was put in the mouth of Saṃghavardhana, an Arhat residing in the valley of Mt. Sa(t)kāya, where the aforementioned monastery was also located. The text consists of an account of the evanescence of Buddhism in Chinese Turkestan echoing the **Candragarbhasūtra**, which is referred to at the end of the Dunhuang manuscripts as an authoritative source of information. Although both the story and timetable of the decline probably draw inspiration from the **Candragarbhasūtra**, the prophecy seems to be introduced by a frame narrative which may ring a bell:

> From the origin of the Li country [i.e. Khotan] there passed six generations of kings. During the time of the king of the seventh generation, by name Vijaya Kīrti, there resided in a (mountain) valley, named [Mt. Sakāya], near to the monastery [Satkāyaprahāṇa], an Arhat named Saṃghavardhana. A disciple, a certain monk who under the venerable man had studied the Vinaya, having seen the *sūtra* of the prophecy made to the Bodhisattva Candragarbha, inquired of his *ācārya*, the Arhat: 'In [Khotan, Kashgar, and Kucha], these three, after how long from the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha will [the semblance of the true teachings (*saddharmapratirūpaka*)] and the *stūpa*s which have been erected perish? By whom [will they be] destroyed? At the last how will it be?' The Arhat, commending him, said: ...[61]

The indebtedness of the frame narrative to the **Nandimitrāvadāna** is quite straightforward: In both texts, the narrated time is anchored to a historic point in the past (the Buddha's Nirvāṇa or the origin of the country), and the story is set in the reign of a specific king (Vajrasena or Vijaya Kīrti) at the site of a specific monastery (Kukkuṭārāma or Satkāyaprahāṇa). Most importantly, both texts have the account of the decline narrated by an Arhat (Nandimitra or Saṃghavardhana) on the occasion of a question of doubt raised by his disciple(s). To sum up, whoever composed the **Prophecy [of the Arhat] of the Li Country** must have known and emulated the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, which was probably well-received in a religious milieu where similar prophecies were produced in the 8th and the 9th centuries. For people in that milieu, the monastery Satkāyaprahāṇa, in which, as mentioned above, the Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha dwelt, must have been a sacred place; hence it was blended into the backdrop, against which the Arhat related the prophecy. To be sure, it would be a bit contrived to claim that the book covers found at Khadalik stemmed from the renowned valley at Kara-Kāsh river, given the scarcity of historical information which renders the monastery mysterious.[62]

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60. The text is extant in three Old Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang (i.e., IOL Tib J597, 598, 601.2), where it was translated by Chos grub (aka Facheng 法成; ca. 780–859/60 CE) into Chinese (cf. Pelliot chin. 2139). For the date and a tentative chronicle of Chos grub, see Wu 1984: 398–410. The Tibetan text was translated into English by Thomas 1935: 77–87 and edited by Cannata 1990: 43–79. The text makes reference to historical events which took place in the first half of the 8th century (Nattier 1991: 191f., n. 113 and 117), so the mid-8th century is the *terminus post quem* of its composition.

61. The translation is based on Thomas 1935: 77f. (with certain emendations). For the translation of the term *saddharmapratirūpaka*, see Nattier 1991: 86–89.

62. It is curious that almost all the sources concerning the monastery Satkāyaprahāṇa are

But it may not be far-fetched to argue that they were probably made and used in the same milieu, for which both the Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha and the **Nandimitrāvadāna** were of special importance.

A Recasting Before the Late 5th Century

As is mentioned above, the list of the sixteen Elders also occurs in **Zambasta 22**, and the latter was misunderstood by Shih Jen-Lang, perhaps misled by Ernst Leumann, as the 'complete' metrical version, of which the inscription on the back cover is but a revision in prose.[63] While the statement made by Shih ought to be dismissed, the question arises what kind of relationship the **Zambasta** verses have to the inscription. My provisional answer would be that what **Zambasta 22** contains is a recasting of a forebear of the inscription (i.e. the Khotanese **Nandimitrāvadāna**). In what follows, some evidence is adduced to buttress this claim.

The **Zambasta** verses amount to a recasting, insofar as the focalization of the narrative is changed. In this point, the ways in which the Elders' names are enumerated may serve as a good example. In all three versions of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, the focalization is external; in other words, both the Buddha's nominations of the Elders and the list of their names are narrated from the perspective of Nandimitra, who, at the request of his disciples, gives a distanced account of what happened 800 years ago. However, the version in **Zambasta 22** is characterized by a vision within; that is to say, the narrator enumerates the Elders' names by having them addressed by the Buddha, whose commandments are quoted verbatim in first-person voice, as if they are given in the presence of the narrator.[64] Although the first eight folios of **Zambasta 22** are missing and there is no way to know how the narrative starts, it is unlikely that it contains the frame narrative attested in all the other versions of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, since the internal focalization throughout the rest of the narrative excludes the possibility of identifying the narrator with Nandimitra. The absence of such a frame narrative is also indicated by the fact that the majority of this canto (i.e. v. 113–333), namely the prophecy of the advent of Maitreya, is put into the mouth of the Buddha,

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found in Dunhuang, while it is not mentioned in any pre-9th century documents from the Khotan region. Neither was the monastery visited by any pilgrim monks who visited Khotan and left records. Thus, it is not to be excluded that it was not a historical site but an *imaginaire* which only existed in the collective memory. See Zhang/Rong 1993: 291.

63. See above p. 40, fn. 26 and 27 in the present section.

64. Cf. Emmerick 1968: 303 (v. 93–95): "Afterwards, the Buddha addressed the Elder Bharadvāja at that time, Bakula, Iṅgaṇa, Vanavāsa, Aśoka, the Elder Gopaka, Bhadra, Kāḍa, Kanakavatsa, Kanaka-Bharadvāja, Panthaka, Rāhula, Nāgasena, the Elder Cūḍapanthaka. He addressed [Abhedya], [Vajrīputra] then with their pupils: 'I leave the [teachings] entrusted in your hand …'."

the end of whose speech rounds off the whole canto.[65] Therefore, the tradent credited with the composition of this Canto probably drew upon (parts of) a text similar in content to the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, in which the frame narrative centered on Nandimitra is not unequivocally attested.

The affinity of the source text used by the tradent with the inscription in question is, first and foremost, confirmed by a common error among the Elders' names. The different order in which the Elders' names are enumerated in **Zambasta 22** is probably due to a rearrangement *metri causa*, and thus not to be taken as a genuine variation.[66] In three cases, there is a discrepancy between the two sources, which can easily be explained through either omission or scribal errors.[67] The only genealogically significant evidence is betrayed by the name of the fifteenth Elder, which both sources give as Aśoka, while all the other versions of the list unanimously attest Ajita (Chin. **a-dzye-ta* 阿氏多; Tib. *mi pham pa*). To the best of my knowledge, there is no Elder who had such a name and survived the Buddha's Nirvāṇa.[68] This name, peculiar to the two Khotanese sources, can thus only be regarded as an error which had somehow crept into the tradition before the 5th century.[69] This error, despite its status as *testis unicus*, lends weight to the postulate of a forebear of the presumably 8th-century inscription, which was probably transmitted to Khotan by the 5th century.

Given that the inscription comes to a halt after the list of the Elders' names and dwelling places, and that **Zambasta 22** does not contain the frame narrative, only a tiny fraction of the forebear can be reconstructed from the

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65. For the beginning and the end of the lengthy prophecy, see Emmerick 1968: 305 (v. 113): "Afterwards the Buddha spoke thus to Ānanda: ...", and 341 (v. 334): "The Buddha concluded this speech. Beings became very contented".

66. Ernst Leumann seems to have taken the different orders too seriously: "Die Reihenfolge der Namen ist recht verschieden von der in den genannten Strophen gegebenen" (Leumann 1920: 165). Since the **Zambasta** verses do not attach a cardinal number to each of the sixteen Elders, it should not be taken for granted that the way in which the Elders are arranged here necessarily reflects their order.

67. For the name of the first Elder, only Bharadvāja (cf. *baradvāju* [v. 93b], *baradvāji* [v. 104a]) is attested in **Zambasta 22**. This is likely to be attributed to a secondary shortening by the tradent who omitted Piṇḍola. For the name of the fourteenth Elder, the inscription gives *śānāvāsä* (as opposed to *vanavāysu* [v. 93c]), probably due to a confusion with Śāṇakavāsin, see below p. 85, fn. 22. For the name of the thirteenth Elder, the Khotanese sources differ from one another (cf. *iṅgaṇu* [v. 93c] and *aṃgälä* 8/[B2+C3: 4]), while the tradition seems to have been contaminated from the very beginning. There is no conclusive evidence for the original name of the Elder.

68. For the only possible candidate, the Aśoka of Ñātikā, acknowledged by the Buddha as an Arhat who had attained Nirvāṇa (SN I 358), see DPPN (vol. 1), s.v. **7. Asoka**. But he died before the Buddha's Nirvāṇa and thus could not be appointed as one of the executors of the latter's will.

69. It is not impossible that the fusion of both names took place in Gāndhārī under certain circumstances, see below p. 86, fn. 24. This is by no means a common error which could be committed by multiple scribes independently.

extant Khotanese sources. However, it is theoretically probable that what **Zambasta 22** has in common with the Chinese and the Tibetan versions of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** also goes back to the forebear, as long as the shared content is no commonplace formula which is ubiquitous in Buddhist literature. A case in point is the three assemblies of Maitreya, which are associated with the wholesome potentialities with respect to the Buddha, the teachings (*dharma*), the community (*saṅgha*), respectively.[70] Such an association is, to the best of my knowledge, only attested in the two texts, and thus can be traced back to the forebear which may well be genealogically related to the three versions of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** that have come down to us. In what follows, the verses in **Zambasta 22**, which deal with the creation of wholesome potentialities with respect to each of the Three Jewels, are compared to their respective parallel in the Tibetan **Nandimitrāvadāna**, with special focus on the difference between them:

[1] **with respect to the Buddha**

Khot. 22.221–222: *ce ttä ce pratäbiṃbā hatäro śśākyamuni balysä yäḍāndä lakṣaṇyau āysäta vaysña mamä vīrä harbäśśä* [*āta*]. *vasutu brūñāre puñyau jsa saṃ kho sarbaṃndi urmaysde vaśärāmo ttarandaru byodāndi parräta biśyau du*[*khyau j*]*s*[*a*]

"Whoever once made images of the Buddha Śākyamuni equipped with the marks [of a great man] (*lakṣana*) have now all come to me. Because of their merits, they shine purely like the rising sun. They have obtained a body [like adamant] (*vajra*). They have escaped from all woes." (tr. Emmerick 1968: 321, 323)

Tib. [F1.1]: [They] have humbly set up images or stūpas [made] from [things which are] made of gold, silver, beryl, crystal, jewel, brass, bell-metal, pearls, iron, copper, sandalwood, aloes wood, conch shells, horn, ivory, earth, paintings, and bones; [they] have created wholesome potentialities by humbly setting up [such] images or stūpas even [of the size] of just a finger (*aṅgulimātra*).[71]

Both texts agree that one way of engendering wholesome potentialities with respect to the Buddha is making his images, while the Tibetan text also mentions erecting stūpas. However, there are discrepancies in both the cause and the effect of the meritorious act. The Khotanese verses emphasize the 'formal' cause, to wit, the shape of the images, which should faithfully represent the marks of a great man (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*). But for the

70. Cf. Emmerick 1968: 321 (v. 219–220, emphasis added): "Thus will the Buddha Maitreya preach to them [i.e., disciples in his three assemblies]: '[Under the instruction] (*śāsana*) of the Buddha Śākyamuni you [engendered] these [wholesome potentialities] (*kuśalamūla*). You gave various gifts to the Buddha, the [teachings] (*dharma*), the [monastic community] (*bhikṣusaṅgha*). Therefore have all births been removed for you, all karmas with afflictions (*kleśa*).'" Emmerick's translation is here modified in light of the Tib. parallel (see below p. 181, fn. 55).

71. For the not substantially different Chin. version, see Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 15f.: "s'il emploient les sept joyaux, l'or, l'argent, les perles, le jade précieux, le bois odorant, le laiton, le cuivre, le fer, le bois, la pierre, l'argile (la laque, *éd. de Corée*), ou s'ils emploient des étoffes de soie ou de fil ou des peintures sur soie pour faire des images de Bouddhas et de stūpas, grandes ou petites, et même d'une petitesse extrême jusqu'à la dimension d'un doigt …".

tradent(s) of the text translated into Tibetan, the 'material' cause is more important, hence the text goes to great lengths to enumerate the valuables of which the images are made. What is perhaps more noteworthy is the effect, i.e. the merit of which the texts hold out the prospect. While the Tibetan text lays stress on the soteriological efficacy of the votive act regardless of the size of the images,[72] the Khotanese verse makes remarkable reference to a body like adamant, which the donors have obtained by dint of the merit accumulated through the commission of making the images. The idea of the adamant-like body,[73] well attested in Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures before the 5th century,[74] was, at the outset, conceived in reference to a Buddha's body, which excels in purity, strength, and imperviousness to sickness. Nevertheless, there are also cases in which such bodies are said to be also available to Bodhisattvas or even to beings in another Buddha-field.[75] This is probably also the case with the **Book of Zambasta** where the adamant-like body is allegedly obtained by a Bodhisattva[76] or, as in the

72. A similar motif also occurs in the **Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra** (a unique verse in Dharmakṣema's version), the **Maitreyasiṁhanāda-sūtra**, etc.; see below p. 182, fn. 62.

73. It is to be noted that such bodies should not be confused with those made of adamant (*vajrakāya*) known from later contexts. The latter idea emerged in Chin. translations of Buddhist texts dating back to the decades around 400 CE; see Radich 2012: 256–270. It is unlikely that the Khot. verse dealing with beings reborn in the first assembly of Maitreya would require the connotation of a body made of adamant, which is associated with docetistic Buddhology. Therefore, Emmerick's rendering of *vaśärāmo* as "a body made of *vajra*" (Emmerick 1968: 323) is probably erroneous. Bailey collected occurrences of this lexeme without explaining its form, see *Prolexis*: 323, s.v. **vaśrāmā**. To my mind, the lexeme *vaś*(*ä*)*rāmaa-*, attested only twice in Khot., could be formally explained through a Khot. suffix *-aa* attached to a loanword from the MInd. counterpart of Skt. *vajropama-* (~ Gāndh. **vayiro*[*v*]*ama-* > **vaśirā*[*v*]*ama-*; for *y* > *ś* [/ź/ Gāndh.] and the alternation *ā* : *o* [esp. in Gāndh.], see von Hinüber 2001: 125f. §121, and 174 §213).

74. For a preliminary survey of the relevant textual sources, see Radich 2012: 249–256.

75. Cf. **Akṣayamatinirdeśa** V: *sangs rgyas kyi sky rdo rje ltar mi shigs shing sra ba dang sred med kyi bu ltar mkhregs pa*(ST *mthu po che mkhrang ba*) *thob*(T *'thob*) *par bya ba'i phyir byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi rus pa dang rkang sbyin pa'o* [ed. Braarvig 1993: (vol. 1) 31] "bones and marrow are the Bodhisattvas' gift so as to attain the body of a Buddha, unbreakable and firm as adamantine, strong as that of Nārāyāṇa." tr. Braarvig 1993: (vol. 2) 121. Larger **Sukhāvatīvyūha** (Kang Sengkai's version): 設我得佛，國中菩薩不得金剛那羅延身者，不取正覺 [T360, 12.268b23f.] 'If, after I have attained the Buddhahood, any Bodhisattva in [my] realm could not obtain a body so adamantine [as that of] Nārāyāṇa, I may not awaken to perfect awakening!' (cf. Gomez 1996: 169). **Wuyan tongzi jing**: 若其有人生彼世界，身如金剛，皆亦堅固不可破壞，是故彼土名曰住於堅固金剛之根。[T401, 13.532b20f.] 'If there are people reborn in that world [i.e., the Buddha-field of the Tathāgata "Holder of Wisdom-Luminary" 執慧曜], their bodies are like adamant, wholly firm and indestructible. Therefore, the realm is called "Abiding at the Root of Firm Adamant".'

76. See **Zambasta** 10.25–26: *lakṣaṇyau āysäta aṃgga vyaṃjanyau tcarṣuva vūḍa. utāra indriya bā'yä kṣāndäpārāmata yīndä. biśśä kīre dāśśäte mästa <u>vaśrāmā</u> byehäte aṃṅga* "The [perfection in forbearance] (*kṣāntipāramitā*) makes his members adorned with the [marks of a great man], gleaming, covered with the [secondary tokens] ([*anu*]*vyañjana*), his sense noble, rays. He accomplished all the great acts, he obtains [members like

present verse, by disciples in the first assembly of Maitreya.

[2] with respect to the teachings (*dharma*)

Khot. 22.223–227: *ce tcohorä ātama sīyāndi ttä dyānyau jsa ramīndä. biśśūnya bvāre samāhāna* [...] *vinau sīyāndä hvatāndä pūṣṭāndä harbiśśä vaysña vyāmaprabha maṃ väte āta* [...] *kye vā avidharmu vibhāṣo sīyāndi* [...] *abhiñuvo' daśta karīha pratäsaṃbate bvāre tcahora. ce mahāyānasūtra sīye kye vā pūstäya pīḍe biśśu rraṣṭo dātu paysāndāndi kho balysūśte padaṃgya balysūśtu bvāre ne dāru.*

"Those who have studied the four Āgamas find pleasure in meditations (*dhyāna*). They understand all kinds of [concentration] (*samādhi*) ... they have studied, have preached, have read the Vinaya, they have all now come to me with a fathom-high halo (*vyāmaprabha*) ... Those who have studied the Abhidharma, the Vibhāṣā, ... [they,] skillful in extraordinary faculties (*abhijñā*) [and] energetic, will realize the four [kinds of special knowledge] (*pratisaṃvidā*). One who has studied [the scriptures of the Great Vehicle] (*mahāyānasūtra*), who has written them in a book, [and those who] have rightly recognized [all the teachings] as the description of the enlightenment (*bodhi*) will realize the enlightenment before long." (tr. Emmerick 1968: 323)

Tib. [F2.1 + F2.2 + F2.3.1]: [They] have copied, have made [others] copy, have recited, have made [others] recite ... scriptures of the Great Vehicle (*mahāyānasūtra*) ... caskets of the disciples (*śrāvakapiṭaka*) [consisting of the Abhidharma, the Vinaya, and the five Āgamas] ... [as well as] the Jātakamālā, the Avadānamālā, and the Pratyekabuddha-mālā ... [There are] those [who] have read [them], have held [them], have copied [them] into books – even if only a verse of four lines which is taught, have made offerings to preachers of the teachings (*dharmabhāṇaka*), ... have covered and wrapped variegated clothes around the books, have made the best wooden covers, have tied up the books with variegated strings. They have thus created wholesome potentialities.[77]

Both texts attest, by and large, an identical division of the teachings of the Buddha (*dharma*) into the three caskets of Mainstream schools (i.e. the Āgamas, the Vinaya, the Abhidharma) and the scriptures peculiar to the Great Vehicle. The third category, under which texts such as the **Jātakamālā** are subsumed, is not mentioned in the Khotanese verses, and thus cannot be unequivocally postulated for the forebear. The compact style of the **Book of Zambasta** makes it impossible to provide further information on the

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adamant]" ed. and tr. Emmerick 1968: 148f. The context is apparently about the auspicious body to be obtained by a Bodhisattva by means of the perfection in forbearance.

77. For the slightly different Chin. version, see Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 16 and 19f.: "[s'ils] ont pu pratiquer le culte de la Loi et planter pour eux-mêmes des racines excellentes ou enseigner à d'autres à en planter de la manière que voici: A l'égard des ouvrages du Grand Véhicule ... Derechef il y a les trois recueils des auditeurs (*śrāvakapiṭaka*) [i.e. les cinq Āgamas, le Vinaya, l'Abhidharma] ... En outre, il y a l'Éloge en guirlande des Naissances antérieures (*jātakamālā*) et l'Éloge en guirlande des Individuellement-illuminés (*pratyekabuddhamālā*) ... Pour une stance de quatre membres, si on peut soi-même la réciter, ou si on enseigne à d'autres à la réciter, si on la lit soi-même ou si on la fait lire à d'autres, si on la retient ou si on enseigne à d'autres à la retenir, si on l'explique soi-même ou si on enseigne à d'autres à l'expliquer, si aux maîtres de la Loi on présente avec respect les offrandes, si aux exemplaires des livres sacrés on présente avec respect des offrandes, ... si aux exemplaires des livres sacrés on offre en ornement des étuis en soies variées, des bandes, et des ceintures de fil, ..."

subdivision of each category, not to mention the titles of individual texts.[78] Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the number of the Āgamas is explicitly mentioned as "four" rather than "five", as opposed to the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**.[79] It is well known that the canonical status of the fifth Āgama (i.e. the so-called Kṣudraka-Āgama) is not fixed. Whereas the classification with a fifth Āgama or Nikāya was adopted by some schools, as in the Pāli tradition, to accommodate some texts which were considered to fall hardly within the canonical quartet, some other schools, notably the Sarvāstivādins, never had more than four Āgamas, quoting those para-canonical minor texts under the designation *kṣudraka* 'small, minute'.[80] Given that both the Chinese and the Tibetan versions attest the five Āgamas, this minor variation seems to suggest that the Khotanese tradent recast this paragraph in a Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika garb, which might also be manifested in the addition of the Vibhāṣā to the Abhidharma.

[3] **with respect to the community (*saṅgha*)**

Khot. 97f. + 228 *ci ṣṣandäṣṣajo yanīyä jāggarau khāysu bilsaṃgi o paṃjavaṣṣī mālihāru nimaṃdrūṇo yanīyä, saṃkhāramu yande cātäśśālu aṃggäśālu bilsaṃgi, haṃtsa ātaṃduvyau vara āṇa varāśāre handāro* [...] *kye bhikṣusaṃgya yäḍāndä puña kuśalamūla vicitra mäśtä bise tsāte paśśāndi mamä vīrä nāndä pravajo* [...]

Whoever would prepare food for the monastic community (*bhikṣusaṅgha*) during vigils [on one of] the six [monthly days of] communal sitting [in meditation] (*ṣaṇṇiṣadyā*),[81]

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78. If Jan Nattier's theory that the list of the Mahāyāna scriptures was a late interpolation in the **Nandimitrāvadāna** (Nattier 1988: 45f., n. 54) holds water, there may have been no such list in the forebear on which the **Zambasta** verses are based.

79. For a classic discussion of the order in which the Āgamas are arranged and the possible connection of this text with the Dharmaguptakas, see Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 31ff.

80. See Lamotte 1958: 166f. Other schools such as the Mahāsāṃghikas, the Haimavatas, the Mahīśāsakas, and the Dharmaguptakas did not have a **Kṣudraka-Āgama**, but all had a fifth collection in their Sūtrapiṭaka. See Lamotte 1958: 174ff. and Hirakawa 1990: 128.

81. Khot. *ṣṣandäṣṣajā-* should go back to Skt. *ṣaṇṇiṣadyā* rather than *saṃniṣadyā* (*pace* Leumann 1933–36: 252) in light of its retroflex initial, cf. Khot. *-sandävāta-* ~ Skt. *-saṃnipāta*. With its first component being identified with 'six', the compound should be understood in reference to the six monthly days (i.e., the 8th, 14th, and 15th lunar days of each fortnight), on which the Buddhist teachings are preached for the laypeople who undertake the eightfold discipline. For the canonical sources concerning the six monthly days of several Mainstream schools, see Lamotte 1949: (vol. 2) 832f., n. 270, 274. For a Skt. fragment from Sängim (Turfan) containing an *anuṣṭubh*-verse about this matter, cf. **SHT V** 1161, (*recto* 1, 2 + *verso* 4): *catu*(*r*)[*d*](*aśīṃ pa*)*ñcadaśīṃ* (*pa*)[*kṣa*]*syehāṣṭamīṃ* [*ta*]*thā* | *prāti*[*hār*](*a*)[*ka*]*pak*[*ṣ*]*aṃ* [*ca*] *po*[*ṣa*] + + ⌣ – ⌣ + ||. A similar verse of six lines also occurs in the **Maitreyavyākaraṇa** 77: *caturdāśīṃ pañcadaśīṃ pakṣasyehāṣṭamīn tathā* | *prātihārakapakṣañ ca aṣṭāṅgasusamāhitam* | *upavāsam upoṣyeha hy āgatā mama śāsane* || [ed. Liu 2005: 64] 'For, having observed the fast well endowed with the eightfold discipline on the 14th, 15th, and also on the 8th [lunar day] of a fortnight, and during the fortnight of special abstinence (*prātihāraka*), [they] have come here under my instruction.' For this interpretation of the recondite term Skt. *prātihāraka-* or Pāli *pāṭihāriya-*, see Dietz 1997: 63–70 (with extensive references to the parallels of this verse). In some schools, the number of the monthly days is four; see Hu-von Hinüber 1994: 9. On these days, the laypeople have the possibility to visit the monastery or invite the monks to preach, whom

or would make a quinquennial feast (*pañcavārṣika*), a garland-building (*mālāvihāra*), an invitation (*nimantraṇa*) [of the monastic community],[82] [or] endows a monastery (*saṅghārāma*), a building with four halls (*catuḥśāla*), and a fire hall (*agniśāla*) for the monastic community – sitting there with guests (*āgantuka*), they [i.e. the monks] enjoy the sustenance,[83] ...
Those who have engendered various merits (*puṇya*) and wholesome potentialities (*kuśalamūla*) with respect to the monastic community, have left great, wealthy houses, and undertaken ordination (*pravrajyā*) under me [i.e. Maitreya].

Tib. [**3.1–2**] [They] have uttered a bidding, have led [others] to what is wholesome, have made a feast [on] the eighth lunar day (*aṣṭamika*), have made a feast [on] the fasting day (*poṣadha*), have made an invitation (*upanimantrāṇa*), have humbly given a festive meal to the community, have invited [monks] to a meal, have incidentally invited [monks] to a meal, have made a monthly feast (*māsika*), have constantly offered food (*naityaka*), have invited preachers (*dharmakathika*) to a meal, have made a quinquennial feast (*pañcavārṣika*), have endowed a temple, have spread couchs and seats (*śayyāsana*), have offered religious clothes, have made a rite of consecrating the gong, have offered medical herbs, have offered [a monk's] standard belongings (*pariṣkāra*). [In doing so, they] have created wholesome potentialities ... With pure faith, [they] will abandon the household life in the third assembly [of Maitreya] ...[84]

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they also provide with food. The first line of the verse thus corresponds to the sentences dealing with *aṣṭamika* and *poṣadha* in the Tib. text. For the communal sitting (*niṣadyā*) on the six days, cf. **Shisong lü / Sarvāstivādavinaya**: 僧上座會坐法者，月六齋，所謂八日、十四日、十五日、二十三日、二十九日、三十日，於是日，無病比丘應和合一處說法 [T1435, 23.420c13–15] 'The regulation (*dharma*) for the communal sitting (*niṣadyā*) of the Elders of a community: On the six monthly days for fasting, i.e., the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th, 30th lunar days, all the monks that are not sick should assemble at one place [for the purpose of] preaching ...' For the concept of *niṣadyā* in the Vinaya of other schools, see Hu-von Hinüber 1994: 297, n. 3, and Karashima 2012: (vol. 3) 327. In most cases, the communal sitting takes place at night, thus, a series of regulations are made to prevent the monks from nodding off with an Elder appointed as the superintendent of meditation (*prahāṇapratijāgraka*); see Hu-von Hinüber 1994: 276ff. For this reason, I interpret Khot. *jāggaraa-* (adj. ~ Skt. *jāgaraka-*) 'waking' as an attribute of *ṣṣandäṣṣajā-*, which is used here as accusative of extent in the temporal sense (Emmerick 1965: 26).

82. I do not interpret the pronoun *ci* as interrogative as did Emmerick 1968: 303 ("Who would perform a *saṃniṣadyā*, a *jāgarikā*, would give food to the Bhikṣusaṅgha or would give an invitation at the *pañcavarṣika* to a *mālāvihāra*?"). Khot. *paṃjavāṣṣī* should not be construed as locative (*pace* Emmerick: "at the *pañcavarṣika*") but rather as accusative, given that the Tib. text explicitly mentions "made a quinquennial feast". For the so-called garland building constructed at a place where relics of the Buddha are kept, see *Prolexis* s.v. **mālihāru** and BHSD s.v. **mālā-vihāra**. The curious form Khot. *mālihāra-* may presuppose **mālīhāra-* (< MInd. *mālehāra-*; for *-ăv̆ī-* > *-e-* see von Hinüber 2001: 136f. §146.), cf. Khot. *sthīra-* ~ Skt. *sthavira-*.

83. For Khot. *aṃggiśśāla-*, cf. Gāndh. *agiśala-* (~ OInd. *agniśā́la-* [AV] 'the hall west of the *mahāvedi* where the three sacrificial fires are kept'), see Bailey 1946: 769. For Khot. *haṃdārā-* 'sustenance', see Skjærvø 2004: (vol. 2) 86f. *ad* **0.10**.

84. For the more elaborate Chin. version, see Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 21f.: "A l'égard des bhikṣu et des bhikṣuṇī, ou bien on les invite successivement, ou bien on les invite à quelque occasion, ou bien le premier jour du mois, ou bien le huitième jour, ou bien le quinzième, on dispose un banquet d'abstinence (*poṣadha*) pour le leur présenter en offrande; ou bien on va dans les temples; soit qu'on fasse des offrandes pour un seul, soit qu'on fasse des offrandes pour la Communauté, ou bien on fait [personellement] le don et

Despite the diversity of the activities deemed as conducive to wholesome potentialities with respect to the community, a tripartite classification seems to be shared between both texts: the offering of food on festive occasions, the construction of monastic infrastructure, and the supply of provisions for the monks. The Khotanese verses record the various types of buildings with a considerable degree of detail, but only brush over the third category by mentioning in passing the sustenance enjoyed by the monks. As regards the festive occasions, what the Tibetan text refers to as two separate feasts (i.e. *aṣṭamika* and *poṣadha*) falls in the Khotanese verses under the rubric of the communal sitting (*niṣadyā*), which, according to the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, takes place six times a month. The mention of the quinquennial feast (*pañcavārṣika*), common to both texts, also merits attention, insofar as it implies, more often than not, royal patronage of the Buddhist clergy and manifests, in some cases, in the form of a 'universal feast' offered to all the people present on that occasion.[85] Tracing this term back to the forebear in question may well have paved the way for the hypothesis that the idea of merging the Aśokan ideal of Buddhist kingship with the cult of Maitreya, as attested in the present paragraph, had already come into being before the second half of the 5th century, when the earliest extant fragment of the **Book of Zambasta** was probably copied.[86]

To sum up, the comparisons presented above may suffice to demonstrate that, apart from the list of the sixteen Elders, the verses dealing with the three assemblies of Maitreya in **Zambasta 22** may also be derived from the forebear, the content of which is not substantially different from that of the Chinese and the Tibetan versions. In addition, the Khotanese tradent, who recast those paragraphs with a metrical flourish, may well have had recourse to some sources related to the Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika school, which left traces in some changes made to the text. Nonetheless, it does not necessarily provide evidence for the religious affiliation of the tradent, whose tastes in

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le service; ou bien il arrive qu'on fait des offrandes à quelqu'un qui pratique la méditation pure; ou bien il arrive qu'on fait des offrandes à ceux qui expliquent la Loi; ou bien si on voit qu'il y a quelqu'un qui désire s'initier à la droite Loi et la répandre, l'entendre et la recevoir d'un maître, et on lui donne les moyens d'être en paix et on l'empêche de s'effrayer et de reculer, ou bien on célèbre une assemblée … de donation quinquennale (*pañcavārṣika*), ou bien on donne des habitations de temple ainsi que des sièges et des objets de literie, ou bien on donne des cloches ou des pierres sonores, ou bien on donne des parcs et des bois; … les hommes qui les font, par la force de telles racines excellentes (*kuśalamūla*), … dans la troisième réunion tenue par ce Bouddha, d'un cœur pur et croyant ils renonceront aux règles de la vie domestique …"

85. See Chen 2006: 69. The openness of the quinquennial feast is also manifested in one of its Chin. renderings, i.e., *wuzhe* 無遮 'without hindrance or obstacle', hence 'unlimited (feast)'. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 22 considered it to be a transcription of Skt. *mokṣā*. However, Funayama Tōru has pointed out that its Skt. counterpart may well be *nirargala-* or *-argaḍa-* (cf. Pāli *niraggaḷa-*) 'unimpeded; a specific unrestrained form of the *aśvamedha*' (BHSD s.v. **nirargaḍa**); see Funayama 2002: 318, n. 132.

86. See above p. 45, fn. 42 in the present section.

Mainstream Buddhist literature seem to be quite catholic. In the final part of this section, two pieces of evidence are adduced to shed some light on the amplitude of the literary learning of such *poetae docti* in ancient Khotan.

The first case occurs when the Buddha preaches about the path leading to the city of Nirvāṇa,[87] which is said to co-exist with the following stanza:

> *anice harbiśśä ṣkoṅgye. anātme harbiśśä ṣkauṅgye. dukhīṅgye harbiśśä ṣkoṅgye. tsāṣṭä närvāni näṣaundi.* [ed. Emmerick 1968: 302; v. 101]
>
> "Impermanent are all the [conditioned states] (*anityāḥ sarvasaṃskārāḥ*). Without Self are all the [conditioned states] (*anātmānaḥ sarvasaṃskārāḥ*). Woe-afflicted are all the [conditioned states] (*duḥkhāḥ sarvasaṃskārāḥ*). Calm, quiet is Nirvāṇa (*śāntaṃ nirvāṇam*)." tr. Emmerick 1968: 303.

These are the 'seals of the teachings' (*dharmamudrā*), which constitute the fundamental dogmata characteristic of what the Buddha taught and are ubiquitous in Buddhist scriptures. The number of these 'seals' ranges from two to ten, while the first two propositions are common to all traditions.[88] The most idiosyncratic part of the Khotanese version translated above is the second proposition, which deals with the selflessness or non-substantiality of all the conditioned states (*saṃskāra*) rather than of all the phenomena (*dharma*), a reading attested in the vast majority of the occurrences. As far as I am aware, the only text siding with the Khotanese verse is the Chinese **Ekottarika-Āgama**, in which the same dogmatic quartet is enumerated as 'the beginning and end of the teachings' (fǎ běnmò 法本末):

> 今有四法本末，如來之所說。云何為四？一切諸行無常。是謂初法本末，如來之所說。一切諸行苦。是謂第二法本末，如來之所說。一切諸行無我。是謂第三法本末，如來之所說。涅槃為永寂。是謂第四法本末，如來之所說。[T125, 2.640b13–18][89]
>
> Now, there are four [propositions which form] the beginning and end of the teachings, preached by the Tathāgata. What are the four? All the conditioned states are impermanent (*sarvasaṃskārā anityāḥ*). This is the first [proposition which forms] the beginning and end of the teachings, preached by the Tathāgata. All the conditioned states are woe-afflicted (*sarvasaṃskārā duḥkhāḥ*). This is the second [proposition which forms] the beginning and end of the teachings, preached by the Tathāgata. All the conditioned states are without Self (*sarvasaṃskārā anātmānaḥ*). This is the third [proposition which forms] the beginning and end of the teachings, preached by the Tathāgata. Nirvāṇa is eternally tranquil (*śāntaṃ nirvāṇam*). This is the fourth [proposition which forms] the beginning and end of the teachings, preached by the Tathāgata.

This reading is so rare that Étienne Lamotte considered it an error which

87. For a recent treatment of the imagery of the city of Nirvāṇa in Skt., Chin., and Toch. sources, see Habata 2015: 61–84. A comprehensive study taking the Khot. sources also into account is still a desideratum.

88. For an informative list of textual sources, in which the *dharmamudrā*s occur with different numbers, see Lamotte 1970: (vol. 3) 1368ff., n. 1. See also Fujita 1975: 105–123.

89. Cf. also T125, 2.639a4–10.

crept into this well-attested formula.[90] However, taking into account that it occurs twice in the same Chinese text and is buttressed by the Khotanese parallel, a more plausible theory might be to regard it as evidence for a variant version of this proposition transmitted in the Mahāsāṃghika or Dharmaguptaka school, to which the Chinese **Ekottarika-Āgama** is traditionally attributed.[91] Thus, it may not be far-fetched to argue that the Khotanese tradent, who rendered the same variant into Khotanese, had access to some sources belonging to the same school.

The second case concerns three verses (henceforth verses α, β, γ) allegedly preached by the Buddha Maitreya to sentient beings:

ākṣūta vaysña narīnde | haspāsta śśāśiña balysä |
maraṇīṃju hatcañita hīno | kho ju hastä damänu ggaysīṃgyo (= verse α)
abätanda byātarā śīlna |hastamäna hämīru |
hutāṣṭe kā'mate kei'ta | ttu hivī aysmū paiya (= verse β)
ce mara ttye śśāśśiña balysä | abitandi māñita vaysña |
jinda puṣṣo harbiśśä ysaṃtha | dukhānu päṣkalu yanda (= verse γ)
[ed. Emmerick 1968: 330, v. 276–278]

"(verse α:) Begin now to go out! Strive in the Buddha's instruction (*śāsana*). Break up the army of death as an elephant a hut of reeds. (verse β:) May you be free from doubt, mindful, of excellent conduct. Think well-thought thoughts. Guard this your own mind. (verse γ:) One who now remains here in the instruction of this Buddha free from doubt will remove completely all births, will make an end of woes." tr. Emmerick 1968: 331.

In fact, these verses are already well known under the preaching of the Buddha Śākyamuni, in light of their numerous occurrences in (para-)canonical literature in many classical languages of Buddhism.[92]

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90. See Lamotte 1970: (vol. 3) 1369: "Cette formule est apparemment fautive car ce ne sont pas seulement les *saṃskāra*, mais tous les *dharma* qui sont *anātman*."

91. The school affiliation of the Chin. **Ekottarika-Āgama** is still open to dispute. Most scholars agree that its Indic Vorlage does not belong to the (Mūla)sarvāstivādins. In Japan, the attribution of this text to the Mahāsāṃghika has been proposed since the Tokugawa period, while some modern scholars also asserted a Dharmaguptaka origin. For an overview of various scholarly opinions, see Mayeda 1985: 102f. However, as Lamotte 1967: 106 correctly pointed out, there is no conclusive proof for any of these theories.

92. For different combinations of (two of) the three verses in various textual sources, see: [1] β – α – γ: **Udānavarga** IV 36–38: *apramādaratā bhavata suśīlā bhavata bhikṣavaḥ | susamāhitasaṃkalpāḥ svacittam anurakṣata || ārabhadhvaṃ niṣkramadhvaṃ yujyadhvaṃ buddhaśāsane | dhunidhvaṃ mṛtyunaḥ sainyaṃ naḍāgāram iva kuñjaraḥ || yo hy asmiṃ dharmavinaye tv apramatto bhaviṣyati | prahāya jātisaṃsāraṃ duḥkhasyāntaṃ sa yāsyati ||* [ed. Bernhard 1965: 137f.]; for some variants in the so-called *Rezension II*, see Schmithausen 1970: 93, 100, 109. Note that the first pāda of IV 36 is not totally identical with vers. β. [2] α – γ: **Saṃyutta-Nikāya** I 156f.: *ārabbhatha nikkhamatha yuñjatha buddhasāsane | dhunātha maccuno senaṃ naḷāgāraṃ va kuñjaro || yo imasmim dhammavinaye appamatto vihassati | pahāya jātisaṃsāraṃ dukkhassantaṃ karissati ||* [= **Theragāthā** 256f.]. **Prātimokṣasūtra** (of the Sarvāstivādins), *Schlußteil* in TochA: *posā*[*c*] *pälcäs pritwäs ptāñäkte enäṣluneyaṃ | ptäpsäs wlalu*[*ne*](*ṣiṃ ratäk kärw*)*āṣi waṣt mäne oṅkaläm | kusne nu caṣ märka*[*mpa*]*lṣi enäṣlune*[*yaṃ*] (*sne y*)*k*[*o*]*rñe täṣ | wawikuräṣ cmo*(*lwāṣiṃ sark klopis*

However, it is only in the Gāndhārī **Dharmapada** unearthed in Khotan that these verses occur in exactly the same order:

arahadha nikhamadha | yujatha budhaśaśaṇe |
dhuṇatha mucuṇo seṇa | naḍakara ba kuñaru (= verse α)
apramata svadimada | suśila bhodu bhikṣavi |
susamahida-sagapa | sacita aṇurakṣadha (= verse β)
yo imasma dhama-viṇa'i | apramatu vihaṣidi |
praha'i jadi-satsara | dukhusada kariṣadi (= verse γ)

[ed. Brough 1962: 136f., v. 123–125]

(verse α:) Exert yourselves and go forth! Devote yourselves to the Buddha's instruction (*śāsana*)! Destroy the army of death as an elephant a hut of reeds. (verse β:) Be vigilant, monks, mindful, of good conduct! With well-concentrated thought, guard [your] own mind! (verse γ:) One who will remain vigilant in this religious system (*dharmavinaya*), abandoning the transmigration in births, will put an end to woes.

Aside from some minor differences which can be explained away in one way or another,[93] there is no significant discrepancy between both versions. In

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ākā yäṣ) [ed. Schmidt 1989: 77, v. 13–14; the underlined part is also attested in a **Maitreyasamiti**-fragment, A 258, a4–5] "Fangt an! Gehet hinaus [und] schließt euch der Lehre des Buddha an! Vernichtet das Heer des Todes, wie ein Elefant eine Rohrhütte [niederreißt]! Wer aber in dieser Lehre des Gesetzes gewissenhaft ist, der wird den Kreislauf der Geburten verlassen und zum Ende des Leids gelangen." tr. Schmidt 1989: 79. **Maitrisimit** XXVI in Uighur (fol. 13 from Sängim, ll. 5–14): *örüŋlär kataglan*(*ıŋlar burhanl*)*ar üt ärigintä* /// /// *ölümlüg* (*süü kaltı ya*)*ŋalar kamiš alačuk* /// /// *asra kılıŋlar* (*kim kayu üt*) *ärigdä sımtag* (*bolmasar*) /// /// *ažunlug* /// /// *kılur* [ed. Geng et al. 2004: 70] "Erhebt euch, bemüht [euch] in der Vorschrift [der Buddhas] ... Unterwerft das [Heer] des Todes [so wie Ele]fanten eine Schilfhütte [zerstören]. [Wer] in der Vorschrift [nicht] nachlässig [ist, wird den] Existenz-[Kreislauf verlassen und den Leiden ein Ende] machen." tr. Geng et al. 2004: 72. For the occurrence of vers. α alone in a TochB fragment of the **Mahāprabhāsa-Jātaka**, see Pinault 1988: 203. Due to the break-off of the fragment after the end of the verse, it is impossible to judge whether it is followed by vers. γ.
[3] β – γ: **Dīgha-Nikāya** II 120f.: *appamattā satīmanto susīlā hotha bhikkhavo | susamāhitasaṃkappā sacittam anurakkhatha || yo imasmiṃ dhammavinaye appamatto vihessati | pahāya jātisaṃsāraṃ dukkhass' antaṃ karissati ||*.

93. Vers. α: [1] Gāndh. *arah-* (Skt. *ārabh-*) was interpreted as 'to exert oneself' by Norman 1969: (vol. 1) 30, who probably followed the commentarial tradition (cf. **Spk** I 222 *ad* **SN** I 156: *ārabhatha ārambha-viriyaṁ karotha* '"Put forth!" means "make an effort!".'). But the common meaning of this verb is of course 'to start, initiate'. This is also how the Khot. and Toch. translators understood it; cf. Khot. *ākṣuv-* 'to begin' (impv. pl. 2nd. *ākṣūta*), TochA *o-n-* mid. 'to begin' (impv. mid. pl. *posāc*). [2] Gāndh. *nikhamadha* (Skt. *niṣkramadhvam*) is rendered as Khot. infinitive *narīnde* 'to go out', which could easily be triggered by the fact that the root *ārabh-* is frequently used with infinitive forms.

Vers. β: [1] Khot. *abätanda-*, originally 'free from doubt, unperplexed' (derived from the root *bitam-* 'to doubt, be perplexed'), also means 'without lassitude, vigilant' in the translation idiom, and thus often translates Skt. *atandrita-*, *apramatta-* '*id.* '; see *Suffixe*: 260. [2] Khot. *byāta*(*ga*)*raa-* 'mindful', consisting of *byāta-* 'memory' and *garaa-* 'maker', forms a perfect match for Gāndh. *svadimad-* (Skt. *smr̥timant-*) '*id.*'; therefore, the first pāda of vers. β is a verbatim rendering of v. 124a (not v. 126c) in the Khotan **Dharmapada**, *pace* Maggi 2017: 278. [3] Gāndh. *bhodu* is probably a variant for **bhotha* (impv. pl. 2nd; cf. Pāli *hotha*) which has undergone an Umlaut caused by the preceding syllable, cf. *bhikhu du* (for

addition, the order in which the three verses are arranged in **Zambasta 22** dovetails with the Khotan **Dharmapada**. If this commonality is not to be dismissed as fortuitous, it might be a plausible hypothesis that the Khotanese tradent also had at his disposal a copy of the **Dharmapada** very similar to, if not identical with, the one edited by John Brough, which is believed to have diffused to Khotan at the beginning of the Common Era.[94] As for the school affiliation of the Khotan **Dharmapada**, Brough excluded the (Mūla)sarvāstivāda, the Mahāsāṁghika, and the Theravāda, whose versions of this text are otherwise known; and considered the Dharmaguptaka and the Kāśyapīya, two schools which were active in Gandhara at that time, as the most likely candidates for the cradle of the Khotan **Dharmapada**.[95] If that is true, texts transmitted by the same school could have been available to the Khotanese tradent who composed the **Book of Zambasta**.

The prestige of Khotan as "the stronghold and hearth of the Mahāyāna movement"[96] puts the Śrāvakayāna substrate of Khotanese Buddhism in the shade. Nonetheless, both the Mahāsāṃghika and the Sarvāstivāda are mentioned in the **Prophecy of the Li Country** as Indian Mainstream schools which found patronage in ancient Khotan.[97] Even though the legendary

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di < *iti*, twice in the Khotan **Dharmapada**; see Brough 1962: 83, §25); for the interchange between the aspirated and unaspirated stops (including *-d-*/*-t-* : *-dh-*/*-th-*) in the Khotan **Dharmapada**, see Brough 1962: 100f., §49.

94. For the date of the Khotan **Dharmapada**, Brough proposed the 2nd century CE on paleographic grounds, while admitting that more research is needed to provide reasons for possible revision; see Brough 1962: 55f. Gérard Fussman, with more caution, dated the Khotan **Dharmapada** to the time period between the late 1st century and the mid-3rd century AD in his reappraisal of Brough's conclusion; see Fussman 1989: 436–439.

95. See Brough 1962: 44f. But more versions of Gāndhārī **Dharmapada** have recently come to light. Hence, Harry Falk reminds us of the possibility that there might have been no fixed version of the text within a certain sectarian tradition; see Falk 2015: 24–26.

96. See Lamotte 1954: 392 (emphasis added): "C'est donc bien au Khotan et dans les régions immédiatement avoisinantes qu'il faut chercher, sinon le berceau, du moins *la forteresse et le foyer du mouvement mahāyāniste*."

97. For the Mahāsāmghikas in Khotan, cf. **Li yul lung bstan pa**: *li yul du thog ma mahāsamghika'i sde yang dge slong 'phags pa dharmānanda byung nas | 'u then na 'dro tir gtogs par gtsug lag khang brgyad dang | kam sheng gtsug lag khang kha brgyad kyi dge 'dun yang mahāsaṃghika'i sder gtogs* [ed. Emmerick 1967: 40, 180b1–2] "The Mahāsāṃghika sect and the monk Ārya-Dharmānanda having first into the Li country, in 'U-then [i.e., Khotan; cf. Chin. *yutian* 于闐], the [community] of the eight [temples] belonging to 'Dro-tir (Khot. *drūttīrai*) and the eight [temples] of Kam-sheng [i.e., Phema; cf. Chin. *kancheng*/*gancheng* 坎城/紺城] belong to the Mahāsāṃghika sect." tr. Emmerick 1967: 41. For the Sarvāstivādins in Khotan, cf. **Li yul lung bstan pa**: *thog ma spun ma mjal te | bzod pa gsol ba'i sar mjal mo ka ka ro nga zhes bgyi ba'i gtsug lag khang zhig brtsigs nas | thog ma li yul du sarbātibād kyi sde theg pa chung ngu pa yang mkhan po 'phags pa samanta-siddhi las byung* [ed. Emmerick 1967: 44] "On the spot where, not at first meeting, the brothers [i.e., king Viśa' Dharma and his elder brother] asked for pardon, a [temple] called mJal-mo-ka-ka-ro-nga was built. Thus, through the abbot Ārya-Samantasiddhi, the Hīnayānist sect of the Sarvāstivāda first appeared in the Li country." tr. Emmerick 1967: 45.

account in the prophecy cannot be taken historically,[98] the existence of monasteries affiliated with these schools in the Khotan region was probably not a figment of the story-teller's imagination.[99] Thus, it is quite conceivable, as the evidence adduced above demonstrates, that some texts of these schools, along with the forebear of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, circulated on the southern rim of the Tarim Basin before the late 5th century,[100] and also found reception among Mahāyāna-minded Khotanese Buddhists, an audience such a patchwork as **Zambasta 22** might have targeted.

A Separate Tradition in Dunhuang

Some of the sixteen Elders are also mentioned in three Khotanese documents from Dunhuang, in which their names are embedded in the formula: *namau* N.N. *sthīrä namasū*(*ṃ*) 'I do homage to the venerable[101] Elder N.N.' The three documents, namely Or. 8210/S. 2471 (henceforth doc. α), IOL Khot 83+84 (henceforth doc. β), IOL Khot S. 46 (henceforth doc. γ), contain idiosyncratic lists of the Elders. A synoptic comparison of these lists with that of the Khotanese **Nandimitrāvadāna** (SI 1929) yields the following table:[102]

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98. The two schools are said to have been introduced into Khotan during the reign of a certain Viśa' Dharma, whose floruit is unknown. For a tentative genealogy of the kings mentioned in the **Li yul lung bstan pa**, see Emmerick 1967: 76f.

99. The monastery 'Dro-tir or Drūttīra seems to have existed until the demise of the Buddhist kingdom, since some monks from this monastery are mentioned in at least four documents from Dunhuang and Mazar Tagh (cf. Or. 8212/162, ll. 125, 160; Or. 12637/14.2, l. 2; IOL Khot S. 13, l. 43; and Pelliot chinois 2958, ll. 213, 225); see Kumamoto 1982: 148 and Skjærvø 2002: 52, 53, 124, 509. Though nothing bearing on the Mahāsāṃghika affiliation is mentioned in these documents, the monastery seems to have enjoyed royal favor until the late 10th century. In addition, the renowned pilgrim monk Xuanzang, according to his bio-hagiography, was accommodated in a temple of the Sarvāstivādins, when he arrived at Khotan in the early 7th century (cf. T2053, 50.251b12). Whether this temple is to be identified with the one mentioned in the **Li yul lung bstan pa** is questionable.

100. Some birch-bark fragments of the **Saṃyukta-Āgama** written in the Gilgit/Bamiyan type I (ca. 6th century; after Sander 1968: 134) were discovered in Khadalik by M.A. Stein; see la Vallée Poussin 1913: 569–580. See also Wille 2006: 49, §176 for a further fragment from the same manuscript. Viewed from the structure of the sūtras, these fragments do not seem to belong to the same school as the two Chin. versions of **Saṃyukta-Āgama**, which are hypothetically attributed to the Mūlasarvāstivāda and the Dharmaguptaka, respectively (Mayeda 1985: 99–101; Chung 2008: 11–25). But a certain affinity between the sūtras contained in these fragments and the **Khandha-Saṃyutta** of the **Saṃyutta-Nikāya** is discernible; see Chung 2008: 30–32.

101. Khot. *namau* (Skt. *namas*) is not followed by a dative, as one would expect, but is used as a kind of honorific marker like 'venerable'. A similar usage is also found with Bactr. ναμωο attested in two Buddhist documents; see Sims-Williams 2007: 174–177. Maggi considers it unnecessary to postulate a use of Khot. *namau* as an adjective but as a parenthesis 'Homage!'; see Maggi 1997: 40.

102. For transcriptions and translations of the sources on which the table is based, see

doc. α	doc. β	doc. γ	SI 1929
Paiṇḍūra Bharädvāja	Piṃdūra Bharadvāgya	Piṇḍūra Bharadvāja	Piṃḍaula Bharadvāja
Kanakava(tsa)	Kanakavatsa	Kanakavatsa	Kanakavatsa
Badrriaika	Kanaka Bharadhvāja	Bakula	Kānaka Bharadvāja
Pūrṇa Mitrrāyanīpūtrra	<A>bhai{ṣa}ja	Abhija	Abhija
Vanavāsa	Bakulä	Kanaka Bharadvāja	Bakkula
Barädvāja	Bhadrrika	Kāṇḍa	Kāḍa
Cūḍāpattaa	Kāḍika	Vajrrīputra	Bhadra
Mahākāśava	Vajrraputra	Gaupaka	Vajraputra
Śāräpūtrra	Ø	Pathaika	Gaupāka
Rāhūla	Ø	Rāhula	Rāhula
Sūbū(ti)	Ø	Nāgasai(na)	Paṃthaa
Āgīñāṃnakauṭī	Ø	Iṃgaṃṇḍa	Nāgasena
Bhāṣma	Ø	Ajitta	Aṃgäla
Āgīñāṃnakauṭīña	Vanavāsa	Va(na)vāsa	Vānāvāsa
Mahāmaudagalāya	Ajitta	**Anarruṃda**	Aśauka
Mahānāma	Cūḍapathaa	Cuḍāpathaa	Cūḍapaṃthaa

While docs. β and γ, despite minor variations here and there, seem to be not quite far removed from what we know from the extant versions of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**,[103] the tradent of doc. α, who probably only remembered seven out of the sixteen Elders by name, made up more than half of the list by padding it with some other names well known in Buddhist literature. This is a good example of how fluid such a text as the **Nandimitrāvadāna** could have been, especially when it was (partially) adapted for a variety of religious

Skjærvø 2002: 31, 388–389, 633 and Duan 1992: 74, III.§§51–67. The names that find no counterpart in the **Nandimitrāvadāna** are marked with bold.

103. This is, of course, not 100% sure, since one folio with about five Elders' names is missing in doc. β, which also attests the hypercorrection of (A)bhedya to Bhaiṣajya. But in overall terms, the remaining part of this list seems to be quite in accord with the extant versions of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**. On the other hand, doc. γ, albeit complete, drops Bhadra from the list and adds Aniruddha instead.

practices. This fluid tradition, to which the three lists in Dunhuang might ultimately go back, was at the outset separate from that discussed in the preceding sections, insofar as it does not share the significant variant 'Aśoka', which is replaced by 'Ajita' in docs. β and γ.

None of the three Khotanese documents testifies to an independent cult of the Elders. In their specific context, homage is rendered to a Buddhist pantheon consisting of crores (*koṭi*) of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Elders. It may be not insignificant that both doc. β (*poṭhi*-folios) and doc. γ (scroll), despite their different formats, are carefully written in formal script and adorned with artistic designs. The former, the colophon of which is unfortunately not preserved, looks unostentatious, blazoned with back-and-white flowers between the lines on the *verso* or miniature drawings of Buddhas on the left margin. But the latter, which is by far the longest among the Dunhuang manuscripts,[104] boasts such an opulent embellishment that a delicate silk painting was originally glued to the back of the scroll. The painting depicts a pair of confronted birds standing on flowers and holding budding branches in their beaks. The lavishness of doc. γ seems to hint at the status of the patron, whose name is mentioned in four colophons dated at different points in the same year. One of the colophons is written two lines below the homage to the Elders and reads as follows:

> *tti kulyāṃ bhaddrrikalpyau jastāṃ ba'ysāṃ u baudhasatvāṃ u arahaṃdāṃ sthīrāṃ hīye nāme śāṃ khūṃṅä Hvāṃ': Saṃgakä pasti pīḍe bu'ysye jsūṃña prriyaugä udiśāyi. jsūṃnai huṣvīye pīla akālamaranai vyachūṃde. nauda: sahaici salya dasamye māśti 8 haḍai pūrvabhadriva nakṣa'tträ vī ṣacū āṃna dāśe nauda : || : tti ṣṭāṃ puña mārā-pyarāṃ jsa haṃbrrīhe. cu parya īṃde ttyāṃ ga-viśeṣä' hamāte, cu jūṃdā ṣṭāṃde ttyāṃ jsūṃna huṣvīye. tti ṣṭāṃ puña hāysi naysdä hvārakyāṃ brrātarāṃ jsa haṃbrrīhūṃ. haṃbistä ṣṭāṃnaṃ āṃ ba'ysūśti pariṇāmūṃ nauda :* [ed. Skjærvø 2002: 549f., ll. 1101–1106]
>
> The superior chamberlain (Khot. *śāṃ-khūṅä*, Chin. *shangqing* 上卿), Hvāṃ Saṃgaka [by name], ordered the names of the crores of Buddhas of the auspicious eon (*bhadrakalpika*), Bodhisattvas, and Elders [who are] Arhats to be written, for the sake of the enjoyment of a long life. May his life be prolonged, and calamities and untimely death (*akālamaraṇa*) will vanish! Homage! In the Year of the Hare, on the 8th day of the 10th month under the lunar mansion (*nakṣatra*) Pūrvabhadrapada, it was completed in Ṣacū [i.e. Dunhuang; Chin. *shazhou* 沙州]. Homage!
> In the same manner, I share the merits with my parents. Those who have passed away, may they have an excellent rebirth (*gativiśeṣa*); those who are alive, may their life be prolonged. In the same manner, I share the merits with sisters and brothers near and far. Having shared [the merits], I develop myself towards the enlightenment. Homage!

The patron of doc. γ named Hvāṃ (i.e. Wang 王)[105] Saṃgaka was, in all

104. This long scroll (over 21 meters) is a composite manuscript which consists of five parts: [1] the **Buddhoṣṇīṣavijaya** and **Sitātapatra** (ll. 1–198), two *dhāraṇī*s in Skt.; [2] the **Bhadrakalpikasūtra** (ll. 198–754) in Khot.; [3] the first **Deśanā** (ll. 755–851), a Khot. confession text doing homage to Buddhas; [4] the **Sumukhadhāraṇī** (ll. 852–1061) in Khot.; and [5] the second **Deśanā** (ll. 1062–1101), in Khot., homage to Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Elders. The names of the Elders occur towards the end of the final part. High-quality photos of the lengthy manuscript are found in Takubo 1975: 46–118.

105. For the adoption of Chin. surnames by Khot. people who indigenously did not use

Figure 3 The long paper scroll (IOL Khot S 46) commissioned by Hvāṃ Saṃgaka, embellished with a painting of a pair of confronted birds, Dunhuang (mid-10th century). Photograph by M.A. Stein in *Serindia* (Oxford, 1921), vol. 4, pl. CXLVI.

likelihood, a high-ranking official at the court of Khotan, who seems to have been enthusiastic about commissioning such artifacts, as is evident also from a Dunhuang painting of Vaiśravaṇa (Pelliot tibétain 0821) made at his behest.[106] All the artifacts related to him are dated in a certain 'Year of the Hare', which James Hamilton identified with 943 CE.[107] According to the colophons, Saṃgaka probably spent the most part of that year in Dunhuang,[108] whither he was probably sent as an envoy of the king Viśa' Sambhava (aka Li Shengtian 李聖天; r. 912–966). As the colophon translated above demonstrates, what lay closest to Saṃgaka's heart was his own longevity and the well-being of his parents and siblings, whether departed or alive. The pantheon, of which the sixteen Elders form an indispensable part, was believed to be instrumental in delivering on his wishes, as long as these Buddhist deities were propitiated with their names recited or copied. More or less the same use can be postulated for doc. β, which was, nevertheless, commissioned by a donor with a relatively modest budget.

The case of doc. α appears to be a bit different. In this scroll, the Khotanese texts are written on the back of a Chinese scripture,[109] which is meticulously copied in neat handwriting. By contrast, the Khotanese texts, which are likely to postdate the Chinese by centuries, give the impression of a sloppy hand. Having compared one of these texts with its parallel version, Duan Qing has detected numerous scribal errors, and occasionally *lapsus calami*, which go so far as to leave out an entire sentence.[110] The seeming slackness of the copyist

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surnames, see Wen 2016: 73–98. Interestingly, some 12th-century descendants of the Khotanese royal house, who survived the Karakhanid conquest and served the Jurchen dynasty, chose Wang as their surname (p. 93). It is not impossible that the Saṃgaka in question may also have stemmed from the royal family in Khotan.

106. See Dudbridge/Emmerick 1978: 283–285. In addition to a Khot. colophon, the painting of Vaiśravaṇa is inscribed with two syntactially awkward Chin. colophons, cf. 王上卿天王一心供養 'The superior chamberlain Wang, [to] the heavenly king, wholeheartedly offered.' and 一心供養張儒者 'wholeheartedly offered the confucianist Zhang'. In the first colophon, we probably have the Chin. counterpart of *Hvāṃ śāṃ-khūṅä* attested.

107. See Hamilton 1979: 53f. on the basis of Roger Billard's examination of the lunar mansions (*nakṣatra*) mentioned in three colophons of doc. γ.

108. The Khot. inscription on the painting of Vaiśravaṇa is dated in the 3rd month of 943, and the four colophons of doc. γ in the 5th, 9th, and 10th month, respectively.

109. To be exact, the 487th fascicle of the **Da banruo boluomiduo jing** 大般若波羅蜜多經 / ***Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra** translated by Xuanzang (cf. T220, 7, 472b9–477c14), the rightmost portion of the scroll is cut off, while a piece of this portion is found in Pelliot chinois 5536. To the left of the end of the Chin. text, there are two lines of a Khot. inscription (Skjærvø 2002: 27, b1–2), which turns out to be the opening formula of the **Aparimitāyuḥsūtra**, one of the Khot. texts copied on the back.

110. See Duan 1992: 23 (emphasis added): "Von diesem Teil des Manuskripts kann wirklich nicht behauptet werden, daß es von einem gewissenhaften Schreiber stammt. Viele Fehler sind ihm unterlaufen, und manchmal wird ein ganzer Satz vermißt … S 2471 scheint eher eine gedankenlose Abschrift zu sein; es hat mehr absurde Schreibfehler, durch die ein Satz völlig unverständlich wird …" This observation is mainly based on the second part of this composite manuscript (ll. 92–228), i.e., a copy of the Khot. **Aparimitāyuḥsūtra**, which is

leads her to surmise that, when the Khotanese side of the scroll was written, its orthography and content were no longer considered a critical factor in accruing the merit, and what mattered for the copyist was to copy as many texts as possible within the stipulated time.[111] This may be possible, but the formal difference between doc. α and doc. γ, in spite of their partly overlapping content, may also be accounted for through the disparity in rank between their donors. The donor of doc. α, Hūyī Kīma-tcūna by name, was likely to be an official on the prefecture level[112] who was subordinate to Saṃgaka, the patron of doc. γ. What the official wished to achieve by having the second-rate copy made finds its expression in the following colophon separated from the mutated list of Elders by a *dhāraṇī*:

> *ttu sūtrra u baudasatva hīye nāmi {k}ū beysā hīye nāme Hūyī Kīma tcūna pasta pīḍe beysūśta brrīye jsīnai hūṣī pīlai vyechīde tta ṣṭau pūña kūśalamū(la) mistye rraispūrä Jīnana habrrīhū ga-vaśeṣa' hamāve* || || [ed. Skjærvø 2002: 31, ll. 88–91 = Duan 1992: 76, III§71f.]
>
> Hūyī Kīma-tcūna ordered the sūtra, the names of the Bodhisattvas, and the names of the Buddhas to be written for the love of the enlightenment. May his life be prolonged, and calamities will vanish! In the same manner, I share the merits and wholesome potentialities with the great prince Jīna, may there be an excellent rebirth [for him]!

This formula is quite similar to that in doc. γ. We may safely infer from the final sentence that a prince named Jīna had just passed away when the copy was made. The prince Jīna is otherwise unknown in the Khotanese sources that have come down to us, hence it remains uncertain to which of the four 10th-century Khotanese kings he was born, not to mention when and where he died. He could have been one of the Khotanese princes sojourning in Dunhuang, where his untimely death occurred and was lamented by the envoy Kīma-tcūna. But it is also possible that the message of the prince's death in Khotan had reached Dunhuang, where Kīma-tcūna, due to his diplomatic mission, could not go back to attend the funeral and thus dedicated part of the merit accrued from copying the names of the Buddhas etc. to the deceased. However, as in the case of Saṃgaka, Kīma-tcūna wished, more than anything else, for his own longevity. It is also in this connection understandable that Kīma-tcūna chose the **Aparimitāyuḥsūtra**, a *dhāraṇī*-text which was invested with the power to prolong the human lifespan, as the second text to be copied in this scroll. In order to fulfill his hopes, Kīma-tcūna took refuge in a Buddhist pantheon similar to that of

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flanked by two homage texts (ll. 2–91 and 229–284), in which not only Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Elders, but also miscellaneous deities and spirits are invoked.

111. See Duan 1992: 23.

112. Two titles of the donor are attested in doc. α, namely *ṣau* and *ttūttevä* (ll. 222, 225). Wen 2008: 127–133 tentatively suggests the former to be identified with Chin. *zhishi* 知事 'administrative clerk', with an additional remark that the functions and powers of (*ṣ*)*ṣau* are not clear at all in the case of 10th-century documents from Dunhuang. The second title is undoubtedly a transcription of Chin. *dutou* 都頭 'area commander (equivalent to general)'; see Haloun *apud* Bailey 1940: 600.

Saṃgaka. The only difference might be that Kīma-tcūna's pantheon was a bit more fluid, insofar as it contains names of some 'Buddhas' unknown in Indic sources, which are likely to be attributed to a local tradition.[113] The same fluidity is also characteristic of the list of the sixteen Elders in doc. α, which, as mentioned above, has undergone considerable substitution and reshuffle. It seems that the Elders were broadly construed as a group of sixteen tutelary figures, the individual names of which were often subject to alteration and had little impact on the efficacy of the donation.

In sum, there is no evidence for an independent cult of the sixteen Elders among the Khotanese-speaking Buddhists in Dunhuang during the 10th century. Be that as it may, several lists of the Elders, which might have been derived from a tradition different from that in Khotan proper, were transmitted in a number of homage or confession texts, in which they were incorporated into a Buddhist pantheon of tutelary divinities. Those texts were produced at the behest of donors who prayed for the longevity of themselves and the well-being of the deceased in the afterlife. Those wishes, commonplace as they may sound, were especially meaningful at a time when Khotan and its neighboring regions were plunged into the maelstrom of war and the society was in turmoil. As in the auspicious images from Dunhuang which often depict the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas frequenting Khotan,[114] we see in those Khotanese documents an ardent desire not only to make spiritual beings present but also to resort to "many sources for spiritual sustenance, hope, relief, or defense" (Carrithers 2000: 834). Such a predisposition toward polytropy[115] was especially understandable in a social setting, in which contingency loomed so large that people were wont to rely on as many suppliers as possible for their day-to-day needs, both economic and political. Viewed from this perspective, the Elders were but one of the religious associates with whom the Khotanese-speaking Buddhists in 10th-century Dunhuang were in continued communion.

113. The peculiar local 'Buddhas' attested in doc. α are discussed in detail by Duan 1992: 28–34. Some of the local 'Buddhas' are also named in IOL Khot S. 12 (Ch00268).

114. For the illustrations of auspicious images from Dunhuang and their socio-historical background, see Soymié 1984: 77–102, and Zhang/Rong 1993: 212–279.

115. For the term 'polytropy' and the features that differentiate it from 'religious tolerance' or 'inclusivism', see Carrithers 2000: 831–837.

Transcription

1 ¶ tta-ṃ pyūṣṭä khu jastä ba'[ys]ä mahāparinirvā[ṇi] samāhān[i] samā[va]j[ä][1] yuḍä khvī 800 salī parrye ttu bāḍi sūrāṣṭ[rä][2] kṣīra rre vye [vajra]s[eṃ] nāma vye[3] vara ttiña kṣ[ī]ra kukk.[ṭ].rā[m].[4]

2 nāma tye saṃkhāraṃ vara ttiña saṃ[kherma] naṃdamitṛ nāma tye arahaṃdi kṣa abhijñi busti tcahaura dhyāna haṣṭa vimaukṣa sa gaṃpha[5] haṃdārāṃ aysmū paysāṃdi[6] audi[7] mujakāṃ vī buri aysmū paysāṃdi kā [ha]ḍi[8] ttye naṃdamitṛ arahaṃ-

3 di parinirvāṃ bāḍi himye ttī + pharāka ṣamana haṃgrīya ttye arahaṃdi ta hvādi miḍāṃni khu thu paranirvi cirvā dāri baysūṃñi śāśaṃ hamraṣṭi ṣṭi arahaṃd-ūṃ [tta] hve brātaryau tvā rve + + ṣca[9] paśya khu baysä na-ra parini[rv]ye yä ttī jsāṃ [śā] +[10]

4 kṣaśe mahāṣāvā ysīṃnī hauḍa u jastāṃ nātāṃ jaṃbvīyāṃ rrāṃdāṃ[11] ṣadāṃ dāṃnavāṃ dānavāṃ [d]āṃ[12] [tt]ī biṣṭi braṣṭāṃdi miḍāṃni pīsā ni

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1. mahāparänärvāṇi [sa]māh[ā]na samā + + **Leumann**; mahā + + + + + + + hāna sam. + ja **Emmerick.**

2. surāṣṭ[rä] **Leumann** & **Emmerick.**

3. tye **Leumann** & **Emmerick.**

4. ku .au + rā + **Leumann**; ku .auṭarā + **Emmerick.**

5. sa + ha **Leumann** & **Emmerick.**

6. paryaṃsāryi **Leumann** & **Emmerick.** The *akṣara* -ysāṃ- is written in such an extravagant, idiosyncratic form that both Leumann and Emmerick read it as -ryaṃsā-.

7. odi **Emmerick.**

8. + sāṃgikā haḍi **Leumann**; + + + + + + **Emmerick.**

9. tvā + + kāṣca **Leumann.** The -v- of -rve is written with an open oval similar to -ṭ-.

10. + + **Leumann** & **Emmerick.**

11. rr[u]ṃdāṃ **Leumann.**

12. ṣadā dān.vaṃ dānavāṃ .āṃ **Leumann**; padāryā + + dānavāṃnāṃ **Emmerick.** The *akṣara* that I read [d]āṃ appears in a triangular form, which may possibly be attributed to a spot at the lower right corner.

muhu ttyāṃ sthīrā nāma bvāmaṃ ne[13] diśa paysāṃnāṃ ku ā'ra[14]
arahaṃd-ūṃ tta hve ays-[ū]ṃ [n]āma bve[15] di-

5 śa-ṃ paysāṃn[ū]ṃ[16] paḍauysä sthīri piṃḍaul[a][17]-bharadvāji nāma
gauyāṃni āsti uspurryau yseryau arahaṃdyau haṃtsa śācamuni baysä
parauna[18] ays-ūṃ namasūṃ vanūṃ 1,000 śye sthīri kanakavatsi nāma
kaśmīri āsti paṃjūṃ

6 tta tta hveñai khu paḍā[js]ye[19] 200 didi sthīri kānaka-bharadvāji nāma
pūrvadvī āsti 300 tcūraṃ[20] abhiji uttarū āsti 400 pūhi bakkulä nāma mara
jaṃbvīya āsti 500 kṣemi kāXi[21] nāma seṃkhaladvīpi[22] āstä

7 600 haudami bhadr̥ nāma ttāmravarṇikadvīpi āstä 700 haṣṭaṃ vajraput[r̥][23]
nāma yamunavarṇikadvīpi āstä 800 naumä gaupāki nāma ga(ṃ)dhamāyaṃ
garä vī āsti 900 dasami rā-

8 huli ttrayastrīṃśvā āsti cv-ī vasva śakri jasti saṃkhāraṃ + .t[ä][24] 1,000
śūdasa(ṃ)[25] pa[ṃ]thai[26] prabhaṃkaradvīpa āsti 1 100 || dvāsaṃ nāgaseṃ

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13. bvā[ma]ne **Leumann**.

14. [p]aysāṃnāṃka ār. **Leumann** & **Emmerick**.

15. ays. + + + + **Leumann**; aysaṃ [dā] + **Emmerick**.

16. + .aṃ paysāṃ[ne] **Leumann**; .e .aṃ paysāṃ[n]aṃ **Emmerick**.

17. piṃḍau[nu] **Leumann** & **Emmerick**. The *akṣara* that I read -l[a] rather than -[nu] is written in a slightly lower position than usual so as to avoid clash with the descending *akṣara* in line 4 above it.

18. paḍauna **Leumann** & **Emmerick**.

19. hve .ai thu + ḍā .e **Leumann**; hve ñai thu paḍārye **Emmerick**.

20. tcūrä **Leumann**.

21. kānthi **Leumann** & **Emmerick**. Though the second *akṣara* resembles -nthi, the received reading is not to be followed because consonant clusters -NC- (N = n/ṇ/ṅ) are consistently written as -ṃC- in this inscription. The name of the Elder is otherwise attested in Khot. as kāḍa-/-ika-, but the shape of the *akṣara* does not seem to support such a reading.

22. siṃkhaladvīpi **Leumann** & **Emmerick**.

23. vajraputta **Leumann** & **Emmerick**.

24. śvīvaskanakri jasti saṃkhār[amä] **Leumann** & **Emmerick**.

25. śūdasaṃ **Leumann**.

kailāsä gari vī āsti 1 200 || draisaṃ[27] aṃgäl[ä][28] gṛdhakū-

9 li gari vī āsti 1 300 tcahaulasaṃ śānāvāsä uṣay[ä] gari vī āsti 1 400

paṃjsūsaṃ aśauk[i] [ma](hā)pāṃḍari[29] gari vī āsti (1 500) [kṣasa]ṃ

[cū]ḍapaṃ[th]ai[30] vaidehi[31] garä vī ā-

10 sti uspurryau [kṣa]sä-seyau arahaṃdyau śācamuni baysä parauya[32] biśūṃ

hā aysä namasūṃ vanūṃ 1 600

26. + + **Leumann**; [paṃthi] **Emmerick.**

27. drraisaṃ **Emmerick.**

28. The reading of the middle syllable -gä- is uncertain, for there is a third dot above the double dot. Does it indicate the removal of the double dots, and thus *aṃgalä?

29. + + pāḍari **Leumann**; (mahā)[pāḍari] **Emmerick.**

30. + + ḍa [p]aṃ[th]ai **Leumann.**

31. vaideh[ä] **Leumann** & **Emmerick.**

32. paḍauya **Leumann** & **Emmerick.**

[A1]

tta-ṃ pyūṣṭä. khu jastä ba'ysä mahāparinirvāṇi samāhāni samāvajä yuḍä,

khvī 800 salī parrye, ttu bāḍi Sūrāṣṭrä kṣīra rre vye, Vajraseṃ nāma vye. vara

3 ttiña kṣīra Kukk(u)ṭ(ā)rām(a) nāma ⁺vye saṃkhāraṃ. vara ttiña saṃkherma

Naṃdamitr̥ nāma ⁺vye arahaṃdi. kṣa abhijñi busti, tcahaura dhyāna, haṣṭa

vimaukṣa. sa gaṃpha haṃdārāṃ aysmū paysāṃdi, audi mujakāṃ vī buri

6 aysmū paysāṃdi.

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3. **vye**] em.; tye Insc. 4. **vye**] em.; tye Insc.

1–2 Cf. Tib. [A1: 1–2]: Thus have I heard: 800 years have elapsed since the Blessed One passed into Nirvāṇa.

Cf. also Chin. [A1:]: "Voici ce que rapporte la tradition. Dans les huit cents années qui suivirent le Parinirvāṇa du Bouddha Bhagavat ..." tr. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 6.

4–6 Cf. Tib. [A1: 4–8]: A monk by the name of Nandimitra dwelt – He was absorbed in the eight emancipations (*aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyin*), endowed with the six extraordinary faculties (*ṣaḍabhijña*) ... He knew the mental behavior (*cittacarita*) of sentient beings – even of ants and small insects (*antataḥ kuntapipīlikānām api*) – living within a distance of many hundred thousand leagues (*yojana*).

Cf. also Chin. [A1:]: "il y avait un arhat nommé Nandimitra. Il avait au complet les huit Délivrances (*vimukti*), les trois Sciences (*vidyā*), les six Pénétrations (*abhijñā*) ... Par la force de la Connaissance du vœu, il pouvait connaître les sentiments et les actes de toute sorte de tous les êtres vivants (*sattva*) qui sont en ce monde." tr. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 6.

[A2]

kā haḍi ttye Naṃdamitṛ arahaṃdi parinirvāṃ bāḍi himye, ttī (vā) pharāka
ṣamana haṃgrīya, ttye arahaṃdi ta hvādi: miḍāṃni, khu thu paranirvi, cirvā
3 dāri baysūṃñi śāśaṃ hamraṣṭi ṣṭi? arahaṃd-ūṃ tta hve: brātaryau, tvā rve(ña)
(kā)ṣca paśya! khu baysä na-ra parinirvye yä, ttī jsāṃ śā(śaṃ) kṣaśe mahāṣāvā
ysīṃnī hauḍa, u jastāṃ nātāṃ jaṃbvīyāṃ rrāṃdāṃ ṣadāṃ dāṃnavāṃ
6 {dānavāṃ} dāṃ.

3–6 Cf. Tib. [A2: 3–8]: He (i.e. Nandimitra) said: "Good people (*bhadramukhāḥ*), be without fear and do not lament nor wail! Why? Because when the Blessed One was about to completely pass into Nirvāṇa, he entrusted the true teachings to the hands of the sixteen Great Elders (*mahāsthavira*), for the purpose of fully purifying the gifts of patrons and donors (*dāyakadānapatīnām*)."

Cf. also Chin. [A2:]: "Le Vénérable leur dit: «… Le Bouddha Bhagavat au moment de son Parinirvāṇa a confié la Loi sans supérieure à seize grands Arhat et à leur entourage, en leur ordonnant de la protéger de façon à ce qu'elle ne fût pas détruite. Il leur ordonna de faire en personne et avec les bienfaiteurs (*dānapati*) un véritable champ de bonheur (*puṇyakṣetra*), de façon à ce que ces bienfaiteurs obtinissent la récompense du grand fruit.»" tr. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 8–9.

Cf. also **Zambasta** 22.95cd–96: *umā ttū śśāśanu ysīnīyu dastu vīri paśśīmä. tto ttä biśśä ggāṭhā ysīnīta kye mamä śśāśiña ṣṣadda. ka ni trāmu dakṣiṇo śśūhāta ku parsīndi dukhyau jsa.* [The Buddha Śākyamuni spoke to the sixteen Elders:] "I leave this Śāsana entrusted in your hand. Thus have all these householders who are faithful in my Śāsana been entrusted to you. May you purify their gift so that they may escape from woes." tr. Emmerick 1968: 303 (modified; for *dakṣiṇo śśūh-* 'to purify the gift' see below p. 169, fn. 13).

[B1 + C1]

ttī biṣṭi braṣṭāṃdi: miḍāṃni pīsā, ni muhu ttyāṃ sthīrā nāma bvāmaṃ, ne diśa paysāṃnāṃ ku ā'ra. arahaṃd-ūṃ tta hve: ays-ūṃ nāma bve, diśa-ṃ
3 paysāṃnūṃ. paḍauysä sthīri Piṃḍaula-Bharadvāji nāma Gauyāṃni āsti, uspurryau yseryau arahaṃdyau haṃtsa, Śācamuni baysä parauna. **ays-ūṃ namasūṃ vanūṃ** 1000. śye sthīri Kanakavatsi nāma Kaśmīri āsti, paṃjūṃ.
6 **tta tta hveñai khu paḍājsye** 200.

1–2 Cf. Tib. [B1: 2–3 + C1: 2–3]: The monks said to … Nandimitra thus: "Elder, we do not know those Elders' names!" … "Elder, we also do not know where those Elders dwell."

Cf. also Chin. [B1: + C1:]: "… la grande assemblée demanda derechef: «Les seize grands Arhat dont vous avez parlé, nous ne savons pas quels sont leur noms.» … «Nous ne savons pas en quel endroit demeuraient généralement les seize Vénérables, gardant et maintenant la vraie Loi et se rendant utiles aux êtres vivants.»" tr. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 9, 10.

3 For the name Piṃdaula-Bharadvāja in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.93: *pātcu vā balysä sthaviru gurṣṭe Baradvāju ttu kālu* "Afterwards, the Buddha addressed the Elder Bharadvāja at that time." tr. Emmerick 1968: 303; cf. also

IOL Khot 84/1, r1: *namau Piṃdūra-Bharadvāgyą sthīrä namasūṃ*.

IOL Khot S. 46, 1093: *namau Piṇḍūra-Bharadvājä sthīrä namasuṃ* ||

Or.8210/S.2471, v72f.: *namau Paiṇḍūra-Bharädvāja sthīrä namasū* :

see Skjærvø 2002: 31, 388, 633 and Duan 1992: 74, III.§51.

5 For the name Kanakavatsa in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.94a: *Kanakavatsu*; and

IOL Khot 84/1, r2: *namau Kanakavatsi sthīra namasūṃ*.

IOL Khot S. 46, 1093–4: *namau Kanakavatsä sthīrä namasuṃ* ||

Or.8210/S.2471, v74: *namau Kanakava sthīrä namasū* :

see Skjærvø 2002: 31, 388, 633 and Duan 1992: 74, III.§53.

[B1 + C2]

didi sthīri Kānaka-Bharadvāji nāma Pūrvadvī āsti 300. tcūraṃ Abhiji Uttarū

āsti 400. pūhi Bakkulä nāma mara Jaṃbvīya āsti 500. kṣemi ⁺Kāḍi nāma

3 Seṃkhaladvīpi āstä 600. haudami Bhadr̥ nāma Ttāmravarṇikadvīpi āstä 700.

haṣṭaṃ Vajraputr̥ nāma Yamunavarṇikadvīpi āstä 800.

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2 **Kāḍi**] em. from kāXi (the illegible consonant [cluster] X is certainly not -ḍ-).

1a For the name Kānaka-Bharadvāja in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.94b: *Kanaka-Bāradvāju*; and
IOL Khot 84/1, v1: *namau Kanaka-Bharadhvājä sthīrä namasūṃ.*
IOL Khot S. 46, 1094–5: *namau Kanaka-Bharadvājä sthīrä namasuṃ* ||
Or.8210/S.2471, v76–77: *namau Barädvāja*(sic) *sthīrä namasū* :
See Skjærvø 2002: 31, 388, 633 and Duan 1992: 74, III.§57.
1b For the name Abhija in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.95a: *Abiju*; and
IOL Khot 84/1, v2: *namau <A>bhai{ṣa}jä sthīrä namasūṃ.*
IOL Khot S. 46, 1094: *namau Abhijä sthīrä namasuṃ* ||
See Skjærvø 2002: 388, 633.
2a For the name Bakkula in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.93c: *Bakulu*; and
IOL Khot 83/4, r1: *namau Bakulä sthīrä namasūṃ.*
IOL Khot S. 46, 1094: *namau Bakulä sthīrä namasuṃ :*
See Skjærvø 2002: 387, 633.
2b For the name Kāḍa in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.94a: *Kāḍu*; and
IOL Khot 83/4, v1: *namau Kāḍikaṃ sthīrī namasūṃ.*
IOL Khot S. 46, 1095: *namau Kāṇḍä*(sic) *sthīrä namasuṃ* ||
See Skjærvø 2002: 387, 633.
3 For the name Bhadra in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.94a: *Badru*; and
IOL Khot 83/4, r2: *namau Bhadrrika sthīrä namasūṃ.*
Or.8210/S.2471, v74–75: *namau Badrraika sthīrä namasū :*
See Skjærvø 2002: 31, 387 and Duan 1992: 74, III.§54.
4 For the name Vajraputra in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.95a: *Vajjiputru*; and
IOL Khot 83/4, v2: *namau Vajrraputrä sthīrä namasūṃ.*
IOL Khot S. 46, 1095–6: *namau Vajrrīputrä sthīrä namasuṃ* ||
See Skjærvø 2002: 387, 633.

[B2 + C3]

naumä Gaupāki nāma Ga(ṃ)dhamāyaṃ garä vī āsti 900. dasami Rāhuli

Ttrayastrīṃśvā āsti cv-ī vasva Śakri jasti saṃkhāraṃ (aś)tä 1000. śūdasa(ṃ)

3 Paṃthai ⁺Prabhaṃkaradvīpi āsti 1100. dvāsaṃ Nāgaseṃ Kailāsä gari vī āsti

1200. draisaṃ Aṃgälä Gr̥dhakūlä gari vī āsti 1300. tcahaulasaṃ ⁺Vānāvāsä

Uṣayä gari vī āsti 1400.

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3 -**dvīpi**] em.; -dvīpa Insc. 4 **Vānāvāsä**] em.; Śānāvāsä Insc.

1a For the name Gaupāka in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.93d: *Ggaupaku*; and
IOL Khot S. 46, 1096: *namau Gaupakä sthīrä namasuṃ* || See Skjærvø 2002: 633.
1b For the name Rāhula in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.94c: *Rāhulu*; and
IOL Khot S. 46, 1096–7: *namau Rāhulä sthīrä namasuṃ* ||
Or.8210/S.2471, v78–79: *namau Rāhūla sthīrä namasū :*
See Skjærvø 2002: 31, 633 and Duan 1992: 75, III.§54.
3a For the name Paṃthaa in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.94d: *Pantho*; and
IOL Khot S. 46, 1096: *namau Pathaikä sthīrä namasuṃ* || See Skjærvø 2002: 633.
3b For the name Nāgasena in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.94d: *Nāgasenu*; and
IOL Khot S. 46, 1097: *namau Nāgasai(na) sthīrä namasuṃ* || See Skjærvø 2002: 633.
4a For the name Aṃgäla in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.93c: *Iṅgaṇu*; and
IOL Khot S. 46, 1097: *namau Iṃgaṃṇḍä sthīrä namasuṃ* || See Skjærvø 2002: 633.
4b For the name Vānāvāsa in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.93c: *Vanavāysu*; and
IOL Khot 84/2, r1: *namau Vanavāsa sthīrä namasūṃ.*
IOL Khot S. 46, 1098: *namau Va(na)vāsä sthīrä namasūṃ* ||
Or.8210/S.2471, v76: *namau Vanavāsa sthīrä namasū :*
See Skjærvø 2002: 31, 388, 633 and Duan 1992: 74, III.§56.

[B2 + C4]

paṃjsūsaṃ Aśauki Ma(hā)pā(ṃ)ḍari gari vī āsti (1500). kṣasaṃ Cūḍapaṃthai

Vaidehi garä vī āsti, uspurryau kṣasä-seyau arahaṃdyau, Śācamuni baysä

3 parauya. **biśūṃ hā aysä namasūṃ vanūṃ** 1600.

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1 For the name Aśauka in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.93d: *Aśśauku*; but cf.
IOL Khot 84/2, r1–2: *namau Ajittä sthīrä namasūṃ.*
IOL Khot S. 46, 1098: *namau Ajittä sthīrä namasuṃ* ||
See Skjærvø 2002: 388, 633.
2 For the name Cūḍapaṃthaa in Khot., cf. **Zambasta** 22.94d: *Cūḍapantho*; and
IOL Khot 84/2, r2–v1: *namau Cūḍapathai sthīrä namasūṃ ..* ||
IOL Khot S. 46, 1099: *namau Cuḍāpathai sthīrä namasūṃ* ||
Or.8210/S.2471, v77: *namau Cūḍāpattai sthīrä namasū :*
See Skjærvø 2002: 31, 388, 633 and Duan 1992: 74, III.§58.

[A1]

Thus have I heard:[1] When the Lord Buddha had attained the meditative state [called] the Great Complete Nirvāṇa (**mahāparinirvāṇa**),[2] [and] when for him 800 years elapsed. At that time, in the country of Surāṣṭra, there was a king, he was Vajrasena by name.[3] In that country, there was a monastery

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1. For the problematics of the opening formula, see above pp. 25f.

2. See also the opening paragraph of the Khot. **Aśokāvadāna** 1.2–5: *khu ṣi' namau däśabhala-cakrravarrtä Śākyimuṃnä gyastāṃnä gyastä ba'ysä ba'ysūṃñä kīrä dāśe yuḍe* [...] *ttī pūṣi ūsihye tce'ci nīraṃja ñāya yimaka-sālyāṃ dī bahyāṃ ṣṭāṃna mihāparinirvāṃ nāṃma simāhāṃ simāvaśe'. khvai paḍauysä śāṃ'nä ṣivi parya.* "When – Homage! – the emperor of the world possessing the ten powers (*daśabala-cakravartin*), the Lord of Lords Buddha Śākyamuni had completed [his] works as a Buddha ... Then he deigned to go right to the bank of the Nairañjanā river. Staying under the twin sāla trees (*yamaka-sāla*), he attained the [state of] concentration called 'complete extinction' (*mahāparinirvāṇa*), when for him the night passed beyond the first watch." [Dragoni 2014: 27, 39].

It seems to be an idiosyncrasy of the Khot. tradition that the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* is referred to as a meditative state (Khot. *samāhāna* < Skt. *samādhi*). In most of the versions of the **Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra** of the **Dīrgha-Āgama** that have come down to us, the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* was preceded by his successive attainment of the four stages of meditative contemplation (*dhyāna*) and the five states of consciousness (*vijñānasthiti*) of *arūpa*. But the attainment of the highest state of consciousness did not lead to his passing into Nirvāṇa; instead he traversed all the stages backwards to the first *dhyāna*, and attained the four *dhyāna*s for the second time, and this time, he passed into Nirvāṇa from the fourth *dhyāna*. See Waldschimidt 1948: 250f. Despite the close connection with the attainment in meditation practice, nowhere else is the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, as far as I am aware, explicitly referred to as a meditative state. It is not impossible that the Khot. idiosyncrasy might have something to do with the Mahāyāna idea that the Buddha did not pass away but persisted, as attested in a number of Mahāyāna sūtras transmitted to Khotan. This idea entails an explanation of the extinction of the Buddha which is too well-known in the Mainstream canonical sources to gloss over. In that case, a possible explanation would be that the Buddha was not "dead" but absorbed in a meditative state, as is the case with Mahākāśyapa awaiting the arrival of Maitreya in Kukkuṭapāda. There are a number of texts mentioning Mahākāśyapa's absorption in a preserving meditative state, including the 22nd chapter of the **Book of Zambasta** (in all likelihood, composed in Khotan), cf. 22.281–282: *hamata śśandā rrätu yande ggarū sarbite käḍä mästä. myāño ṭṛṃkhānu samāhāña Mahākālśavi āste. hamata ggaru kutkuṭapādu pakūṭäte Mätrai balysä. sthavärä vyusthahäte samāhānina balysä po' namaśtä.* "The earth itself will split apart and a very large mountain will rise up. Amid its peaks, Mahākāśyapa will be sitting in meditation. The Buddha Maitreya himself will knock upon Mount Kukkuṭapāda. The Elder will rise up from meditation. He will worship at the Buddha's feet." [Emmerick 1968: 330–333]. With regard to the question whether Mahākāśyapa was dead or absorbed in meditation, various traditions offer different answers, see Tournier 2014: 15.

3. Vajrasena is otherwise once attested as the name of a king ruling in Śrāvastī, see PW s.v.

called Kukkuṭārāma.[4] There, in that monastery, there was an Arhat by the name of Nandamitra. He realized the six extraordinary faculties (**abhijñā**), the four states of contemplation (**dhyāna**), [and] eight emancipations (**vimokṣa**).[5] He knew the mind of others[6] within a distance of one hundred leagues (**yojana**),[7] he knew [every sentient being's] mind up to [that] of ants (**pipīlika**).[8]

[A2]

When the time came for the Arhat to pass into complete Nirvāṇa, many monks then assembled [and] said to the Arhat thus: "Gracious one! When you pass into complete Nirvāṇa, how long will the Buddha's teachings constantly exist?" The Arhat said to them thus: "[My] brethren! Let go of this anxiety [that is] to be removed![9] When the Buddha had not yet passed into

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4. Kukkuṭārāma is the name of a grove near Gayā, see PW s.v. Here, the monastery was named after the celebrated hermitage in India. As Richard Salomon points out, there was a custom, especially in Gandhāra, of naming monastic institutions after sacred spots in the homeland of Buddhism, see Salomon 1999: 213; Tarzi/Salomon/Strauch 2015: 151.

5. For the three items, see **Mvy** 202–209 (*abhijñā*), 1478–1481 (*dhyāna*), 1511–1518 (*vimokṣa*); and BHSD s.v. **abhijñā**, **dhyāna**, **vimokṣa**.

6. For OKhot. *haṃdāra-* see Skjærvø 2004: vol. 2, 361. The difference between *haṃdāra-* and *handara-* 'other' is not quite clear to me. In some cases, they seem to be interchangeable. For some other occurrences of LKhot. *haṃdāra-* used in lieu of OKhot. *handara-*, see DKS s.v. **handāra-**.

7. This sentence was neither translated by Leumann nor by Emmerick. The main difficulty that prevented them from making sense of it is the enigmatic reading *sa* + *ha*, which, in light of the Tib. parallel, should be corrected to *sa gaṃpha* (~ OKhot. *sate ggaṃpha*). Here the phrase is obviously used as "accusative of extent", see Emmerick 1965: 26, §II.4.

8. For telepathy or mind-reading (*ādeśanā*) as one of the three miracles (*prātihārya*) exhibited by the Buddha, see BHSD s.v. **ādeśanā**, **prātihārya**. A similar expression is found in a passage from the **Faji jing** / ***Dharmasaṃgītisūtra** translated by Bodhiruci (early 5th cent.), where the main topic is about the ten kinds of sovereignty (*aiśvarya*) to be attained by the Bodhisattva: 又得心自在。云何心自在？乃至蚊虻蟻子知行知心故。[T761, 17.641a22f.] 'Again, [the Bodhisattva] attains sovereignty over the mind (*citta*). Why [is his] sovereignty over the mind? Because [he] knows the mental activities (*cittacarita*) even of mosquitoes, gadflies, and ants.'

9. For the expression *kāṣcā- paśś-* 'to let go of or give up anxiety', cf. **Zambasta** 5.1b: *puṣṣo paśśäta handare kāṣce* "Give up utterly other anxieties." [Emmerick 1968: 96–97]. The term

complete Nirvāṇa,[10] he, likewise, entrusted to the sixteen Great Disciples (**mahāśrāvaka**) the teachings (**śāsana**) and the gift[s] (**dāna**) of gods, Nāgas, kings of Jambudvīpa (**jambudvīpeśvara**),[11] and faithful patrons (**dānapati**)."[12]

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kāṣcā- 'anxiety, grief' occurs repeatedly in a context dealing with the perturbation of all sentient beings who were yearning for the Buddha when the latter was no more in Jambudvīpa, cf. **Zambasta** 23.24–28: [*haṃ*]*ggargga harbiśśä hayirūṇe khanā būśśä panaṣṭe. panye tterä kāṣca uysnorä samu kho ttye ci māta mīḍe. jūhānā storu uysnora balysu väte kāṣcäna ysīru paljsārgga harbiśśä hva'ndä mari ā'gye dīvate yakṣa. cu ttä thāna cakrama līni ku ṣṭa paḍā balysu ditāndä. ku-ṃ ttuśśā balysäna daindä biśśä nä ysäru brūṣcāte kāṣca. Udayani rrundi bihīya atä ysīru nuṣṭhura kāṣca. atī käḍe jūhäte balysä. nai ne ysirä eṣṭätu yīndi. myāño andīvāro āste. balysu väte jūhäte āṇi. cvī rrīṇe ṣṣäṣje yanīndä kāṣcai ju kari nä vahīndä.* "All gatherings, pleasures, laughter, jokes had disappeared. The anxiety of every being was as great as that of one whose mother is dying. Beings were greatly yearning for the Buddha, anxious. Fiercely tormented were all men, deities residing here, Yakṣas. Because these are the places, spots for walking about, cells where formerly they saw the Buddha, when they see them without the Buddha, anxiety utterly afflicts their heart. King Udayana had extraordinary, very fiercely bitter anxiety. Very greatly does he yearn for the Buddha. His heart cannot endure it. He sits in the midst of the harem. He is yearning for the Buddha. Whatever services the queens perform for him, his anxiety does not disappear at all." [Emmerick 1968: 346–347]. It transpires from this passage that the term has a specific connotation of mental uneasiness caused by the absence of the Buddha in Jambudvīpa. Therefore, it also makes good sense in the present context where the monks' apprehension is caused by the imminent disappearance of the Buddha's teachings. The Khot. passage finds parallel in the **Dasheng zaoxiang gongde jing** 大乘造像功德經, a unique text translated by the Khotanese monk Devendraprajña (for the Skt. name of the monk, see Forte 1979: 289f.) in 691 CE, cf. 歡娛戲樂一切都息，是時眾生孤獨無依，皆於如來心懷戀慕，生大憂惱，如喪父母，如箭入心。共往世尊曾所住處，園林庭宇，悉空無佛，倍加悲戀，不能自止。爾時優陀延王住在宮中，常懷悲感，渴仰於佛。夫人、婇女、諸歡樂事，皆不涉心。[T694, 790a24–29] 'All entertainments and pleasures had ceased. At that time, sentient beings were lonely, without protector. They all were sentimentally attached to the Tathāgata and overcome with grief, as if their parents had passed away or their hearts were pierced by arrows. They went together to the groves and cloisters where the Blessed One had dwelt, but they were empty and there was no Buddha there, which filled them with even more uncontrollable sadness and longing. At that time, King Udayana dwells in his palace. Constantly feeling sorrow, he yearns for the Buddha with admiration. [Therefore,] he is totally indifferent to [the companionship of his] queens and palace ladies [and the other] enjoyable things.' Here, the counterpart of Khot. *kāṣcā-* is rendered into Chin. by some more or less similar terms.

10. The past perfect form here presupposes a dissimilation of the consonant cluster *-vy-*: *parinirvye yä* < **paranirvye vyä* < OKhot. *paranärväte vätä*.

11. See SWTF s.v. **Jambudvīpeśva[r](a)**, Wogihara 1968, s.v. **jambūdvīpeśvara**.

12. Emmerick obviously juxtaposed "gods, Nāgas ..." with the sixteen Elders and considered both as those who were entrusted with the task of protecting the teachings, cf. "he entrusted [the maintenance of the Order] to the sixteen Great Hearers and to gods, Nāgas, Jambudvīpan kings (and) supporters (and) donors." [Emmerick/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 35]. This is not quite plausible in light of the Tib. and Chin. parallels which merely mention the sixteen Elders as the protectors of the teachings. What is more, the Elders were also given the responsibility of being worthy recipients of the gifts given by the

[B1 + C1]

Then the pupils asked: "Gracious teacher! Neither do we know those Elders' names, nor are we aware of the places where they dwell."[13] The Arhat said to them thus: "I know their names, [and] I recognize their places [of residence]. **(1)** The first Elder by the name of Piṇḍola-Bharadvāja dwells in Godāna[dvīpa], together with a full thousand Arhats, by order of the Buddha Śākyamuni.[14] **I worship and pay honor to them!** 1000. **(2)** The second Elder

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householders who, in return, accrued a great amount of merits. This process is also called 'the purification of gifts' (Skt. *dakṣiṇāviśodhana*, Pāli *dakkhināvisuddhi*). It is probably for this reason that, in an early Khot. adaptation of the present passage in the **Book of Zambasta** (i.e., 22.95cd–96), not only the teachings (*śāsana*), but also the faithful householders (*gṛhastha*) were entrusted to the Elders, in the sense that they would deign to purify their gifts. Therefore, it is not inconceivable that "gods, Nāgas ..." in GP are not syntactically equivalent to "the sixteen Great Disciples", but rather the possessive modifiers of the obscure final word of the sentence, i.e., *dāṃ*, which is interpreted as the AS of an Indic loanword *dāna-* 'gift' and construed together with *śāśaṃ* as the objects to be entrusted to the Elders. It is notable that, in this case, the loanword is homophonous with the LKhot. word for 'grain', i.e., *dāṃ* (base **dāna-*, see Dresden 1955: 458).

In the Khot. version, the range of benefactors who make offerings is extended from 'faithful householders' to 'gods, Nāgas, kings of Jambudvīpa, and faithful lordly patrons'.

13. Neither Leumann nor Emmerick was able to translate the second half of the sentence due to their false division of the last few *akṣara*s (cf. *paysāṃnāṃka ār*. 'recognizers ...[?]'). On closer scrutiny, it turns out that *ka* should be corrected to *ku* and those *akṣara*s can alternatively be divided as *paysāṃnāṃ ku ā'ra* (< OKhot. *ā're*, 3P pres. mid. of *āh-* 'to sit, dwell'). For the collocation *diśa- ... ku āh-* 'the place(s) where ... dwell(s)', see **Zambasta** 22.280cd *hā ttu diśo jsāte ku āśirī Mahākālśavä āste* "... will go off in that [place] where the Ācārya Mahākāśyapa will [dwell]."; 23.30b *ttu diśu daiyi ku āstä* "one sees the place where he has [dwelt]." [Emmerick 1968: 330–331, 348–349].

14. As far as the phrase "by order of the Buddha Śākyamuni" is concerned, both Leumann and Emmerick misread the word *parauna* as *paḍauna*, and thus interpreted the phrase erroneously, cf. "den Priester Śākyamuni mit dem ersten [= vor allem] –" [Leumann 1920: 167]; "Beginning with the Buddha Śākyamuni ..." [Emmerick/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 35]. Their misreading resulted in a different analysis of the syntactical structure of the passage by anchoring the phrase to the following sentence (i.e., "I worship ..."). A parallel is found in the Tib. version, cf. *rdzu 'phrul gyi stobs kyis tshe byin gyis brlabs te bsrings nas bcom ldan 'das kyi bkas gnas pa yin no* // [B2: 8–10] 'Having preserved and prolonged [their] life through magical power, they [i.e., the sixteen Elders] stay put by order of the Blessed One'. In light of the Tib. parallel, the phrase should rather be anchored to the preceding sentence. For this phrase as the 'ritual kernel' of this text, see above pp. 29–31.

by the name of Kanakavatsa dwells in Kashmir, with five[15] **... So is to be spoken as [is spoken] to the previous one.**[16] 200.

[B1 + C2]

(3) The third Elder by the name of Kanaka-Bharadvāja dwells in Pūrvavideha[dvīpa]. 300. **(4)** The fourth [Elder] Abhedya dwells in Uttarakuru[dvīpa]. 400. **(5)** The fifth [Elder] by the name of Bakkula dwells here in Jambudvīpa. 500.[17] **(6)** The sixth [Elder] by the name of Kāla dwells in Siṁhaladvīpa. 600. **(7)** The seventh [Elder] by the name of Bhadra dwells in Tāmravarṇikadvīpa. 700. **(8)** The eighth [Elder] by the name of Vajraputra dwells in Yamunāvarṇikadvīpa.[18] 800."

[B2 + C3]

(9) The ninth [Elder] by the name of Gopaka dwells on Mount

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15. According to the Chin. and Tib. versions, the Elder Kanakavatsa has an entourage of 500 or 5 000 Arhats. Therefore, it is not impossible that *paṃjūṃ*, which might have been followed by *seyau* or *yseryau*, is the last remnant of the number of Arhats in Kanakavatsa's retinue, which might have been omitted for the sake of simplicity.

16. For *hvāñ-* + IA 'to speak to/with' see Emmerick 1965: 32, §IV.10.(d)–(f). cf. SGS: 315, §150.(ii).

17. With regard to the places of residence of the Elders **(4)** & **(5)**, the Khot. version agrees with the Chin., as opposed to the two Tib. lists:

	Khot.	Chin.	Tib.	Tib. altern.
(4)	Uttarakurudvīpa	Uttarakurudvīpa	Jambudvīpa	Himālaya
(5)	Jambudvīpa	Jambudvīpa	Uttarakurudvīpa	Uttarakurudvīpa

18. The toponym *yamunā*(*varṇika*)*dvīpa* is otherwise only attested in the alternate list in Tibetan liturgies (see below p. 133), in which, however, the dwelling places of the Elders **(6)**–**(8)** seem to have been shuffled, as it were:

	(6)	**(7)**	**(8)**
Khot.	Siṁhaladvīpa	Tāmravarṇikadvīpa	Yamunāvarṇikadvīpa
Tib. altern.	Tāmradvīpa	Yamunādvīpa	Siṁhaladvīpa

Gandhamādana. 900. **(10)** The tenth [Elder] Rāhula dwells among the Thirty-three [gods] (**trāyastriṃśa**), [a location] which is the pure resting-place for him, the god Śakra.[19] 1 000. **(11)** The eleventh [Elder] Panthaka dwells in Prabhaṃkaradvīpa.[20] 1100. **(12)** The twelfth [Elder] Nāgasena dwells on Mount Kailāsa.[21] 1 200. **(13)** The thirteenth [Elder] Aṃgäla dwells on Mount Gr̥dhrakūṭa. 1 300. **(14)** The fourteenth [Elder] Vanavāsa[22] dwells on Mount Ṛ̥ṣi.[23] 1 400.

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19. Neither Leumann nor Emmerick was able to read the second half of the sentence correctly, cf. *Śrīvaskanakri jasti saṃkhār*[*amä*] "in des Gottes Śrīvatsanakha Garten" [Leumann 1920: 167]; "in the monastery of the god Śrīvatsanakha" [Emmerick/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 35]. On closer scrutiny, three of the first four *akṣara*s are to be corrected (*śrī* → *cvī*, *ska* → *sva*, *na* → *śa*), and the second half turns out to be a relative clause introduced by *cv-ī*.

The relative clause unknown in any other version is apparently a Khot. addition which is meant to clarify the Skt. term *trāyastriṃśa* for the intended audience in Khotan. It is well known that the Thirty-three gods are governed by Śakra (Indra), who sits either under the *pāricchattaka* tree or in the divine hall *sudharmā* or in the palace *vaijayanta*, see Kirfel 1920: 196f. Yet, it is unknown elsewhere that their abode perched atop Mount Sumeru is also referred to as the *saṃghārāma* (Khot. *saṃkhāraṃ*) of Śakra. This is an uncommon use of the term *saṃghārāma*, which, in a Buddhist context, usually designates monasteries or temples where Buddhist monks dwell. Viewed from the context, it may well have been the result of an *interpretatio Khotanica*, in other words, an attempt at reading into the text some ideas entrenched in Khotan so as to make the Skt. term somehow comprehensible to local believers, who were not quite familiar with Indian Buddhist cosmography but had an idea of the Buddha and his disciples dwelling in a communal resting-place. The same idea may well have been transferred to Śakra and his retinue abiding in the realm of the Thirty-three gods, which was also conceived of as something of a *saṃghārāma*.

20. The toponym *prabhaṃkaradvīpa* is exclusive to the Khot. version, in which the dwelling places of the Elders **(10)** & **(11)** seem to be exchanged. All the other versions give Trayastriṃśa as Panthaka's place of residence, while accommodating Rāhula in Priyaṅgudvīpa. Should it be the case, it is not impossible to derive *prabhaṃkara-* from Skt. *priyaṅgu-* through a hypothetical process of Sanskritization (e.g. MInd. [eastern?] **pi*[*v*]*aṃgu* > Gandh. **prav*[*h*]*ago* > *prabhaṃkar-*). For the sound changes *-y-* > *-v-* and Gandh. *-bh-* > *-v*(*h*)*-* /-β-/, see von Hinüber 2001: 175, §214 and 161ff., §191.

21. Otherwise only attested in the alternate list in Tibetan, where it is, however, the dwelling place of the Elder Aṅgaja (i.e., the counterpart of Aṃgäla **[13]** in the Khot. version). In the Chin. and the Tib. versions, Mt. Kailāsa is not mentioned, while its place is taken by Mt. Pāṇḍava or Mt. Vipulapārśva.

22. It is noteworthy that the tradent obviously confused this Elder as the famous Śāna(ka)vasin (see BHSD s.v. **Śāṇakavāsin**). The latter was known as Śenevaka in the Khot. **Aśokāvadāna**, see Dragoni 2014: 82, s.v. **śenevaka-**. This error is to be corrected in light of other attestions of this Elder's name, which unanimously point to Vanavāsa/in.

23. The Ṛ̥ṣi-mountain (aka Mt. Uśira) is not mentioned in the Chin. and Tib. versions, but

[B2 + C4]

(15) The fifteenth [Elder] Aśoka[24] dwells on Mount Mahāpāṇḍara.[25] 1 500.

(16) The sixteenth [Elder] Cūḍapanthaka dwells on Mount Vaideha, with full sixteen hundreds of Arhats, at the command of the Buddha Śākyamuni.[26] **I worship and pay honor to all of them!** 1 600.

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occurs in the alternate list in Tibetan, where it is assigned to the Elder Ajita (i.e., the counterpart of Aśoka [15] in the Khot. version) not Vanavāsa/in. In all the other versions, including the alternate list, the dwelling place of Vanavāsa/in is given as Mt. Vaihāra, to which the Cave Saptaparṇi belongs, or Mt. Vaideha(ka), which is assigned to Cūḍapanthaka **(16)** in the Khot. version. It is thus not unlikely that Ṛṣi-mountain here takes the place of Mt. Yugaṃdhara, which is attested as the dwelling place of Cūḍapanthaka in both the Chin. and the Tib. versions.

24. Except in Khotan, the name of this Elder was only known as Ajita in China and Tibet (also among the Khotanese-speaking people in Dunhuang!). The Khot. variant must have come into being quite early, since it is already attested in the **Book of Zambasta**. Phonologically, a fusion of both names could have taken place in Gāndhārī, cf. Skt. *ajita-* > Gāndh. *ayida-* (sg. nom. **ayi*[*d*]*o* or contracted **ayo*) and Skt. *aśoka-* > Gāndh. *aśo*(*ga*)- (cf. Late Khot. *aśū'*); for Gāndh. *y* > *ś* /ź/ see von Hinüber 2001: 174, §213.

25. This reading is tentative, and such a mountain is unknown elsewhere. It is possible to consider it identifiable with Mt. Pāṇḍava, which is mentioned as the dwelling place of Nāgasena **(12)** in the Chin. and the Tib. versions. But further evidence is lacking.

26. For the error committed by Leumann and Emmerick who misread *paḍauya* for *parauya*, see the similar one pointed out above (p. 83, fn. 14). For this phrase as the 'ritual kernel' of the present text, see above pp. 29–31.

Glossary

The glossary contains all references to occurrences of all words in SI 1929. References are given by both line number in the transcription and section letter + line number in the reconstruction of the text.

The headings reflect, as far as possible, the Late Khotanese spellings of SI 1929. When multiple spellings are available, priority is given to the most archaic one. If a word is attested also in Old Khotanese or in a more archaic Late Khotanese spelling, counterparts are given in brackets in order to facilitate future lexicographical work. In the case of Indian loanwords and proper names, references to their counterparts in Indic and forms differently adapted into Khotanese are also given in brackets.

Critical signs are used in the glossary but occurrences containing supplements or emendations by the editor are marked with an asterisk (*). Words and *akṣara*s removed by the editor are not taken into account. The following abbreviations of grammatical terms are used:

A	accusative	f	feminine	GD	gentive-dative
IA	instrumental-ablative	L	locative	m	masculine
N	nominative	nt	neuter	P	plural
S	singular	V	vocative		

a- : vya- (OKhot. a- : väta-) vb. 'to be': 3S pres. mid. (*aś*)*tä* 8/[B2+C3: 2]; 3Sm pf. intr. *vye* 1/[A1: 2], 2/[A1: 3, 4].

aṃgäla- (< Skt. ?) 'name of an Elder': NS *aṃgälä* 8/[B2+C3: 4].

abhija- (< Pkt. < Skt. abhedya-; cf. Pāli abhějja-, Gāndh. abheja-) 'name of an Elder': NS *abhiji* 6/[B1+C2: 1].

abhijñā- (= OKhot.) subst. 'extraordinary faculty (five or six in number)': NAP *abhijñi* 2/[A1: 4]. Cf. BHSD s.v. **abhijñā**.

aysa (OKhot. aysu) 1S pers. pron.'I': GD encl. -*ṃ* 1/[A1: 1]; N *aysūṃ* (-*ä* + -*ūṃ*) 4/[B1+C1: 2], 5/[B1+C1: 4], *aysä* 10/[B2+C4: 3].

aysmua- (= OKhot.) subst. 'mind': AS *aysmū* 2/[A1: 5, 6]. For the new etymology (< Iran. **Hadza-miHu̯a*, lit. 'what drives actions'), see Maggi 2016: 64–87.

arahaṃda- (= OKhot. < Skt. arhant-/arhat-) 'Arhat': NS GDS *arahaṃdi* 2/[A1: 4], 2–3/[A2: 1], 3/[A2: 2], ; NS *arahaṃdūṃ* (-*i* + -*ūṃ*) 3/[A2: 3], 4/[B1+C1: 2]; IAP *arahaṃdyau* 5/[B1+C1: 4], 10/[B2+C4: 2].

aśauka- (< Skt. aśoka-) 'name of an Elder': NS *aśauki* 9/[B2+C4: 1].

āh- : āsta- (= OKhot.) vb. 'to sit, remain': 3S pres. mid. *āsti*/*āstä* 5/[B1+C1: 3, 5], 6/[B1+C2: 1, 2, 3], 7/[B1+C2: 3, 4][B2+C3: 1], 8/[B2+C3: 2, 3], 9/[B2+C3: 4, 5][B2+C4: 1], 9–10/[B2+C4: 2]; 3P pres. mid. *ā'ra* 4/[B1+C1: 2].

u (= OKhot.) conj. 'and': 4/[A2: 5].

uttarū- (= OKhot. uttarūva- < *uttar̲au̲va- < Pkt. *uttar̲a[γ]ür̲a- < Skt. uttarakuru-; cf. Sogd. ***'wt'nwr*** < MChin. *ʔjut-tan-γjwat 鬱單越/曰 <

*uttan̲ᵃ[γ]ur̲ᵃ- < Pkt. *uttar̲a[γ]ür̲a- for the dissimilation: -r_r- > -r_v-/-n_r-) 'name of a Dvīpa in the north, one of the four Buddhist continents': LS *uttarū* 6/[B1+C2: 1]. Following MacKenzie 1976: 55, Provasi 2012: 264, §59 derives both Sogd. *'wt'nwr* and MChin. 鬱單越/曰 ultimately from Skt. *Uttaravatī, which is, however, never attested as a byname of Uttarakuru. This hypothesis is thus untenable. Cf. *Prolexis*: 26f.; De Chiara 2013: 171, 2014: 171.

uṣaya- (< Gāndh. < Skt. ṛ̥ṣaya-; cf. Gāndh. uṣavha- : Skt. ṛ̥ṣabha): 'name of a mountain in Magadha (Skt. ṛ̥ṣigiri)': GDS *uṣayä* 9/[B2+C3: 5].

uspurra- (= OKhot.) adj. 'complete': IAP *uspurryau* 5/[B1+C1: 4], 10/[B2+C4: 2].

audi (OKhot. odi/odä, LKhot. auda/audä) prep./postp. + GD 'up to, until': *audi ... vī buri* 2/[A1: 5].

kānaka- (< Skt. kanaka-) 'name of an Elder': *kānaka-* 6/[B1+C2: 1].

kanakavatsa- (< Skt. id.) 'name of an Elder': NS *kanakavatsi* 5/[B1+C1: 5].

kaśmīra- (< Skt. id.; cf. OKhot. kaspära- < Gāndh. kaspira-) 'the country Kashmir': LS *kaśmīri* 5/[B1+C1: 5]. Cf. *Prolexis*: 44f.

kā (OKhot. kū/ku) conj. 'when, if, so that': *kā* 2/[A2: 1].

***kāḍa-** (< Skt. kālika-) 'name of an Elder': NS *kāḍi* 6/[B1+C2: 2].

kāṣcā- (= OKhot.) subst. 'sorrow, grief': AS *kāṣca* 3/[A2: 4].

ku (= OKhot.) rel. pron. 'where': *diśa ... ku āra* 4/[B1+C1: 2].

kukkuṭārāma- (< Skt. id.) 'name of a monastery': *kukk(u)ṭ(ā)rām(a)* 1/[A1: 3].

kailāsa- (< Skt. id.) 'name of a mountain in the Himālaya range (i.e., Mt. Kailash in present-day Tibet)': GDS *kailāsä* 8/[B2+C3: 3].

kṣa- (OKhot. kṣäṣa'-/kṣäta'-) card. num. 'six': NA *kṣa* 2/[A1: 4].

kṣasama- (= OKhot.) ord. num. 'sixteenth': NSm *kṣasaṃ* 9/[B2+C4: 1].

kṣasä-se- (= OKhot.) card. num. '16 hundred, i.e., 1 600': IAP *kṣasäseyau* 10/[B2+C4: 2].

kṣasu- (= OKhot.) card. num. 'sixteen': GD *kṣaśe* 4/[A2: 5].

kṣīra- (= OKhot.) subst. 'country': LS *kṣīra* 1/[A1: 2, 3].

kṣema- (OKhot. kṣei'ma-) ord. num. 'sixth': NSm *kṣemi* 6/[B1+C2: 2].

khu (OKhot. kho) conj. 'as, when, so that': *khu* 1/[A1: 1], 3/[A2: 2, 4], 6/[B1+C1: 6]; *khvī* (*-u* + *-ī*) 1/[A1: 2].

gaṃdhamāyana- (< Pkt. < Skt. gandhamādana-; cf. LKhot. gaṃdhamāya- [Sudh]) 'name of a mountain to the east of Meru, renowned for its fragrant forests': GDS *ga(ṃ)dhamāyaṃ* 7/[B2+C3: 1].

gaṃpha- (= OKhot.) subst. 'league', tr. Skt. yojana- = Tib. dpag tshad [Sgh, Suv]: NAP *gaṃpha* 2/[A1: 5].

gara- (OKhot. ggara-) subst. 'mountain': GDS *garä*/*gari* 7/[B2+C3: 1], 8/[B2+C3: 3], 9/[B2+C3: 4, 5][B2+C4: 1, 2].

gṛ̥dhakūla- (< Pkt. < Skt. gṛ̥dhrakūṭa-; cf. OKhot. gṛ̥ddhakūṭa-, LKhot. grradhakūṭa-, gridhakūṭa-) 'name of a mountain near Rājagṛ̥ha': GDS *gṛ̥dhakūli* 8–9/[B2+C3: 4]. Prob. not through Gāndh. grijaüḍe, Hybrid Skt. ghṛ̥jjākūṭa- [Tarzi/Salomon/Strauch 2015: 159f.]; for Skt. kūṭa- > Khot. kūla- cf. ratnakūla-.

gaupāka- (< Skt. gopaka-) 'name of an Elder': NS *gaupāki* 7/[B2+C3: 1].

gauyāṃna- (< Pkt. < Skt. [apara]godānīya-; cf. Pāli goyāna-)

'name of a Dvīpa in the west, one of the four Buddhist continents': LS *gauyāṃni* 5/[B1+C1: 3].

cirvā (OKhot. cerä vā) interrog. 'how (long), *quanti*', contracted with the particle **vā** (see below): 3/[A2: 2]. Cf. DKS s.v. **cera-**: N 165.43–4 *khu thu paranirvi cirvā dāri baysūñi śāśaṃ hamraṣṭi ṣṭi* 'when you have ceased (entered *parinirvāṇa-*), how long is the Buddhaic teaching to continue?'. tr. H.W. Bailey.

cu (= OKhot.) rel./interr./indef. pron.: *cvī* (*-u* + *-ī*) 8/[B2+C3: 2].

cūḍapaṃthaa- (< Skt. cūḍapanthaka-) 'name of an Elder': NS *cūḍapaṃthai* 9/[B2+C4: 1].

jaṃbvīya- (OKhot. jaṃbutīya- < jaṃbutīva- [*Prolexis*: 88] < Pkt. < Skt. jaṃbudvīpa-; cf. Gāndh. ja[ṃ]budiva-) 'Jambudvīpa, one of the four Buddhist continents': LS *jaṃbvīya* 6/[B1+C2: 2].

jaṃbvīyaa- (= OKhot.; cf. LKhot. jaṃbvī'yaa-) adj. 'belonging to Jambudvīpa, dwelling in Jambudvīpa': GDPm *jaṃbvīyāṃ* 4/[A2: 5]. Cf. *Suffixe* 2.B.12; for a comparison with jaṃbvīvia- (with suffix -ia, only OKhot.) see *Suffixe* 14.B.12.

jasta- (OKhot. gyasta-) subst. 'god, lord': NS *jastä* 1/[A1: 1]; GDS *jasti* 8/[B2+C3: 2]; GDP *jastāṃ* 4/[A2: 5].

jsāṃ (OKhot. jsāna-, pres. pt. of jsā- 'to go') particle: 3/[A2: 4]. Cf. **ttī** below.

tta adv. 'so, thus': *ttaṃ* (*-a* + *-ṃ*) 1/[A1: 1]; *ta* 3/[A2: 2], *tta* 3/[A2: 3], 4/[B1+C1: 2], 6/[B1+C1: 6].

ttāmravarṇikadvīpa- (< Skt. tāmravarṇikadvīpa-; cf. Skt. tāmraparṇī-, Pkt. tambapa[ṃ]ṇī-, Gk. *taprobánê* 'Sri Lanka') 'ambiguous place name, possibly the region along the present-day Tambraparni River in Southeast India': LS *ttāmravarṇikadvīpi* 7/[B1+C2: 3].

ttī (OKhot. ttīyä) conj. 'then': *ttī* 3/[A2: 1], 4/[B1+C1: 1]; in the phrase *ttī jsāṃ* 'and, as well as; also, likewise': 3/[A2: 4]. Cf. De Chiara 2013: 180.

tcahaura- (= OKhot.) card. num. 'four': NA 2/[A1: 4].

tcahaulasama- (= OKhot.) ord. num. 'fourteenth': NS *tcahaulasaṃ* 9/[B2+C3: 4].

tcūrama- (= OKhot.; cf. LKhot. tcurama-) ord. num. 'fourth': NSm *tcūraṃ* 6/[B1+C2: 1].

ttrayastrīṃśa- (< Skt. trāyastriṃśa-) 'designation of 33 Devas inhabiting the realm of desire (kāmāvacara)': LP *ttrayastrīṃśvā* 8/[B2+C3: 2].

thu (= OKhot., LKhot. tha, thā) 1S pers. pron. 'you': N *thu* 3/[A2: 2].

dasama- (= OKhot.) ord. num. 'tenth': NSm *dasami* 7/[B2+C3: 1].

dāna- (< Skt. dāna-) subst. 'gift': AS *dāṃ* 4/[A2: 6].

dānava- (OKhot. dānavata- < Skt. dānapati-) subst. 'donor, patron': GDP *dāṃnavāṃ dānavāṃ* 4/[A2: 6]. For Indo-Iranian (loan)words ending in *-pati* transferred to the *a*-stems in Khot., cf. sainäva- < Skt. senāpati, spāta- <*spādapati, sthāṃnāva- < Skt. sthānapati, pharṣavata- < *-pati [LKhot. pharṣava-/pharṣa-; see *Studies* III: 102f.] etc.; see Dresden 1955: 409, §4.A.a.8.

dāri (OKhot. dāru) invar. '(for) long': 3/[A2: 3].

diśā- (= OKhot. < Skt. id.) subst. 'direction, place': AS *diśa* 4/[B1+C1: 2], *diśaṃ* (*-a* + *-ṃ*) 5/[B1+C1: 2].

dida- (OKhot. däd[d]a-) ord. num. 'third': NSm *didi* 6/[B1+C2: 1].

draisama- (OKhot. drraisama-) ord. num. 'thirteenth': NSm *draisaṃ*

8/[B2+C3: 4].

dvāsama- (= OKhot.) ord. num. 'twelfth': NSm *dvāsaṃ* 8/[B2+C3: 3].

dhyāna- (< Skt. id.) subst. 'meditation or contemplation (normally four in number)': NAP *dhyāna* 2/[A1: 4]. Cf. BHSD s.v. **dhyāna**.

naṃdamitra- (< Skt. id.) 'name of an Arhat': NAS naṃdamitr̥ 2/[A1: 4][A2: 1].

namas- : namasya- (OKhot. namas- : namasäta-) vb. 'to worship': 1S pres. act. namasūṃ 5/[B1+C1: 5], 10/[B2+C4: 3].

na-ra (OKhot. na-ro/ru) 'not yet', as opposed to LKhot. ni/ne ra (OKhot. ne rro) 'no longer': 3/[A2: 4]. Cf. *Studies* I: 59f.

nāgasena- (< Skt. id.) 'name of an Elder': NS *nāgaseṃ* 8/[B2+C3: 3].

nāta- (OKhot. nāta-/nāg[g]a- < Skt. nāga-) subst. 'Nāga, a mythical semi-divine race': GDP *nātāṃ* 4/[A2: 5].

nāman- (= OKhot.) subst. 'name': NAS *nāma* 1/[A1: 2], 2/[A1: 3, 4], 4/[B1+C1: 1, 2], 5/[B1+C1: 3, 5], 6/[B1+C2: 1, 2], 7/[B1+C2: 3, 4][B2+C3: 1].

ni/ne (= OKhot.) neg. 'not': 4/[B1+C1: 1].

nauma- (= OKhot.) ord. num. 'ninth': NSm *naumä* 7/[B2+C3: 1].

paṃjsa- (= OKhot.) card. num. 'five': GD *paṃjūṃ* (cf. OKhot. *paṃjinu*) 5/[B1+C1: 5].

paṃjsūsama- (= OKhot.) ord. num. 'fifteenth': NSm *paṃjsūsaṃ* 9/[B2+C4: 1].

paṃthaa- (< Skt. panthaka-) 'name of an Elder': NS *paṃthai* 8/[B2+C3: 3].

paḍājsia- (OKhot. paḍāṃjsia-) adj. 'former': IASm *paḍājsye* 6/[B1+C1: 6].

paḍauysa- (= OKhot.) adj. 'first': NSm *paḍauysä* 5/[B1+C1: 3].

paysāṃ- : paysāṃda- (= OKhot.) vb. 'to recognize': 3Sm pf. tr. *paysāṃdi* 2/[A1: 5, 6], 1P pres. act. *paysāṃnāṃ* 4/[B1+C1: 2], 1S pres. act. *paysāṃnūṃ* 5/[B1+C1: 3].

paranirv- : paranirvya- (OKhot. paranirv- : paranirvr̥ta-/paranirväta-) vb. 'to attain complete Nirvāṇa': 2S pres. act. *paranirvi* 3/[A2: 2]; 3Sm past pf. tr. *paranirvye yä* 3/[A2: 4].

parinirvāṇa- (< Skt. id.) subst. 'complete Nirvāṇa': NS *parinirvāṃ* 3/[A2: 1].

parau- (= OKhot.) subst. 'order, rescript': IAS *parauna* 5/[B1+C1: 4]; LS *parauya* 10/[B2+C4: 3]. Cf. Sgh 43.7 *balysi parauya* (tr. Skt. *jina-śāsane*).

pars- : parrya- (OKhot. pars- : parräta-) vb. 'to pass, elapse': 3Pm pf. intr. *parrye* 1/[A1: 2].

paś- : paśā- (OKhot. paśś- : paśśäta-) vb. 'to let go, release': 2P imper. act. *paśya* 3/[A2: 4].

piṃḍaula- (< Skt. piṇḍola-) 'name of an Elder': *piṃḍaula-* 5/[B1+C1: 3].

pīsaa- (= OKhot.) subst. 'teacher': VS *pīsā* 4/[B1+C1: 1].

puls- : braṣṭa- (= OKhot.) vb. 'to ask': 3Pm pf. tr. *braṣṭāṃdi* 4/[B1+C1: 1].

pūrvadvī- (OKhot. purvatī- < Pkt. *purvade[h]a- < Skt. pūrva<u>vi</u>deha-; cf. MChin. *pjut-ba-dej 弗婆提 < Pkt. *purvade[h]a- attesting to the loss of -vi-) 'name of a Dvīpa in the east, one of the four Buddhist continents': LS *pūrvadvī* 6/[B1+C2: 1]. Compared with its OKhot. counterpart, the form has apparently undergone some kind of Sanskritization (e.g. purva- > pūrva-; -tī/-dī > -dvī, perhaps in analogy to Khot. dīva- : Skt. dvīpa-). Cf. *Prolexis*: 199.

pūha- (= OKhot.) ord. num. 'fifth': NSm *pūhi* 6/[B1+C2: 2].

pyūṣ- : pyūṣṭa- (= OKhot.) vb. 'to

hear': ppp. 3Snt *pyūṣṭä* 1/[A1: 1].

prabhaṃkaradvīpa- (< Skt. id.) 'name of a Dvīpa which is otherwise unknown; for Skt. prabhaṃkara- see BHSD s.v.': LS *prabhaṃkaradvīpi̱* 8/[B2+C3: 3].

pharāka- (= OKhot.) adj. 'much, many': NPm *pharāka* 3/[A2: 1].

bakkula- (< Skt. bak[k]ula-; cf. Tib. ba ku la) 'name of an Elder': NSm *bakkulä* 6/[B1+C2: 2].

ba'ysa- (OKhot. balysa-) 'Buddha': NS *ba'ysä* 1/[A1: 1], *baysä* 3/[A2: 4]; GDS *baysä* 5/[B1+C1: 4], 10/[B2+C4: 2].

baysūña- (OKhot. balysūña-) adj. 'Buddha-, pertaining to a Buddha': NSm *baysūṃñi* 3/[A2: 3]. Cf. *Suffixe* 26.C.13.

bāḍa- (= OKhot.) subst. 'time': NAS *bāḍi* 1/[A1: 2], 3/[A2: 1].

biṣṭa- (= OKhot.) subst. 'disciple, pupil': NP *biṣṭi* 4/[B1+C1: 1]. Cf. *Prolexis*: 244; *Studies* II: 109f.

biśa- (OKhot. biśśa-) pron./adj. 'all': GDP *biśūṃ* 10/[B2+C4: 3].

bud- : busta- (= OKhot.) vb. 'to perceive, know': 3Sm pf. intr. *busti* 2/[A1: 4]; 1P pres. mid. *bvāmaṃ* 4/[B1+C1: 1]; 1S pres. mid. *bve* 4/[B1+C1: 2].

buri (OKhot. buro/buru, LKhot. burä) postp. and participle of indefiniteness: *audi ... vī buri* 2/[A1: 5].

brātar- (= OKhot.) subst. 'brother': VP *brātaryau* 3/[A2: 3].

bhadra- (< Skt. id.) 'name of an Elder': NS *bhadr̥* 7/[B1+C2: 3].

bharadvāja- (< Skt. id.) 'clan name of two Elders': NS *bharadvāji* 5/[B1+C1: 3], 6/[B1+C2: 1].

mara (OKhot. mara[ta]; cf. LKhot. ma) invar. 'here': 6/[B1+C2: 2].

mahāparinirvāṇa- (< Skt. id.; cf. LKhot. mihāparinirvāṃ) subst. 'great, complete Nirvāṇa': AS *mahāparinirvāṇi* 1/[A1: 1].

***mahāpāṃḍara-** (< Skt. mahāpāṇḍara-) 'name of a mountain whose location is unclear': GDS *ma(hā)pā(ṃ)dari* 9/[B2+C4: 1].

mahāṣāvaa- (= OKhot. < Pkt. < Skt. mahāśrāvaka-; cf. Gāndh. ṣavaka-/ṣava[g]a-) subst. 'great disciple': GDP *mahāṣāvā* 4/[A2: 5].

miḍān- (OKhot. mä[ṣ]ḍān-) adj. 'bounteous, gracious': VSm *miḍāṃni* (OKhot. mäḍāna) 3/[A2: 2], 4/[B1+C1: 1]. Cf. SGS: 338f., *Studies* III: 124, s.v. **mäḍe, mä(ṣ)ḍān-**, and Dresden 1955: 409, §4.A.a.10.

mujaka- (OKhot. muṃjaka-) subst. 'ant': GDP *mujakāṃ* 2/[A1: 5].

muhu (= OKhot.) 1P pers. pron. 'we': N *muhu* 4/[B1+C1: 1].

yan- : yuḍa- (= OKhot.) vb. 'to do': 3Sm pf. tr. *samāvajä yuḍä* 1/[A1: 1].

yamunavarṇikadvīpa- (< Skt. id. ≈ yamunādvīpa-) 'ambiguous place name, possibly the region along the present-day Jumnā River in North India': LS *yamunavarṇikadvīpi* 7/[B1+C2: 4].

ysīnī- (OKhot. ysīnīya-/ysīnīta-; cf. Sogd. ***zynyh***, TochAB senik, Niya-Pkt. jheniǵa-; for Khotan-Skt. ysenikāṃ see Skjærvø 1991: 281ff.) adv. 'entrusted to, under the care of' (often in the syntagm with **haur- : hauḍa-** [see below]): *ysīnī hauḍa* 4/[A2: 5].

ysāra- (= OKhot.) card. num. 'thousand': IA *yseryau* 5/[B1+C1: 4].

rrāṃd- (OKhot. rrund-) subst. 'king': NS rre 1/A1, GDP *rrāṃdāṃ* 4/[A2: 5].

rāhula- (< Skt.) 'name of an Elder': NS *rāhuli* 7–8/[B2+C3: 1].

rv- : ? (OKhot. rrv- : ?) vb. 'to remove': ASf pt. nec. III *rveña* (OKhot. *rrvāñi* [Zambasta 7.33]) 3/[A2: 3]. – for *e* : *ā* see Dresden 1955: 406, §2.2.(8).

vajraputra- (< Skt. id.) 'name of an Elder': NS *vajraputṛ* 7/[B1+C2: 4].

vajrasena- (< Skt. id.) 'name of a king': NS *vajraseṃ* 1/[A1: 2].

van- : ? (= OKhot.) vb. 'to honor': 1S pres. act. *vanūṃ* 5/[B1+C1: 5], 10/[B2+C4: 3].

vara (OKhot. vara[ta]; cf. LKhot. va) adv. 'there': 1/[A1: 2], 2/[A1: 3].

vasūj- : vasva- (OKhot. vasūj- : vasuta-) verb. 'to purify': NS vasva 8/[B2+C3: 2].

vā (= OKhot.) particle, usually second word of a clause: *ttī* (*vā*) 3/[A2: 1].

***vānāvāsa-** (< Skt. vanavāsa-; cf. Khot. vanavā[y]sa-) 'name of an Elder': NS *v̱ānāvāsä* 9/[B2+C3: 4].

vimaukṣa- (< Skt. vimokṣa-) subst. 'emancipation (three or eight in number)': NAP *vimaukṣa* 2/[A1: 5]. Cf. BHSD s.v. **vimokṣa**.

vī (OKhot. vīrä, LKhot. vīra/vīri): postp. + GD/A 'upon, to': 2/[A1: 5], 7/[B2+C3: 1], 8/[B2+C3: 3], 9/[B2+C3: 4, 5][B2+C4: 1, 2].

vaideha- (< Skt. vaideha[ka]-) 'name of a mountain': GDS *vaidehi* 9/[B2+C4: 2].

śakra- (< Skt. id.) 'name of Indra': GDS *śakri* 8/[B2+C3: 2].

śācamuna- (OKhot. ś[ś]ākyamuna- < Skt. śākyamuni-) 'the Gautama Buddha': GDS śācamuni 5/, 10/.

śāśana- (OKhot. śśāśana- < Pkt. < Skt. śāsana-; cf. Gāndh. śāśana-/śāśaṇa-) subst. 'teaching': NAS *śāśaṃ* 3/[A2: 3], *śā*(*śaṃ*) 3/[A2: 4].

śūdasama- (OKhot. *śśūndasama-) ord. num. 'eleventh': NSm *śūdasa*(*ṃ*) 8/[B2+C3: 2].

śya- (OKhot. śäta-; cf. LKhot. śa'-) ord. num. 'second': NSm *śye* 5/[B1+C1: 5].

ṣa- (= OKhot.) dem. pron. 'this, that': ASm *ttu* 1/[A1: 2]; GDSm *ttye* 2/[A2: 1], 3/[A2: 2]; LSm *ttiña* 1/[A1: 3], 2/[A1: 3]; ASf *tvā* 3/[A2: 3].

ṣada- (OKhot. ṣṣadda- < Pkt. < Skt. śraddha-; cf. Gāndh. ṣadha-) adj. 'faithful': GDP *ṣadāṃ* 4/[A2: 5].

ṣamana- (= OKhot. < Pkt. < Skt. śramaṇa-; cf. Gāndh. ṣamana-, TochA ṣāmaṃ, TochB ṣamāne; for MChin. *s^{r}ae-m^{w}on 沙門, see Karashima 2016: 108ff.) subst. 'monk, ascetic': NP *ṣamana* 3/[A2: 2].

ṣa'- (OKhot. ṣäta-) dem. pron. and adj. with near deixis: GDPm *ttyāṃ* 4/[B1+C1: 1].

ṣṭ- : stā-/ṣṭā- (OKhot. ṣṭ- : stāta-/ṣṭāta-/ṣṭuta-) vb. 'to stand, be (verbum existentiae)': 3S pres. mid. *ṣṭi* 3/[A2: 3].

sa- (OKhot. sata-) card. num. 'hundred': NA *sa* 2/[A1: 5].

saṃkhārama- (= OKhot. < Central Asian language < Skt. saṅghārāma-; cf. TochA saṅkrāṃ, TochB saṅkrām, Sogd. *snkr'm*) subst. 'resting place for a company (of monks or deities)': NS *saṃkhāraṃ* 2/[A1: 3], 8/[B2+C3: 2]; LS *saṃkherma* 2/[A1: 3].

samāhāna- (= OKhot. < Pkt. < Skt. samādhāna-; cf. LKhot. simāhāṃ) subst. 'absorption, meditation': AS *samāhāni* 1/[A1: 1].

samāvaj- : samāvaja- (OKhot. samāvaj- : samāvajäta- < Pkt. < Skt. sam-ā-pad-ya-; cf. LKhot. samāvaj-, simāvaś['']-) vb. 'to fall into any state or condition, attain to': ppp. AS *samāvajä* 1/[A1: 1].

salii- (=OKhot.) subst. 'year': NAP *salī* 1/[A1: 2]. For the etymology < **sard-ī-kī-*,

see Sims-Williams 1990: 291f.

sūrāṣṭra- (< Skt. saurāṣṭra-) adj. 'belonging to Surāṣṭra, a country in Northwest India (i.e., present-day Suraṭ)': LSm *sūrāṣṭrä* 1/[A1: 2].

seṃkhaladvīpa- (< Skt. siṃhaladvīpa-) 'the island of Sri Lanka': LS *seṃkhaladvīpi* 6/[B1+C2: 3].

sthīra- (= OKhot. < Pkt. < Skt. sthavira-; cf. Gāndh. sthaira-/thera-) subst. 'elder': NS *sthīri* 5/[B1+C1: 3, 5], 6/[B1+C2: 1], ; GDP *sthīrā* 4/[B1+C1: 1].

haṃgrīs- : haṃgrīya- (= OKhot.) vb. 'to assemble': 3Pm pf. intr. *haṃgrīya* 3/[A2: 2].

haṃtsa (= OKhot.) postp. + IA 'together (with)': 5/[B1+C1: 4].

haṃdāra- adj. 'other': GDP *haṃdārāṃ* 2/[A1: 5].

haḍi (OKhot. haḍe) conj. 'but, however': haḍi 2/[A2: 1].

hamraṣṭi (OKhot. hamarraṣṭu/hamu rraṣṭu; cf. LKhot. hamrraṣṭa) adv. 'always, perpetually': 3/[A2: 3]. Cf. SGS: 243, §23.(iii) and *Prolexis*: 388f.

haṣṭa- (= OKhot.) card. num. 'eight': NA 2/[A1: 4].

haṣṭama- (= OKhot.) ord. num. 'eighth': NSm *haṣṭaṃ* 7/[B1+C2: 4].

hā (= OKhot.) directional particle, away from the subject: *biśūṃ hā aysä* ... 10/[B2+C4: 3].

him- : himya- (OKhot. häm- : hämäta-) vb. 'to be, become': 3Sm pf. intr. *himye* 3/[A2: 1].

haudama- (= OKhot.) ord. num. 'seventh': NSm *haudami* 7/[B1+C2: 3].

haur- : hauḍa- (= OKhot.) vb. 'to give', in the phrase ysīnī haur- 'to entrust' (tr. Skt. pari-ind- 'to present, hand over', see DKS s.v. **ysīnīta-**): 3Sm pf. tr. *hauḍa* 4/[A2: 5].

hvāñ- : hva- (OKhot. hvāñ- : hvata-) vb. 'to speak, say': 3Sm pf. tr. *hve* 3/[A2: 3], 4/[B1+C1: 2]; 3Pm pf. tr. *hvādi* 3/[A2: 2]; NSm pt. nec. III *hveñai* (= OKhot. *hvāñai*) 6/[B1+C1: 6] – for *e* : *ā* see Dresden 1955: 406, §2.2.(8).

∴

The present chapter consists of a critical edition of the Tibetan translation of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** on the basis of the eight versions that are available to me. In compiling this edition my aim is, first and foremost, to lay a solid foundation for historical inferences with regard to the idea of the Arhat cult and its development. The vast majority of previous studies to date, as mentioned above, have relied upon the Chinese translation by Xuanzang, best known through the classic French translation by Lévi and Chavannes.[1] But the Chinese version is by no means 'the' **Nandimitrāvadāna**, since it differs significantly from its Tibetan counterpart, as even a quick skim through the annotated translation below may suffice to demonstrate. In order to do full justice to the historicity and complexity of the tradition, within which such a text as the **Nandimitrāvadāna** is transmitted, a reliable edition of the Tibetan translation is indispensable, insofar as it provides us with the only complete version, apart from the Chinese, available so far. This will therefore provide a point of reference with which the Chinese text should be meticulously compared if any serious argument concerning 'the' **Nandimitrāvadāna** can be attempted at all.

On the other hand, I also hope that the present work would shed some new light on the genealogical relationships between the various utilized versions – some of which did not see daylight until quite recently – and on the sound methods for editing texts from the Tibetan Buddhist canon. For long in the history of modern Buddhist Studies, scholars working with canonical texts in Tibetan contented themselves with utilizing whichever versions they could find, sometimes only one, but usually collating two or three, if possible. This was also the case with the only modern attempt at editing the Tibetan **Nandimitrāvadāna**, that of Hakamaya Noriaki,[2] who has only utilized the Derge and Peking Tanjurs, two versions which have modern reprints and thus are the most accessible. In this case, the choice of edition is inevitably arbitrary, and both the reconstruction of the Tibetan text and the resolution of individual textual problems can hardly be conducted in a historically justified and philologically informed manner. Since the late 1970s, pioneering scholars, such as Helmut Eimer and Paul Harrison (to name but two), have started unraveling the complex history of the Kanjurs, making use of further editions that had come to light at a relatively recent date. Thanks to their meritorious endeavor, the state of our knowledge has significantly improved,[3]

1. See Lévi/Chavannes 1916.

2. See Hakamaya 2007.

3. For a concise introduction to the main results achieved by about more than one decade of scholarly endeavors, which represented the state of the art in the mid-1990s, see Harrison 1996: 70–94.

and the aforementioned heuristic approach so often adopted by scholars of the old days, who were wont to work with the Derge and/or Peking alone, can no longer be maintained. This new picture is now further complicated by some manuscript (proto-)Kanjurs[4] discovered in Western Tibet (including Ladakh and Northwest Nepal),[5] which still await scientific assessment. Hence more research is needed to reappraise the results arrived at by previous studies on the one hand, and to incorporate the new data into the overall paradigm established by received hypotheses on the other, and the present work is nothing but one contribution towards that end.

To begin, it may not be out of place to briefly clarify in which sense the present edition is 'critical'. This clarification necessarily starts with general considerations of some methodological issues which 'critical editing' as a modern scholarly activity may raise, especially in the case of Tibetan Buddhist texts such as the present one.

General Considerations

The present edition is 'critical' in the sense that it follows, to a certain extent, what has been termed "Lachmann's method",[6] i.e., a systematic procedure developed by European textual critics from various traditions of the humanities during the 19th century (if not earlier), for the purpose of editing texts on the basis of multiple copies or witnesses in a rational and standardized manner. This method works on the assumption that every act of copying is likely to introduce new errors, so genealogical analyses of those errors constitute part and parcel of this mechanical procedure, which sets out to unravel the filiation of the copies – that is to say, to determine which of them are copied from which others – and to reconstruct the archetype underlying all the extant copies as far as possible. This stemmatic approach,

4. Such an expression as 'proto-Kanjur' only makes sense retrospectively. Any appeal to the concept of 'proto-canon' is inherently teleological and historically not quite helpful; see Silk 2015: 14. Therefore, a *caveat* must be added that no such teleological meaning is intended within the scope of the present study. That is to say, the designation 'proto-Kanjur' simply means that the collections in question are chronologically prior to those called 'Kanjur' and lack a systematic classification which is characteristic of the latter; but it should by no means imply that those ancient collections were subject to an inevitable process leading to the emergence of the latter.

5. For an up-to-date introductory survey of these (proto-)canonical collections, see Tauscher 2015a: 365–392.

6. This designation, which explicitly associates the method with the German philologist Karl Lachmann (1793–1851), is to a certain extent a misnomer, for, as Sebastiano Timpanaro demonstrated, it was neither first invented nor consistently applied by Lachmann. For an incisive summary of the main findings, see the 7th chapter of *La genesi* "What really belongs to Lachmann" (Timpanaro 2005: 115–118).

summarized by Paul Maas with algorithmic rigor,[7] was not uncontested since the end of the 19th century, especially in the circle of Romance philologists, among whom the French scholar Joseph Bédier stood out as the most outspoken dissenter.[8] Their criticism is partly justifiable,[9] though sometimes also giving rise to an ideologically oriented caricature of Lachmannian philology as a bourgeois pursuit or Romantic illusion.[10] As a substitute for the Lachmannian approach, Bédier's proposal for editing on the basis of a single manuscript is not necessarily the 'lesser evil', as pointed out by some scholars from the vantage point of their own practice of scholarly editing.[11] Nevertheless, it remains a heuristic approach instrumental in dealing with, for instance, the extreme cases, in which the attempt at *recensio* is doomed to failure or every version or group of versions represents an independent redaction (sometimes even an autonomous work). Fortunately, this is not the case with the Tibetan text edited below. The eight versions of the Tibetan **Nandimitrāvadāna**, despite the considerable number of variants, represent by and large various witnesses of the same text. In a certain number of these cases of textual variation, it is possible, as demonstrated below, to pinpoint one of the variants as more likely to be the original reading than others. The latter variants, relegated to the critical apparatus, can thus be regarded as hypothetical candidates for significant errors, on which stemmatic analyses are based. Before delving further into the philological details, some methodological remarks are in order. They center around three potential problems, which may arise from the particular practice of editing Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts.

A first problem: Lachmann's method presupposes, in each case, the existence

7. See Maas 1927.

8. See Bédier 1928.

9. See Timpanaro 2005: 145–187, 207–215 (especially on the problem of the preponderance of bipartite stemmas). For a refutation and/or correction of some of Timpanaro's theses, see Reeve 1986: 57–69

10. See, for example, the amusing, but simplistic remark by B. Cerquiliani, a committed Bédierian: "Philology is a bourgeois, paternalist and hygienist system of thought about the family; it cherishes filiation, tracks down adulterers, and is afraid of contamination. It is thought based on what is wrong (the variant being a form of deviant behavior), and it is the basis for a positive methodology." (Cerquiliani 1999: 49) The jejuneness of Cerquiliani's metaphor has already been pointed out and criticized by Michael Witzel (see Witzel 2014: 18), so there is no necessity to present a formal refutation here.

11. For further references, see Timpanaro 2005: 80, n. 23, whose own take on this matter is even more straightforward: "And setting aside, as always, the case in which each manuscript represents an independent 'redaction,' it should be noted that it is not at all true that the 'lesser evil' is to follow a single manuscript when no stemma can be reconstructed. In these cases the lesser evil is to choose the variants according to internal criteria, without abandoning the attempt to provide a complete evaluation of the greater or lesser tendency of each manuscript's copyist to reproduce the model faithfully even where it is corrupt or on the other hand to 'patch it up', to 'prettify', to falsify." (Timpanaro 2005: 159, n. 3)

of a unique archetype, from which all the extant copies of the text are derived. And one of the objectives of textual criticism is to go near to, if not to reconstruct, the archetype. However, this is hardly possible in the case of anonymous Buddhist canonical texts in Sanskrit, as Oskar von Hinüber has pointed out.[12] To tackle this problem, von Hinüber has proposed the idea of 'historical apparatus' instead of 'critical apparatus'; in contrast to the latter which rationalizes the editor's choice among the variant readings, the former, just like archaeological survey, demonstrates the different stages and layers of the development of the text, and thus presents, to quote from von Hinüber, "a veritable thesaurus of the tradition."[13] Gregory Schopen has observed the absence or an Urtext in the Gilgit manuscripts of the **Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra**, which seems to have been transmitted in multiple versions similar in content but different in wording and thus irreducible to a single archetype. Schopen argues that the variants attested in the manuscripts that cannot be reconciled should not be conceived as 'variants' *sensu stricto*, for there is no archetype (or Urtext) from which they might deviate.[14] Examples of more or less the same observation can easily be multiplied, and this brief literature survey is by no means exhaustive. What is at issue here is the implications that the absence of an archetype in the case of Indian Buddhist texts may have for editing their Tibetan translations: Is the situation of the translations similar to that of their Indian Vorlagen? If not, how does the reconstruction of their archetype help us understand the open-headed textual tradition?

Most of the Tibetan translations, especially those produced in the second diffusion period (*phyi dar*) are not anonymous renditions. The colophons at the end of texts preserved in every version of the Kanjur and Tanjur, and the catalogues compiled by local savants such as Bu ston Rin chen grub, provide traditional attributions, by dint of which we are informed about who translated them. These attributions are not always reliable, but if we assess these data cautiously, we may well emerge with a historically informed attribution of a certain translation to a certain translator (or group of translators). In the present case, the translators, as demonstrated in detail below, should have been active during the 11th century, in other words, about 300 years before some monks at Narthang monastery made the first attempt at collecting the Buddhist texts translated into Tibetan by then and organizing them into a coherent and systematic 'canon'.[15] Those 14th-century trailblazers, whose work not only set a conceptual precedent for all the later Kanjurs, but might also have shaped a considerable number of versions which have come down to us, were chronologically not quite removed from the translators. On the other hand, some of the texts translated during the

12. See von Hinüber 1980: 28–40.

13. See von Hinüber 1980: 40.

14. See Schopen 2009: 189–219.

15. For the details of this project giving rise to the so-called Old Narthang manuscript Kanjur, see below p. 102 in the present section.

second diffusion period, unlike the present one, are also preserved in some pre-14th-century collections, such as Gondhla and Tabo. In that case, the gap in time between the translator(s) and the earliest accessible version(s) of the translation is even smaller, so the latter could be 100–200 years later than, or, in favorable conditions, contemporaneous with the former. Given the relatively short time scale on which textual development and decimation might have taken place, it is not unrealistic, in such particular cases, to speak of a unique archetype produced by the translator(s).

In addition, the very idea of 'historical apparatus' called for by von Hinüber is based on the historicity of every rivulet of the textual tradition. In the case of several Sanskrit manuscripts of a single text, e.g. those of the **Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra** from Gilgit,[16] it is a bit more straightforward, since all we need to do is to faithfully record the readings that the various manuscripts actually attest, as Schopen did in his exemplary work.[17] To be sure, this is not as easy as it may seem; but the situation gets more complicated, suppose one of the manuscripts is lost and only retrievable from an 11th-century Tibetan translation, which, in its turn, has come down to us in a number of editions whose dates range from the 15th to the 19th century. In that case, we cannot randomly pick one out of the editions and claim that this is the text that once circulated in India; nor should we indiscriminately treat the various editions as equivalent in historical terms. Wherever their readings vary from one another, a historically minded editor is bound to judge which of the variants is likely to go back to the 11th century, and which is an innovation in the 15th century or even later. In that case, 'stratification' amounts to 'criticism' (*viz.* distinguishing variants originating in different historical strata from one another), and 'historical apparatus' on the Indian side entails 'critical apparatus' on the Tibetan. Admittedly, even the original Tibetan translation may differ from its lost Sanskrit Vorlage to some extent. Nonetheless, a critical reconstruction of the archetype provides a unique lens through which to appreciate how the 11th-century translator(s) might have understood the text, and thus constitutes an invaluable chapter of the "thesaurus of the tradition" that von Hinüber has probably had in mind.

The characterization of the archetype as 'unique' may raise a few eyebrows. Jonathan Silk draws attention to the possibility of contamination at the very beginning of the translation process, whereby the translator(s) procured multiple Indic versions at different points and thus produced multiple Tibetan versions by repeatedly comparing and revising earlier versions of the translation against one or more newly found Indic versions.[18] As a result, multiple Tibetan versions resulting from different stages of a work in progress came into being and circulated within Tibet. Thus, Silk considers it only

16. To these we now add two copies from the Schøyen Collection, possibly from Bamiyan.

17. See Schopen 1978.

18. See Silk 1994: 13.

"possible to establish several hyparchetypes, but no single archetype."[19] This may be true, but does not invalidate Lachmannian's method as a heuristic device. First of all, contamination as such can only be detected when the witnesses are collated and the attempt at *recensio* is not successful. Hence, to repudiate the stemmatic model on the basis of contamination is to bite the hand that feeds. Secondly, whenever the translator(s) made changes to earlier versions of the translation, it was probably not without rhyme or reason; since for all *bona fide* members of the faith community, including the translator(s) and the intended audience of the translation, this was a scripture conveying the sacred message of the Buddha, which was, at least ideally, not supposed to be arbitrarily altered, and in which choices must be made between semantically different possibilities. Therefore, the lion's share of the changes are likely to be endowed with a theoretical or theological reason.[20] For historians of religions or ideas, there is no reason to privilege one possibility over another;[21] but we should not turn a blind eye to the reasons that urged the translator(s) to choose among the possibilities, insofar as they tell us a great deal about what was actually believed as 'the Buddha's word' by the faith community at that time and thus constitute a unique part of the "thesaurus of the tradition". In order to historically come to terms with those reasons, both theoretical and theological, the first step is to pinpoint the direction of alteration, to wit, which of the possibilities was changed to which other(s) in every specific case. This can only be achieved by a hypothetical reconstruction of the *oldest* form of the translation, which is, as it were, counteracting the revision of the translator(s). That being said, it does not follow that privilege, in any sense, is given to the oldest form.

A second problem: The *modus operandi* of a Lachmannian editor consists in the critical assessment of errors. In the field of Kanjur textual criticism, scholars have so far worked with a binary classification, which distinguishes recensional errors from transmissional ones. According to the authoritative definition given by Paul Harrison, 'recensional' errors "reveal either extensive and deliberate editorial changes to the text, or the adoption of a different text altogether, rather than errors resulting from scribal lapses or casual attempts to improve or modernize the text", which he labels as 'transmissional'.[22] This classification is a bit problematic.

Textual critics in other fields have drawn on another binary system, which distinguishes indicative errors of the conjunctive type (*errores conjunctivi*) from those of the separative type (*errores separativi*). Speaking from a

19. See Silk 1994: 14.

20. For the difference between the traditional translation from a faith perspective and the modern academic one, see Silk 2016: 291–295, 298f.

21. For the rationale for such a democratic or egalitarian attitude towards various witnesses of a single text, coupled with a trenchant critique of an eclectic approach to Buddhist literature as 'textual eugenics', see Silk 2015: 205–226.

22. See Harrison 1992a: xxv.

stemmatic point of view, transmissional errors can only be dismissed as insignificant when they happen to be of the conjunctive type, or in other words, shared by more than two witnesses. This is because these errors, compared to recensional ones, are more likely to be polygenetic or, in other words, to be committed independently by several copyists; and thus bring with them the risk of misconceiving polygenetic errors as indicative of a common hyparchetype. However, as errors of the separative type, they are significant for genealogical analyses, insofar as they demonstrate that the copies containing them are not *codices descripti* but form an independent sub-branch. The Sanskrit title of the present text may serve as an example:

> ārya nan di mi tra a ba dā na nā ma /
>
> **ārya**] arya Do.
> **nan di mi tra a ba dā na**] nan da mi tra a ba dhā ra ṇam LSZ, na dha rā nam BaDo; na mi dmi trā ba na Q, na mi dmi trā ba nā N.
> **nā ma**] na ma Do.

The alternation between long *ā* and short *a* (e.g. *arya* for *ārya* [Do], *nā* for *na* [N]), in contrast to substitutions on the lexical level (e.g. *dhā ra ṇam* [LSZ] or *dha rā nam* [BaDo] for *dā na*), is, according to Harrison, transmissional rather than recensional in nature. It is insignificant as an error of the conjunctive type (if shared by more than two witnesses), but significant as an error of the separative type. For example, the fact that *nā* occurs only in N but not in Q, whose Sanskrit title is otherwise identical to that of N, is testimony to N's deviation from the hyparchetype common to NQ. The same holds for Do, which shares with Ba the apparently erroneous title *na dha rā nam* but differs from the latter in *arya* and *na ma*.

On the other hand, transmissional errors are not necessarily noise. there are some cases in which a transmissional error, though not shared by any other witness, may give clues about its origin when, for instance, it is triggered by some codicological features peculiar to a specific source text, which, however, does not contain this error. A classic example of this phenomenon has been given by Helmut Eimer: In a passage from the Tibetan translation of the **Jñānakasūtrabuddhāvadāna**, the Cone version testifies to an isolated error (i.e., *gsol lo* for *gsol*), which, according to Harrison, is transmissional. But on closer scrutiny, it turns out that the source of this error is found in the 'Jang Sa tham version, where – and only where – we find the *-la* of *gsol* is written right below a subscript *ya*, which was misread by the copyist of Cone as *-lo*; and the erroneous reading was, in its turn, hypercorrected to *gsol lo*.[23] In that case, the transmissional error, isolated and casual as it may seem, should be regarded as indicative error of the conjunctive type, insofar as it bears significant witness to the genealogical connection between two witnesses.

Therefore, within the scope of the present study, I do not adopt the binary system 'recensional/transmissional' at all, nor do I split the apparatus in

23. See Eimer 1989: 48f.

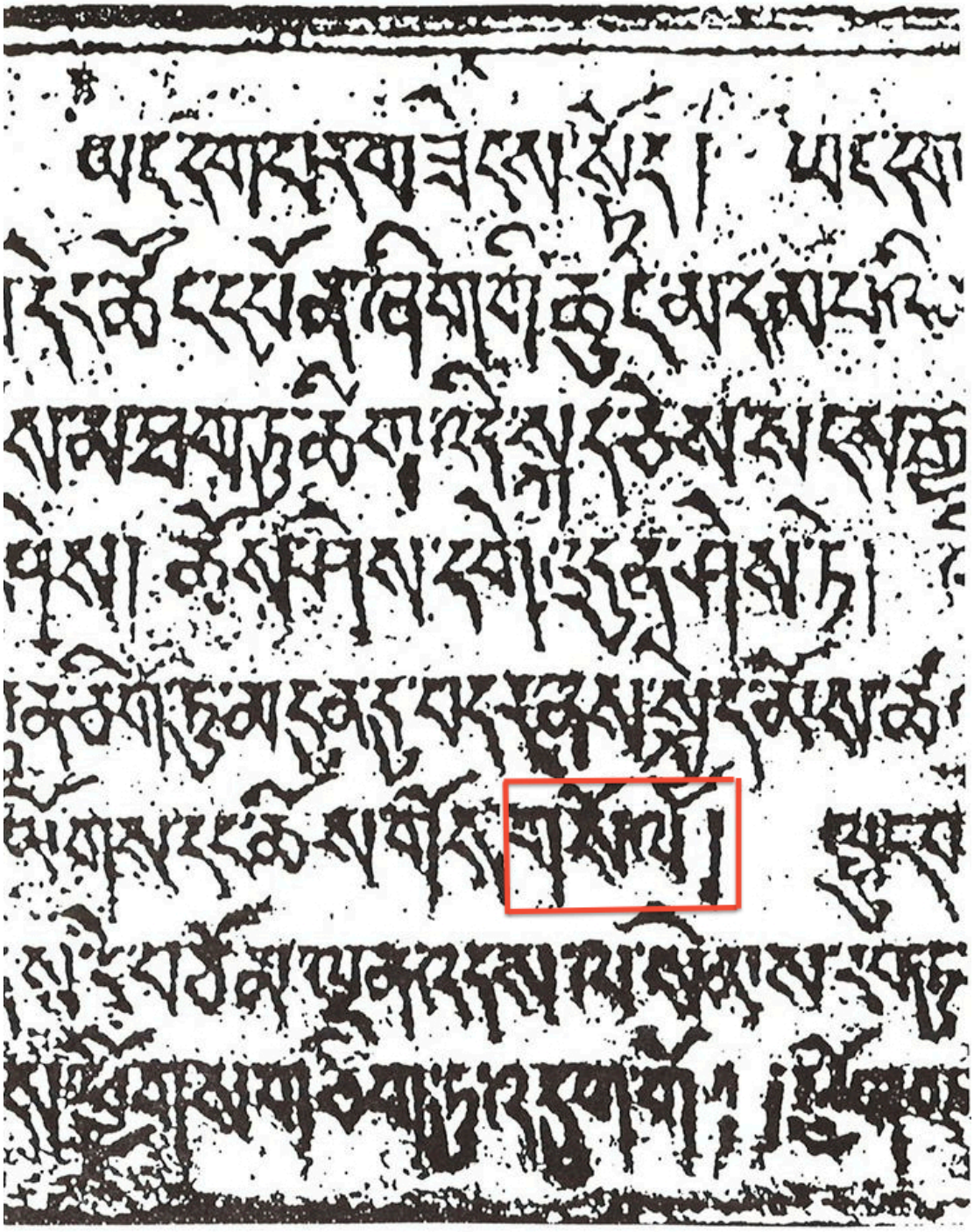

Figure 4 Detail of a folio of the 'Jang Sa tham version of the **Jñānakasūtrabuddha-avadāna** (*mdo sde*, aṃ, fol. 311/312a), with *gsol* resembling *gsolo* indicated. Adapted from Eimer 1989: 49.

twain for the sake of this not quite useful dichotomy.

Finally, a last problem: A critical edition, to be sure, aims at the reconstruction of a unique archetype. But the reconstruction, to my mind, should not be understood as a reproductive process resulting in a photographic copy of the original to the letter. This is neither feasible nor necessary. Many textual critics from other fields have already emphasized the communicative nature of textual criticism, which has the mission of conveying some messages from the past to a contemporary audience.[24] So the reconstruction is necessarily an approximation or, as described by Paolo Trovato, an act of transcoding, which consists in "an attempt to translate a text from a remote sign system to another that is more comprehensible for current readers, and, at the same time, free that text from as many defects in transmission as possible."[25]

To the present study which attempts a critical edition of a Tibetan text translated in the early 11th century, the same principles apply: On the one hand, the main objective of the project is to produce a text which should tell us, as faithfully as possible, how the Tibetan translators might have understood the Indic Vorlage accessible to them. On the other, the outcome of the project is also supposed to be a modern edition readable to its target audience – be it a Tibetologist interested in the Arhat cult or a student of Classical Tibetan. Therefore, the present work should not be regarded as equivalent to a reproduction of the earliest form of the text. For instance, orthographic features such as *ya btags*, *da drag* and reversed *gi gu*, which are not infrequently found in old Tibetan manuscripts and may well be present in the 11th-century archetype of the present text,[26] are not printed in the main body of my edition, insofar as they may confuse readers of Classical Tibetan. This is not, it should be emphasized, a repudiation of the historical significance of those features, which deserve a systematic study in their own right. Scholars interested in orthography and historical grammar are referred to the lower division of the apparatus beneath the double line, where the occurrence of such features in the collated manuscripts is recorded. If several readings have more or less the same meaning, the more standardized spelling or grammatical form is printed in the main body of my edition. More often than not, this policy implies that I follow the reading of the Derge edition, whose grammar and style have been carefully checked and standardized by some learned redactors in the first half of the 18th century.[27] To put it another way, textual criticism by way of the *recensio* and *constitutio* is in

24. Similar opinions have been articulated by quite some scholars of textual criticism, for more details see the quotations in Trovato 2014: 165f.

25. Trovato 2014: 166.

26. For the codicological and orthographic features pertaining to Tibetan manuscripts dating from the time period in which the present text was translated (i.e. Type I, before 950–1190/1250 AD), see Scherrer-Schaub/Bonani 2008: 326–329.

27. See Eimer 1983: 93ff., 1988: 39; and Harrison 1992b: 79.

business only when a case of variation leads to different understandings of the text, which are to be compared against one another and assessed by all possible means. In doing so, I intend to render the translators' understanding in a form readable to contemporary readers literate in Classical Tibetan.

Versions of the Text Consulted

In principle, I make use of all the versions that are available to me. The text is also preserved in a number of Bhutan Kanjurs, being currently digitized by the Endangered Archives Programme (British Library), such as Chizhi, Dongkarla, Gangteng, and Neyphug.[28] Unfortunately, I have no access to these Kanjurs. Once any of these becomes available to me, their data will be incorporated into the present edition. It is also regrettable that the text is not found in the Phug brag collections, whose stemmatic relation is not yet clear. For the time being, the eight versions used for the purpose of establishing a critical edition of the Tibetan translation of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** can be provisionally divided into three groups, according to the studies of Helmut Eimer, Paul Harrison, Peter Skilling, and others:

(1) Versions descended from the Tshal pa Kanjur
(2) Versions descended from the Them spangs ma Kanjur
(3) Versions descended from the Early Mustang Kanjur

Before delving into the background information about the individual versions of the three groups, some brief introductory remarks on the history of the hyparchetypes of the groups **(1)** and **(2)**, namely the Tshal pa and Them spangs ma Kanjurs, are in order.

Both of the hyparchetypes, albeit lost now, are allegedly descended from the Old Narthang manuscript Kanjur, which was brought into being at the beginning of the 14th century, when attempts were made to bring together various collections of scriptures and treatises translated into Tibetan at Narthang monastery in gTsang near gZhi ka rtse.[29] The gathering of texts which took place at Narthang resulted in a collection of raw materials on which the later editions are based. Furthermore, it was first in the Old Narthang that the concept of a proper Tibetan canon consisting of separate Kanjur and Tanjur started to take shape. Therefore, Peter Skilling is probably justified in saying that the Old Narthang was not so much the "textual

28. For a recent study of the Tib. version of the **Vajradhvajapariṇāmanā** which takes the Bhutan group into account, see Harrison 2018: 157–175. These manuscripts are also utilized by Shayne Clarke in a recent philological disquisition on the **Bhikṣuṇī-vinayavibhaṅga** of the **Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya**, in which he argues for the existence of a distinct Bhutanese recension; see Clarke 2018: 199–292.

29. For the history of the compilation of the Old Narthang manuscript Kanjur, see Eimer 1988: 65f., Imaeda 1989: 329, and Harrison 1996: 74–78.

archetype" as the "conceptual prototype" of the later Kanjurs.[30] Only decades thereafter, a second attempt at revision was made at Tshal Gung thang monastery in dBus during the years 1347–1351 at the behest of the local ruler, Tshal pa Si tu dGe ba'i blo gros (aka Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje, 1309–1364). The result of the large-scale project was the Tshal pa Kanjur, which continued to be subject to further revisions, and formed the basis for several block-print editions of the Tibetan canon in the following centuries.[31] On the other hand, a manuscript Kanjur was made in 1431 under the sponsorship of the ruler of Gyantse (rGyal rtse), Rab brtan Kun bzang 'phags pa (1389–1442). This was the famous Them spangs ma, which became the fountainhead of various extant manuscript Kanjurs.[32] This manuscript Kanjur was supposedly a descendant of the lost *Zha lu ma, a hypothetical copy of the Old Narthang revised by Bu ston Rin chen grub at Zha lu in gTsang,[33] and incorporated a small number of revisions by bKra shis dbang phyug.[34] But the derivation of the Them spangs ma from the Old Narthang through the *Zha lu ma is not borne out by adequate evidence, and thus cannot be postulated for all parts of the Them spangs ma, to say the least.[35] Be that as it may, the textbook account of the history of Kanjur consists in the bifurcation of a single archetype, i.e., the Old Narthang. So what textual criticism strives to achieve is the reconstruction of the Old Narthang text as far as possible. The picture has now been drastically changed by the coming to light of independent Kanjurs (e.g. Phug brag, Newark/Bathang), which seem to be unrelated to either of the two lines, and 'proto-canonical' manuscripts (e.g. Tabo, Gondhla), which consist of translations that have not yet been organized in such a manner as Kanjurs and Tanjurs.[36] The cataloguing of some of the

30. See Skilling 1997: 100.

31. For the Tshal pa Kanjur in general, see Eimer 1988: 66f., Imaeda 1989: 329, Harrison 1992a: xvi–xvii, and 1996: 78, 81f.. For the reassignment of the present text to Tanjur in the Tshal pa group, see below.

32. For the Them spangs ma Kanjur in general, see Eimer 1988: 67f., Imaeda 1989: 329, Harrison 1992a: xviii–xix, and 1996: 80f. For the various interpretations of the meaning of Them spangs ma, see Bethlenfalvy 1982: 6, and 9, n. 4. This name became prevalent probably during the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama (1642–1682), when over a hundred copies of the Kanjur were produced. See Skilling 1997: 101, n. 103; Harrison 1992a: xviii.

33. See Harrison 1996: 78–81.

34. See Eimer 1983: vol. I, 115.

35. The genealogical relationship between the Them spangs ma and the Old Narthang has been a complicated issue of scholarly dispute. Against Eimer (1992: xviii) and Harrison who assert a derivation of the Them spangs ma from the Old Narthang through an intermediate copy such as the *Zha lu ma, Peter Skilling argues for the independence of the Thems spangs ma, proposing a stemma in which the Tshal pa is the only descendant of the Old Narthang. See Skilling 1997: 101, 107 and 1994–1997: vol. I, xl–xlvi. Taking into account newly discovered manuscripts from Tabo etc., Michael Zimmermann takes issue with a direct derivation of the Them spangs ma from the Old Narthang, but considers influences from the latter as possible. See Zimmermann 2002: 203–206.

36. I owe the terms 'proto-canonical' and 'proto-Kanjur' to Tauscher 2015a: 366.

collections is still work in progress, and more new knowledge is to be expected from philological studies of texts contained therein in comparison with their counterparts in the extant Kanjurs or Tanjurs.

As far as the translation of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** is concerned, a specific group among those collections merits special attention, since two versions collated below supposedly stem from that group.[37] This is said of the Early Mustang Kanjur, of which only the catalogue is now extant.[38] According to the prose part of the introductory passage in the catalogue, this "Golden Kanjur" was prepared for the royal family of Mustang at the order of the local ruler A ma dpal bzang po rgyal mtshan (1388–ca. 1445), who found that "at that [time] no complete volume of the Kanjur existed in any one place" of Mustang.[39] Despite the fact that no exact date of that event is attested in the catalogue, Helmut Eimer quotes a reference provided by Michel Peissel to the biography of the Sa skya pa master Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456), which bears witness to the production of a new Kanjur during the years 1436–1447.[40] In any case, it was probably no later than the mid-15th century that this manuscript Kanjur was established. Whether the manuscript Kanjurs discovered at Lo Manthang and Tsarang were copied from the Early Mustang Kanjur is still open to be investigated.[41] Having examined some internal evidence, Eimer emerges with the observation that the new Kanjur "had as its basis … manuscript material differing from that used in the other commonly known traditions of the Kanjur" and contained peculiar versions which testify to "a literary tradition of the Buddhist scriptures in westernmost Tibet which has remained uninfluenced by other sources since early times."[42] Although this Kanjur is no more, its offspring is supposedly to be found among the Ladakhi and Nepalese Kanjurs (e.g. **Ba** and **Do** in the present case), the value of which for philological studies can hardly be overestimated.

In what follows, the eight versions of the Tibetan translation subsumed under the three groups are listed with summaries of research results achieved so far and brief remarks on noteworthy features of the individual versions.

(1) The Tshal pa group:

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37. The theory of a Mustang group independent of both the Tshal pa and the Them spangs ma is hypothetical and still awaits further verification. With the scope of the present study, I accept the presumption of such a group as a working hypothesis. For the first elaboration of this hypothesis, see Tauscher/Lainé 2015: 463–481 (esp. 474–476 for the affinity of the Hemis-Basgo line with the Early Mustang Kanjur in reference to the arrangement of the sūtras of the *mdo sde* section).

38. The catalogue is now available in Eimer 1999. The **Nandimitrāvadāna** is registered in the catalogue under *mdo mangs* (*zha*), see Eimer 1999: 111, §**64**0.

39. Tr. Eimer 1999: 11; for the Tibetan text cf. *ibid.* n. 24.

40. See Peissel *apud* Eimer 1999: 12.

41. At least the number of volumes contained in the respective collections seems to be different; see Tauscher/Lainé 2015: 466f.

42. See Eimer 1999: 20.

D : **D**erge (sDe dge) Tanjur (completed 1744), *mdo 'grel* (*'dul ba*), su 240a4–244b1: Tōhoku no. 4146.
The history of the Derge canon goes back to 1729, when the ruler of Derge bsTan pa tshe ring (1678–1738) commissoned the compilation of a new Tibetan canon, with the Karma pa master Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699/1700–1774) appointed as the supervisor.[43] This block-print edition of the Derge Kanjur is based on the 'Jang Sa tham or Lithang edition (1609–1621), which is in its turn based on a descendant of the Tshal pa.[44] But according to the Tibetan tradition, another manuscript Kanjur descended from the Them spangs ma was also consulted;[45] so the Derge Kanjur has a combined or contaminated nature, which is borne out by previous philological studies.[46] As far as the Tanjurs are concerned, previous studies have yielded a stemma in which the Derge Tanjur (**D**) forms a separate branch of which the other Tanjurs (i.e., **CNQ**) seem to be independent.[47] Another significant characteristic of the Derge edition is that it has undergone a process of scrupulous revision by the redactors and thus shows more often than not standardized grammatical and orthographical forms.[48] In other words, this edition is not only grammatically easier to read, but also bears precious witness to the ways in which some learned Tibetan monks in the 18th century chose from the variants that had come down to them. Since the late 1970s, multiple (re)prints of the Derge edition have become available to the scholarly community, e.g. the Karma pa edition (1976–1979), the Nyingma edition (1980), and the Taipei edition (1991).[49] For the present study, I utilized the Karma pa edition digitalized by the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (henceforth TBRC), which is a reproduction of a print of the Derge edition at one time preserved in Rumtek monastery, Sikkim.

N : **N**arthang (sNar thang) Tanjur (1741–1742), *mdo 'grel*, u 270b3–275b1.
The Narthang edition of the Tibetan canon was the outcome of a massive project commissioned by Pho lha nas bSod nams stobs rgyas (1689–1747), who was the *de facto* ruler of Tibet when the seventh Dalai Lama was sent in exile during the years 1729–1735. While the blocks for the Kanjur were completed in 1732 and then deposited in Narthang monastery since 1733, the project of the Tanjur was begun in the middle of 1741 and completed at the

43. For the life and works of the learned master, see the series of articles by Verhagen 2004, 2008, 2010, 2013, 2017.

44. For the latter, see Imaeda 1982, 1984; Jampa Samten 1987.

45. See Eimer 1983: vol. I, 93–97; Harrison 1992b: 79.

46. For so far the only exceptional case, in which the Derge version is reported to be identical with the Tshal pa, see Braarvig 1993: x–xi.

47. The dependence of the Cone Tanjur on the Derge claimed by Vogel 1965: 26–33 does not stand closer scrutiny; see Pāsādika 1989b: xviii; Hartmann 1987: 45.

48. See Eimer 1983: 93ff., 1988: 39; and Harrison 1992b: 79.

49. For the reasons that the Nyingma edition, which turns out to be a massive conflation of various prints of the Derge edition, cannot be used for establishing critical editions, see Silk 1994: 63f.

end of 1942, then the new edition was immediately presented to the Dalai Lama, who ordered it to be preserved in the Kun dga' ra ba of the 'Khrungs rabs lha khang.[50] The considerable gap of almost ten years between the engravings of the Kanjur and the Tanjur indicates that those were virtually two separate projects. Besides, the limited time (i.e., about one and a half years) within which the work was executed makes it likely that the Narthang Tanjur is a reproduction of another edition of Tanjur taken from elsewhere with no substantial revision. Previous studies have demonstrated a close genealogical relationship between the Narthang Tanjur (**N**) and the Tanjurs of Peking and Cone (**CQ**), which suggests a probable Tshal pa origin.[51] For the present study, I utilized the TBRC digital version of a print from the Narthang blocks preserved in the Library of Tibet House, New Delhi. With regard to its orthographical features, *yang* is consistently carved as *'ang*,[52] and *bsdu yig* (i.e., the contraction of the reduplicated consonants before terminative particles such as *'gyuro* for *'gyur ro*) is sporadically attested.

Q : Peking (**Q**ing) Tanjur (completed 1724), *'dul ba'i 'grel pa*, u 299b6–305b5 (*The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition*, vol. 127, pp. 302–304): Ōtani no. 5647. Although all the later Peking Kanjurs are in fact reprints[53] of the Yongle edition the blocks of which were engraved in 1410,[54] the Tanjur division of the Peking canon was not printed until 1724.[55] According to the colophon contained in its *dkar chag*, the Peking Tanjur was compiled from 1687 to 1688. The *dkar chag* was attributed to the fifth Dalai Lama who, however, died in 1682. Therefore, Imaeda Yoshirō surmised the real supervisor of the project was sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705) who diffused his own work under the name of the departed Dalai Lama so as to conceal the latter's death from the Qing court.[56] It is not specified in the colophon on what sources this Tanjur is based. However, previous studies have revealed the close affinity of the Peking Tanjur (**Q**) with the Tanjurs of Narthang and Cone (**CN**),[57] while a preliminary comparison with the Golden manuscript Tanjur shows that the contents of the two Tanjurs are very similar to each other.[58] For the present study, I utilized the *Peking Edition* of Ōtani University, which is a reproduction of the 1724 print. This edition is characterized by an

50. See Petech 1950: 144f.

51. See fn. 41, above.

52. See Zimmermann 2002: 170 for the Narthang Kanjur.

53. The historical connotations of this term are very sophisticated. For a meticulous clarification of what 'reprint' exactly means in the present case, see Eimer 1988: 69.

54. For the Yongle edition of the Kanjur, see Silk 1996: 153–200.

55. Claus Vogel once argued that the Peking Tanjur must have been completed later than the Narthang Tanjur, i.e. later than 1742; see Vogel 1965: 23–24 and 32, n. 2. But his opinion does not seem to have been given approval by other scholars.

56. See Imaeda 1977: 33f.

57. See fn. 41, above.

58. See Skilling 1991: 139.

extravagant space between a double *shad* or between a *shad* and the following letter.[59]

(2) The Them spangs ma group:

L : London manuscript Kanjur (completed in 1712), *mdo sde*, ji 352a4–358a1: no. 235 in Pagel/Gaffney 1996.
The manuscript Kanjur preserved in the British Library (London) is a copy of the Shel dkar manuscript which is dated in 1472, as indicated by the so-called *dkar chag* attached to the volume "ji" of the *mdo sde* section, to which the present translation also belongs.[60] Most of the previous studies have assigned the London Kanjur (**L**), along with those of Stog Palace, Tōkyō, and Ulaanbaatar (**STV**), to the Them spangs ma group.[61] For the present study, I utilized the microfilms published by the British Library. As Michael Zimmermann points out, this manuscript Kanjur contains a relatively high number of *bsdu yig* (contractions) and *skung yig* (abbreviations).[62] The symbol of deletion consisting of three dots placed above the letter (∴) is sporadically attested.

S : Stog (sTog) Palace manuscript Kanjur (ca. 1729), *mdo sde*, ji 357b3–363b2: no. 319 in Skorupski 1985.
The manuscript Kanjur preserved in Stog Palace (Ladakh) was copied under the ruler of Ladakh Nyi ma rnam rgyal (r. 1691–1729) from a Bhutanese manuscript.[63] Previous studies have unequivocally shown it to be descended from the Them spangs ma, while the suspicion of a contamination with the Tshal pa tradition has been cleared.[64] For the present study, I utilized the TBRC digital version of an offset reprint produced in Leh during the years 1975–1980. Among the descendants of the Them spangs ma, this manuscript distinguishes itself in its meticulous writing and standardized orthography; almost no *bsdu yig* (contraction) attested. Just as in the Narthang edition,

59. See Zimmermann 2002: 171.

60. See Eimer 1981: 538.

61. Helmut Tauscher, in two recent papers, regards the Kanjurs of London and Shey (**LZ**) as descendants of a hyparchetype independent of the Them spangs ma, taking into account the idiosyncratic arrangement of sūtras of the *dkon brtsegs* section testified to by no other known Kanjurs than the London Kanjur, the Western Tibetan group (**GoPhTa**, though not **Th**), and the Ladakhi group (**BaHeZ**). See Tauscher/Lainé 2008: 353–356 and Tauscher 2015a: 381. The generally close agreement between the offspring of the Them spangs ma (i.e. **STV**) and the London Kanjur is, to his mind, the result of "a strong cross-relation between these two lines, which can, at least at the present stage, not be explained" (Tauscher/Lainé 2008: 355). This is a very keen observation. Yet, it is uncertain whether the same holds true for the *mdo sde* section with which we are concerned here. Within the scope of the present study, we stay with the prima facie reasonable hypothesis of a Them spangs ma origin.

62. See Zimmermann 2002: 169.

63. See Skorupski 1985: xi–xii. For a historical survey of the reign of this ruler, see Petech 1977: 81–96.

64. See Harrison 1992a: xxviii; Habata 2013: x–xi.

yang is consistently written as *'ang*.[65]

Z : Shey Palace (Shel mkhar) manuscript Kanjur (late 17th century), *mdo sde*, ji 383a3–389b6: no. 329 in Lainé forthcoming.
The main temple in the Shey Palace (Ladakh) was founded in 1647 by sTag tshang ras pa (1574–1651) at the behest of the dowager queen bsKal bzang, whose funeral rites were performed there in 1650.[66] The production of the manuscript Kanjur could have started shortly after the construction of the monastery, i.e., in the second half of the 17th century. The manuscript Kanjur of the Shey Palace shows, by and large, a close affinity with that of the Stog Palace, with which it is almost contemporaneous. Therefore, it can be tentatively assigned to the Them spangs ma group. Nevertheless, it also shows deviations from the other Kanjurs of the Them spangs ma group except the London manuscript Kanjur, especially in light of its arrangement of the sūtras belonging to the *dkon brtsegs* section.[67] For the present study, I utilized the photos of the original manuscript obtained by the 'Tibetan Manuscript Project' at University of Vienna (henceforth TMPV).[68] In terms of orthography, the Shey manuscript Kanjur also bears some resemblance to the Stog manuscript Kanjur, for instance, *yang* is consistently written as *'ang*. The symbol of deletion (∴) is sporadically attested.

(3) The Mustang group:

Ba : **Ba**sgo manuscript Kanjur (early 17th century), *mdo*, zha 101b7–108b6.
The complete black-and-white Kanjur forms part of the hoard of manuscripts preserved at gSer zangs lha khang in the village of Basgo (Ladakh). The vast majority of the manuscripts, partly illuminated, probably date from the early 17th century and closely resemble those discovered at Tshoms lha khang in Hemis. But the organization of them into a complete Kanjur as such did not happen until the late 20th century.[69] A preliminary survey of the *mdo sde* section, to which the **Nandimitrāvadāna** also belongs, has revealed that the Basgo manuscript Kanjur, along with its next of kin from Hemis, is very closely related to the the Early Mustang Kanjur, which may well represent a tradition independent of both the Tshal pa and the Them spangs ma.[70] This conclusion has been corroborated by the investigation of the **Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana** in the Kanjurs of the Mustang group by Miyazaki Tenshō, who has further suggested a relation between the Mustang group and the Gondhla proto-Kanjur.[71] For the present study, I utilized the

65. See Miyazaki 2012: 254.

66. See Petech 1977: 58–59.

67. See Tauscher/Lainé 2008: 353–356; Tauscher 2015a: 381.

68. For the access to the TMPV photos of the manuscript Kanjurs of Shey, Basgo and Dolpo, I am beholden to Prof. Helmut Tauscher.

69. See Tauscher/Lainé 2015: 471.

70. See Tauscher/Lainé 2015: 472–477.

71. See Miyazaki 2014.

TMPV photos of the original manuscript. The nine folios from Basgo testify to several cases of *lapsus oculi* which crept into the manuscript; so the copyist inserted the omitted part either as interlinear minuscules or on the margin of the paper. The symbol of deletion (∴) is sporadically attested. The pagination of the Basgo manuscript Kanjur is in such disorder that traces of re-pagination by Tibetan copyists are found.[72] In the present case, we find the numbers 2–8 on the left margin of eight *recto*s which are visible in the photos. According to the system of arrangement shared between the Early Mustang Kanjur and the Basgo Kanjur,[73] the **Nandimitrāvadāna** is the second text in the volume "zha" and preceded by the **Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna** which is more than ten times longer than the fomer. Therefore, I assume that *brgya* is omitted and the folio numbers are in fact 102–108. The abbreviated title of the text *dga'* is written between the volume letter and the respective folio numbers of the folios with the exception of fol. 102, which is mistakenly attributed to the preceding text and thus marked *gser*.

Do : **Do**lpo manuscript Kanjur (the late 15th or early 16th century), *mdo*, pha 119b4–123b4.
The manuscripts kept at Nesar (gNas gsar) monastery in the village of Bicher at Dolpo (northwest Nepal) consist of three collections: [I] manuscripts which once belonged to Lang monastery; [II] manuscripts of Nesar monastery; and [III] manuscripts from the abbot's personal library. According to the handlist drafted by Amy Heller, two copies of the volume "pha" of the *mdo* section, beginning with the **Puṇyabalāvadāna** (**bSod nams stobs kyi rtogs brjod**), are preserved, and both of them fall under the first category.[74] Hence, this copy of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** must have been part of the old Kanjur of Lang monastery, probably founded in the late 14th century.[75] As for the date of the manuscripts, they do not seem to have been produced at exactly the same time period and might have not constituted one and the same Kanjur at the outset. Therefore, it is impossible to reach a unitary date for the whole set of manuscripts.[76] Some prefactory dedications attached to the volumes "dza" and "ra" of the *mdo* section mention that the village of Bicher was under the sovereignty of bKra shis mgon, probably the ruler of Mustang who died in 1489.[77] Hence, the volume "pha" containing the

72. See Tauscher/Lainé 2015: 477–478.

73. See Tauscher/Lainé 2015: 476.

74. See Heller 2009: 226, L63&L92.

75. See Mathes 2004: 100.

76. A preliminary study of the illuminated manuscripts, not all of which are from Lang monastery to be sure, has shown on both codicologcal and art-historical grounds that they were produced over the course of an extended chronological span ranging from the late 11th to early 16th century; see Heller 2014: 161–166. This is also in line with the result of radiocarbon dating of several paper samples taken from the manuscripts which points to 1350–1500, see Heller 2009: 77.

77. For the prefactory notes, see Mathes 2004: 100, n. 72. For the dates of bKra shis mgon, see Jackson 1984: 133.

Nandimitrāvadāna, the date of which should not be too far removed from that of the two volumes belonging to the same section, was most probably copied in the late 15th or early 16th century. Since the philological work on the Dolpo collections is still at the incipient stage, very little if any is known about the position of the Lang manuscripts within the stemma of various Kanjurs. A preliminary text-critical study of the **Tathāgatagarbhasūtra** (**De bzhin bshegs pa'i snying po'i mdo**) from Lang monastery has suggested that it is closely related to the three Phug brag versions, with the archetype of which the Dolpo version shares errors.[78] This observation, significant as it may be, does not necessarily hold good for other texts included in the Kanjur of Lang monastery. For the present study, I utilized the TMPV photos of the original manuscript. The folios seem to have been copied in a relatively casual manner, showing a considerable number of traces of corrections: omitted letters or phrases are added to the text in the form of interlinear or marginal amendments, while superfluous words, which not infrequently occur, are removed by the addition of the symbol of deletion (∴) above them. The pagination of the folios is quite similar to that of the Basgo manuscript, while units of the folio numbers are occasionally indicated by spelled-out numbers instead of numerals. The occurrences of *gi gu log* (reversed *-i*, transcribed below as *-i̓*) are not rare. Dittography is found twice, bearing witness to the by and large unedited state of the manuscript.

Stemmatic Analyses

In what follows I discuss the stemmatic relations among the versions of the Tibetan **Nandimitrāvadāna** collated in my critical edition, on the basis of the variant readings shown by the individual manuscripts and block-prints. As stated and argued above, the distinction between recensional and transmissional variants is not important for my analyses, and is substituted by that between conjunctive and separative. Only among errors of the conjunctive type, I consider it meaningful to distinguish "monogenetic" errors from "polygenetic" ones, in order to steer clear of potential risks of mistaking coincidental commonalities for family resemblence. As far as the Kanjurs and Tanjurs are concerned, I count the following as "polygenetic" variants: orthographical variants, grammatical variants (e.g. verb forms), casual alternations (e.g. of *pa*/*ba*, *nga*/*da* etc.). These variants could concur with each other by chance and thus are not taken into consideration in the following stemmatic analyses. In addition, the punctuation (i.e., the insertion of *shad* etc.) attested in the manuscripts and block-prints is not regarded as significant in a text-critical sense. Although the ways in which the Tibetan text is punctuated in the various versions, more often than not, seem to show strong coherence within their respective groups, they cannot be taken as

78. See Zimmermann *apud* Mathes 2004: 104f.

errors of the conjunctive type. This feature shared between the versions belonging to the same group is not so much a reason as a result of their similar textual shape, which allows for a very limited number of pausing possibilities and results in a strong probability of agreement in punctuation. Be that as it may, the reason I record the differences in punctuation along with remarkable orthographical and codicological features is the invaluable information that they provide us with as to how the scribes or redactors might have syntactically parsed the text.

(1) Stemmatic relations within the Tshal pa group:

common errors among DNQ

[A2: 1–2] dge slong gi dge 'dun 'dus pa **rnams kyis 'di skad du** / **khyod lta bu mya ngan las 'das na sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa nub par mi 'gyur ram zhes smras pa dang** / **des de dag la smras pa** / **nub par mi 'gyur te** / bcom ldan 'das kyis lung bstan **nas** bshad do // DNQ *versus* dge slong gi dge 'dun 'dus pa **la(s)** bcom ldan 'das kyis lung(or lus) bstan **pa** bshad de / BaDoLSZ. (→ p. 168, fn. 11)

[C1: 6–7&C2: 1–2] gnas brtan gser be'u zhes bya ba ni 'khor dgra bcom pa lnga stong dang lhan cig **shar gyi**(or **kyi**) **lus 'phags po'i gling** na gnas so // gnas brtan ba ra dwa dza ni 'khor dgra bcom pa drug stong dang lhan cig **byang phyogs kyi ka che'i yul** na gnas so // DNQ *versus* gnas brtan gser bu(r) zhes bya ba ni 'khor dgra bcom pa lnga stong dang lhan cig **byang phyogs kyi kha che**(or **phye**)**'i yul** na gnas so // gnas brtan ba ra dwa tsa zhes bya ba ni 'khor dgra bcom pa drug stong dang lhan cig **shar gyi lus 'phags kyi gling** na gnas so // BaDoLSZ. (→ The non-Tshal-pa reading [i.e., Kanakavatsa in Kashmir, Kanaka-Bharadvāja in Pūrvavideha-dvīpa] is in line with the Chin. and Khot. versions, and thus may well be the primary reading.)

[C3: 5–7] gnas brtan klu sde ni 'khor dgra bcom pa stong phrag bcu gnyis dang lhan cig ri bo skya bo na **bzhugs so** // DNQ *versus* gnas brtan klu'i sde zhes bya ba ni 'khor dgra bcom pa stong phrag bcu gnyis(or bzhi) dang lhan cig ri (bo) skya bo na **gnas so** // BaDoLSZ. (→ The reason for using the honorific verb *bzhugs* form within the Tshal pa group is unclear; but it seems to be a secondary innovation in all likelihood.)

[C3: 7–8] gnas brtan zur gyis shes ni 'khor dgra bcom pa **stong phrag gsum** dang lhan cig ri bo ngos yangs na gnas so // DNQ *versus* gnas brtan zur gyis shes zhes bya ba ni 'khor dgra bcom pa **stong phrag bcu gsum** dang lhan cig ri bo('i) ngos yangs na gnas so // BaDoLSZ. (→ p. 173, fn. 30)

[C4: 2–4] gnas brtan gtsug gi lam pa ni 'khor dgra bcom pa **stong phrag drug cu** dang lhan cig ri bo gnya' shing 'dzin na gnas so // DNQ *versus* gnas brtan gtsug(or rtsug) gi lam zhes bya ba ni 'khor dgra bcom pa **stong phrag bcu drug** dang lhan cig ri bo gnya'(or gnyi') shing 'dzin na gnas so // BaDoLSZ. (→ p. 174, fn. 32)

[C4: 7–8&F3.2: 1] (**gtsug lag khang gsar pa'i**) rab gnas DNQ *versus* **gaṇḍī'i** rab gnas SZ, **ganṭi** (**dhe**)**'i** rab gnas Ba, **ghan the**(or **'gan de**)**'i** rab gnas, **'gan 'de'i** rab gnas L. (→ p. 174, fn. 35)

[D1: 2] lo **brgyad** cu thub pa na DNQ *versus* lo **brgya** thub pa na BaDoL, de ltar lo **brgya** thub pa ni SZ. (→ p. 175, fn. 37)

[E1: 6–7] lan cig sa bon btab pas **lo bdun** gyi bar du 'bras bu rnams skye bar 'gyur ro // DNQ *versus* lan (g)cig sa bon btab pas **lan bdun** gyi bar du 'bru rnams skye bar 'gyur ro // BaDoLSZ. (→ The other parallels of this idiom clearly point to 'sevenfold' rather than

'seven years', cf. p. 179, fn. 50. Hence the Tshal pa variant seems to be secondary.)

[F2.1.3: 4] lha'i **bu mo** legs pa'i **mtshan gyis** zhus pa dang DNQ *versus* lha'i **bu** legs pa'i **mtshans** (or **'tshams**) **kyis** zhus pa dang BaDoLSZ. (→ p. 186f., fn. 77)

[G: 1–2] gnas brtan dga' ba'i bshes gnyen gyis **rnam par** rgya cher bshad nas / DNQ *versus* gnas brtan dga' ba'i (b)shes gnyen gyi(s) **rnam pa de dag** rgya cher bshad nas / BaDoLSZ. (→ p. 197, fn. 128)

[G: 2–4] dge slong de dag gi mdun du **cho 'phrul ya ma zung sna tshogs** bstan te DNQ versus dge slong de dag gi mdun du **rnam(s) pa sna tshogs pa'i cho 'phrul ya ma zung dang ldan pa'i** (**cho**) **'phrul** bstan te BaDoLSZ. (→ p. 197, fn. 130)

common errors among NQ (but not **D**)

[A1: 8] sems kyi spyod pa zhig gnas te / NQ *versus* sems kyi spyod pa **shes pa** zhig gnas te / BaDDoLSZ.

[B1: 1–2] dge slong **de dag gi** 'di skad ces smras so // NQ *versus* dge slong **rnams kyis** 'di skad ces smras so // D; de slong (**de**) **dag gis** 'di skad ces smras so // BaDoLSZ.

[D2: 3] shā kya thub pa la 'dud pas phyag 'tshal lo zhes brjod **do** // NQ *versus* shā kya thub pa **de** la 'dud pas phyag 'tshal lo zhes brjod **de** / BaDDoLSZ.

[E1: 2–3] byams pa zhes bya ba 'jig rten du **byung** / NQ *versus* byams pa zhes bya ba 'jig rten du **'byung ngo** // BaDDoLSZ.

[F1.1: 10] rus pa'i rang bzhin **dang sa la** sku gzugs sam mchod rten bzhengs su gsol zhing / NQ *versus* rus pa'i rang bzhin **dang sa las** sku gzugs sam mchod rten bzhengs su gsol zhing / D; rus pa'i rang bzhin **rnams las** sku gzugs sam mchod rten bzhengs su gsol zhing / BaDoLSZ.

[F1.1: 10–11] sor mo tsam **gyis sku'i** mchod rten bzhengs su gsol NQ *versus* sor mo tsam **gyi sku 'am** mchod rten bzhengs su gsol DLSZ, sor mo tsam **gyi sku gzugs sam** mchod rten bzhengs su gsol BaDo.

[F1.2: 3] 'dus pa dang po la **dang ba dad pa** dang ldan pas rab tu byung nas NQ *versus* 'dus pa dang po la **dang ba rang dang pa** dang ldan pas rab tu byung nas D; 'dus pa dang po la **dad pa** dang ldan pas rab tu byung nas BaDoLSZ. (The variation is likely to stem from the alternation of *nga*/*da*, which is not significant *per se*; but the extension of the phrase in the Tshal-pa witnesses must be regarded as a shared innovation)

[F2.1.4: 1] **stag sna'i** rtogs pa brjod pa NQ *versus* **stag rna'i** rtogs pa brjod pa DLSZ; **rta sna'i** rtogs pa brjod pa Ba, **rtag rna'i** rtogs pa brjod pa Do. (→ Cf. Skt. *śārdūlakarṇa*.)

[F2.1.5: 2] thams cad **bsdegs** las babs pa NQ *versus* thams cad **sdegs** las babs pa D; thams cad **stegs** las babs pa BaDoLSZ. (→ Cf. Skt. **sarvatīrtha-avatāra*; p. 191, fn. 99)

[F2.1.5: 3] rin po che'i **me tog** NQ *versus* rin po che'i **tog** DDoLSZ. (→ Cf. Skt. *ratnaketu*.)

Among the three Tanjur versions which share a considerable number of innovative variants and apparently come from a common hyparchetype (β), N and Q are more closely related, insofar as they share a certain number of extra errors which are not found in D. This is also consistent with the result of previous studies mentioned above that, in terms of the stemmatic relations among the Tanjurs, NQ (most probably along with the Cone Tanjur) form a subgroup (descended from a hyparchetype δ) independent of D.[79] That being

79. For the time being, it cannot be excluded that different Tanjur sections of N may relate to the stemma differently, as is the case in the Narthang Kanjur. Hence it should be kept in

said, the affinity of NQ with D is beyond doubt and borne out by the not infrequently attested cases, in which NQ either err in the same direction with D – when BaDoLSZ seem to have the superior reading – or deviate from D to a lesser degree than do BaDoLSZ – when the reading of D is to be preferred. What seems to underly all the three Tanjur versions of the Tshal pa group was a deliberate revision of the received text, as is evident from the very first common error among DNQ cited above, which consists in a thoroughgoing adaptation of the passage in question with the addition of one more round of conversation. Although we cannot account for every change that the Tshal pa redactors opted for, the innovative character of the hypothetical recension represented by DNQ is crystal clear.

(2) Stemmatic relations within the Them spangs ma group:

common errors among LSZ

[A1: 1] 'di skad **bdag cag** gis thos te LSZ *versus* 'di skad **bdag** gis thos te BaDDoNQ. (→ Cf. Skt. *evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ*.)

[A1: 8] grog ma dang ku ta yi yang **sems can spyod pa** LSZ *versus* grog mo dang kun da'i yang **sems kyi spyod pa** BaDo, grog mo dang ku ta'i **sems kyi spyod pa** DNQ. (→ Cf. Skt. *cittacaritra*.)

[A2: 3] yun **ji snyed** cig gi bar du LSZ *versus* yun **ji srid** cig gi bar du BaDNQ, yul **ji srid** cig gi bar du Do.

[B2: 8–10] rdzu 'phrul gyi stobs kyis tshe byin gyis brlabs te **bsrungs** nas LSZ *versus* rdzu 'phrul gyi stobs kyis tshe byin gyis brlabs te **bsrings** (nas) BaDDoNQ.

[C4: 9] **'khor du bcas pa** gzhan dang gzhan gyis der byon zhing(or shing) gnas te LSZ *versus* **'khor du bcas pa'i** gzhan dang gzhan gyi de dang der byon cing gnas te BaDo; **'khor du ma dang bcas pa** cha lugs gzhan dang gzhan gyis de dang der byon zhing gnas te DNQ.

[D1: 8–9] rin po che **sna tshogs kyi** mchod(or mchos) rten gcig byas te LSZ *versus* rin po che **sna bdun gyi** mchod rten (g)cig byas te BaDDoNQ. (→ This Them spangs ma reading is obviously secondary in light of the majority reading also attested in the citation in Bu ston's **Chos 'byung**.)

[F2.3.2: 4] **glegs bam** kha dog sna tshogs pas glegs bam bcings par gyur pas LSZ *versus* **glegs thag** kha dog sna tshogs pas glegs bam bcings par gyur pas BaDDoNQ.

[0': 1] **rtogs pa brjod pa'i** 'phags pa dga' ba'i bshes gnyen gyis bshad do // LSZ *versus* **rtogs pa brjod pa 'di** 'phags pa dga' ba'i bshes (g)nyen gyis bshad do BaDDoNQ.

common errors among SZ (but not L)

[C3: 1–2] 'khor dgra bcom pa brgyad stong dang lhan cig ri bo **spos kyi ngad ldan** na gnas so // SZ *versus* 'khor dgra bcom pa brgya(d) stong dang lhan cig ri bo **spos kyi ngad ldang** na gnas so // BaDDoLNQ. (→ Cf. Skt. *gandhamādana*. Cf. also **Mvy** no. 4137 *spos kyi ngad* <*ldan* / **ldang* PN> [ed. Fukuda/Ishihama 1989: 204])

[D1: 2–3] **de ltar** lo brgya thub pa na **ston pa** nyan thos de dag SZ *versus* lo brgya thub pa na **ston pa'i** nyan thos de dag BaDoL; lo brgyad cu thub pa na **ston pa'i** nyan thos DNQ.

[F1.1: 6] **'khar ba'i** dngos po SZ *versus* **'khor ba'i** dngos po L; **khar ba'i** dngos po DDo,

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mind that the stemmatic relations yielded by the present study only hold for the Tibetan **Nandimitrāvadāna** and must not be overgeneralized.

mkhar ba'i dngos po NQ, **khar bas** dngos po Ba.

[F1.2: 2] mi'i **lus thos par** rab tu thob nas SZ *versus* mi'i **lus thob pa** rab tu thob nas L; mi'i **thob pa** rab tu thob nas Ba, mi'i **'thob pa** rab tu thob nas DDoNQ.

[F2.1: 3] **bskyed** du bcug **cing** SZ *versus* **bskyod** du bcug **cing** L; **skyed** du bcug **pa dang** DNQ, **bskyed** du bcug **pa dang** BaDo.

[F2.1.4: 3] ma skyed **dgra mi** 'gyur ba SZ *versus* ma skyed **dgra'i** 'gyur ba BaDDoLNQ. (→ Cf. Skt. *ajātaśatruparivarta*.)

[F2.1.5: 1–2] byang chub sems dpa' **dag par** bsdus pa SZ *versus* byang chub sems dpa' **dag pas** bsdus pa DDoLNQ, byang chub sems dpa' **dag pa'i** bsdus pa Ba.

[F2.1.5: 4–5] mdzes pa **brcegs pa** SZ *versus* mdzes pa (**b**)**rtsegs pa** BaDDoLNQ.

[F2.3.2: 9–10] tshe dang ldan pa **de dag** ni re zhig chos la dge ba'i rtsa ba bskrun pa yin no // SZ *versus* tshe dang ldan pa **dag** ni re shig chos la dge ba'i rtsa ba (b)skrun pa yin(or yon) no // BaDoL, tshe dang ldan pa **dag de dag** ni re zhig chos la dge ba'i rtsa ba bskrun pa yin no // DNQ.

[F3.2: 3] **ma thob pa** rab tu thob nas SZ *versus* **mi** thob nas L; **mi'i 'thob pa** rab tu thob nas DNQ, **mi('i) thob pa** rab tu thob nas BaDo.

By and large, Z appears to be a faithful copy of the base manuscript of S (i.e., the hyparchetype γ, probably in Bhutan), into which only a small number of scribal errors have crept (e.g. *ni* for *na*, *byi* for *phyi* etc.). On the other hand, L is a distant relative of the subgroup SZ, insofar as it does not share the aforementioned common errors among SZ but shows a certain number of peculiar errors which are not found in any other version, while a common hyparchetype, from which both L and SZ are derived, can be theoretically established. Whether this hyparchetype is to be identified with the Them spangs ma can be better judged in the light of the Bhutan Kanjurs mentioned above, which I am not yet able to collate. But it is not unlikely that it is not substantially different from the Them spangs ma, given the antiquity of the Shel dkar manuscript on which L is based.

(3) Stemmatic relations between the Mustang group and the other groups:

common errors among BaDo only

[C1: 2–3] gnas brtan **bdag gis** gnas brtan de (da)g gang na bzhugs pa yang mi 'tshal lo // BaDo *versus* gnas brtan **bdag cag gis** gnas brtan de dag gang na bzhugs pa mi 'tshal lo // DNQ, gnas brtan **bdag cag gis** gang na bzhugs pa 'ang mi 'tshal lo // LSZ.

[D1: 3–4] dam pa'i chos yang dag par ston par byed **do** // rab tu **sbyin par byed** / BaDo *versus* dam pa'i chos yang dag par ston par byed **cing** / rab tu **'byin par byed de** / LSZ, dam pa'i chos yang dag par ston par byed **cing** rab tu **'byin par byed do** // DNQ.

[F2.1.1: 1–2] theg pa chen po'i mdo sde **zab mo zab par gyur pa** stong pa nyid dang ldan pa BaDo *versus* theg pa chen po'i mdo sde **zab par gyur pa** stong pa nyid dang ldan pa LSZ, theg pa chen po'i mdo sde **zab pa zab par gyur pa** stong pa nyid dang ldan pa DNQ. (→ p. 184, fn. 66)

[F2.1.2: 5] **drag shul byin** gyis zhus pa dang / **drag shul can** gyi(s) zhus pa BaDo *versus* **drag shul can** gyis zhus pa dang / **dra ba can** gyis (zhus) pa DLNQSZ. (→ Cf. Skt. *ugra-paripṛcchā* & [*ratna*]*jāli-paripṛcchā*.)

[F2.1.3: 1] bu mo **rin chen ma**s zhus pa BaDo *versus* bu mo **rin chen ldan** gyis zhus pa

DNQSZ, bu mo **rin po cen ldan** gyis zhus pa L.

[F2.1.3: 3–4] dge ba **bzang po**s zhus pa BaDo *versus* dge ba **bzang pos gang** gis zhus pa LSZ, dge ba **bzang po gang** gis zhus pa DNQ. (→ Cf. Skt. *pūrṇabhadra.*)

[F3.1: 2–3] **ji ltar** spyan 'dren bsgrags pa dang / BaDo *versus* **'di ltar** spyan 'dren pa bsgrags pa dang / LSZ, **'di ltar** 'di dge 'dun spyan 'dren pa (b)sgrags pa dang DNQ.

[F3.1: 7] mal stan **stobs** pa dang / BaDo *versus* mal stan **'dings** pa dang / DLNQSZ.

[G: 2] **nam mkha'i khams** la mngon par 'phags nas BaDo *versus* **nam mkha'** la (mngon par) phags nas DLNQSZ.

common errors among BaDoLSZ

[C2: 7–8] gnas brtan nag po zhes bya ba ni 'khor dgra bcom pa **stong** dang lhan cig **sing ga**'i gling na gnas so // BaDoLSZ *versus* gnas brtan nag po ni 'khor dgra bcom pa **khri** dang lhan cig **sing ga la**'i gling na gnas so // DNQ. (→ Cf. The non-Tshal pa variant [i.e., 1,000], if taken as primary, seems out of place in light of the number of Arhats in the retinues accompanying the two Elders before and after this one [i.e., 9,000 & 11,000].)

[E1: 6–7] lan (g)cig sa bon btab pas lan bdun gyi bar du **'bru** rnams skye bar 'gyur ro // BaDoLSZ *versus* lan cig sa bon btab pas lo bdun gyi bar du **'bras bu** rnams skye bar 'gyur ro // DNQ.

[E2: 1] de'i nyan thos 'dus pa **lan** gsum du 'gyur te BaDoLSZ *versus* de(or 'di)'i nyan thos 'dus pa **yang** gsum du 'gyur te DNQ.

[F1.2: 3] 'dus pa dang po la dad pa dang ldan pas **khyim nas** byung nas BaDoLSZ *versus* 'dus pa dang po la dang ba (rang) dad(or dang) pa dang ldan pas **rab tu** byung nas DNQ. (→ Cf. Skt. *pravrajanti.*)

[F2.1.2: 6–7] rgyas pas zhus pa BaDoLSZ *versus* **drang srong** rgyas pas zhus pa DNQ. (→ Cf. Skt. *ṛṣivyāsaparipṛcchā.*)

[F2.2: 3] lung ring po dang / (g)cig las 'phros(or spros) pa'i lung BaDoLSZ *versus* lung ring po dang / **lung bar ma dang** / gcig las 'phros pa'i lung DNQ. (→ Cf. The non-Tshal pa variant with the omission of the **Madhyamāgama**, which is attested in the Chin. counterpart, is in all likelihood secondary.)

[G: 6–7] de dag gis gnas brtan dga' ba'i bshes (g)nyen **gyi** lus bsregs nas mchod rten byas te BaDoLSZ *versus* de dag gis gnas brtan dga' ba'i bshes gnyen **la** lus bsregs nas mchod rten byas te DNQ.

[G: 10–11] bcom ldan 'das kyi gsung rab yun ring du gnas par 'gyur ro // **zhes** dga' ba rab tu bskyed pa'i phyir / BaDoLSZ *versus* bcom ldan 'das kyi gsung rab yun ring du gnas par gyur to(or 'gyur ro) **snyam nas** dga' ba rab tu bskyed pa'i phyir DNQ.

common errors among BaDDoNQ

[D2: 4] phung po lhag ma med pa'i **yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa**'i dbyings su BaDDoNQ *versus* phung po lhag ma med pa'i **mya ngan las 'das pa**'i dbyings su LSZ. (→ Cf. Skt. *an-/nir-upadhiśeṣe nirvāṇadhātau.*)

[F2.2: 8] ma mo'i **'dul ba** BaDDoNQ *versus* ma mo'i **phung po** LSZ.

[F3.1: 6] **stag res skor** byed pa BaDDoNQ *versus* **rtag re skor** byed pa LSZ. (→ Cf. Skt. *naityaka.*)

Judging from the common errors, Do obviously belongs with Ba to the same group which is, in all likelihood, descended from the Early Mustang

manuscript Kanjur. This conclusion is also corroborated by the fact that a certain number of volumes of the *mdo* section from Lang monastery were produced during a time period when this region was under Mustang hegemony, as the aforementioned prefactory notes indicate. In general, the Mustang group shows a special affinity with the Them spangs ma group, which is indicated by the errors shared between BaDo and LSZ. The political barriers between Mustang (← BaDo) and Gyantse/Shel dkar (← LSZ)[80], which were governed by different rulers over the course of the 15th century,[81] were not advantageous to religious exchange, and thus render the possibility of 'cross infection' unlikely. Therefore, a more probable way to account for those common errors would be to regard them as the legacy from a common hyparchetype (α), which may well predate the Old Narthang. Viewed from this perspective, the aforementioned, idiosyncratic arrangement of the *dKon brtsegs* section shared between LZ (but not S) and some other (proto-)Kanjurs (including BaDo), which has hitherto been considered a case of "influences from a Western Tibetan tradition",[82] could also be interpreted as a feature peculiar to this hyparchetype, which may have been modified and standardized on the Tshal pa arrangment in some Kanjurs descended from the Them spangs ma (e.g. S). In addition, it is noteworthy that BaDo share three errors with DNQ. There are at least two ways to interpret this phenomenon: Either the errors result from a common hyparchetype which must have been very early given the considerable extent to which the two groups vary from each other, or the possibility of the contamination of the Early Mustang Kanjur by a forebear of the Tshal pa line is to be kept in mind. I personally prefer the second scenario over the first, not only because the *onus probandi* of the former is significant lighter than that of the latter, but also in light of some evidence for the possible diffusion of the Tshal pa in the Mustang/Dolpo region before the making of the Early Mustang Kanjur. According to the **mNga' ris rgyal rabs** composed in the 15th century, the Khaśa ruler Puṇyamalla, who reigned over Dolpo during the years 1330–1340, was a devout follower of Bu ston Rin chen grub and, in 1335 or soon after, received a copy of the Kanjur and Tanjur from Zha lu monastery,[83] which, as mentioned above, is a copy of the Old Narthang revised by Bu ston and may well share some variants with the Tshal pa. Although no vestige of this *Zha lu ma copy has yet come to light, it is not to be excluded that at least parts of it might have been preserved in the Mustang/Dolpo region until the early 15th century and exerted some influence on the manuscript Kanjur

80. The Gyantse line was continued by its descendants in Bhutan, whence the two Ladakhi manuscript Kanjurs (**SZ**) stemmed. This may well have had a strong connection with the 'Brug pa dKa' brgyud pa school which was in the ascendant among Ladakhi aristocrats from the 16th to the 17th century. See Petech 1977: 169.

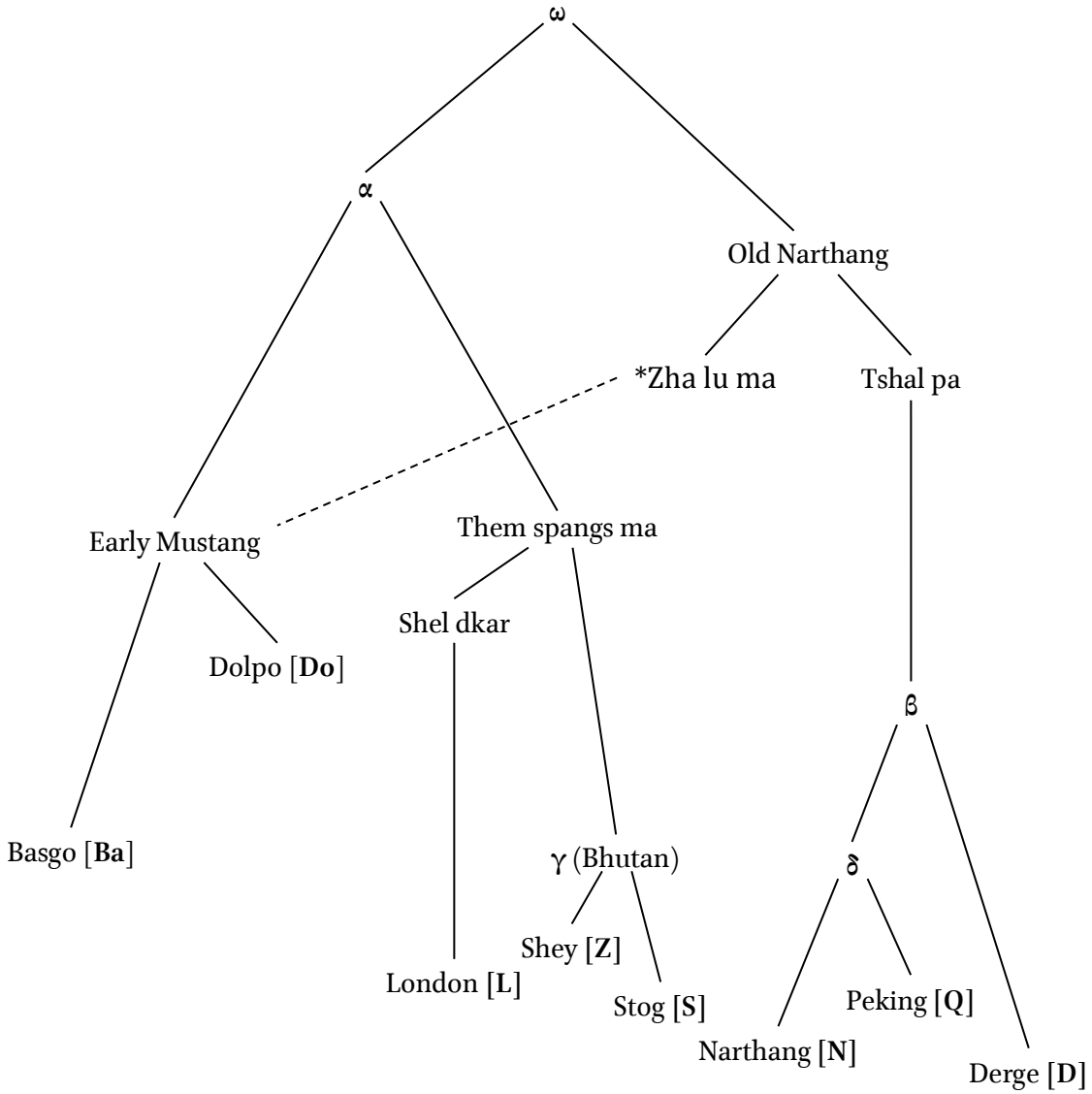
81. The Early Mustang manuscript Kanjur was produced in 1436–1447, the Shel dkar in 1472, and the Them spangs ma in 1431.

82. See Tauscher 2015a: 368–369, 381.

83. See Vitali 1996: 454.

commissioned by the new king A ma dpal bzang po rgyal mtshan.

I round off this section with a *stemma codicum* summing up the preliminary results of the stemmatic analyses above:



Reassignment to Tanjur in the Tshal pa Group

Apart from the textual variants on which the preceding analyses are based, a (if not the) para-textual difference between the Them spangs ma and the Tshal pa groups is the classification of the present text within the frame of the Tibetan canon. All the block-print editions belonging to the Tshal pa group have assigned the **Nandimitrāvadāna** to the Tanjur, while the same text is found in the Kanjur manuscripts bearing witness to the Them spangs ma. How to explain the difference is the first issue to be raised in our

investigation into the history of its canonization in Tibet.

It is, first and foremost, to be noted that, when the present text, along with some Abhidharmic and avadāna(-type) works, were included in the (proto-)Kanjurs, there existed no corresponding Tanjur in which they might have been placed.[84] The bifurcation of the archaic *bka' bstan bcos* into *bka' 'gyur* and *bstan 'gyur* did not take place until the establishment of the Old Narthang manuscript Kanjur in the early 14th century. Only from that time onward may one safely speak of separate Kanjurs and Tanjurs.[85] Since the Old Narthang Kanjur, as some scholars have assumed, was not an edition in the proper sense of the word, but rather a collection not free from duplicates,[86] further work to edit the raw materials may well have been in order. Such work was undertaken at Tshal Gung thang monastery in the mid-14th century. The result of the project was the Tshal pa Kanjur mentioned above, which was based on the Old Narthang Kanjur with standardization of terminology and rearrangement of the order of texts. It was, in all likelihood, during this process of redaction that such texts as the **Nandimitrāvadāna** were reassigned to the newly established category Tanjur, inasmuch as they were not considered part of 'the Buddha's word' (*buddhavacana*).[87] Some historical information about this process can be gleaned from the colophons preserved in the 'Jang Sa tham or Lithang Kanjur, the blocks of which were carved during the years 1608–1621 under the supervision of the 6th Zhwa dmar pa, Gar dbang Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584–1630).[88] The colophons were attributed to rGyal sras Byang chub dpal (ldan) who was the abbot of the Tshal pa yangs dgon monastery around the

84. See Tauscher 2015b: 105.

85. See Skilling 1997: 100.

86. See Harrison 1994: 298.

87. This kind of disputes over the status of certain collections of Buddhist texts is, of course, not peculiar to Tibet. In ancient Indian Buddhism, although the status of the Sūtras and the Vinaya was not controversial, whether the Abhidharma should be venerated as *buddhavacana* was subject to debate. For the standpoint of a mainstream school (i.e. the Vaibhāṣikas) on this matter, cf. **Abhidharmakośabhāṣya** I 3: [ed. Pradhan 1975: 2–3] *atas taddhetos tasya dharmapravicayasyārthe śāstrā kila buddhenābhidharma uktaḥ | na hi vinābhidharmopadeśena śiṣyaḥ śakto dharmān pravicetum iti | sa tu prakīrṇa ukto bhagavatā bhadanta-Kātyāyanīputraprabhṛtibhiḥ piṇḍīkṛtya sthāpito bhadanta-Dharmatrātodānavargīyakaraṇavad ity āhur vaibhāṣikāḥ* | 'Vaibhāṣikas assert: "For that reason, on account of the discernment of the *dharma*s, the teacher, the Buddha, preached the Abhidharma; because, without the teaching of the Abhidharma, the pupils are incapable of discerning the *dharma*s. However, it was preached by the Blessed One piecemeal, [but] the Reverend Kātyāyanīputra etc. collected and established it, as the Reverend Dharmatrāta did with the **Udānavarga**.".' (cf. la Vallée-Poussin 1923: 6). This Vaibhāṣika stance of including the Abhidharma and the **Udānavarga** in the category of *buddhavacana* is not shared, for instance, by the Sautrāntikas who were determined 'sūtra-fundamentalists', so to speak.

88. Jampa Samten 1987: 17 gives 1609–1614; but after Imaeda 1982/84, the carving of the blocks begun in 1608, the edition was consecrated in 1614, but not completed until 1621.

mid-14th century.[89] In the colophon of the Sūtra section (*mdo sde*), we read the following statement:

> [...] *mdo dngos ma yin pa rgyud sder gtogs pa'i gzungs rnams ni rgyud 'bum gyi nang du dris shing | gser mdog gi rtogs pa brjod pa dang | dge ba'i bshes gnyen gyi rtogs pa brjod pa dang | ku na la'i rtogs pa brjod pa dang | dge 'dun 'phel gyis lung bstan pa dang | li yul lung bstan pa la sogs pa rnams ni bde bar gshegs pa mya ngan las 'das nas phyis 'phags pa rnams kyis mdzad pa yin zhing | gdags pa'i bstan bcos rnams kyang mdo sde pa la sogs pa grub mtha' smra ba kha gcig bkar mi 'dod la | skyes rabs dang | sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das la bstod par bsngags par 'os pa bsngags pa la sogs pa'i bstod pa rnams dang | gzhon nu bdun gyi rtogs brjod la sogs pa rnams ni phyis slob dpon dpa' bo la sogs pa bstan bcos mkhan po rnams kyis mdzad pa yin pa'i phyir dang | thub pa drang srong gar ga'i ltas kyi rnam pa bstan pa la sogs pa 'ga' zhig phyi rol pa'i rig byed kyi gzhung gi cha shas su snang bas bstan bcos gyur ro cog gi nang du dris pas* [...] [ed. Jampa Samten 1987: 31]
>
> "*Dhāraṇī*s which are not genuine Sūtras and which belong to the Tantra class were copied into the Tantra section (*rgyud 'bum*), while because works such as the **Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna**, the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, the **Kuṇālāvadāna**, the **Prophecy of the Arhat Saṅghavardhana**, the **Prophecy of the Li Country** (i.e., Khotan) were composed by later holy ones after the Nirvāṇa of the Sugata, because the various *prajñapti*-treatises [i.e., Abhidharma works] are also not accepted as sacred word (*bka'*) by certain schools such as Sautrāntikas, while the jātakas, hymns of praise such as the **Varṇārhavarṇa Buddhastotra**, the **Saptakumārikāvadāna** etc., were composed by later scholastic writers such as the master Śūra; and because certain works like the [**Mahā**]**munigargarṣyakṣanimittākṛtinirdeśa** appear to form part of the Vedic literature of non-Buddhists, these were copied among the translated treatises (i.e., in the Tanjur)." (tr. Harrison 1994: 299; with slight modifications)

Having carefully examined the classification of all the titles given above in the catalogues of several Kanjurs which are considered descendants of the Them spangs ma, Paul Harrison comes to the observation that most of the texts, including the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, are indeed assigned to the *mdo* (*sde*) section in the Them spangs ma line, but to the Tanjur on the Tshal pa side.[90] This probably lends support to the message conveyed by the colophon that these texts were originally included in the Old Narthang Kanjur and excluded from the Kanjur by the Tshal pa redactors. The case seems to be a bit more complicated with the stotras and jātakas, which are also absent in the Them spangs ma line, but those exceptions can be explained away through the presumption that not all parts of the Them spangs ma were copied from the Old Narthang, and thus do not contradict what the colophon says.

But the Tshal pa redactors were by no means those who made the first

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89. See Jampa Samten 1987: 28, n. 21; the historicity of the colophons might be borne out by the fact that the one of the Vinaya section (*'dul ba*) is reproduced verbatim in the Peking and Derge Kanjurs, although the latter lacks the panegyrical verses at the end of the colophon (Jampa Samten 1987: 21).

90. See Harrison 1994: 299–301.

attempt at the exclusion of those texts from the Kanjur. More than a decade before the compilation of the Tshal pa Kanjur, the great Tibetan scholar Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) revised the Tanjur part of the Old Narthang and wrote a catalogue of this new Tanjur in 1335.[91] In that catalogue, there is a specific section dealing with some avadāna(-type) works, which Bu ston seems to have moved from Kanjur to Tanjur:

> *rtogs brjod sna tshogs kyi skor la* / [**886**] *gser mdog gi rtogs pa brjod pa rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur* / [**887**] *slob dpon gsang ba byin gyis mdzad pa gshon nu ma bdun gyi rtogs pa brjod pa* / [**888**] *dgra bcom pa dga' ba'i bshes gnyen gyi rtogs brjod Shā kya 'od kyi 'gyur* / [**889**] *ku na la mig gi rtogs pa brjod pa rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur* / [**890**] *dgra bcom pa dge 'dun 'phel gyi lung bstan pa 100 śl.* / [**891**] *li'i yul lung bstan pa* / [**892**] *chos rgyal mya ngan med kyis klu btul ba'i le'u Shā kya 'od kyi 'gyur* / [**893**] *dpe'i phreng ba las sangs rgyas kyi dpe'i phreng ba tshul khrims yon tan dang rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur* / [**894**] *thub pa chen po drang srong gar gas ltas kyi rnam pa bstan pa'i gtsug lag* / [**895**] *slob dpon bha ba kan dha syas mdzad pa'i gnas brtan spyan drang ba 200 śl. ye shes sde'i 'gyur* / *skyes rabs dang rtogs brjod 'di dag phal cher mdo sde'i nang du bris mod kyi 'di dag bstan bcos yin pas bstan bcos su bri'o* // [ed. Nishioka 1981: 63f.]
>
> With regard to various avadānas, (there are) §886 the **Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna** translated by Rin chen bzang po; §887 the **Saptakumārikāvadāna** composed by the master Gopadatta; §888 the **Arhan-Nandimitrāvadāna** translated by Śākya 'od; §889 the **Kunālāvadāna** translated by Rin chen bzang po; §890 the **Prophecy of the Arhat Saṅghavardhana** (consisting of) 100 *ślokas*; §891 the **Prophecy of the Li Country**; §892 the **Dharmarāja-Aśoka[mukha]nāgavinayapariccheda** translated by Śākya 'od; §893 the Buddha section of the **Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti** (= the **Kalpanamaṇḍitikā**) translated by Tshul khrims yon tan and Rin chen bzang po; §894 the **Mahāmunigargarṣyakṣa-nimittākṛtinirdeśa**; §895 the **Sthaviropanimantraṇa** composed by the master Bhavaskandhasya (consisting of) 200 *ślokas*, translated by Ye shes sde. Although these jātakas and avadānas were usually copied in the Sūtra section (*mdo sde*), they are treatises and thus to be copied among the treatises (i.e., in the Tanjur).

Seven out of the ten titles (i.e., §§886–891, 894) given by Bu ston recur in the Tshal pa colophon translated above. And the other three, if we examine the catalogues of the Tshal pa descendents, are exclusively preserved in the Tanjur as well; it is not far-fetched to assume that these are nothing but titles omitted from the colophon with *la sogs pa* 'etc.'. Even a brief comparison of both passages suffices to reveal the Tshal pa redactors' indebtedness to Bu ston, whose revision of the Old Narthang might have set a precedent for the work of those who were confronted with more or less the same raw material at Tshal Gung thang monastery. On the other hand, what lay behind Bu ston's rearrangement was probably one of the tasks that he had undertaken since the very beginning of his work on the Old Narthang with the compilation of his first catalogue **Chos kyi rnam grangs dkar chag**, namely, sorting out texts which were deemed by him or his predecessors as spurious (*the tshom gyi*

91. Cf. Bu ston's **bsTan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyu dkar chag**, edited with running numbers by Nishioka 1981: 43–94.

gzhi) or controversial (*rtsod pa can*). As a result, some of the texts seem to have eventually passed his scrutiny and were included in the first catalogue, while the other were either reassigned to the Tanjur or removed from the canon right away.[92] As far as the aforementioned avadāna(-type) works are concerned, this process might become transparent from the following recapitulation by sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705) in his own catalogue entitled **mChod sdong 'dzam gling rgyan gcig gi dkar chag**:

> *bskal bzang sangs rgyas bdun pa thub bstan spel ba'i byed por zhing 'dir phebs pa bu ston kha ches chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod kyi bsgrigs rtsom dang | sangs rgyas kyi bka' rnam dag tu the tshom gyi gzhi yod pa rnams la dogs pa bkod* [...] *'ga' zhig gi bka'i grags su 'jog pa 'jig rten gdags pa | rgyu gdags pa | las gdags pa | gser mdog dang | gzhon nu ma bdun | dgra bcom pa dga' ba'i bshes gnyen | ku na la rnams kyi rtogs brjod | dgra bcom pa dge 'dun 'phel gyi lung bstan | li yul lung bstan pa | chos rgyal mya ngan med pa'i klu btul ba'i le'u | sangs rgyas kyi dpe'i phreng ba | drang srong gar gas ltas kyi rnam pa bstan pa'i gtsug lag | gnas brtan spyan drangs pa rnams mdo sde'i nang du bris mod kyi 'di dag bstan bcos yin pas der bgrang ngo | zhes dang | stag rna'i rtogs brjod | mig bcu gnyis pa | bcom ldan 'das kyi gtsug tor chen po'i mdo | snang brgyad rnams klu mes dbang phyug grags bka' min par smra zhes dogs pa bkod* | [...] [ed. Xining 1990: 434]
>
> The Kashmiri Bu ston, who arrived in this realm as the promoter of the teachings of the seven Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa, cast doubt on those of spurious origin among the works collected in (his) **Chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod** and the authentic word of the Buddha: "... Some of (the texts) to which the prestige of 'sacred word' was assigned – the **Lokaprajñapti**, the **Kāraṇaprajñapti**, the **Karmaprajñapti**, the **Suvarṇavarṇa-**, the **Saptakumārikā-**, the **Arhan-Nandimitra-**, the **Kuṇāla-avadāna**, the **Prophecy of the Arhat Saṅghavardhana**, the **Prophecy of the Li Country**, the **Dharmarāja-Aśoka[mukha]nāgavinayapariccheda**, the **Buddha-Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti**, the [**Mahāmuni**]**gargarṣyakṣanimittākṛti- nirdeśa**, and the **Sthaviropanimantraṇa** – were copied in the Sūtra section, but these are treatises and thus to be included there (i.e., in the Tanjur)." And also, "(as for) the **Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna**, the **Dvādaśalocana**, the **Sūtra on the Great Uṣṇīṣā of the Blessed One** (= the **Da foding jing** 大佛頂經), and the **Eight Luminaries** (= the **Bayang jing** 八陽經), Klu mes dBang phyug grags cast doubt on (their authenticity) saying that (they) are not sacred word" ...

The second half of this passage is based on two sections of the **Chos kyi rnam grangs dkar chag**, where more or less the same statements are found.[93] Those statements are attributed to Klu mes dBang phyug grags, who is credited with the compilation of one of the catalogues in the second diffusion period. Bu ston used those catalogues for the purpose of compiling his own catalogues.[94] Although little is known about his life,[95] his skeptical attitude

92 For the *modus operandi* of Bu ston's revision, see Herrmann-Pfandt 2009: 243–261.

93. Cf. Nishioka 1980: 68, §§80–81 and 75, §318.

94. See Herrmann-Pfandt 2009: 246, n. 23.

95. Skilling 1997: 99, esp. n. 92; possibly postdating Sa skya Paṇḍita (1147–1216), since, at the end of Bu ston's first catalogue, he is named after the latter: *sa skya paṇḍi ta dang klu mes la sogs pas* ... [ed. Nishioka 1980: 78].

towards some translated texts is discernible from the quotation by Bu ston. The latter, however, included in his first catalogue those texts deemed by Klu mes as suspect. The inclusion seems to suggest, as Herrmann-Pfandt argues, Bu ston's expectation that those texts, albeit questionable, should be proven authentic in the end.[96] Yet, what about those texts excluded from the Kanjur? Could it be that Klu mes also sounded a note of caution as to the authenticity of those texts that Bu ston simply accepted? To my mind, this possibility is at least conceivable, all the more so since some of the texts reassigned to the Tanjur are similar in character to those included in the Kanjur.[97] If that is true, the idea of reassigning such texts as the **Nandimitrāvadāna** to the Tanjur, as is attested in the Tshal pa group, could be traced back at least to Klu mes dBang phyug grags.

Such controversy over the status of Buddhist texts is a matter of course in Tibetan Buddhism, since, as Jonathan Silk infers from the case of the **Heart Sūtra**, "the proper classification of texts was of great import to the Tibetans".[98] The present case provides us with some first-hand evidence for the ways in which Tibetan scholars and writers negotiated the fluid standards of canonicity over the course of time, and thus invites investigations of some topics which, in Silk's words, "strike right to the nerves of some deep-seated issues in Tibetan Buddhist doctrinal history". To be sure, such a systematic survey is beyond the scope of the current thesis and must be left for specialists in the field of Tibetan Studies. But with these preliminary notes on the case of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** and related texts, I hope to have laid a cornerstone for future investigations into these topics.

The Translators

According the colophon preserved in all the extant versions, the **Nandimitrāvadāna** was translated by a duo consisting of an Indian pundit Ajitaśrībhadra and a Tibetan monk Shākya 'od. We know next to nothing about their floruit, not to mention their lives or beliefs. Therefore, we take as a point of departure all the other translations traditionally ascribed to these two, which may give us some clues as to what kinds of texts they produced. A brief survey yields a list of nine translations, as follows:

1. **Stag rna'i rtogs pa brjod pa** (Skt. **Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna**)
   Kanjur: D 358, N 345, Q 1027, S 278, F 284. Cf. Nishioka 1980: 68, §80.
   Chin.: T1300, 1301 etc.

96. See Herrmann-Pfandt 2009: 256.

97. For instance, the **Mahāmunigargarṣyaḳsanimittākṛtinirdeśa** is a divination text having an affinity with the **Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna** and the **Dvādaśalocana** in terms of genre and functionality, such that the three texts are found copied in a single manuscript from a Lahoul village library; see Khasdub Gyatso Shashin 1978.

98. See Silk 1994: 30.

Skt.: Mukhopadhyaya 1954, Bongard-Levin/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1990: 39–156, Miyazaki/Nagashima/Tamai/Zhou 2015: 1–84.

2. Sangs rgyas rjes su dran pa'i 'grel pa (Skt. **Buddhānusmṛti-vṛtti**)
Tanjur, commentary (*mdo 'grel*): D 3982, Q 5482.
Cf. Nishioka 1981: 54, §628: *dkon mchog gsum rjes dran gyi 'grel pa*.

3. dGe 'dun rjes su dran pa'i bshad pa (Skt. **Saṅghānusmṛti-vyākhyā**)
Tanjur, commentary (*mdo 'grel*): D 3984, Q 5484.

4. Mi khom pa brgyad kyi gtam (Skt. **Aṣṭākṣaṇakathā**)
Tanjur, letters (*spring yig*): D 4167 (also 4510), Q 5667 (also 5423).
Cf. Nishioka 1981: 60, §805.

5. rTsod pa'i 'dus kyi gtam (Skt. **Kaliyugaparikathā**)
Tanjur, letters (*spring yig*): D 4170 (also 4513), Q 5670 (also 5426).
Cf. Nishioka 1981: 60, §809. See Dietz 2000: 173–186.

6. Chos smra ba dang dam pa'i chos nyan pa la gus par bya ba'i gtam (Skt. **Dharmavacanasaddharmaśrāvakasatyakṛtyakathā**)
Tanjur, letters (*spring yig*): D 4172, Q 5672.
Cf. Nishioka 1981: 60, §811.

7. Mya ngan bsal ba (Skt. **Śokavinodana**)
Tanjur, letters (*spring yig*): D 4177 (also 4505), Q 5677 (also 5418).
Cf. Nishioka 1981: 61, §828.

8. Mi dge ba bcu'i las kyi lam bstan pa (Skt. **Daśākuśalakarmapatha-nirdeśa**)
Tanjur, letters (*spring yig*): D 4178 (also 4503), Q 5678 (also 5416).
Cf. Nishioka 1981: 61, §829.

9. Mya ngan med pa'i sgo nas klu btul ba'i le'u (Skt. **Aśokamukhanāga-vinayapariccheda**)
Tanjur, letters (*spring yig*): D 4197, Q 5696.
Cf. Nishioka 1981: 63f., §892. See Mette 1985: 301ff.

With the sole exception of the **Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna** (which shall be discussed below), all the other translated works are preserved in the Tanjur. Viewed from their content, they are either Asaṅga's commentaries on the recollection (*anusmṛti*) of the Three Jewels (nos. **2**, **3**), or some belles-lettres attributed to Aśvaghoṣa (nos. **4**, **7**, **8**), Mātṛceṭa (no. **5**) or Gopadatta (no. **6**) etc. Provided that the received attributions can be taken at face value, we may set the 8th century, a date before which the youngest among the authors, namely Gopadatta, should have lived,[99] as the *terminus post quem* for the translation of those works into Tibetan. But the fact that none of their titles is registered in the **lHan kar ma** or the **'Phang thang ma** seems to suggest that they were probably not products of the first diffusion period (*snga dar*).[100]

99. See Hahn 1992: 28.

100. One of the works (i.e. no. **2**) could possibly be identified with a text the title of which is registered in **lHan kar ma** (i.e. [**555C**] after Herrmann-Pfandt 2008). Be that as it may, that entry can at best be interpreted as an earlier translation of the same text in Tibetan; see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 315. The only text without an authorship attribution (i.e. no. **9**) has been subject to a recent comparative study by Yamazaki Kazuho, who concludes her

Dating the Tibetan translation of the **Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna** is bound to be a controversial matter. In the *editio princeps* of the Sanskrit text, Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya plainly dated the translation to 864 CE without adducing any evidence for his dating.[101] The self-assuredness of the learned editor makes it difficult to follow his perhaps educated guess. The most recent attempt at dating the translation is made by Zhou Liqun, who puts forth a relative chronology placing the translation of the **Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna** before the compilation of the **lHan kar ma**, which she, following Yoshimura Shūki, dates to 824 CE, and thus counts the sūtra among the earliest Buddhist texts translated into Tibetan. Her only evidence is an obscure record in the **'Phang thang ma**, which she, again following Yoshimura, considers prior to the **lHan kar ma**.[102] The record runs as follows:

> 12 ***gzungs che phra so so'i cho ga dang bcas pa la*** / [...] [304] *'phags pa stag sna* / *2 bp.* / [...] [ed. Kawagoe 2005: 18]

As is evident from the rubric, this section consists of long and short *dhāraṇī*s as well as the liturgies (*cho ga*), among which a certain text entitled 'Tiger-Snout' (*stag sna*) is mentioned. The title, according to Zhou, is simply a scribal error for *stag rna*, which in its turn stands for the Tibetan translation of the **Śārdūlakarṇa**[**-avadāna**] in question. This identification is questionable in two respects. First, it is highly unlikely, if not impossible, that such a text as the **Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna** would have been categorized as a *dhāraṇī* or liturgy, as Zhou seems to have taken for granted. 10 out of the total of 13 titles registered in this section find parallels in the **lHan kar ma**, but none of them is even tentatively identifiable with an avadāna(-type) work.[103] Second, even if, to consider the best-case scenario, a translation of the **Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna** was somehow misconceived of by the cataloguer and thus misplaced among *dhāraṇī*s, the record at best amounts to evidence for 'a' Tibetan translation of this sūtra in the early 9th century, but there is no evidence whatsoever to identify it with that translated by Ajitaśrībhadra and

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survey to the effect that it comes very close to the source text used by Kṣemendra (ca. 990–1077) in the 73rd chapter of the **Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā**, see Yamazaki 2015: 1276ff. If this is true, the Vorlage of the Tib. version should not be much earlier than the date of Kṣemendra.

101. See Mukhopadhyaya 1954: xiii.

102 See Zhou 2013: 686–689. The dating of the **lHan kar ma** in 824 was mainly asserted by Japanese scholars, see Yoshimura 1950: 11f., and in much greater detail Yamaguchi 1985: 1–61. For the most recent reappraisal of the state of the art, see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: xviii–xxii. The latter scholar dates the **lHan kar ma** to 812. As for the relative dates of the two earliest catalogues that have come down to us, Georgios Halkias, on the basis of two references in the manuscript of the **'Phang thang ma** to the **lHan kar ma**, argues for the chronological priority of the latter, see Halkias 2004: 55. This theory does not stand closer scrutiny, since the two "references", as Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt rightly states, are nothing but glosses added *manu secunda* to the manuscript; see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: xxiv–xxvi. The latter scholar dates the **'Phang thang ma** to 806.

103. Cf. Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 184ff., §§335, 336, 339, 340, 341, 347, 352, 370, and 378.

Shākya 'od, let alone to establish the date of the **'Phang thang ma** as the *terminus ad quem* for the two translators. On balance, their translation of the **Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna**, like those discussed above, should not date back to the first diffusion period either.

The indistinct silhouette of the two translators is further blurred by the fact that Shākya 'od (or -prabha) was a popular Tibetan name under which multiple monks are known to us. Only one of the monks lived in the first diffusion period. According to the **dBa' bzhed**, one of the earliest Tibetan sources concerning the transmission of Buddhism to Tibet in the imperial period, there was a Shā/Shag kya (prabha), son of mChims A nu, among the six *sad mi*, namely the first group of Tibetan young monks trained in the language of India.[104] The monk mChims Shākya (prabha) is also mentioned in Pelliot tibétain 44, an Old Tibetan document from Dunhuang, to have received instructions on the *phur pa* from Padmasambhava, and is believed to have had special ties with the latter.[105] The translation activities of this legendary *lo tsā ba* have become a mythical matter, since there is no historical evidence for what he translated. Although the **dBa' bzhed** credits the six legendary monks with the translation of "all texts of *'Jam dpal kri ya* and *U pa ya* available in India",[106] it is anything but clear what those titles actually refer to, not to mention what rôle mChims Shā kya (prabha) exactly played in the process of translating them.[107] Hence, mChims Shākya (prabha) is basically ruled out as a candidate for the Shākya 'od in question. This also makes the possibility of dating all the translations of Shākya 'od to the first diffusion period extremely weak.

In the second diffusion period, so many people once named Shākya 'od come to our attention that we have to restrict the scope of examination to the time period before Bu ston Rin chen grub. In the three catalogues compiled by Bu ston, apart from those listed above, there are twelve titles whose translator is explicitly noted as Shākya 'od (according to the order of Nishioka 1980–1982):

§505 **Nyi khri rnam 'grel**
= D 3788.
= Skt. **Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstra-**

104. See Pasang Wangdu/Diemberger 2000: 69, n. 237 and 96, n. 379.

105. For the relevant passages in the Dunhuang document, see Bischoff/Hartman 1971: 19; and most recently, Cantwell/Mayer 2008: 62.

106. See Pasang Wangdu/Diemberger 2000: 70.

107. Ren Xiaobo recently ascribes to this *lo tsā ba* the translation of the **Sūtra on the Causes and Effects of Actions** from Chinese (i.e. D 355, Q 1024; Bu ston §77), which, he argues, might have influenced the renowned translator Chos grub in 9th-century Dunhuang; see Ren 2013: 33–35. However, his claim is based on a misreading of a section of Bu ston's first catalogue (Nishioka 1980: 68) by erroneously applying Bu ston's remark on the translator of §80 (i.e. the **Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna** discussed above) also to the three unattributed titles registered immediately before it (i.e. §§77–79). This mistake is so obvious that no refutation is needed here.

Abhisamayālaṃkārakārikā-vārttika of Bhadanta-Vimuktisena (Ruegg 1968: 305, n. 6).
Tr. with Śāntibhadra.

§518 sDus(→sDud) 'grel rtogs par sla ba

= D 3792.
= Skt. **Prajñāpāramitā-Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā-vyākhyā** or **-pañjikā** of Haribhadra (Jiang 2000: 115–123).[108]
Tr. with Śāntibhadra.

§589 gShung gi rab byed

~ D 3899 (also 4547).
~ Skt. **Sugatamatavibhaṅgakārikā** of Jitāri (Shirasaki 1979: 119–124).
Tr. with Śāntibhadra.

§729–730 Sems tsam rgyan (root text and commentary)

= D4072, Q 5538 or D 4085, Q 5586.
= **Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti-Madhyamakapratipadāsiddhi** or **Madhyamakālaṃkāropadeśa** of Ratnākaraśānti.[109]
Tr. with Śāntibhadra.

§806 Rin po che za ma tog lta bu'i gtam

= D 4168 (also 4511).
= Skt. **Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakathā** of Ārya Śūra (Zimmermann 1975).
Tr. with Rudra.

§834 sGom rim

= D 3908.
= Skt. **Bhāvanākrama** of Nāgārjuna.
Tr. with Lota/Loṭa.

§1043 Nang gi khyab pa

= D 4260.
= Skt. **Antarvyāpti-samarthana** of Ratnākaraśānti (Kajiyama 1999).
Tr. with Kumārakalaśa.

§1044 rGyu 'bras grub pa

Unidentied. But the author Jñānaśrī is undoubtedly Jñānaśrīmitra (980–1030).
Tr. with Kumārakalaśa.

§1048 gTan tshigs kyi de kho na nyid bstan pa

= D 4261.
= Skt. **Hetutattvopadeśa** of Jitāri (Chattopadhyaya 1939)
Tr. with Kumārakalaśa.

§1054 rNam rig grub pa

= D 4259.
= Skt. **Vijñaptimātrāsiddhi** of Ratnākaraśānti (Umino/Tsultrim Kelsang 1982).
Tr. with Shes rab brtsegs.[110]

§2703 De kho na nyid grub pa'i rab tu byed pa

= D 3708.

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108. For the title of the commentary, see Yuyama 2001: 31–33.

109. For the identification, see Mimaki 1992: 297f., n. 1.

110. But according to the Kanjur colophons, Shes rab brtsegs was but one of the revisors while the text was translated with Śāntibhadra.

= Skt. **Tattvasiddhiprakaraṇa** of Śāntarakṣita.
Tr. with Rin chen bzang po.[111]

§2741 De kho na nyid theg chen nyi cu pa

= D 2250.
= Skt. **Tattvamahāyānaviṃśati** of Maitripa.
Tr. with Dhiriśrījñāna.

Among these titles, we find two groups of titles, in each of which the other translator is the same (i.e., Śāntibhadra: §§505, 518, 589, 729–730; Kumārakalaśa: §§1043–1044, 1048). And we also find two groups of titles, in each of which the author of the translated works is the same (i.e., Jitāri: §§589, 1048; Ratnākaraśānti: §§729–730, 1043, 1054). These commonalities at least point to a strong likelihood that the vast majority of the translations (eight out of twelve) listed above go back to 'Bro seng dkar Shākya 'od,[112] who must have lived no earlier than the youngest of the authors, such as Jitāri, Jñānaśrīmitra, and Ratnākarakīrti, dating from the late 10th to early 11th century.[113] Among the remaning four titles, at least two are, in all likelihood, to be attributed to 'Bro seng dkar Shākya 'od as well.[114] However, it remains uncertain whether this Shākya 'od is identical with the one who co-operated with Ajitaśrībhadra.

Be that as it may, one of the last two translations (i.e., §806) was, at least in the eyes of Bu ston, rendered into Tibetan by a Shākya 'od – whether he was 'Bro seng dkar Shākya 'od or not – who translated the **Aṣṭākṣanakathā** (no. 4 above) together with Ajitaśrībhadra, exactly as they did with the **Nandimitrāvadāna**.[115] The work entitled **Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakathā**, traditionally attributed to Ārya Śūra, "is in fact a late compilation of poor literary quality", which, according to Michael Hahn, "basically consists of a flowery appeal to Buddhist laypeople to donate various items to the members

111. But according to the Kanjur colophons, the text was translated by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and Rin chen bzang po, while Shākya 'od and Kumārakalaśa served as the revisors.

112. The first component *'bro seng dkar* is only given by Bu ston under the entry of §505 (Nishioka 1981: 50). But it is widely attested in the Kanjur colophons and thus seems to form part of the genuine name of the translator, who was probably from the prestigious 'Bro clan.

113. For the dates of Jitāri (ca. 940–1000), see Dietz 1981: 46f.; of Jñānaśrīmitra (ca. 980–1030), see Kajiyama 1966: 9; though no precise date for Ratnākarakīrti is available, he is generally considered an elder contemporary of Jñānaśrīmitra, see Mimaki 1976: 3.

114. Despite the variation between Bu ston's catalogue and the Kanjur colophons, §2703 was translated or revised by Shākya 'od together with Kumārakalaśa, a name which may well indicate its connection with §§1043–1044, 1048. Both of the translators thus seem to be contemporaries of Rin chen bzang po, who must have been part of the translation team of this text. The author to whom §2741 is attributed, Maitripa, was probably active in the first half of the 11th century. The fact that he was approximately contemporaneous with the translator discussed above makes it probable that the same Shākya 'od is at issue here.

115. Cf. [805] *slob spon rta dbyangs kyis mdzad pa'i mi khom pa brgyad spong ba'i gtam dang* / [806] *slob spon dpa' bos mdzad pa'i rin po che za ma tog lta bu'i gtam gnyis shākya 'od kyi 'gyur* / [ed. Nishioka 1981: 60].

of the Buddhist order. Both the items and the reward for donating them are specified."[116] The Tibetan translation was subject to a meticulous study by Heinz Zimmermann, who dated it to the 9th century.[117] His dating was, as J.W. de Jong pointed out in a review of his book, based on a misconception of W. Zinkgräf, who injudiciously dated both the Indian pundit Śākyaprabha and the Tibetan monk Shākya 'od to the ninth century.[118] De Jong himself, following a comment by Giuseppe Tucci, opted for the mid-11th century, since he regarded the Tibetan monk Shākya 'od as a contemporary of Rin chen bzang po (958–1055).[119] In a lengthy review article of Zimmermann's book, Michael Hahn expressed more or less the same opinion.[120] Their keen remarks notwithstanding, both de Jong and Hahn seem to have taken for granted that the Shākya 'od translating the **Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakathā** was no other than 'Bro seng dkar Shākya 'od discussed above. This seems to me not necessarily so obvious, taking into account that Shākya 'od was by no means an uncommon name for monks in post-imperial Tibet. At any rate, we may not fall foul of truth in claiming that it was the same Shākya 'od who translated the **Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakathā** and the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, albeit with different collaborators.

If the identification suggested above is approximately correct, it may not be out of order to sound a note of caution for scholars interested in any of the nine texts enumerated at the beginning of this section. If they approach those translations with the expectation to gain a faithful reflection of a recension of the Sanskrit original (as is the case with most Tibetan translations), they can be no less disappointed than was Zimmermann who, in Hahn's words, "must have doubted the mental health of scholars praising the Tibetan translations in an exaggerated manner."[121] Zimmermann's disappointment is not unjustified, for the Tibetan version of the **Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakathā** deviates from the Sanskrit version to such a great extent that A.C. Banerjee, to whom we owe the *editio princeps* of the text in Sanskrit, once wondered that the Tibetan translators might have worked on a different text.[122] It is

116. See Hahn 2007: 123.

117. See Zimmermann 1975: 18ff.

118. See Zinkgräf 1940: 61f.; de Jong 1976: 317.

119. See Tucci 1933: 50; de Jong 1972: 507, 1976: 318.

120. See Hahn 1978: 52 (emphasis added): "Śākya 'od, der die im 11. Jh. lebenden Autoren Jetāri, Jñānaśrīmitra, Ratnākaraśānti u.a. übersetzte, kann aber bestenfalls gleichzeitig mit ihnen … angesetzt werden. Dieser Śākya 'od war nun an der Übertragung der **S[ubhāṣita]r[atna]k[araṇḍa]k[athā]** beteiligt, nicht Śākya pra bha, so daß die obere Grenze für die Entstehung der **SRKK** auf jeden Fall bis mindestens in das 11. Jh. hinaufrutscht."

121. See Hahn 2007: 124.

122. Banerjee 1959: 277 (emphasis added): "The Tibetan translations are, as a rule, very faithful and almost verbatim. But the present text on collation with the Tibetan versions is found to have more divergence than agreement. Further, there is slight difference between the two Tibetan versions. It is, therefore, likely that the Tibetan renderings were made not

thanks to the work of Zimmermann that the scholarly world came to realize that Shākya 'od's translation of the **Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakathā** was not made from a different text, but is "probably one of the worst Tibetan translations in the whole of the Kanjur and Tanjur", as was acknowledged by de Jong;[123] or to quote Hahn's remark based on his own experience, it is "the poorest translation of an Indian work that [he has] seen in more than forty years of reading Tibetan canonical texts".[124] In most cases, the various translation problems, for which the Tibetan **Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakathā** is notorious, should be chalked up to the incapability of Shākya 'od whose training in the Sanskrit language must have been sloppy. Therefore, there are good reasons to doubt the quality of the other translations attributed to this translator which may also contain similar types of problems, provided the co-operation with Ajitaśrībhadra did not substantially better the outcomes of the translation project. The reasonable doubt is at least verified in the case of the Tibetan **Nandimitrāvadāna**, in which, as my annotated translation below shows, some expressions are rendered in an ill-advised manner, to say the least. Nevertheless, this is not to say that the nine translations are doomed to be useless for the study of their Sanskrit counterparts, but rather that they are not to be taken at face value but to be elucidated and weighed against other available testimonies. As a matter of fact, "even such a deplorable translation as that of the **S[ubhāṣita]r[atna]- k[araṇḍa]k[athā]** can be helpful in the study of the Sanskrit original if it is examined carefully",[125] as we learn from Zimmermann's exemplary study. Hence, the present note of caution must not be taken as a deterrent to reading those Tibetan texts.

An Alternate List of the Sixteen Elders

A preliminary look into the Wirkungsgeschichte of the translation of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** turns out to be unrewarding. Despite its canonical status, the translation does not appear to have had any significant impact on the cult of the sixteen (or eighteen) Elders in post-imperial Tibet. With the sole exception of Bu ston's **Chos 'byung**,[126] no later Tibetan work has been known so far to have quoted from or alluded to the translation. Its otioseness is further revealed by the fact that some later liturgies connected with the cult of the Elders do not use the list of the Elders translated by Ajitaśrībhadra and Shākya 'od, but are based on an alternate list, in which the Elders' names are

from the present work but from some other, lost to us. In other words, there were texts other than our present text that the Tibetan translators made use of."

123. See de Jong 1976: 319.

124. Hahn 2007: 124. For some examples of the ways in which the Tibetan rendering is removed from the Sanskrit text, see Hahn 2007: 124–128.

125. See de Jong 1976: 319.

126. For the quotation in Bu ston's **Chos 'byung**, see the sections [**D1**]–[**E1**] of my edition below pp. 147–149.

not only rendered differently, but also arranged in a different order and sometimes accompanied by different dwelling places.

Sam van Schaik has translated a sample of those liturgies in his recent book.[127] The translation is made from a Tibetan text compiled by the 19th-century master 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820–1892),[128] but the prayer around which the liturgy is centered must go back to a much earlier source since, if we give credence to the introductory notes of the liturgy, it was composed by the Kashmiri master Śākyaśrībhadra (1127/40s–1225), better known to Tibetans as Kha che Paṇ chen, who came to Tibet at the beginning of the 13th century.[129] It is in this prayer that the alternate list of the sixteen Elders is attested.

An extremely close, if not totally identical, list is found in the so-called **Lebensbeschreibung** studied by Anton Schiefner. The blocks engraved for printing the text are unambiguously dated in the 40th regnal year of Qianlong (i.e., 1776), while the text itself, according to a colophon attached to the copy, was composed by Rin chen chos kyi rgyal po in the Wood-Tiger year (i.e., 1734) under the seventh Dalai Lama sKal bzang rgya mtsho (1708–1757).[130] In other words, the block-print version was produced within half a century after the text was first drafted, and thus bears relatively reliable witness to the primary shape of the text dating back to the early 18th century. The list of the Elders occurs in the final section of the text, where they are enumerated as the missionaries sent to different regions of the world after the Nirvāṇa of Mahākāśyapa.[131] Apparently, the Tibetan author reinterpreted the Elders' dwelling places as their missionary dioceses, as it were. The source of this list is unknown. To be sure, the author explicitly mentioned the three *piṭaka*s as the sources he used;[132] but this remark must not be taken literally, since, at least as far as the list of the Elders is concerned, he obviously did not owe his information to the canonical translation of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, but rather to a source which is very similar, if not identical, to

127. See van Schaik 2016: 141–153.

128. The Tib. text is entitled **gNas brtan phyag mchod dang 'brel bar cho ga mdor bsdus bya tshul** [ed. Chengdu 2009: 335–344]. For the life and works of the Tibetan master, see van Schaik 2016: 154–171.

129. For Tibetan sources concerning Śākyaśrībhadra's life, see Jackson 1990, van der Kuijp 1994: 599–616. On the dates of his birth and death, see Jackson 1990: 18, n. 1.

130. Schiefner 1849: 1–2: "Denn zu Folge einer am Ende des Werkes Bl. 388 befindlichen Notiz ist dasselbe unter dem Dalai-Lama sKal-bZang im Holz-Tiger Jahre (d.i. 1734) von dem Lotsâva Rin-ḱhen-ḱhos-kyi-rgyal-po … verfasst … Das Exemplar des Asiat. Museums N. 285 ist mit den im 40sten Jahr der Regierung Kienlong's (1776) geschnitten Holzplatten gedruckt und enthält in fünf zierlich gebundenen Heften 391 Blätter."

131. See Schiefner 1849: 78, and 91, n. 43.

132. Schiefner 1849: 2: "Der Verfasser führt aber Bl. 385 speziell als seine Quellen an: 1) die vier Vinaja-Abteilungen; 2) Ratnakûṭa; 3) Buddhâvataṁsaka; 4) Lalitavistâra[sic!]; 5) Abhiniṣkramaṇasûtra; 6) Mahâparinirvâṇasûtra; 7) sämtliche Sûtra's, Tantra's u.s.w.: der Inhalt der drei Piṭaka's."

Śākyaśrībhadra's prayer mentioned above.

The list also left its traces in some artistic artifacts. In 1905, S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa published several pieces of red sandalwood engraved with the Elders' images, which, according to him, were purchased from Gyantse in Central Tibet. The images, as Vidyābhūṣaṇa reported, "are not more than two hundred years old, but they must have been copied from very old originals."[133] What is of special interest for us is that each of the images bears an inscription consisting of the formula: *'phags pa gnas brtan chen po* + N.N. + *la na mo* 'Homage to the noble great Elder N.N.!', in which the Elders' names are exactly the same as those in Śākyaśrībhadra's prayer.[134] To illuminate those names, Vidyābhūṣaṇa quoted some passages in Tibetan script, the source of which I am not able to identify.[135]

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133. See Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1905: 1.

134. See Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1905: 1–3.

135. He did give a reference to their source ("(*g.ya' gsel*[sic!]) Compiled from *Sde-srid-sang-rgyas-rgya-mtsho*. ...", see Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1905: 6, n. 2), which I, however, fail to decipher. To facilitate future research, I transliterate the relevant part from the lengthy Tibetan quotation in Vidyābhūṣana 1905: 6–9 (with corrections and running nos. in reference to the table below): *mya ngan las mi 'da' bar 'jig rten na mngon sum du bzhugs shing bka' lung gi rjes su sgrub par 'phags ba'i tshig nges pas zhal gyis bzhes pa* / [**10**] *yul ni pri yang ku yi gling na* (/) *'phags pa gnas brtan chen po* (*sgra gcan 'dzin* /) *phyag gnyis rin po che'i prog zhu bsnams pa* / *'khor dgra bcom pa stong dang chig brgyas bskor te bzhugs* / [**1**] *gangs ri chen po te se la* (/) *'phags pa gnas brtan yag lag 'byung* / *phyag gnyis spos phor rnga yab 'dzin* / *'khor dgra bcom stong dang sum brgyas bskor te bzhugs* / [**2**] *drang srong ri yi ngos nags na* (/) *'phags pa gnas brtan ma pham pa* / *phyag gnyis mnyam gzhag phyag rgya mdzad* / *'khor dgra bcom pa brgya phrag gcig gis bskor te bzhugs* / [**3**] *ri nags kyi ngogs lo ma bdun ba'i ri phug na* (/) *'phags pa gnas brtan nags na gnas zhes* / *phyag gnyis sdigs mdzub rnga yab 'dzin* / *'khor dgra bcom stong dang bzhi brgyas bskor te bzhugs* / [**4**] *'jam bu gling gi zangs gling na* / *'phags pa gnas brtan dus ldan zer* / *phyag gnyis gser rgya rna skor 'dzin* / *'khor dgra bcom stong dang chig brgyas bskor te bzhugs* / [**5**] *sing gha la yi gling na ni* / *gnas brtan rdo rje mo yi bu* / *phyag gnyis sdigs mdzub rnga yab 'dzin* / *'khor dgra bcom stong phrag gcig gis bskor te bzhugs* / [**6**] *chu bo ya mu na'i gling na* / *'phags pa gnas brtan bzang po* / *phyag gnyis chos 'chad mnyam gzhag mdzad* / *'khor dgra bcom stong dang nyis brgyas bskor te bzhugs* / [**7**] *gnas mchog kha che'i yul na ni* / *'phags pa gnas brtan gser be'u* / *phyag gnyis rin chen zhags pa 'dzin* / *'khor ni dgra bcom chen po lnga brgyas bskor te bzhugs* / [**8**] *nub kyi ba lang spyod gling na* / *bha ra dwa dza gser can mchog* (/) *phyag gnyis mnyan gzhag mdzad pa la* / *'khor dgra bcom chen po bdun brgyas bskor te bzhugs* / [**9**] *byang gi sgra mi snyan na ni* / *'phags pa gnas brtan ba ku* (*la*) *zhes* / *phyag gnyis ne'u le 'dzin pa dang* / *'khor ni dgra bcom dgu brgyas bskor te bzhugs* / [**11**] *bya rgod phung po'i ri bo la* / *'phags pa gnas brtan lam phran bstan* / *phyag gnyis mnyam* (*gzhag*) *mdzad pa dang* / *dgra bcom stong dang drug brgyas bskor te bzhugs* / [**12**] *shar gyi lus 'phags gling na ni* / *bha ra dwa dza bsod snyoms len* / *phyag gnyis glegs bam lhung bzed 'dzin* / *dgra bcom stong phrag gcig gis bskor te bzhugs* / [**13**] *lha'i gnas sum cu rtsa gsum na* / *phyag gnyis glegs bam chos 'chad mdzad* / *dgra bcom chen po dgu brgyas bskor te bzhugs* / [**14**] *ri yi rgyal po ngos yangs la* / *'phags pa gnas brtan klu'i sde* (/) *phyag gnyis bum pa 'khar gsil 'dzin* / *dgra bcom stong dang nyis brgyas bskor te bzhugs* / [**15**] *ri yi rgyal po bi hu lar* / *'phags pa gnas brtan sbed byed ni* / *phyags gnyis glegs bam 'dzin pa dang* / *dgra bcom stong dang bzhi brgyas bskor te bzhugs* / [**16**] *gangs can ri yi rgyal po la* / *'phags pa gnas brtan mi phyed pa* / *phyag gnyis byang chub mchod rten 'dzin pa dang* / *dgra bcom stong phrag gcig gis bskor te bzhugs*

Fifteen years earlier, Eugen Pander surveyed and described a manual of Buddhist iconography compiled by the 3rd lCang skya Khutuktu Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786),[136] whom the emperor Qianlong (1711–1799) consulted about the number and names of the Elders in 1757.[137] The manual contains illustrations of 300 saints and divinities of Tibetan Buddhism; therefore it was nicknamed by Pander "the pantheon". On six leaves of the manual (fols. 65–70), the sixteen Elders are figured with their respective names noted in both Tibetan and Chinese. The Tibetan names and the order in which they are arranged are after the alternate list. To add more details to his description, Pander made use of another booklet printed in Narthang monastery, which consists of images of 500 divinities. On the back of every Elder's illustration in the Narthang booklet, there are brief notes on the Elder, which Pander quoted to the letter.[138] In terms of their content, those notes, again, duplicate the prayer translated by van Schaik and may well have derived from the same origin. As for the origin in question, the emperor Qianlong, in his remarks on an Arhat-painting, referred to the **Biographie du lama Kia-lou-mei** (= *Klu me?) 嘎魯禖喇嘛本傳 immediately after his quotation of the opinion of Rol pa'i rdo rje,[139] who might have drawn the emperor's attention to this Tibetan source. The so-called Lama *Klu me should be identified with Klu mes 'Brom chung, a key figure in the introduction of the cult of the sixteen Elders into Narthang monastery in the 11th century.[140] Klu mes 'Brom chung is also believed to have had strong ties with the temple of Yer pa, where some thangkas of the sixteen Elders which he ordered to be painted are said to have been preserved until the early 20th century.[141] It is thus not inconceivable that both Rol pa'i rdo rje and the Narthang booklet were indebted to Klu mes 'Brom chung for their information about the sixteen Elders.

The alternate list, as attested in the sources discussed above, is as follows:[142]

/ [...] In terms of wording, it corresponds almost verbatim to the prayer translated by van Schaik, only with the part dealing with Rāhula transposed to the beginning of the list.

136. See Pander 1889, 1890; translated into English by Sushama Lohia, see Lohia 1994.

137. See Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 279–280, 283.

138. See Pander 1890: 83–88, nos. 193–208.

139. See Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 283.

140. See Tucci 1949: 556–558. Tucci went so far as to surmise that he might have been the brother of Klu mes Tshul khrims shes rab (late 10th century), a crucial figure at the early phase of the second diffusion period renowned for building many temples and transmitting the ordination lineage.

141. See Hadano 1955: 43; van der Kuijp 2016: 261, n. 146 (with further references).

142. For a more or less identical list adapted from the first fascicle of the *Rakanzu sanshū* 羅漢圖讃集 compiled by the Japanese monk Ugai Tetsujō 鵜飼徹定 (1814–1891), see Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 296ff. Its source of information must have been the counsel offered by Rol pa'i rdo rje to the emperor Qianlong in 1757.

No.	Name (Tib. < Skt.)	Place of residence	Retinue
1(13)	*yan lag 'byung* < Aṅgaja	Mt. Kailāsa	1300
2(15)	*ma pham pa* < Ajita	Ṛṣi-Mt. Uśīra	100
3(14)	*nags na gnas* < Vanavāsin	Cave Saptaparṇi	1400
4(7)	*dus ldan* < Kālika	Tāmradvīpa	1100
5(8)	*rdo rje mo'i bu* < Vajrīputra	Siṁhaladvīpa	1000
6(6)	*bzang po* < Bhadra	Yamunādvīpa	1200
7(2)	*gser be'u* < Kanakavatsa	Kashmir	500
8(3)	*bha ra dwā dza gser can* < Kanaka-Bharadvāja	Aparagodānīyadvīpa	700
9(5)	*ba ku la* < Bakula	Uttarakurudvīpa	900
10(11)	*sgra gcan 'dzin* < Rāhula	Priyaṅgudvīpa	1100
11(16)	*lam phran bstan* < Kṣudrapanthaka	Mt. Gṛdhrakūṭa	1600
12(1)	*bha ra dwā dza bsod snyoms len* < Piṇḍola-Bharadvāja	Pūrvavidehadvīpa	1000
13(10)	*lam bstan* < Panthaka	Trayastriṃśa	900
14(12)	*klu'i sde* < Nāgasena	Mt. Vipulapārśva	1200
15(9)	*sbed byed* < Gopaka	Mt. Bihula	1400
16(4)	*mi phyed pa* < Abhedya	Himālaya	1000

Even a cursory comparison with the list attested in the Tibetan **Nandimitrāvadāna** suffices to reveal many a difference, not all of which can be elaborated upon here. In the remaining part of this section, I content myself with elucidating two details which might shed new light on the obscure pre-history of the alternate list.

First, the exaltation of Aṅgaja (aka Iṅgada, Iṅgita etc.) to the first of the sixteen Elders is remarkable. According to Hadano Hakuyū, this idiosyncrasy might have had something to do with the tradition of recognizing the renowned bKa' gdams pa master Po to ba Rin chen gsal (1027/31–1105) as a manifestation of Aṅgaja. As the tradition has it, Rin chen gsal once told one of his disciples that he was one of the sixteen great Elders (i.e., Aṅgaja) and the encounter with him would yield great merits. This once led Hadano to believe that the alternation of the Elders' order with Aṅgaja exalted to the top of the list might have been done on the basis of this well-known episode from Rin chen gsal's life.[143] A similar tradition existed, from the 13th to the 16th century, in the dGe 'dun sgang pa, one of the four monastic communities in the Vinaya tradition of Śākyaśrībhadra, the abbots of which were more often

143. See Hadano 1955: 41–42.

than not recognized as manifestations of the sixteen Elders.[144] Although the **mKhas pa'i dga' ston** compiled by dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba (1504–1564/66) traced this tradition back to a prophecy of Śākyaśrībhadra,[145] the precedent set by Po to ba Rin chen gsal seems to suggest that the monks of the dGe 'dun sgang community probably inherited a custom well established in Tibet before the arrival of the Kashmiri master.

Second, a painting on paper (Ch. 00376, British Museum) from Cave 17 in Dunhuang, dated to the early-to-mid-9th century, counts as one of the earliest artistic representations of the Elders that have come down to us. In the eyes of Roderick Whitfield, "[t]he subject [of the painting] is represented as a Chinese traveling monk, seated on a mat, holding a small alms bowl, and with his staff and leather traveling bag beside him."[146] But the Tibetan inscription right below the image unambiguously identifies the monk as one of the sixteen Elders. The inscription reads as follows:

left column	middle	right column
ཕགས་ *'phags pa nyan tho(s) chen po'* *dus ldan* || *'khor stong chig brgya*	*.. .o bzhi*	*do khong legs kyis bris* ||
The noble great disciple (*śrāvaka*) Kālika. [His] retinue: 1,100 [arhats]	... 4	Painted by Do khong legs.

The correspondence between the inscription and the list above is transparent: Not only is the name of the Elder rendered in the same manner (Skt. *kālika* > Tib. *dus ldan* 'endowed with time' instead of *nag po* 'black'), but also his rank among the Elders (the 4th instead of the 7th) and the number of arhats in his entourage (1100 instead of 10,000) are identical in the two bodies of material. All the commonalities suggest a strong likelihood that a not substantially different, if not identical, list must have been known to the painter in Dunhuang. As for the ethnicity of the painter named Do khong legs, his name does not look Chinese. Whether he was a Tibetan who had come to Dunhuang, as Matsumoto Eiichi surmised, or a local inhabitant of a separate ethnic background remains for the moment an open question.[147] But it is clear that he used Tibetan as his working language, through which some

144. See Heimbel 2013: 214–217. Some examples of dGe 'dun sgang abbots being Elders incarnate: lHo brag pa Byang chub dpal (1183–1264) as a manifestation of [3] Vanavāsin; sNyag dbon bSod nams bzang po (1341–1433) as a manifestation of [9] Bakula; Rab 'byor seng ge (1398–1480) as a manifestation of [1] Aṅgaja; Chos grub seng ge (fl. early 16th cent.) as a manifestation of [10] Rāhula; etc.

145. See Beijing 1986: 504, ll. 10–13.

146. See Whitfield 1985: Pl. 49.

147. See Matsumoto 1937: 512ff. and Richardson *apud* Whitfield 1985: (vol. 2) 330, *ad* plate 49: "Do is the clan name of many persons named in documents from Dunhuang, often as copyists of religious works. They were apparently all in a somewhat lowly position, never officials but whether they were Tibetans proper or local people of one of the many different tribes in the area who took Tibetan names, it is not possible to say."

Figure 5 A paper painting (Ch. 00376) of the Elder Kālika with Tibetan inscription, Dunhuang (early-to-mid-9th century). © British Museum. Photograph courtesy of International Dunhuang Project.

religious knowledge, including the list of the Elders, was at his disposal.

If the aforesaid observation is approximately correct, we may well conclude that the alternate list must date back to the imperial period of Tibetan history, in other words, earlier than both Śākyaśrībhadra and Klu mes 'Brom chung, two figures with whom its introduction to Tibet was connected *ex post facto*. The earliest evidence is discovered in Dunhuang; therefore, it is not to be excluded that the tradition was incipiently established on the periphery of the Tibetan empire under some influences from outside (e.g. China, or more probably Khotan), while, in Central Tibet, it did not start gaining ground until the beginning of the 11th century with the comeback of Buddhism in the second diffusion period.

This hypothesis, to a certain extent, explains the noteworthy phenomenon that Ajitaśrībhadra and Shākya 'od, while translating the **Nandimitrāvadāna** probably in the early 11th century, were seemingly not aware of the alternate list at all. Once the latter was diffused into Central Tibet, along with the whole set of liturgical paraphernalia well prepared, the new translation, notwithstanding its incorporation in the Tibetan canon, was overshadowed, especially in terms of its reception in religious practice. The symbiosis of the two lists of the sixteen Elders presents a perfect example of how canonicity was defined under the socio-religious circumstances of Tibetan Buddhism, which is characterized by a highly syncretic and pluralistic ritual tradition. Further investigations into this topic from the perspective of Religious Studies will prove worthwhile scholarly endeavors in their own right, and are best carried out by specialists of Tibetan Studies.

Notes on the English Translation

The last part of the present chapter consists of an annotated English translation of the Tibetan version of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, or, to be exact, the Tibetan text established by me as the hypothetical archetype of a number of Tibetan versions of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** which have come down to us in either Kanjurs or Tanjurs. The original translation, to which the hypothetical archetype is intended as an approximation, was probably made at the beginning of the 11th century, on the basis of an Indian version or group of versions (probably written in some form of Sanskrit). In all likelihood, it is now lost for good.

It has already been argued above that the **Nandimitrāvadāna** is not a single text, but an ever-changing textual tradition. This tradition, to which the Tibetan version belongs, is characterized *inter alia* by its fluidity. Therefore, we must not presume that the Tibetan text would be based on one and the same Sanskrit text which underlies the Chinese translation. Be that as it may, the Tibetan version provides us with a unique access to the **Nandimitrāvadāna** at one time in its long history, all the more so, since the

Tibetan translators are deservedly renowned (or notorious) for their slavish adherence to the Sanskrit Vorlagen. This of course does not imply that they always got it right, but on balance it is not far-fetched to say that, compared with their craft brethren in China, the Tibetan translators seem to have enjoyed a lesser degree of freedom. Viewed from this perspective, the present Tibetan text, as one of the translations of this kind, not only gives clues about an 11th-century Tibetan understanding of the Sanskrit text at one time in its history, but also serves as a more stable reference point for the reconstruction of the meaning of the underlying Sanskrit text.

In order to fulfill the aforesaid potentialities of the Tibetan text, the English translation is not restricted to the rendition of the Tibetan lens itself, but also attempts to reveal the meaning of the Sanskrit beneath it. In the present case, this is not supernumerary but necessary, for it turns out that, as mentioned above, the translators did not understand the Sanskrit text correctly in all respects. Sometimes, the Tibetan translation is so problematic that the outcome would not be comprehensible at all had it been rendered literally into English. To deal with these infelicities, some adjustments, based on evidence and indicated in annotations, are indispensable for rendering the text somewhat coherent and readable. Therefore, we must realize that, when I speak of the English translation 'of the Tibetan text', it is meant *cum grano salis*, since, in translating the text, I am inevitably oscillating between the reconstructed Tibetan version and the lost Sanskrit Vorlage(n) beneath it. Whether my translation, as Paul Harrison puts it, has thus "fallen between two stools",[148] must be decided by the reader. But it should be adequately emphasized that it is not my intention to reconstruct the Sanskrit text from the Tibetan. Whenever the Sanskrit equivalent is ventured and given in parentheses after the English rendering (for the first occurrences only),[149] it should not be misunderstood as parts of an ersatz Sanskrit text produced by me. As a historian of texts and ideas, I am not interested in adding to the *embarras de ricchesses* in the existing materials of the tradition, but rather adopting a probabilistic approach by using those well-attested Sanskrit expressions as a heuristic device to arrive at a workable English rendering. They are inevitably hypothetical, and should be examined against more textual evidence as the opportunity arises.

When I, as a non-native speaker of English, speak of trying to make an English translation 'readable', it must also be understood *cum grano salis*. Not only because I have no intuitive feeling for the natural idiom of modern English, but also due to the extreme length of the Tibetan sentence which, more often than not, eludes any attempt at literal rendering within my English competence. Under such circumstances, I cannot but split the

148. Harrison 1990: xxxv.

149. For proper names and text titles, the Sanskrit equivalent is adopted in the main text of the translation right away, and is only discussed in annotations if the reconstruction is uncertain and needs to be buttressed by more evidence.

Tibetan sentence into several English sentences for the sake of clarity, an approach which, of course, does no justice to the syntactical structure of the Tibetan text. What is more, the translation of (semi-)technical terms is conducted in a somewhat consistent and literal manner. In other words, I try my best to employ standardized English renderings for Tibetan Buddhist terminology, as the Tibetan translators did in their own work. This decision, I believe, is justified from a historical and philological point of view, and is less problematic than in many other examples, as the text itself is neither doctrinal in nature nor abstruse in wording. Admittedly, there are a few cases in which my adherence to the same renderings for the same Tibetan yields awkward English formulations. In those cases, I might be somehow exonerated from my clumsiness by the fact that the Tibetan translation, on which my translation is based, is not much better.

As for the format, the translation is divided up into sections (indicated by the Roman alphabet plus ○ and ○') in accordance with my critical edition of the Tibetan text, in order that the reader can easily align individual passages in the English version with their counterparts in the Tibetan. For convenience of comparison and reference, lengthier sections are further divided up into several subsections, each of which, plus the apparatus, is shorter than a page. Although I try my best to avoid breaking down a subsection in the middle of a sentence, still there are a few cases, in which I fail to do so due to the length of the sentence. This may cause a (hopefully small) disturbance to the *lectio continua* of the translation, for which I must apologize.

In my translation, I try to keep my own additions to the text to a minimum. However, the reader is still presented with an English text containing a considerable number of, if not riddled with, square brackets, within which, following the normal convention, my explanatory additions or restorations are inserted. For the reader, they may serve as a reminder of the extent to which my translation deviates from a literal rendering of the Tibetan text. As stated above, the Tibetan translation itself is not correct or legible in all respects, so any reasonable attempt at translation must be coupled with conjectures. At this point, it can hardly be overemphasized that the translation is a different text with an inevitably hypothetical character. Fully aware as I am that any hypothesis, sooner or later, must be subjected to critical examination, I sincerely hope that the present translation, while making the **Nandimitrāvadāna** accessible to a wider public, can thus be scrutinized on a larger scale. Whether it resolves more problems than it creates, readers may best judge for themselves.

[0] Sanskrit title, Tibetan title, and invocation

1) rgya gar skad du /

ārya nan di mi tra a ba dā na nā ma /

3 2) bod skad du /

'phags pa dga' ba'i bshes gnyen gyi rtogs pa brjod pa zhes bya ba /

3) sangs rgyas dang[a] byang chub sems dpa' thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo //

2a **ārya**] arya Do. 2b **nan di mi tra a ba dā na**] nan da mi tra a ba dhā ra ṇam LSZ, na dha rā nam BaDo; na mi dmi trā ba na Q, na mi dmi trā ba nā N. 2c **nā ma**] na ma Do. 3 **skad du**] skad skad du Do. 4 **... gyi rtogs pa brjod pa zhes bya ba**] ... zhes bya ba'i rtogs pa brjod pa BaDo.

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a. Ba: sangs rgyas dang /

[A1]

[1)] 'di skad bdag gis thos te / bcom ldan 'das mya ngan las 'das nas[a] lo brgyad
brgya lon par gyur pa na / [2)] de'i tshe de'i dus na yul shi bi ka zhes bya ba na[b]
3 grong khyer byin gyis brlabs pa zhes bya ba yod de / [3)] de na rgyal po rig pa'i
sde zhes bya ba gnas so //[c] [4)] de'i tshe rgyal po rig pa'i sde'i yul na[d] dge slong
dga' ba'i bshes gnyen zhes bya ba [4a)] rnam par[e] thar pa brgyad la bsam gtan pa[f]
6 mngon par shes pa drug dang ldan pa / rdzu 'phrul che ba /[g] mthu che ba /
[4b)] dpag tshad brgya stong phrag du ma na gnas pa'i sems can rnams las tha na
grog mo dang[h] +kun ta'i yang sems kyi spyod pa shes pa zhig gnas te /

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1 **bdag**] bdag cag LSZ. 2 **shi bi ka**] shi ba ga LSZ. 3a **yod de**] yod do BaN. 3b **rig pa'i sde**] BaDo; rigs pa'i sde DLNQSZ. 5 **bsam gtan pa**] bsam gtan dang LSZ. 7a **na gnas pa'i**] pa LSZ. 7b **las tha na**] BaDoLSZ; las DNQ. 8a **grog mo**] grog ma LSZ. 8b **kun ta'i yang sems kyi**] kun da'i yang sems kyi BaDo; ku ta yi yang sems can LSZ; ku ta'i sems kyi DNQ. 8c **shes pa**] om. NQ.

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a. Ba: mya ngan las 'das nas /. b. Ba: \de'i tshe de'i dus na yul shi bi ka zhes bya ba na/ (added on the top margin); DoLSZ: zhes bya ba na /. c. Do: gnas so /. d. Ba: yul na /. e. L: ∴rnam par∴ rnam par. f. Do: bsam gtan pa /; LSZ: bsam gtan <u>dang</u> /. g. Ba: om. h. LSZ: grog <u>ma</u> dang /.

[A2]

1) de yongs su mya ngan las ’da’ ba’i dus kyi tshe[a] dge slong gi dge ’dun ’dus pa
la bcom ldan ’das kyis lung bstan pa bshad de / 2) ’di ltar yang dge slong rnams
3 the tshom skyes nas dris pa / gnas brtan yun ji srid cig gi bar du[b] bcom
ldan ’das shā kya thub pa’i dam pa’i chos gnas par ’gyur / 3) des smras pa /
bzhin bzangs dag dogs pa med kyis[c] mya ngan dang smre sngags ma ’don cig[d]
6 / 4) de ci’i phyir zhe na / bcom ldan ’das yongs su mya ngan las ’das pa’i dus kyi
tshe /[e] gnas brtan chen po bcu drug gi lag tu dam pa’i chos gtad par gyur te /
sbyin bdag dang[f] sbyin pa po’i sbyin pa yongs su dag par bya ba’i phyir ro //

1–2 **’dus pa la**] BaDo; ’dus pa las LSZ; ’dus pa rnams kyis ’di skad du / khyod lta bu mya ngan las ’das na sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa nub par mi ’gyur ram zhes smras pa dang / des de dag la smras pa / nub par mi ’gyur te / DNQ. 2a **lung bstan pa bshad de** /] lus bstan pa bshad de / Ba; lung bstan nas bshad do // DNQ. 2b **yang**] om. BaDoLSZ. 3a **the tshom**] tha tshom N. 3b **yun**] yul Do. 3c **ji srid**] ji snyed LSZ. 6 **de**] om. LSZ. 7a **lag tu**] lag du NQ. 7b **chos**] chos pa’i Q.

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a. BaDoLSZ: dus kyi tshe /. b. L: bar du /. c. Ba: dogs pa med kyis /. d. Do: smre sngags /ma\ ’don cig. e. Do: dus kyi tshe //. f. Ba: dang /.

[B1]

[1)] de skad ces smras pa dang / gnas brtan dga' ba'i bshes gnyen la[a] dge slong rnams kyis 'di skad ces smras so // gnas brtan bdag cag gis gnas brtan de dag
3 gi mtshan yang mi 'tshal lo // [2)] gnas brtan gyis smras pa / tshe dang ldan pa dag gnas brtan dang po'i mtshan ni[b] ba ra dwa dza bsod snyoms len zhes bya 'o // gnas brtan gnyis pa'i mtshan ni gser be'u zhes bya'o // gnas brtan
6 gsum pa'i mtshan ni ba ra dwa dza [+]gser can zhes bya'o // gnas brtan bzhi pa'i mtshan ni mi phyed pa zhes bya'o //[c] gnas brtan lnga pa'i mtshan ni shing shun can zhes bya'o // gnas brtan drug pa'i mtshan ni bzang po zhes bya'o //
9 gnas brtan bdun pa'i mtshan ni nag po zhes bya'o[d] // gnas brtan brgyad pa'i mtshan ni bad sa'i bu zhes bya'o //

2a **rnams kyis**] de dag gi NQ; de dag gis BaDo; dag gis LSZ. 2b **so**] om. L. 3 **pa dag**] pa Do; bdag L. 4 **ba ra dwa dza**] ba ra dwa tsa BaLSZ, ba ra dwa tsha Do. 5 **gser be'u**] gser bu BaDoLSZ. 6 **ba ra dwa dza gser can**] ba ra dwa tsa ser sbyan Ba, ba ra dwa tsa DoLSZ, ba ra dwa dza DNQ. 7a **brtan**] om. Ba. 7b **mtshan**] mchan D

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a. SZ: dga' ba bshes gnyen la /. b. Ba: dang po'i mtshan ni //. c. Do: gnas brtan bzhi pa'i mtshan ni mi phyed pa zhes bya'o // *ditto* (with lnga pa instead of bzhi pa in the duplicate). d. Ba: bdun pa'i mtshan ni /nag po\ zhes bya'o.

[B2]

gnas brtan dgu pa'i mtshan ni ba lang skyong zhes bya'o // gnas brtan bcu pa'i mtshan ni lam pa zhes bya'o // gnas brtan bcu gcig pa'i mtshan ni sgra
3 gcan 'dzin zhes bya'o // gnas brtan bcu gnyis pa'i mtshan ni klu sde zhes bya'o // gnas brtan bcu gsum pa'i mtshan ni zur gyis shes zhes bya'o // gnas brtan bcu bzhi pa'i mtshan ni nags na gnas zhes bya'o // gnas brtan bco lnga pa'i
6 mtshan ni mi pham pa zhes bya'o // gnas brtan bcu drug pa'i mtshan ni gtsug gi lam pa zhes bya'o // [1)] gnas brtan de dag ni rig pa gsum dang ldan pa / sde snod gsum pa /[a] khams gsum pa'i 'dod chags[b] dang bral ba / [2)] rdzu 'phrul gyi
9 stobs kyis tshe[c] byin gyis brlabs te bsrings nas[d] bcom ldan 'das kyi bkas[e] gnas pa yin no // sbyin pa po dang[f] sbyin bdag rnams kyi sbyin pa yongs su dag par byed do //

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3 **gnyis pa**] gnyis kyi L. 4 **zur gyis shes**] zur gyis BaNQ. 5 **nags na gnas**] nags na gnas pa LSZ; nags gnas BaDo. 6 **gtsug**] rtsug Do. 7 **lam pa**] lam BaDoLSZ. 8 **khams gsum pa'i**] khams gsum pa las BaDo. 9a **tshe**] tsho D. 9b **bsrings**] bsrungs LSZ. 9c **nas**] om. Do. 9d **kyi bkas**] kyis bka' NQLSZ, kyi bka' Do. 10a **kyi**] kyis NQ. 11 **byed do**] byaso Do.

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a. BaDoNQ: om. b. Ba: /khams gsum pa\ <u>las</u> 'dod chags. c. Do: stobs kyis .:.ma.:. tshe. d. LSZ: <u>bsrungs</u> nas /. e. Do: bcom ldan 'das kyï <u>bka'</u>. f. LSZ: sbyin pa po dang /.

[C1]

1) de skad ces smras pa dang / dge slong rnams kyis[a] gnas brtan dga' ba'i bshes gnyen la 'di skad ces smras so // gnas brtan bdag cag gis gnas brtan de dag
3 gang na bzhugs pa yang mi 'tshal lo[b] // 2) gnas brtan gyis[c] smras pa /[d] tshe dang ldan pa dag[e] **(1)** gnas brtan dang po ba ra dwa dza bsod snyoms len zhes bya ba ni[f] 'khor dgra bcom pa stong dang lhan cig[g] ba lang spyod kyi gling na
6 gnas so // **(2)** gnas brtan gser be'u zhes bya ba ni[h] 'khor dgra bcom pa lnga stong dang lhan cig byang phyogs kyi kha che'i yul na gnas so //

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1 **de skad**] da skad N. 2a **'di skad**] 'id skad Ba. 2b **smras so**] smras se N. 2c **bdag cag gis**] bdag gis BaDo. 2d **gnas brtan de dag**] om. LSZ; gnas brtan deg Ba. 3a **yang**] BaDo, 'ang LSZ; om. DNQ. 3b **gyis**] kyis D. 4a **dag**] om. LSZ. 4b **ba ra dwa dza**] ba ra dwa tsa BaDoLSZ. 4c **zhes bya ba**] ces bya ba BaDo, om. DNQ. 5a **lhan cig**] lhan cig tu LSZ. 5b **ba lang**] ba glang BaLSZ. 6a **gser be'u**] gser bu BaDoSZ, gser bur L. 6b **'khor**] om. Do. 7 **byang phyogs kyi kha che'i yul**] byang phyogs kyi kha phye'i yul Do; shar gyi lus 'phags po'i gling NQ, shar kyi lus 'phags po'i gling D.

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a. LSZ: dge slong rnams kyis /. b. Do: /m\i 'tshal lo. c. Z: gnas brtan .:.la.:. gyis. d. Q: smras pa //. e. Ba: dag /. f. ni /. g. BaDo: lhan cig /. h. LSZ: ni /.

[C2]

(3) gnas brtan ba ra dwa dza zhes bya ba ni[a] 'khor dgra bcom pa drug stong dang lhan cig shar gyi lus 'phags kyi gling na gnas so // (4) gnas brtan mi phyed pa zhes bya ba ni[b] 'khor dgra bcom pa bdun stong dang lhan cig[c] 'dzam bu'i gling na gnas so // (5) gnas brtan shing shun can zhes bya ba ni[d] 'khor dgra bcom pa drug stong dang lhan cig byang gi sgra mi snyan gyi gling na gnas so // (6) gnas brtan bzang po zhes bya ba ni[e] 'khor dgra bcom pa dgu stong dang lhan cig[f] zangs gling na gnas so // (7) gnas brtan nag po zhes bya ba ni[g] 'khor dgra bcom pa khri dang lhan cig[h] sing ga la'i gling na gnas so // (8) gnas brtan bad sa'i bu zhes bya ba ni[i] 'khor dgra bcom pa khri chig stong dang lhan cig pa na sa'i gling na gnas so //

1a **ba ra dwa dza**] ba ra dwa tsa BaLSZ, ba dwa tsa Do. 1b **zhes bya ba**] om. DNQ. 2 **shar gyi lus 'phags kyi gling**] byang phyogs kyi ka che'i yul DNQ. 2–3 **zhes bya ba**] om. DNQ. 3 **lhan cig**] lan cig Do. 4a **shing shun can**] shing shun BaDoLSZ. 4b **zhes bya ba**] om. DNQ. 5 **sgra mi snyan**] sgra ma snyin Ba. 6a **zhes bya ba**] om. DNQ. 6b **lhan cig**] lhan cig tu BaDo. 7a **nag po**] nags po N. 7b **zhes bya ba**] om. DNQ. 8a **khri**] stong BaDoLSZ. 8b **sing ga la'i gling**] sing ga'i gling BaDoLSZ. 8c **gnas so**] gnaso DoL. 9a **bad**] om. Ba. 9b **zhes bya ba**] om. BaDDoLNQ. 9c **'khor**] om. BaDo. 9d **chig**] cig BaDoL. 10a **lhan cig**] om. BaDo. 10b **pa na sa'i gling**] pa ni sa'i gling LSZ.

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a. BaDoLSZ: ni /. b. BaLSZ: ni /. c. L: lhan cig /. d. BaLSZ: ni /. e. LSZ: ni /. f. L: lhan cig /. g. LSZ: ni /. h. Z: lhan cig /. i. LSZ: ni /.

[C3]

(9) gnas brtan ba lang skyong zhes bya ba ni[a] ’khor dgra bcom pa brgyad stong dang lhan cig ri bo spos kyi ngad ldang na gnas so // **(10)** gnas brtan lam pa zhes bya ba ni[b] ’khor dgra bcom pa stong phrag bcu gsum[c] dang lhan cig lha’i gnas sum cu rtsa gsum na gnas so // **(11)** gnas brtan sgra gcan ’dzin ces bya ba ni[d] ’khor dgra bcom pa stong dang lhan cig pri yang ku’i gling na gnas so // **(12)** gnas brtan klu sde zhes bya ba ni[e] ’khor dgra bcom pa stong phrag bcu gnyis dang lhan cig ri bo skya bo[f] na gnas so // **(13)** gnas brtan zur gyis shes zhes bya ba ni[g] ’khor dgra bcom pa stong phrag bcu gsum dang lhan cig ri bo ngos yangs na gnas so // **(14)** gnas brtan nags na gnas zhes bya ba ni ’khor dgra bcom pa stong phrag bcu bzhi[h] dang lhan cig lus ’phags kyi ri la gnas so //

1a **zhes bya ba**] om. DNQ. 1b **brgyad stong**] brgya stong Q. 2a **ngad ldang**] dad ldang N; ngad ldan SZ; dang ldang Ba. 2b **na**] la DNQ. 3 **lha’i gnas**] lha rnams kyi gnas LSZ; lha rnams kyi BaDo. 4a **na**] om. Ba. 4b **ces bya ba**] om. DNQ. 5a **lhan cig**] lhan cig tu LSZ. 5b **pri yang ku’i gling**] pri yaṁ ku’i gling LSZ; tri yang ku’i kling Do. 6a **klu sde**] klu’i sde BaDoLSZ. 6b **zhes bya ba**] om. DNQ. 7a **gnyis**] bzhi Do. 7b **ri bo skya bo**] ri skya bo LSZ. 7c **gnas so**] bzhugs so DNQ. 8a **zhes bya ba**] om. DNQ. 8b **stong phrag bcu gsum**] stong phrag gsum DNQ. 9a **ri bo ngos yangs**] ri bo’i ngos yangs BaDo. 9b **nags na gnas**] nags gnas BaDoLSZ. 9c **zhes bya ba**] om. DNQ.

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a. L: ni /. b. LSZ: ni /. c. Do: ∴khri gcig∴ stong phrag bcu gsum. d. BaLSZ: ni /. e. BaLSZ: ni /. f. Ba: ri /bo skya\ bo. g. BaLSZ: ni /. h. Do: stong phrag ∴drug∴ bcu /bzhi\.

[C4]

(15) gnas brtan mi pham pa zhes bya ba ni[a] ’khor dgra bcom pa stong phrag bco lnga dang lhan cig rgyal po’i khab bya rgod phung po’i ri la gnas so // **(16)**
3 gnas brtan gtsug gi lam pa zhes bya ba ni[b] ’khor dgra bcom pa[c] stong phrag bcu drug dang lhan cig ri bo gnya’ shing ’dzin na gnas so // [1)] gnas brtan de dag gis mi shes pa ’am / ma mthong ba ’am /[d] ma thos pa ’am / mngon sum du ma
6 byas pa ni cung zad kyang med do // [2)] dge ’dun gyi bzhes pa ’am / spyan drang ba ’am / bco lnga ston nam / gtsug lag khang ’bul ba ’am / gaṇḍī’i rab gnas sam /[e] gang cung zad mi shes pa med do //[f] [3)] de dag tu gnas brtan bcu
9 drug po de dag la[g] ’khor du ma dang bcas pa cha lugs gzhan dang gzhan gyis de dang der byon zhing gnas te / de ltar sbyin pa yongs su dag par byed do //[h]

1a **mi pham pa**] pham pa Ba. 1b **zhes bya ba**] om. BaDNQ. 2 **bya rgod phung po’i**] bya rgod kyi phung po’i LSZ. 3a **gtsug gi lam pa**] gtsug gi lam BaLSZ, rtsug gi lam Do. 3b **zhes bya ba**] om. DNQ. 3c **bcu drug**] drug cu DNQ. 4a **gnya’**] gnyi Do. 4b **de dag gis**] de dag gis ni DNQ. 6 **ni**] om. BaDoLSZ. 6 **drang**] drangs BaDoLSZ. 7a **’bul ba**] dbul ba LSZ. 7b **gaṇḍī’i**] SZ, ganṭi’i Ba, ghan the’i Do, ’gan ’de’i L; om. DNQ. 8a **gang**] ga Do. 8b **cung zad**] cung zad kyang BaSZ. 8c **med do**] med de LSZ. 9a **de dag la**] de dag dang BaDoLSZ. 9b **’khor du ma dang bcas pa**] ’khor du bcas pa LSZ, ’khor du bcas pa’i BaDo. 9c **cha lugs**] om. BaDoLSZ. 9d **gyis**] gyi BaDo. 9e **de dang**] om. LSZ. 10a **zhing**] cing BaDo, shing L. 10b **byed do**] byed de LSZ.

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a. BaLSZ: ni /. b. BaLSZ: ni /. c. Do: ∴brgya stong.∴ dgra bcom pa. d. Do: om. e. Ba: om. f. LSZ: med de /. g. BaDoLSZ: de dag dang /. H. LSZ: byed de /.

[D1]

1) ma ’ongs pa na mtshon gyi bskal pa byung ba ’das nas[a] mi rnams dge ba bcu
dang[b] ldan pas tshe slar ’phel te / 2) lo brgya thub pa na ston pa’i nyan thos de
3 dag yang phyir la ’dzam bu’i gling du byon nas[c] dam pa’i chos yang dag par
ston par byed cing[d] rab tu ’byin par byed do //[e] 3) ji srid skye dgu rnams kyi
tshe lo drug brgya par gyur pa 4) de srid du bcom ldan ’das shā kya thub pa’i
6 bstan pa dam pa’i chos gnas par gyur te / 5) mi rnams kyi tshe lo bdun brgya
par gyur pa na[f] nyan thos de dag gis gang sa’i steng ’di na[g] bcom ldan ’das shā
kya thub pa’i bstan pa’i tshogs ji snyed pa de dag gcig tu bsdus nas rin po che
9 sna bdun gyi mchod rten gcig byas te /

1a **gyi**] gyis NQ. 1b **bskal pa**] skal pa DoL. 1c **byung ba**] ’byung ba BaDo, byung L. 1d **’das nas**] ’das pa nas Do. 2a **’phel**] ’phal D. 2b **lo brgya thub pa na**] de ltar lo brgya thub pa ni SZ; lo brgyad cu thub pa na DNQ. 2c **ston pa’i**] ston pa SZ. 3a **la**] om. Ba. 3b **’dzam bu’i gling**] ’dzam bu gling BaSZ. 4a cing] do BaDo. 4b **rab tu ’byin par byed do**] rab tu sbyin par byed BaDo; rab tu ’byin par byed de LSZ. 4c **ji**] de LSZ. 5 **de srid du**] de srid kyi bar du BaDo. 6a **gyur te**] ’gyur te L. 6b **gyur pa**] brgyur pa Ba. 7 **gang**] gang nga Do; om. LSZ. 8a **bstan pa’i**] om Ba. 8b **dag**] om. BaDoLSZ. 8c **gcig tu**] gcig bu Do. 8–9 **bdun gyi**] tshogs kyi LSZ. 9a **mchod**] mchos L. 9b **gcig**] cig Ba.

6–9 cf. Bu ston’s **Chos ’byung** II: **dga’ ba’i bshes gnyen gyi rtogs brjod** *las* / ’dzam bu’i gling pa’i mi rnams kyi tshe lo bdun brgya par gyur pa na / gnas brtan chen po bcu drug gis sa’i steng na / sangs rgyas shā kya thub pa’i bstan pa’i chos kyi tshogs ji snyed bzhugs pa thams cad gcig tu bsdus nas rin po che sna bdun gyi mchod rten byas te [ed. Lokesh Chandra 1971: 875 = 122a46].

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a. BaLSZ: ’das nas /. b. L: dang /. c. BaDoLSZ: byon nas /. d. BaDo: ston par byed do //; L: ston par byed cing /. e. BaDo: sbyin par byed /; LSZ: ’byin par byed de /. f. BaDoLSZ: na /. g. BaLSZ: ’di na /.

[D2]

[1)] kun nas bskor nas skyil mo krung bcas te[a] 'dug nas[b] 'di skad ces bcom
ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs
3 rgyas shā kya thub pa de la 'dud pas phyag 'tshal lo[c] zhes brjod de /[d] [2)] phyag
byas nas[e] phung po lhag ma med pa'i mya ngan las 'das pa'i dbyings su yongs
su mya ngan las 'da' bar 'gyur ro // [3)] rin po che sna bdun gyi mchod rten de
6 yang nub nas[f] 'og gi gser gyi sa gzhi gang yin pa de la gnas so // [4)] de nas bcom
ldan 'das[g] shā kya thub pa'i bstan pa dam pa'i chos nub par 'gyur ro //[h] [5)] de
nas de'i rjes la rang sangs rgyas bye ba phrag bdun 'jig rten du 'byung ngo //

1a **bskor**] skor Do, bskon L. 1b **skyil mo krung**] dkyil mo dkrung Do, dkyil mo krung L, skyil mo dkrung Q. 3a **de**] om. NQ. 3b **zhes brjod de**] zhes brjod do NQ. 3–4 **phyag byas**] phyag 'tshal L. 4a **mya ngan las**] LSZ; yongs su mya ngan las BaDDoNQ. 4b **'das pa'i**] 'da' ba'i LSZ. 5a **las**] la L. 5b **'gyur ro**] gyur to BaDo. 5c **de yang**] de 'ang SZ. 6a **gyi sa**] kyis D. 6b **gzhi**] bzhi L. 7 **'gyur ro**] gyur to BaDoLSZ. 8 **'byung**] byung BaDo.

1–8 cf. Bu ston's **Chos 'byung** II: der bzhugs pa la kun nas bskor te skyil krung bcas te 'dug nas bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas shā kya thub pa la phyag 'tshal lo zhes brjod de phyag byas nas gnas brtan de dag kyang lhag med du mya ngan las 'da' la rin po che sna bdun gyi mchod rten de yang nub nas 'og gi gser gyi sa gzhi la gnas par 'gyur zhing de nas bcom ldan 'das shā kya thub pa'i bstan pa dam pa'i chos nub par 'gyur ro // de nas de'i rjes la rang sangs rgyas bye ba phrag bdun 'jig rten du 'byung bar 'gyur ro // [ed. Lokesh Chandra 1971: 875–876 = 122a6–b1]

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a. L: bcas te /. b. DoSZ: 'dug nas /. c. BaDoL: phyag 'tshal lo //. d. BaDoLSZ: om.; NQ: zhes brjod do //. e. BaSZ: phyag byas nas /, L: phyag 'tshal nas /. f. BaLSZ: nub nas /. g. Ba: bcom /ldan\ 'das. h. Do: nub par gyur to /.

[E1]

[1)] de nas mi rnams kyi tshe lo brgyad khri bar gyur pa na[a] de bzhin gshegs pa
dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas byams pa zhes bya ba[b] 'jig
3 rten du 'byung ngo //[c] [2)] de'i tshe 'dzam[d] bu'i gling ni 'byor pa[e] rgyas pa / bde
ba /[f] lo legs pa / mi dang[g] skye bo mang pos yongs su gang zhing /[h] [3)] bya
gag 'phur ba tsam na[i] grong khyer dang /[j] grong dang /[k] grong rdal dang /
6 ljongs dang / yul 'khor dang / rgyal po'i pho brang yod par 'gyur ro // [4)] lan cig
sa bon btab pas lan bdun gyi bar du 'bras bu rnams skye bar 'gyur ro //[l]

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1 **gyur pa**] 'gyur ba BaD. 2 **dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas**] om. DNQ. 3a **'byung ngo**] byung NQ. 3b **ni**] 'di Do; 'dir Ba. 3c **'byor pa**] 'byor pa dang BaDoLSZ. 3d **rgyas pa**] rgyas pa dang BaDoLSZ. 3e **bde ba**] bde ba dang BaDoSZ; om. L. 4a **lo legs pa**] logs pa Q; lo legs pa dang BaDoLSZ. 4b **skye bo**] skye bos Q. 4c **mang pos**] mang po'i Ba. 5 **grong khyer dang / grong dang**] grong dang / grong khyer dang Do. 6a **'gyur ro**] gyur to Do. 6b **lan cig**] lan gcig BaDo. 7a **lan**] lo DNQ. 7b **'bras bu**] 'bru BaDoLSZ.

1–3 cf. Bu ston's **Chos 'byung** II: de nas skye dgu rnams kyis tshe lo brgyad khri thub pa na de bzhin gshegs pa byams pa 'jig rten du 'byung ngo *zhes bshad do* // [ed. Lokesh Chandra 1971: 876 = 122b1]

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a. DoLSZ: gyur pa na /; Ba: 'gyur ba na /. b. Ba: zhes bya /ba\. c. NQ: byung /.
d. Ba: /'\dzam. e. BaDoLSZ: 'byor pa dang /. f. DoNQ: om. g. SZ: mi dang /.
h. DoLSZ: om. i. SZ: tsam na /. j. L: om. k. BaDo: om. l. N: 'gyur ro /.

[E2]

1) de'i nyan thos 'dus pa yang gsum du 'gyur te / 2) 'dus pa dang po la ni nyan thos 'dus pa bye ba[a] phrag dgu bcu rtsa drug 'byung bar 'gyur ro // 'dus pa
3 gnyis pa la ni nyan thos 'dus pa bye ba phrag dgu bcu rtsa bzhi[b] 'byung bar 'gyur ro // 'dus pa gsum pa la ni[c] nyan thos bye ba phrag dgu bcu rtsa gnyis kyi 'dus pa chen po 'byung bar 'gyur ba yin te[d] /[e]

1a **de'i**] 'di'i N. 1b **yang**] lan BaDoLSZ. 1c **'gyur te**] 'byung te Do. 2 **'dus pa bye ba**] bye ba BaDoLSZ. 3a **'dus pa bye ba**] bye ba BaDoLSZ. 3b **dgu bcu**] drug bcu Do. 5a **kyi**] kyis NQ. 5b **'dus pa chen po**] 'dus pa chen po 'ang SZ, 'dus pa chen po yang L. 5c **'gyur ba yin te**] 'gyur ro LSZ, 'gyuro te Ba, 'gyur te Do.

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a. Ba: bye /ba\. b. Do: dgu bcu rtsa bzhi ∴ba∴. c. Ba: la ni /. d. Ba: 'byung bar /'gyuro\ te. e. Do: om.; LSZ: 'gyur ro //.

[F1.1]

[1)] gang[a] ’di dag ni sbyin pa po dang[b] sbyin bdag yin te /[c] yang de dag[d] gis gzhan du[e] bcom ldan ’das shā kya thub pa’i gsung rab la sangs rgyas la dge ba’i rtsa
3 ba bskrun zhing bya ba byas par gyur pa yin te / [2)] ’di lta ste /[f] gser gyi rang bzhin dang / dngul gyi rang bzhin dang / bai ḍū rya’i rang bzhin dang / shel gyi rang bzhin dang / rin po che’i rang bzhin dang / ra gan gyi dngos po dang /
6 khar ba’i dngos po dang / mu tig dang / lcags kyi rang bzhin dang / zangs kyi dngos po dang / tsan dan gyi rang bzhin dang / a ka ru’i rang bzhin dang / dung gi rang bzhin dang / rwa’i rang bzhin dang / ba so’i rang bzhin dang /[g]
9 sa’i rang bzhin dang / sna tshogs pa’i rang bzhin dang / rus pa’i rang bzhin rnams las sku gzugs sam[h] mchod rten bzhengs su gsol zhing / [3)] tha na sor mo tsam gyi sku ’am[i] mchod rten bzhengs su gsol bas[j] dge ba’i rtsa ba bskyed pa

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1a **’di**] om. Ba. 1b **gzhan**] bzhin L. 2 **sangs rgyas la**] sangs rgyas las BaDoLSZ. 3a **zhing**] cing BaDoLSZ. 3b **gyur pa**] ’gyur ba BaDo. 4 **bai ḍū rya’i**] bye du rya’i Do. 5a **rin po che’i**] rin po’i Do. 5b **ra gan gyi dngos po**] ra gan gyi rang bzhin LSZ. 6a **khar ba’i**] mkhar ba’i NQ, ’khar ba’i SZ, ’khor ba’i L; khar bas Ba. 6b **mu tig**] mu tig gi dngos po Do. 7a **tsan dan gyi rang bzhin**] tsanda gyi rang bzhin Ba; tsan dan gyi dngos po LSZ. 7b **a ka ru’i ... dang**] om. Ba. 8 **rwa’i**] ra’i NQ. 9a **sa’i**] rtswa’i S, rtsa’i LZ; rtswa dang sa’i BaDo. 9b **sna tshogs pa’i**] sna tshogs kyi LSZ. 9c **rus pa’i**] rus pas Ba. 10 **rnams las**] dang sa las D, dang sa la NQ. 11a **gyi sku ’am**] gyis sku’i NQ; gyi sku gzugs sam BaDo. 11b **gsol bas**] gsol zhing LSZ; gsol ba’i BaDo. 11c **rtsa ba**] rtsa bas BaDo. 11d **bskyed pa**] om. BaDoNQLSZ.

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a. Do: *ditto*. b. BaDoLSZ: sbyin pa po dang /. c. Do: om. d. Ba: de /da\g. e. Ba: gzhan du /. f. BaDo: om. g. BaDoLSZ: ba so’i rang bzhin dang / rwa’i rang bzhin dang /. h. LSZ: sku gzugs sam /. i. BaDoLSZ: tsam gyi sku ’am /, or tsam gyi sku gzugs sam /. j. LSZ: gsol zhing /.

[F1.2]

1) de dag thams cad[a] bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang
dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas byams pa'i gsung rab la[b] mi'i 'thob pa[c] rab tu
3 thob nas /[d] 2) 'dus pa dang po la dad pa dang ldan pas rab tu byung nas[e] 3) skra
dang kha spu bregs te[f] chos gos bgos nas[g] khyim nas khyim med par rab tu
byung ste[h] / 4) smon lam ji lta ba bzhin du yongs su mya ngan las 'da'o //
6 5) tshe dang ldan pa dag de dag ni re zhig sangs rgyas la dge ba'i rtsa ba bskrun
pa yin no //[i]

2a **gsung rab**] gsung rabs Ba. 2b **'thob pa**] thob pa Ba; lus thob pa L, lus thos par SZ. 3a **la**] la ni LSZ. 3b **dad pa**] dang ba rang dang pa D; dang ba dad pa NQ. 3c **rab tu**] khyim nas BaDoLSZ. 4a **chos gos bgos**] chos gos ni bgos LSZ; chos gos gyon Ba, chos gos Do. 4b **khyim nas**] om. BaDoNQ. 4c **byung ste**] byung te NQ; byungo Ba. 5a **bzhin du**] zhin du Z. 5b **las**] om. L. 6 **de dag ni re zhig**] de dag ni re shig BaDoL; re zhig DNQ.

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a. Ba: de dag thams cad /. b. Ba: gsung rabs la /. c. Do: mi'i .. pa (illegible traces of letters being erased are vaguely visible). d. Do: om. e. L: rab ty byung nas /. f. BaLS: bregs te /. g. Do: chos gos /nas\. h. Do: rab tu ∴ra∴ byung ste. i. Do: yin no /.

[F2.1]

[1)] yang gang dag snang ba chos kyi phung po brgyad khri po bcom ldan ’das shā kya thub pa’i chos kyi bdud rtsi la dge ba’i rtsa ba bskyed par gyur cing /

3 [2)] [+]skyed du bcug cing /[a] bris pa dang[b] /[c] ’drir bcug pa dang / bklags pa dang / klog tu bcug pa dang /

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1 **yang gang dag**] gang yang dag Do. 2 **bskyed**] skyed LNQ. 3a **skyed du bcug cing**] bskyed du bcug cing SZ, bskyod du bcug cing L; skyed du bcug pa dang DNQ, bskyed du bcug pa dang BaDo. 3b **’drir**] ’dir N; ’brir Ba, brir Do. 3c **bklags**] klag NQ, klags BaDoL. 4a **tu**] du L.

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a. SZ: om. b. Ba: /bris pa dang\. c. BaDo: om.

[F2.1.1]

[1)] gang dag theg pa chen po'i[a] mdo sde zab pa zab par gyur pa[b] stong pa nyid dang ldan pa ni [2)] 'di lta ste /[c] **(1)** shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa dang /[d] **(2)**
3 dam pa'i chos[e] padma dkar po dang /[f] **(3)** rgya cher rol pa dang /[g] **(4)** gser 'od dam pa[h] dang / **(5)** yon tan 'od mchog dang / **(6)** stong pa nyid kyi 'od mchog dang[i] / **(7)** phyag na rdo rje gsang ba la sogs pa dang /[j] **(8)** sgyu ma lta bu'i ting
6 nge 'dzin dang /[k] **(9)** cho 'phrul chen po'i ting nge 'dzin dang / **(10)** bsod nams thams cad bsdus pa'i ting nge 'dzin dang / **(11)** 'phags pa zla ba sgron ma'i ting nge 'dzin dang / **(12)** de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes kyi ting nge 'dzin dang / **(13)**
9 gzi brjid dang ldan pa'i ting nge 'dzin dang / **(14)** byang chub kyi ting nge 'dzin[l] dang / **(15)** byang chub bsdus pa dang / **(16)** sangs rgyas thams cad yongs su 'dzin pa dang /

1a **dag**] zhig BaDoLSZ. 1b **zab pa**] om. LSZ; zab mo BaDo. 1c **zab par**] zob par N. 2 **ni**] om. BaDoLSZ. 3 **rgya cher**] rgya chen Do; rgya char N. 5a **phyag na**] phyag ni Z. 5b **sgyu**] rgyu Q. 6 **cho**] chos L. 7a **thams cad**] thams cad la D; thams cad du N. 7b **bsdus**] 'dus BaDo. 7c **sgron**] bsgron Q. 8a **kyi**] gyi Do, kyis L. 9 **dang ldan pa'i**] ldan pa'i LSZ. 10 **bsdus**] 'dus BaDo.

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a. Do: chen po'ï. b. LSZ: gyur pa /. c. BaDo: dang ldan pa / 'di lta ste. d. Do: om. e. Do: ∴sgyu ma'i∴ dam pa'i chos. f. Do: om. g. Do: om. h. Ba: gser /'od\ dam pa. i. Do: \stong pa nyid kyi 'od mchog dang/ (added on the top margin, with its location in the folio indicated by a specific symbol). j. D: om. k. Do: om. l. Do: byang chub /gyi\ ting nge 'dzin.

[F2.1.2]

(17) glang po'i rtsal dang / **(18)** sprin chen po dang /[a] **(19)** sor mo'i phreng ba dang / **(20)** lang kar gshegs pa dang /[b] **(21)** yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa chen
3 po dang / **(22)** zla ba'i snying po dang /[c] **(23)** nyi ma'i snying po dang / **(24)** nam mkha'i snying po dang / **(25)** sa'i snying po dang /[d] **(26)** byams pas zhus pa dang / **(27)** tshangs pas zhus pa dang /[e] **(28)** legs pa'i mtshan gyis zhus pa
6 dang / **(29)** drag shul can gyis zhus pa dang / **(30)** dra ba can gyis[f] zhus pa dang[g] / **(31)** klu'i rgyal po rgya mtshos zhus pa dang / **(32)** drang srong rgyas pas zhus pa dang / **(33)** brgya byin gyis zhus pa dang /[h] **(34)** lag na rin chen
9 gyis zhus pa dang / **(35)** mi 'am ci'i rgyal po ljon pas zhus pa dang / **(36)** dpa' bo nam mkhas zhus pa dang / **(37)** bu mo 'od ldan mas zhus pa dang /

1a **sprin chen po**] sprin chen LSZ. 1b **phreng ba**] 'phreng ba BaLSZ. 2 **'das**] om. Do. 4a **sa'i snying po dang**] om. L. 4b **byams pas**] byams pa'i Z, byams pa L. 5 **legs pa'i msthan gyis**] legs pa'i 'tshams kyis DoS, legs pa'i mtshams kyis LZ, legs pas mtshams kyis Ba. 6a **drag shul can**] drag shul byin BaDo. 5b **dra ba can gyis**] drag shul can gyis Do, drag shul can gyi Ba. 6b **dra ba can gyis zhus**] dra ba can gyis N. 7a **rgya mtshos**] rgya mtsho'i Ba. 7b **drang srong**] om. BaDoLSZ. 8a **brgya byin gyis**] brgya byin gyes D; rgya byin gyis Do. 8b **lag na rin chen gyis**] lag na rin chen gyi Ba. 9a **mi 'am ci'i**] mi 'am cis Do. 9b **ljon pas**] ljon pa'i Ba, ldon pas Do. 9–10 **dpa' bo**] dpa' bo'i LSZ. 10a **ldan**] dang S. 10b **mas**] pas L, bas SZ.

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a. Do: om. b. Do: om. c. Do: om. d. Do: om. e. Do: om. f. Do: drag shul /can\ gyis. g. Ba: \drag shul can gyi zhus pa dang/. h. Do: om.

[F2.1.3]

(38) bu mo rin chen ldan gyis zhus pa dang /[a] **(39)** bu mo gser gyi ’od mchog gis zhus pa dang / **(40)** bad sa’i rgyal po ’char byed kyis zhus pa dang / **(41)**
3 dbang phyug chen pos zhus pa dang / **(42)** gzugs can snying pos zhus pa dang / **(43)** dge ba bzang pos gang gis zhus pa dang /[b] **(44)** lha’i bu legs pa’i mtshans kyis zhus pa dang / **(45)** lha’i bu tsan dan gyis zhus pa dang / **(46)**
6 lha’i bu rang gi rgyan gyis zhus pa dang / **(47)** lag bzangs kyis zhus pa dang /[c] **(48)** seng ges zhus pa dang[d] / **(49)** seng ge[e] rnam par rol pas zhus pa dang / **(50)** dpas byin gyis zhus pa dang /[f] **(51)** gtsug na rin po ches zhus pa dang /
9 **(52)** zung gi mdo dang / **(53)** byang chub sems dpa’i zlos gar dang /[g]

1a **rin chen ldan gyis**] rin po cen ldan gyis L, rin chen mas BaDo. 1b **gis**] gi NQ. 2 **kyis**] gyis NQ; kyi Ba. 3 **gzugs can snying pos**] rgyal po gzugs can snying pos DNQ. 4a **bzang pos gang gis**] LSZ, bzang po gang gis DNQ; bzang pos BaDo. 4b **bu legs**] bu mo legs DNQ. 5a **mtshans kyis**] ’tshams kyis S, mtshan gyis DNQ. 5b **tsan dan**] tsanda Ba. 6a **rgyan**] brgyan Do. 6b **bzangs**] zangs Do. 6c **kyis**] gyis Q. 7a **seng ges zhus pa**] seng ges zhes pa Q. 7b **rnam par**] rna par Do. 8a **dpas byin**] dpa’ sbyin BaDoLSZ. 8b **gtsug**] rtsug Do. 8c **rin po ches**] BaSZ, rin po ces L; rin chen gyis DDoNQ. 9a **zung**] bzung Do. 9b **zlos gar**] bzlos gar Ba, slos kar Do.

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a. Do: /bu mo rin chen mas zhus pa dang\ (added on the bottom margin, with its location in the folio indicated by a specific symbol). b. Do: om. c. Do: om. d. Ba: seng ges zhus /pa\ dang. e. Ba: se/ng\ ge. f. Do: om. g. Do: om.

[F2.1.4]

(54) stag rna'i rtogs pa brjod pa dang /[a] (55) las rnam par[b] 'byed pa dang /[c] (56) blo gros mi zad pas bstan pa dang / (57) blo gros rgya mtshos bstan pa dang /
3 (58) dri ma med par grags pas bstan pa dang /[d] (59) bden pa la 'jug pa dang / (60) ma skyed dgra'i 'gyur ba dang / (61) sred med kyi bu'i 'gyur ba dang / (62) stong 'gyur ba[f] dang / (63) 'dzam bu'i gling 'gyur ba dang / (64) 'dus par 'gyur
6 ba dang / (65) sangs rgyas kyi rgyan dang /[g] (66) thabs la mkhas pa dang /[h] (67) lag na[i] u tpa la dang / (68) sangs rgyas bcu pa dang /[j] (69) chos bcu pa dang / (70) sa bcu pa dang /[k] (71) 'od dpag med kyi bkod pa dang / (72) bde ba
9 can gyi bkod pa dang /[l] (73) dam pa'i chos kyi[m] yon tan bkod pa dang /[n] (74) tshogs kyi bkod pa dang /

1a **stag rna'i**] stag sna'i NQ; rta sna'i Ba, rtag rna'i Do. 1b **las**] lam DNQ. 1c **'byed pa**] Do, 'byed Ba; bshad pa DLNQSZ. 2 **rgya mtshos bstan**] rgya mtshos stan Do. 3 **'jug**] zhugs BaDo. 4a **dgra'i 'gyur**] dgra mi 'gyur SZ, dgra'i gyur Do. 4b **bu'i**] om. SZ. 5a **stong 'gyur ba**] stong 'gyur D; stong par 'gyur ba DoLSZ. 5b **'dzam bu'i**] 'dzam bu LSZ. 5c **gling 'gyur ba**] gling du 'gyur ba BaDo. 7 **u tpa la**] u dpa la BaDo. 10 **tshogs kyi bkod**] tshogs kyis kod N.

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a. Do: om. b. Z: las ∴ma∴ rnam par. c. Do: om. d. Do: om. f. Do: stong /par\ 'gyur ba. g. Do: om. h. Do: om. i. Do: /lag na\ u tpa la. j. Do: om. k. Do: om. l. Do: om. m. Do: kyï. n. Do: om.

[F2.1.5]

(75) rnam dag me tog bsdus pa dang / (76) ’jig rten dag pas bsdus pa[a] dang /
(77) byang chub sems dpa’ dag pas[b] bsdus pa dang /[c] (78) thams cad[d] stegs las
3 babs pa dang / (79) de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad lha las babs pa dang / (80)
rin po che’i[e] tog dang /[f] (81) rin po che’i phung po dang / (82) rin po che’i za
ma tog dang /[g] (83) mdzes pa brtsegs pa dang / (84) rin chen[h] skar mda’ dang
6 /[i] (85) rin chen sprin dang / (86) rin chen ljon pa dang / (87) rin chen gtsug
dang /[j] (88) rin chen ’byung gnas dang / (89) cod pan dra ba can dang / (90)
sdong po bkod pa dang /[k 1)] ’di dag la sogs pa bye ba phrag brgya ni theg pa
9 chen po’i[l] sde snod yin no //

1–2 **bsdus**] sdus Do. 2a **dag pas**] dag par SZ, dag pa’i Ba. 2b **stegs**] sdegs D, bsdegs NQ. 3a **lha**] om. SZ. 4 **rin po che’i**] rin po’i Ba. 5a **tog**] rtog Ba, me tog NQ. 5b **brtsegs**] brcegs SZ, rtsegs Do. 5c **skar mda’**] skar ma da’ N. 6 **gtsug**] rtsug Do. 9 **chen po’i**] chen pa’i Z.

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a. Do: sdus pa ∴byed sgra∴ dang. b. Ba: dag /pa’i\ . c. Do: om. d. Do: thaṁd (skung yig). e. Do: rin po che’ï. f. Do: om. g. Do: om. h. Do: rïn chen. i. Do: om. j. Do: om. k. Do: om. l. Do: po’ï.

[F2.2]

[1)] de bzhin du nyan thos kyi sde snod de / mngon pa'i sde snod dang /[a] 'dul
ba'i sde snod dang / mdo sde'i sde snod dang /[b] [2)] mdo sde'i sde snod gang zhe
3 na / [3)] 'di lta ste / lung ring po dang /[c] lung bar ma dang /[c] gcig las 'phros pa'i
lung dang / yang dag par ldan pa'i lung dang /[d] lung phra mo 'o // [4)] de dag la
ni mdo sde'i sde snod[e] ces bya'o // [5)] mngon pa'i sde snod gang zhe na / [6)] 'di
6 lta ste /[f] dri ba drug dang yang dag par[g] sbyar ba bsdus pa la ni mngon pa'i sde
snod ces bya'o // [7)] de la 'dul ba'i sde snod gang zhe na / [8)] 'di lta ste /[h] dge
slong gi 'dul ba dang / dge slong ma'i 'dul ba dang / ma mo'i phung po dang
9 /[i] 'dul ba'i ma mo ste /[j] [9)] tshe dang ldan pa dag /[k] de dag la ni 'dul ba'i sde
snod ces bya'o //

1a **sde snod de**] sde snod ste Ba, sde snod yin te Do. 1b **mngon pa'i**] mdo sde'i D. 1–2 **'dul ba'i**] mngon pa'i D. 2a **mdo sde'i ... dang**] NQ, mdo ste'i ... dang Ba, mdo sde'i ... ste Do, mdo sde'i ... do LSZ; 'dul ba'i ... dang D. 2b **mdo sde'i sde snod**] om. BaDo. 2–3 **gang zhe na**] om. DNQ. 3 **lung bar ma dang**] om. BaDoLSZ. 3–4 **gcig las 'phros pa'i lung**] cig las spros pa'i lung BaDo. 4a **par**] pa'i Do. 4b **lung phra mo'o**] phra mo'i lung ngo Ba, 'phra mo'i lung ngo Do, phra mo'i lung dang do LSZ. 4b **de dag ni**] de dag la ni BaDoLSZ. 4c **la**] om. DNQ. 5a **mdo sde'i**] mdo ste'i Ba. 5b **mngon pa'i**] chos mngon pa'i BaDoLSZ. 6a **dri ba drug**] dri ba drug pa BaDoLSZ. 6b **bsdus**] sdus Do. 8 **phung po**] LSZ; 'dul ba BaDDoNQ. 9a **ma mo ste**] ma mo'i ste LSZ. 9b **dag**] om. BaLSZ. 9c **ni**] om. BaDoLSZ.

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a. Do: om. b. LSZ: mdo sde'i sde snod do //. c. BaDo: om. d. Do: om. e. Ba: mdo sde'i /sde\ snod. f. BaDo: om. g. BaDoLSZ: dri ba drug pa dang / yang dag par. h. Do: om. i. Ba: dge slong ma'i 'dul ba dang / ma mo'i 'dul ba dang / *ditto*. j. Do: om. k. DoL: om.

[F2.3.1]

1) 'di dag ni[a] skyes pa'i rabs te /[b] rtogs pa brjod pa'i rabs dang / rang sangs rgyas kyi rabs[c] dang / sangs rgyas kyis gsungs pa dang / rang sangs rgyas kyis bstan
3 pa dang /[d] byang chub sems dpas bstan pa dang /[e] nyan thos kyis bstan pa dang / lhas bstan pa dang / 2) 'byung ba bsdus pa dang /[f] chos nye bar bsdus pa dang / 3) tha na tshig bzhi pa'i tshigs su bcad pa gcig gsung bar 'gyur ba
6 yang[g] bklags par gyur pa dang / bzung bar gyur pa dang / glegs bam du bris par gyur pa dang / chos smra ba la mchod par gyur pa dang / 4) de dag dang /[h] rang sangs rgyas la mchod par gyur pa dang /

1a **te**] ste Ba. 1b **rtogs pa**] rtogs par L. 2 **sangs rgyas kyis**] sangs rgyas kyi NQ. 2–3 **rang sangs rgyas kyis bstan pa**] DSZ; rang sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa LNQ, rang sangs rgyas gyi bstan pa Ba, rang sangs rgyas kyi stan pa Do. 3a **dpas bstan pa**] dpas stan pa Do, dpa'i bstan pa N, dpa' bstan pa Ba. 3b **nyan thos kyis**] nyan thos kyi Ba. 4a **lhas bstan pa dang**] lha bstan pa dang Ba; om. Do. 4b **'byung**] byung DDo. 4d **nye bar**] des par Ba, gnyes par Do. 5a **tshig bzhi pa'i**] om. BaDo. 5b **gcig**] cig Ba. 5–6 **'gyur ba yang**] gyur pa 'ang SZ, gyur pa yang L; gyur pa dang BaDo. 6a **bklags**] klag LNQ, klags BaDo. 6b **bzung**] bzang Z. 6c **glegs**] klegs Do. 6d **du**] om. LSZ. 8a **rang sangs rgyas**] nang pa sangs rgyas pa DNQ. 8b **gyur pa**] 'gyur ba NQ.

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a. Do: 'di dag nï. b. Do: om. c. Do: rang sangs rgyas ∴dang∴ kyi rabs. d. Do: om. e. Ba: om. f. Do: om. g. Ba: gyur pa dang /, SZ: gyur pa 'ang /. h. BaDoLSZ: om.

[F2.3.2]

dri dang /[a] phreng ba dang / byug pa dang / spos dang / mar me dang / gdugs dang /[b] rgyal mtshan dang / ba dan dang / [1)] glegs bam la kha dog sna tshogs
3 pa'i gos rnams g.yogs shing dkris pa dang / glegs shing mchog byas par gyur pa dang / glegs thag kha dog sna tshogs pas[c] glegs bam bcings par gyur pas[d] [2)] dge ba'i rtsa ba bskyed pa[e] [3)] de dag thams cad ni[f] bcom ldan 'das de bzhin
6 gshegs pa byams pa'i gsung rab la mi'i 'thob pa rab tu thob nas[g] [4)] dad pas khyim spangs te / [5)] skra dang[h] kha spu bregs nas[i] chos gos bgos te[j] khyim nas khyim med par 'dus pa gnyis pa la rab tu byung ste / [6)] smon lam ji lta ba
9 bzhin du yongs su mya ngan las 'da' bar 'gyur ro // [7)] tshe dang ldan pa dag de dag ni re zhig chos la dge ba'i rtsa ba bskrun pa yin no //

1a **phreng**] 'phreng BaLSZ. 1b **spos**] sbos Ba. 2 **ba dan dang** /] ba dan BaDo, om. DNQ. 3 **glegs**] legs Do. 4 **glegs thag**] glegs bam LSZ. 5a **bskyed pa**] bskyed pas LSZ, skyed pa'i Ba, bskyed pa'i Do. 5b **bcom**] gcom N. 6a **byams pa'i**] byams pas Ba. 6b **gsung rab**] gsung rab bas Do. 6c **mi'i 'thob pa**] mi'i thob ba Ba, mi thob pa DoLSZ. 6d **dad pas**] dad pa'i Ba. 7a **spangs te**] spangs ste DoL, sbangs te Ba. 7b **bregs**] brags N, gregs Ba. 7c **khyim nas**] om. Ba. 8 **byung ste**] byung te NQ. 9a **'da' bar**] 'das par NQ. 9b **'gyur ro**] 'gyuro Do. 9–10 **dag de dag**] de dag SZ, dag BaDoL. 10a **zhig**] shig BaDoL. 10b **bskrun**] skrun Ba. 10c **yin**] yon Ba.

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a. L: om. b. Ba: om. c. BaDo: sna tshogs pas /. d. Do: bcings par gyur pas /. e. Ba: dge ba'i rtsa /ba\ skyed pa'i. f. BaDoLSZ: thams cad ni /. g. BaDoL: rab tu thob nas /. h. L: skra dang /. i. Ba: gregs nas /, Do: bregs nas /. j. BaDoLSZ: bgos te /.

[F3.1]

1) 'di ltar 'di dag ni sbyin pa po dang[a] sbyin bdag yin te / dge 'dun la dge ba'i rtsa ba bskrun pa dang / skyed du bcug pa yin te / 2) 'di ltar spyan 'dren pa
3 bsgrags pa dang / dge ba la 'dzud pa dang / brgyad ston byed pa dang / gso sbyong byed pa dang / rab tu mgron du 'bod pa dang / dge 'dun la mchod ston gsol ba dang / spyan 'dren pa dang / glo bur du spyan 'dren pa dang / zla ston
6 byed pa dang / rtag re skor byed pa dang / chos sgrogs pa spyan 'dren pa dang / lo lnga ston byed pa dang / gtsug lag khang 'bul ba dang / mal stan 'dings pa dang /

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1 **ni**] om. BaDoLSZ. 2a bskrun] skrun Do. 2b **skyed**] bskyed L. 2c **'di ltar**] ji ltar BaDo. 2d **spyan 'dren pa**] LSZ, spyan 'dren BaDo; 'di dge 'dun spyan 'dren pa DNQ. 2e **bsgrags**] sgrags NQ. 3a **brgyad ston byed pa**] brgyad ston pa Do, brgya sbyon Ba. 3b **gso**] so Ba. 4a **mgron du**] SZ, 'gron du BaDoL; mgron tu D, 'gron tu NQ. 4b **mchod ston**] chos ston DoLSZ, chos ston pa Ba. 5a **glo**] blo DoL. 5b **du spyan**] du DoLSZ, om. Ba. 6 **rtag re**] LSZ; stag res BaDDoNQ. 7a **gtsug**] rtsug Do. 7b **'bul**] dbul DNQZ. 7c **'dings**] stobs BaDo.

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a. LSZ: sbyin pa po dang /.

[F3.2]

chos gos ’bul ba dang / gaṇḍī’i rab gnas byed pa dang / sman ’bul ba dang / yo byad ’bul bas[a] 1) dge ba’i rtsa ba bskyed pa 2) de dag thams cad ni[b] bcom
3 ldan ’das de bzhin gshegs pa byams pa’i gsung rab la[c] mi’i ’thob pa rab tu thob nas[d] 3) ’dus pa gsum pa la dad pas khyim spangs te / 4) skra dang kha spu phyi nas chos gos[e] bgos te / yang dag pa’i dad pas khyim nas khyim med par[f] rab tu
6 byung ste / 5) smon lam ji lta ba bzhin du yongs su mya ngan las ’da’ bar ’gyur ro // 6) tshe dang ldan pa dag de dag ni re zhig[g] dge ’dun la dge ba’i rtsa ba bskyed pa yin no //

1a **gaṇḍī’i**] SZ, ganṭi dhe’i Ba, ’gan de’i Do, ’gan ’de’i L; gtsug lag khang gsar pa’i DNQ. 1b **byed pa dang** /] om. Do. 2 **’bul bas**] phul bas BaDoLSZ. 3 **mi’i ’thob pa rab tu**] mi’i thob pa rab tu Ba, mi thob pa rab tu Do, ma thob pa rab tu SZ; mi L. 4a **spangs te**] spangs ste Ba, spangs de Do. 4b **phyi**] byi Z. 5a **gos**] om. Do. 5b **yang dag pa’i**] yang dag par BaDo. 5c **dad pas**] om. DNQ. 5d **khyim med par**] med par Do. 6a **byung ste**] byung te NQ. 6b **’da’**] ’das Ba. 7a **dag de dag**] de dag SZ, dag de BaDo. 7b **zhig**] shig BaDoL. 8 **bskyed**] skyed Do.

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a. Ba: phul bas /. b. BaDoLSZ: de dag thams cad ni /. c. DoL: gsung rab la /. d. BaDoSZ: rab tu thob nas /; L: mi thob nas /. e. Ba: phyi <<nas>>(added on the right margin) ∴dang∴ chos gos. f. Ba: dad pas /khyim nas\ khyim med par. g. Do: re shig /.

[G]

[1)] de nas gnas brtan dga' ba'i bshes gnyen gyis rnam pa de dag rgya cher bshad nas / shing tā la bdun srid tsam du[a] nam mkha' la 'phags nas[b] dge slong de dag
3 gi mdun du rnam pa sna tshogs pa'i cho 'phrul ya ma zung dang ldan pa'i cho 'phrul[c] bstan te /[d] [2)] steng gi nam mkha' la 'dug nas[e] tshe'i 'du byed dang[f] srog gi 'du byed btang ste / yongs su mya ngan las 'das so // [3)] de nas dge slong
6 de dag gis gnas brtan dga' ba'i bshes gnyen la lus bsregs nas[g] mchod rten byas te / dri dang /[h] me tog dang /[i] spos dang / mar me dang / gdugs dang / rgyal mtshan dang / ba dan rnams kyis mchod par byas so // [4)] rnam pa 'di
9 dag 'phags pa nas 'phags par brgyud nas bshad do //[j] [5)] de ci'i phyir zhe na / sbyin pa po dang / sbyin bdag gang yin pa rnams bcom ldan 'das kyi gsung rab yun ring du gnas par gyur to[k] snyam nas dga' ba rab tu bskyed pa'i phyir[l]

1a **dga' ba'i bshes gnyen**] dka' ba'i shes gnyen Ba. 1b **gyis rnam pa de dag**] BaDoL, gyi rnam pa de dag SZ; gyis rnam par DNQ. 2a **shing tā la**] shing rta la LZ. 2b **tsam du**] tsam SZ, rtsam du Ba. 2c **nam mkha'**] nam mkha'i khams BaDo. 2d **'phags nas**] mngon par 'phags nas BaDoLSZ. 2e **dge slong**] DoLSZ, dge sbyong Ba; dge 'dun DNQ. 3 **mdun du**] 'dun du L. 3–4 **rnam pa sna tshogs pa'i cho 'phrul ya ma zung dang ldan pa'i cho 'phrul**] DoLSZ, rnams pa sna tshogs pa'i cho 'phrul ya ma zung dang ldan pa'i 'phrul Ba; cho 'phrul ya ma zung sna tshogs DNQ 4 **steng**] stong L. 5 **dge slong**] om. BaDo. 6a **gnyen**] nyen Do. 6b **la**] gyi BaDoLSZ. 8 **mchod par**] mchod pa BaDoLSZ. 9a **pa nas**] pa Ba, nas / Do. 9b **brgyud**] gyur Do. 9c **bshad do**] bshad de BaDoLSZ. 10 **dang**] da de N. 11 **gyur to snyam nas**] 'gyur ro snyam nas NQ, 'gyur ro zhes BaDoLSZ.

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a. Ba: rtsam du /. b. BaDo: nam mkha'i khams la 'phags nas /. c. L: cho ∴sa∴ 'phrul. d. Do: om. e. BaDoLSZ: 'dug nas /. f. DoLSZ: tshe'i 'du byed dang /. g. DoL: bsregs nas /. h. Ba: om. i. Ba: om. j. BaDoLSZ: bshad de /. k. BaDoL: 'gyur ro //. l. BaDoLS: bskyed pa'i phyir / (Z: shad + ∴?).

[0'] End title and colophon

1) rtogs pa brjod pa 'di 'phags pa dga' ba'i bshes gnyen gyis bshad do //[a]

2) 'phags pa dga' ba'i bshes gnyen gyi rtogs pa brjod pa zhes bya ba rdzogs so //

3 // 3) rgya gar gyi mkhan po[b] a dzi ta shrī bha dra dang /[c] dge slong shā kya 'od kyis bsgyur //

1a **rtogs pa**] rtogs par Do. 1b **'di**] 'i LSZ. 1c **gnyen**] nyen Do. 2a **gnyen**] nyen Do. 2b **gyi**] gyis NQ. 2c **rtogs pa**] rtogs par L. 2d **zhes bya ba**] om. BaDoLSZ. 2e **so**] s.hyo(sic!) Ba, s.ho(sic!) DoL. 3a **a dzi ta shrī bha dra**] a dze te shri bha tra Q, a dze ta shri bha tra N, dge slong ā dzi ta shī ra bha tra LSZ, dge slong a tsi ta shri bha dra Ba, dge slong a tsi ta shra bha tra Do. 3b **shā kya 'od**] shā kya 'ed N, shāg kya 'od Do. 3c **kyis**] kyi Ba. 4 **bsgyur**] bsgyur pa'o Ba, bsgur ba Do.

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a. Ba: om. b. Do: mkhan po //. c. Do: om.

[0] Sanskrit title, Tibetan title, and invocation

1) In Sanskrit: **Ārya-Nandimitra-avadāna nāma**

2) In Tibetan: [A text] called **The Edifying Narrative of the Saint Nandimitra**[1]

3) Homage to all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (*namaḥ sarvabuddhabodhisatvebhyaḥ*)!

[A1]

1) Thus have I heard:[2] 800 years had elapsed since the Blessed One passed into Nirvāṇa. 2) At that time, in a country called Śibika, there was a city called Adhiṣṭhāna.[3] 3) There a king by the name of Vidyāsena[4] dwelt. 4) At that time,

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1. For the sophisticated semantics and historical complexity of the term 'avadāna' in the present context, see above pp. 24–26. The title of this text was registered in Bu ston's catalog as 'The Edifying Narrative of the Arhat Nandimitra' (*dgra bcom pa dga ba'i bshes gnyen gyi rtogs brjod* [Nishioka 1981: 63, §888]). The word 'edifying narrative' is not so much a translation of Skt. *avadāna* as of Tib. *rtogs* (*par*) *brjod* (*pa*). For the unusual understanding that *ārya* (*'phags pa*) qualifies Nandimitra, see below the last footnote of this section.

2. For the problematics of the opening formula, see above pp. 25f.

3. Śibika, aka Śibi, is well-known in the Buddhist tradition as the name of a king (believed to be the Bodhisattva in one of his previous lives) who gave his flesh to ransom a dove or his eyes to a brahmin. Different versions of the stories are preserved in a variety of Indian and Buddhist literary traditions; for a list of texts in which they are found, see Emeneau 1947: 9, n. 37, Ohnuma 2007: 274f. However, the term is also used to designate an ancient Indian tribe which was known to Megasthenês and Arrian as Sibae/Sibae (see Dahlquist 1962: 143f., Wirth and von Hinüber 1985: 625; for a skeptical remark on this connection, see Chantraine 1927: 30, n. 1). According to the Macedonians, the Śibis were probably proto-Pāśupata-practitioners, who observed the *govrata* and worshipped Indra (identified with Heraclês through *Interpretatio Graeca*). A similar kind of observance was performed by the king of Śibis (*śaibyo rājā*), as we know from a passage of the **Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa** II.113, see Diwakar 2013: 116–122. Moreover, Śibi is counted as one of the 16 countriess in the **Mahāvastu**, cf. *śivi-daśārṇāṃ* [ed. Senart 1.34]. The only occurrence in Chinese sources, in which Śibi is referred to as a country (Chin. shīpí guó 尸毘國), is found in the **Dasheng bensheng xindiguan jing** 大乘本生心地觀經 (cf. T159, 3.295c11), a text allegedly translated by Prajña in 790 AD, which is probably not a genuine translation. For a discussion of this text with references, see Yoritomi 1976: 15–31. Would it be conceivable that Śibi(ka) was originally the name of the tribe/country and later on transferred to the king of the same lineage? As to the whereabouts of the Śibis' country, there is almost no textual evidence. According to three Chinese and Korean pilgrims who traveled to India from the 5th to the early 8th century (Kuwayama 1992: 124f.), a pilgrimage site located somewhere between Gandhāra and Uḍḍiyāna was believed to be the place where King Śibi

in the realm of the king Vidyāsena, a monk by the name of Nandimitra dwelt – [4a)] [He was] absorbed in the eight emancipations (*aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyin*),[5] endowed with the six extraordinary faculties (*ṣaḍabhijña*),[6] great in power [and] might (*maharddhiko mahānubhāvaḥ*).[7] [4b)] [He] knew the mental behavior (*cittacarita*)[8] of sentient beings – even of ants and small insects

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saved the dove, therefore a stūpa was erected there. If Kuwayama Shōshin's identification is correct, the site is to be found in present-day Buner, Pakistan. Although it cannot be overemphasized that legends and hearsay are not always reliable as historical evidence, the records at least indicate that, in the collective memory of a significant number of Indian Buddhists over these centuries, King Śibi and his country were related to the northwestern borderlands of Pakistan.

The capital of King Śibi is mentioned in some sources related to the (Mūla)sarvāstivāda school as Śibighoṣā/Śivaghoṣā, see BHSD s.v.; but, according to some Chinese sources, the city where he resided is called típódǐ 提婆底 (MChin. *dej-ba-tej* < *Deva*(*va*)*tī* [T160, 3.333b12f.]) or típóbátí 提婆拔提 (MChin. *dej-ba-bat-dej* < *Devavatī* [T202, 4.351c7]); for the reconstruction of the Sanskrit form, see Akanuma 1931: 157. The tentatively reconstructed name Adhiṣṭhāna is based on Tib. *byin gyis brlabs pa*, and is by no means certain, since, to the best of my knowledge, no Indian city under a similar name is ever attested. It could have been a misunderstanding of the translators to render Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna* as a typonym, given that the word is also a technical term meaning 'city' where the headquarters of local administration were located, as it was used in some seal inscriptions dating from the Gupta period; see Gupta 1989: 98.

4. I adopt the reading in the minority texts *rig pa'i sde* which should go back to Skt. Vidyāsena, rather than that of the majority *rigs pa'i sde* which could presuppose Skt. Yuktisena, a proper name which is otherwise unattested. The decision is based on my theory of the original name of the king, see above p. 21. The two words (*vidyā* : *vijita*) are very similar in their Gāndhārī forms (*vija* : *vijida*), all the more so, as the latter was later adopted as the surname of the Khotanese royal house Viśa' /wi(d)ʒɛ/ (< Skt. *vijita*/*vijaya* [Brough 1962: 91, n. 2]), which is phonetically almost identical to the former.

5. See **Mvy** 1510–1518. For Skt. *aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyin* in collocation with *ṣaḍabhijña*, cf. **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka** VII: *sarve ca te traividyāḥ ṣaḍabhijñā aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyinaḥ saṃvṛttāḥ* [ed. Kern-Nanjio 1912: 179f.] >> sentient beings under the preaching of the Buddha Mahābhijñājñānābhibhū; **Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha**: *ṣaḍabhijñair vaśībhūtair aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyibhir balaprāptair abhijñānābhijñātaiḥ sthavirair mahāśrāvakaiḥ* [ed. Fujita 2011: 4] >> disciples accompanying the Buddha Śakyamuṇi. With *maharddhika* and *mahānubhāva*, cf. **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka** VIII: *gaṇanāsamatikrāntāś cāsya śrāvakā bhaviṣyanti maharddhikā mahānubhāvā aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyinaḥ* [ed. Kern-Nanjio 1912: 202] >> disciples of the Buddha Dharmaprabhāsa.

6. See **Mvy** 201–209.

7. This set phrase not infrequently occurs in the **Mahāvastu** together with *caturdhyānalābhin* and *paṃcābhijña* (15x, as attributes to Ṛṣi[s]), which are similar in nature to *aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyin* and *ṣaḍabhijña* in the present text, only the numbers of dogmatic items in corresponding concept series vary from each other.

8. The compound *cittacarita* is analyzed by Tibetan translators either as a dvandva (*sems dang spyod pa* 'thought and deed') or as a tatpuruṣa (*sems kyi spyod pa* 'mental behavior').

(*antataḥ kuntapipīlikānām api*)[9] – living within [a distance of] many hundred thousand leagues (*yojana*).[10]

[A2]

1) When he was about to pass into complete Nirvāṇa, [he] taught to the assembled community of monks the Blessed One's prophecy [about the decline of his teachings].[11] 2) Thus the monks felt misgivings and asked: "For how long, Elder (**sthavira**), will the true teachings (**saddharma**) of the Blessed One Śākyamuni endure?" 3) He said: "Good people (**bhadramukha**),[12] be

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The latter applies to the present occurrence. There are curious cases in which both renderings occur in the same text alternately, e.g. **Gaganagañjaparipṛcchā** etc.

9. For the set phrase (*antataḥ*) *kuntapipīlika-* + *api*, often used to emphasize that the assertion in the main clause applies to 'all' sentient beings (*prāṇin*/*sattva*), see BHSD s.v. **kunta-pipīlika**, SWTF s.v. **kunta-pipīlika**, °**-pipīlika.** Although the compound is normally construed as karmadhāraya, i.e., 'a kind of small ant, a small insect', the Tibetan translators here clearly analyzed it as dvandva, which is grammatically possible. According to the standard translation idiom, Skt. *kunta* is to be rendered as Tib. *srin bu phre'u* (**Mvy** 4851). But in the present text, it is not translated but transcribed.

10. Hakamaya argues that the whole clause ending in *gnas pa'i* ('[which] live … leagues') is not related to *sems can rnams* but rather juxtaposed with *shes pa* and thus understood as an act of Nandimitra, see Hakamaya 2007: 75, n. 7. But his rendering (p. 64): "[He] dwelt in many 8000 leagues with great power and might" (多くの八千ヨージャナもの大威神と大威力とに住して) is not only flawed by a misreading (*brgya* > *brgyad*) but also awkward from the perspective of classical Tibetan syntax.

11. An extended version of the opening is found in the Tshal pa witnesses (i.e., DNQ): 'When (he) was about to pass into complete Nirvāṇa, the assembled community of monks said [to him]: "If anyone like your honor passes away into Nirvāṇa, will the Buddha's teachings not disappear?" He said to them: "No, they will not disappear, [as] the Blessed One taught through prophecy." Despite that, the monks felt misgivings and asked …' I regard it as the result of secondary expansion for the following reasons: First, it is a continuity error in this narrative if Nandimitra claims that the Buddha's teachings will not disappear, since what follows does talk about the decline (cf. *bcom ldan 'das shā kya thub pa'i bstan pa dam pa'i chos nub par 'gyur ro* [D2: 6f.]). Even if just in order to console his monks, an Elder like Nandimitra was not supposed to lie, especially when he quoted the Buddha here as his source of authority. There is no such prophecy of the Buddha, as far as I am aware. Second, the embedded structure of the monks' first question (*'di skad du … zhes smras pa*), albeit abundantly attested in Tibetan translations, is an isolated case in this text.

12. The term *bhadramukha*, literally 'of gracious countenance', is used in the Sanskrit drama to address the other princes of the blood, but also common people, and is, according to the **Nāṭyaśāstra**, "designed to conciliate by attributing to those addressed the

without fear and do not lament nor wail! [4)] Why? Because when the Blessed One was about to pass into complete Nirvāṇa, he entrusted the true teachings to the hands of the sixteen Great Elders (*mahāsthavira*), for the purpose of fully purifying the gifts of patrons and donors (*dāyakadānapati*)."[13]

[B1]

[1)] When that was said, the monks said to the Elder Nandimitra thus: "Elder, we do not know those Elders' names!" [2)] The Elder said: "Venerable Ones (*āyuṣmat*)! **(1)** The first Elder's name is Piṇḍola Bharadvāja. **(2)** The second Elder's name is Kanakavatsa. **(3)** The third Elder's name is Kanaka

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qualities they are desired to show"; see Lévi 1890: 129, Keith 1924: 314. Exactly the same usage of the term is attested in some inscriptions of western Kṣatrapas dating from the 2nd century AD. On the basis of this evidence, Sylvain Lévi argued that the rise of the Indian drama is to be attributed to the Sakas; see Lévi 1902: 95ff. For critical reviews of Lévi's hypothesis, see Keith 1924: 69ff., and most recently Bronkhorst 2003: 793ff.

13. For the BHSkt. compound *dāyakadānapati* (plurale tantum), see Karashima 2012: 291 (vol. 3). It is derived from an appositional syntagm of two synonyms (*dāyako dānapati*) which is attested in early Pāli prose, cf. **Suttanipāta** III 5: 87, **Dīgha-Nikāya** I: 137 etc. However, the Tibetan translators interpreted it here as dvandva.

The idea of the purification of gifts (Skt. *dakṣiṇāviśodhana*, Pāli *dakkhiṇāvisuddhi*) is archaic and already attested in canonical sources of Mainstream Buddhism, cf. e.g. **Majjhima-Nikāya** III: 256, where the purport of the passage is that an offering which generates a great result should be purified in terms of both the donor and the recipient – in other words, the efficacy of the gift is contingent on two factors: virtuous donor and worthy recipient. In this context, 'to purify gifts' obviously means 'to make gifts fruitful', cf. **Papañcasūdanī** VI: 226 *dāyakato visujjhatīti mahapphalabhāvena visujjhati, mahapphalā hotīti attho* "'It is purified in terms of the donor" means "it is purified through the existence of a great fruit", [to wit,] "there is a great fruit".'. For the Skt. version of the fourfold purification, see the **Saṅgītisūtra** IV 27 [ed. Stache-Rosen 1968: 107–108]. Cf. **Zambasta** 22.96: *tto ttä biśśä ggāṭhā ysīnīta kye mamä śśāśiña ṣṣadda. ka ni ttrāmu dakṣiṇo śśūhā ta ku parsīndi dukhyau jsa* "(The Buddha said to the sixteen Elders:) Thus have all these householders who are faithful in my *śāsana* been entrusted to you. May you provide for them such favour that they may escape from woes." [ed. and tr. Emmerick 1968: 302–303; underline mine]. Emmerick's interpretation of *dakṣiṇo śśūh-* 'to provide favor' is not superior to Leumann's ("Ehrengabe (an den Orden) sich empfehlen" [Leumann 1933–36: 252]). I have treated the multivalent Khot. verb root *śśūh-* in Chen/Loukota 2018: 164f., and pinned down the meaning 'to cleanse, purify' as part of its semantic range. So the second hemistich should rather be translated as follows: 'May you so purify their gifts (i.e., those of the faithful householders) that they may escape from woes.'

Bharadvāja.[14] **(4)** The fourth Elder's name is Abhedya. **(5)** The fifth Elder's name is Vālkala.[15] **(6)** The sixth Elder's name is Bhadra. **(7)** The seventh Elder's name is Kālika.[16] **(8)** The eighth Elder's name is Vatsīputra.[17]

[B2]

(9) The ninth Elder's name is Gopaka.[18] **(10)** The tenth Elder's name is Panthaka. **(11)** The eleventh Elder's name is Rāhula. **(12)** The twelfth Elder's name is Nāgasena. **(13)** The thirteenth Elder's name is Iṅgita.[19] **(14)** The

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14. In almost all the witnesses, the Elder's name is given as *ba ra dwa dza/tsa* (Skt. *bharadvāja*), whilst only Ba testifies to a reading with *ser sbyan*, which, in light of the Chin. and Khot. parallels both containing *kanaka* as part of the Elder's name and of the name by which the Elder was known to later Tibetan Buddhists (i.e., *bha ra dwa dza gser can*), should be regarded as the most conservative one among all the variants.

15. The Elder was known to later Tibetan Buddhists as *ba ku la*, which seems to be a transcription of its Skt. counterpart. Tib. *shing shun can* 'made of bark' should go back to Skt. *vālkala* 'id.', which would give Middle Indic **va(k)kula* after the labialization of the middle syllable (cf. Khot. *bakkulä*, Skt. *valkuta* 'bark' [PW s.v.]).

16. The Elder's name Skt. *kālika* is translated in Tibetan either as *nag po* 'black' [the present text] or as *dus ldan* 'having time' [the alternate list]. The dichotomy has its root in the ambiguity of post-Vedic Skt. *kāla*, in which Ved. *kālá* 'time' and non-Ved. *kāḷa* 'black' (cf. Lüders 1923: 300f. = 1940: 553f.) converged.

17. The Elder's name is attested in the alternate list as *rdo rje mo'i bu*, which translates Skt. *vajrīputra* (cf. Pāli *vajjīputta*) and comes closer to the Chin. and Khot. parallels. Since all the witnesses available to us unanimously attest a reading *bad sa'i bu*, the so far reconstructible archetype can only be *vatsīputra*, which is, in all likelihood, what the Tibetan translators read from their Vorlage. The variation *vajjī-/vatsī-* seems to have occurred quite early in the textual transmission of Mainstream canonical sources, and may well have originated in the archaic collocation of the synonymous pair *vrájya* 'belonging to a cattle-shed' [**Vājasaneyi-Saṃhita** XVI 44]/*vatsá* 'calf', cf. e.g. **Atharvaveda [Śaunakiya]** IV 38,7 *ayáṃ vrajá ihá vatsā́ṃ ní badhnīmaḥ* 'This is a cattle-shed, here do we bind the calf'.

18. The Elder's name Skt. *gopaka* is analyzed by Tibetan translators differently: *ba lang skyong* 'cowherd' [the present text] is based on a tatpuruṣa-reading of the compound (*go-paka*), whilst *sbed byed* 'shelterer' [the alternate list] shows that the compound is understood as a nomen agentis of the root *GOP* 'to conceal, protect' [**Ṛgveda**+].

19. The Elder was better known to later Tibetan Buddhists, especially through the alternate text, under the name *yan lag 'byung* 'born from limbs' (Skt. *aṅgaja*). In the present text, however, he is named *zur gyis shes* 'knowing indirectly, by hints' (Skt. *iṅgita*). Taking into account the various forms attested in all the three languages, I tend to conclude that the Elder's name seems to be protean and can only be tentatively described as *æṅgæXa (X = *j*, *d*/*t*, *l*; for the sound changes *j* : *d*, *-d-* > *-l-* in Middle Indic, see von Hinüber 2001: 149, 168). For the possible archetype of this proper name, i.e., *aṅgada*/*aṅgaja*, see Akanuma 1931: 38.

fourteenth Elder's name is Vanavāsin. **(15)** The fifteenth Elder's name is Ajita. **(16)** The sixteenth Elder's name is Cūḍapanthaka.[20] [1)] Those Elders possess the three knowledges (*traividya*),[21] know the three Baskets [of the teachings] (*traipiṭaka*), [and] are detached from the passions of the triple universe (*traidhātukavītarāga*).[22] [2)] Having preserved and prolonged [their] life through magical power (*ṛddhibalenāyur adhiṣṭhāya*),[23] they stay [in this world] by order of the Blessed One,[24] and fully purify the gifts of patrons and donors."

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20. The first component of the Elder's name is rendered in Tibetan either as *gtsug* 'crest' (Skt. *cūḍa*) [the present text] or as *phran* 'small' (Skt. *kṣudra*, Pāli *cūḷa*/*culla*) [the alternate list]. For the variation *-ḍ-* : *-ḷ-*/*-l-*, see von Hinüber 2001: 166f. The curious Pāli form presupposes an intermediate stage **chulla* (< pre-Ved. **kṣud-lá*), the loss of its initial aspiration was explained by Hermann Berger through the word's expressivity which more often than not results in this kind of sound change, see Berger 1955: 73.

21. See BHSD s.v. **traivedya**.

22. The compound is abundantly attested in the set phrase *arhant- saṃvṛtta- traidhātukavītarāga- samaloṣṭakāñcana- ākāśapāṇitalasamacitta- vāsīcandanakalpa- vidyābhijñāpratisaṃvitprāpta- bhavalābhalobhasatkāraparāṅmukha- sendropendrāṇāṃ devānāṃ pūjya- mānya- abhivādya- ca saṃvṛtta-* (**Avadānaśataka**, **Divyāvadāna**, **Saṅghabhedavastu** etc.) as an attribute to Arhats.

23. Here supernatural power undoubtedly refers to preserving power (*ādhiṣṭhānikī ṛddhi*). In **Abhidharmakośabhāṣya** VII 34 [ed. Pradhan 1975: 416], Vasubandhu mentions four kinds of 'perfection of supernatural power' (*prabhāvasaṃpad*) of Buddhas, the second of which refers to the abandonment and preservation of one's own life (*āyurutsargādhiṣṭhānavaśitasaṃpad*), cf. la Vallée Poussin 1925: 83. In that context, as in ours, the verb *adhi-ṢṬHĀ* apparently means 'to preserve, prolong', as was explained by Yaśomitra, cf. **Abhidharmakośavyākhyā** [ed. Wogihara 1932–1936: 650] *dīrghakāla-avasthānam adhiṣṭhānam iti*. It is noteworthy that this supernatural power, which is one of the six extraordinary faculties (*abhijñā*), is not a quality exclusive to Buddhas, but common to Arhats, or even to worldlings (*pṛthagjana*), see **Abhidharmakośabhāṣya** VII 41 [ed. Pradhan 1975: 421] (cf. la Vallée Poussin 1925: 97). For very informed discussions of this supernatural power in relation to Mahākāśyapa's lasting presence and to the efficacy of mantras from a Dharmakīrtian perspective, see Tournier 2014: 5–18, Eltschinger 2001: 62–74. Hakamaya's translation (2007: 65): "Having sustained and abandoned [their] life ..." (寿を維持し遠離して) is based on a reading of Tib. *bsrings nas* as Skt. *vyapakṛṣya* 'abandoned', which is problematic in this context and is not attested in the Chin. translation (p. 76, n. 15). Hakamaya is probably misled by the second *prabhāvasaṃpad* of Vasubandhu quoted above (cf. *-utsarga-*). Tib. *bsrings pa* also translates Skt. *dīrghī-KAR* 'to prolong, extend' (Negi s.v.), which makes better sense here.

24. For this phrase as the 'ritual kernel' of the present text, see above pp. 29–31.

[C1]

[1)] When that was said, the monks spoke to the Elder Nandimitra thus: "Elder, we also do not know where those Elders dwell." [2)] The Elder said: "Venerable Ones! **(1)** The first Elder called Piṇḍola Bharadvāja dwells in Godānīyadvīpa, together with a retinue of 1,000 Arhats. **(2)** The Elder called Kanakavatsa dwells in the country Kaśmīra of the North, together with a retinue of 5,000 Arhats.

[C2]

(3) The Elder called [Kanaka] Bharadvāja[25] dwells in Pūrvavidehadvīpa, together with a retinue of 6,000 Arhats. **(4)** The Elder called Abhedya dwells in Jambudvīpa, together with a retinue of 7,000 Arhats. **(5)** The Elder called Vālkala dwells in Uttarakurudvīpa, together with a retinue of 6,000 Arhats.[26] **(6)** The Elder called Bhadra dwells in Tāmradvīpa,[27] together with a retinue

25. No witness testifies to any counterpart of Skt. *kanaka*, which we would expect in the archetype of the Tibetan text in light of the lectio difficilior *ser sbyan* [B1: 6] in Ba, see above p. 170, fn. 14. A restoration might be 'hypercorrect', inasmuch as *kanaka* might have been missing in the Vorlage of the Tibetan translators. Therefore I do not emend the text in my edition, but only restore it in my translation for the sake of consistency.

26. This number is unexpected here. The arithmatic relationship between numbers of Arhats in the sixteen Elders' retinues is unclear, although there seems to have been a certain sequence originally, which became nebulous in the course of textual transmission and thus cannot be reconstructed with certitude. Viewed from the Tibetan version, the most economical theory of a sequence entails at least three emendations (including the present one) and thus has a huge burden of proof: **(5)** 6,000 → 8,000, **(9)** 8,000 → 12,000, **(11)** 1,000 → 11,000. In that case, the sequence could be described as follows (**y** = number of retinue, **x** = serial number of Elder):

$$\mathbf{y} = \begin{cases} \mathbf{1000x} \\ \mathbf{1000(x+3)} \Leftarrow \mathbf{2 \leq x \leq 10} \end{cases}$$

27. Skt. *tāmradvīpa* (cf. BHSD s.v.) is often attested as a name for Sri Lanka, later replaced by *siṁhaladvīpa*. The name was probably derived from earlier forms such as Skt. *tāmraparṇī*, MInd. *tambapa(ṃ)ṇĭ* [Aśokan inscriptions]. For Gk. *taprobánê* 'Sri Lanka' and its various accounts in Hellenistic sources, see Weerakkody 1997, Karttunen 1997: 338–344; for the etymology of the name and its possible connection with metallurgy, see Yuyama 2004: 744–746. Although the same word also refers to a river of Tamilnadu in South India

of 9,000 Arhats. **(7)** The Elder called Kālika dwells in Siṁhaladvīpa, together with a retinue of 10,000 Arhats. **(8)** The Elder called Vatsīputra dwells in Panasadvīpa,[28] together with a retinue of 11,000 Arhats.

[C3]

(9) The Elder called Gopaka dwells on Mount Gandhamādana, together with a retinue of 8,000 Arhats.[29] **(10)** The Elder called Panthaka dwells in the abode of the Devas of the Thirty-three [inhabiting the realm of desire] (*trayastriṃśa*[*deva*]*bhavane*), together with a retinue of 13,000 Arhats. **(11)** The Elder called Rāhula dwells in Priyaṅgudvīpa, together with a retinue of 1,000 Arhats. **(12)** The Elder called Nāgasena dwells on Mount Pāṇḍava, together with a retinue of 12,000 Arhats. **(13)** The Elder called Iṅgita dwells on Mount Vipulapārśva, together with a retinue of 13,000 Arhats.[30] **(14)** The Elder called Vanavāsin dwells on Mount Vaidehaka, together with a retinue of 14,000 Arhats.

[C4]

(present-day Tambraparni), one of the nine divisions of Bhārata-varṣa etc., when it comes to *tāmra*(*parṇī*)*dvīpa*, there is no unambiguous evidence in support of the idea that it refers to somewhere other than Sri Lanka; see Cousins 2013: 21–46. It is thus perplexing that, in this context, *tāmradvīpa* (where Bhadra dwells) is followed by *siṁhaladvīpa* (where Kālika dwells), as if they designate two different localities. Instead of *siṁhala-*, the Chin. version seems to read **saṁghaṭa-* (after Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 10), but **saṁghaṭadvīpa* is, to the best of my knowledge, not attested elsewhere.

28. A *dvīpa* named after Skt. *panasa* 'bread fruit' (Artocarpus heterophylla, cf. Syed 1990: 420ff.) is unknown to me. The Chinese version testifies to a reading which Lévi and Chavannes traced back to Skt. *paraṇa* (1916: 10), which is, however, not attested elsewhere.

29. The isolated reading '100,000' (Tib. *brgya stong*) in Q must be an error.

30. The Tshal-pa variant '3,000' (Tib. *stong phrag gsum* [DNQ]) must be an error, which was already corrected by Hakamaya 2007: 77, n. 26. His conjecture is now borne out by the reading shared by the non-Tshal-pa witnesses.

(15) The Elder called Ajita dwells in Rājagṛha on Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa,[31] together with a retinue of 15,000 Arhats. **(16)** The Elder called Cūḍapanthaka dwells on Mount Yugaṃdhāra, together with a retinue of 16,000 Arhats.[32]

[1)] There is not even the slightest thing which is not known (*jñāta*), or seen (*dṛṣṭa*), or heard of (*śruta*), or intellectually realized (*asākṣātkṛta*) by those Elders. [2)] [Whenever] the monastic community has food,[33] or an invitation to a meal, or the festival on the fifteenth [lunar day],[34] or the endowment of a temple, or the consecration of the gong (*gaṇḍī*),[35] there is not even the

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31. According to the geographical catalogue of the Yakṣas in the **Mahāmāyūrī**, this is where Vajrapāṇi is stated to dwell, cf. *vajrapāṇi rājagṛhe gṛdhrakūṭe kṛtālayaḥ* [ed. Lévi 1915: 30, §3]. Rājagṛha (present-day Rajgir) was dominated by this legendary mountain, situated to the northeast of the city, see Lévi 1915: 61.

32. The Tshal-pa variant '60 000' (Tib. *stong phrag drug cu* [DNQ]) must be an error, which was already corrected by Hakamaya 2007: 77, n. 29. His conjecture is now borne out by the reading shared by the non-Tshal-pa witnesses.

33. Tib. *bzhes pa* translates both 'eaten; food, boiled rice etc.' (~ Skt. *jagdhi*, *bhojana*, *āhāra*, *dīdivi*, *aśita*, *grasta*) and 'taken' (~ Skt. [*prati*]*gṛhīta*), see Negi s.v. Hakamaya's translation "control of the monastic community" (僧の掌握 [p. 67]) is obviously based on the latter. To my mind, the meaning intended by the translator is rather the former.

34. Hakamaya's translation "quindecennial festival (**pañcadaśavārṣika-maha*)" (十五年斎会 [p. 67]) is an attempt at bringing the obscure Tib. term *bco lnga ston* into line with the Chin. counterpart that mentions the famous quinquennial festival of Buddhism (cf. Chin. 五年無遮施會 ~ Skt. *pañcavārṣika*, OKhot. *paṃjavaṣṣī*, TochB. *pañcwarṣik*, Uighur pančvrsık). Alternatively, he suggests an emendation of *bco* to *lo* (p. 77, n. 30), which is, however, not (yet) borne out by any variant reading. Nonetheless, the term *lo lnga ston* in clear reference to the quinquennial festival occurs later in this text [F3.1: 7]. Therefore, the possibility suggested by Hakamaya is at least not to be excluded. Here I translate the Tibetan text as it stands ('festival on the fifteenth lunar day', cf. *brgyad ston* 'festival on the eighth lunar day'), rather than as Hakamaya does, since a quindecennial festival (**pañcadaśavārṣika*) is completely unheard-of and thus too bold a conjecture.

35. The gong (Skt. *gaṇḍī*), the striking of which calls the monks to assemblies such as monastic repasts, the *poṣadha* ceremony, meditation, the recitation of sūtras, debate etc.; see Hu-von Hinüber 1991: 740–749; and 1994: 291 (esp. n. 4, with further references). It is nowadays still used in the Tibetan monastic traditions in Mongolia to signify the beginning of the *poṣadha* ritual; for fieldwork reports and anthropological analyses from the perspective of material culture, see Sobkobvyak 2015: 685–722. The significance of the *gaṇḍī* resulted in the emergence of the rites of *gaṇḍī* consecration (Skt. *pratiṣṭhā*, Tib. *rab gnas*), exemplified by the **Gaṇḍīsūtra** translated into Tibetan (Ōtani no. 964/Tōhoku no. 298), according to which the consecration mainly consists in the recitation of three lines of verse identifying the *gaṇḍī* with the *dharmakāya*; see Bentor 1992: 2–3. A more or less similar procedure is inherited later in Grags pa rgyal mtshan's manual on the same topic, while the **Kriyāsaṃgraha** attests to a more elaborate, and tantricized variant of *gaṇḍī* consecration, see Sobkobvyak 2015: 709–712. In the absence of any other clear reference to

slightest thing unkown [to those Elders]. [3)] On those [occasions], the group of the sixteen Elders, accompanied by their many retinues, goes to those [locations where the rituals take place] in different guises, and stays [there]. [4)] Thus [they] fully purify the gifts.

[D1]

[1)] In the future, after having passed the advent of an intermediate period [which ends in] warfare (*śastrāntarakalpa*),[36] people will be endowed with ten good [ways of action] (*daśakuśala*[*karmapatha*]), so the [human] lifespan will be prolonged again. [2)] When it reaches one hundred years,[37] those disciples of the Teacher [i.e., the Buddha] will come back to

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consecration in the sūtras, the *gaṇḍī* consecration prescribed by the **Gaṇḍīsūtra** presents a so far singular and idiosyncratic case, as it is free of tantric elements abounding in later Tibetan consecration literature (Bentor 1996: 290–311). Therefore, as Yael Bentor has pointed out, some Rnying ma and Bka' brgyud writers considered it "a source or origin of consecration;" see Bentor 1992: 3. The scarcity, if not sheer absence, of the so-called "sūtra-style consecration" may well point to the antiquity of the non-Tshal-pa variant *gaṇḍī rab gnas*. The omission of *gaṇḍī* in DNQ may well have been ascribed to the Tshal-pa redactor(s) who could have had the later types of consecration in mind, which, albeit found in abundance in the *tantra*s, should have not yet come into being when the present text was composed.

36. This interpretation of Tib. *mtshon gyi bskal pa*, the Skt. counterpart of which should be *śastrāntarakalpa* (Negi s.v. *mtshon gyi bskal pa bar ma*, cf. Pāli *satthantarakappa*) rather than *śastrakalpa* (pace Hakamaya 2007: 67), is based on **Abhidharmakośabhāṣya** III 99 [ed. Pradhan 1975: 187] *kalpasya śastrarogābhyāṃ durbhikṣeṇa ca nirgamaḥ* 'The period (*kalpa*) has come to an end through warfare, diseases, and famine' (cf. la Vallée Poussin 1926: 207). Towards the end of the period, the human lifespan will diminish up to ten years due to the proliferation of bad ways of action (*karmapathādhikyād*); and the havoc accompanying mutual killing will last for seven days; see **Dīgha-Nikāya** III: 73, and **Abhidharmakośabhāṣya** III 98–99 [ed. Pradhan 1975: 187–188] (cf. la Vallée Poussin 1926: 206–209). Cf. also **Vimalakīrtinirdeśa** VII 6, verse 26: *śastra-antarakalpeṣu maitryādhyāyī bhavanti te | avyāpāde niyojenti satvakoṭīśatān bahūn* || [ed. Taishō Univ. 2006: 82] 'During the intermediate periods ending in warfare, they (i.e., the true Bodhisattvas) are meditating on benevolence, [and] direct towards freedom from malevolence many hundreds of crores of sentient beings.'

37. The Tshal-pa variant gives 'eighty years', which is to be corrected against the Chinese parallel that clearly testifies to 'one hundred years', cf. "la longévité des hommes graduellement augmente et arrive jusqu'à cent ans", tr. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 12.

Jambudvīpa, preach the true teachings, and ordain [monks].[38] 3) The lifespan of all mankind will become six hundred years. 4) Up to that point, the true teachings of the Blessed One Śākyamuni will endure. 5) When the lifespan of people becomes seven hundred years, those disciples will bring together collections of the teachings of the Blessed One Śākyamuni – so many as there are on the earth,[39] and build a stūpa of seven precious substances.[40]

[D2]

1) Having completely surrounded[41] [the stūpa, they] will sit down in cross-legged posture (*paryaṅkam ābhujya*) and make the following utterance: '[We] bow down and pay homage to the Blessed One, Tathāgata, Arhat, and Perfectly Awakened One [by the name of] Śākyamuni!'[42] 2) Having paid

38. Tib. *rab tu 'byin par byed* is rendered as "to present, proclaim" by Hakamaya (宣布する; [p. 67]), who traces the verb form back to the Skt. root *pra-YAM* 'to set forth, present'. Actually, Tib. *rab tu 'byin pa* translates both *niś-CAR* 'to go forth, be ordained (as a monk)' and *pra-VRAJ* 'id.', but not *pra-YAM*; see Negi s.v. The meaning 'to ordain (monks)' is also in accord with the Chinese parallel and thus to be preferred, cf. "ils sauvent la multitude innombrable et la font sortir du monde", tr. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 12.

39. This passage is quoted in a slightly different form in Bu ston's **Chos 'byung**, which Obermiller translates: "When the age of men will have the duration of 700 years, the 16 great Elders (Sthaviras) will assemble together all the collections of sacred books belonging to the Doctrine of Çākyamuni wherever they might be", tr. Obermiller 1932: 179. The underlined part does not seem to be an accurate translation of *ji snyed bzhugs pa*, while *sa'i steng na* remains untranslated.

40. For the seven precious substances of which a stūpa etc. are made (different from the seven precious possessions of a *cakravartin*), see BHSD s.v. **ratna (2)**.

41. The quotation in Bu ston's **Chos 'byung** specifies the object(s) surrounded by the Elders: *der bzhugs pa la kun nas bskor te* 'having completely surrounded [the teachings] deposited there'. Obermiller 1932: 179 rendered *kun nas bskor* as "circumambulate", which might make sense in light of the Chin. version; cf. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 13 (emphasis added): "A ces moment ces seize grands Arhats avec leur entourage font le tour du stūpa avec les parfums, les fleurs, et les offrandes habituelles, ils honorent et ils louent. Ils tournent tout autour des centaines et des milliers de fois." But this is not necessarily so obvious in the Tibetan context. For Tib. *kun nas bskor* = Skt. (*anu*)*pari-VAR*/*KṢIP*, see Negi s.v.

42. Hakamaya's construal of the part of direct speech in my translation is different: "As follows, [they] worship and pay homage to the Blessed One, Tathāgata, Arhat, and Perfectly Awakened One Śākyamuni, saying: 'After having paid homage, [we] shall pass into Nirvāṇa in the realm of ...'." (次のように、かのシャーキヤムニ世尊如来応供正等覚者に対して礼拝して帰命して、「〔私たちは〕帰命した後に無余依涅槃界に入滅するであろう。」と述べるのです; [p. 67]). His treatment of the set phrase *'di skad*

homage, [they] will pass into complete Nirvāṇa in the realm of quenching without any substratum remaining (*an-/nir-upadhiśeṣe nirvāṇadhātau*).[43] 3) The stūpa of seven precious substances will also disappear and come to rest on the [place] that is the subterranean golden layer of earth (*kāñcanamayī mahī*).[44] 4) Then the true teachings [and] instructions of the Blessed One Śākyamuni will disappear. 5) Thereafter, seventy million Pratyekabuddhas will emerge in the world.

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ces … zhes brjod de is syntactically awkward, inasmuch as direct speech is normally embedded in the phrase rather than introduced by its second half. As far as this passage is concerned, the quotation in Bu ston's **Chos 'byung** is almost identical with the transmitted text; Obermiller's translation is in accord with my understanding: "They, having seated themselves down cross-legged, they[sic!] will say – Praise be to the Lord, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Perfect Supreme Buddha Çākyamuni! – Having made this salutation, the Elders will pass away into the final Nirvāṇa", tr. Obermiller 1932: 179.

43. For the semantics of Tib. *dbyings* (Skt. *dhātu*) 'realm, sphere', see BHSD s.v. **dhātu (5)** and SWTF s.v. **dhātu 4**, **nirvāṇa-dhātu**. The idea of 'the realm of quenching' (*nirvāṇadhātu*) without a remainder of subtratum (Skt. *an-/nir-upadhiśeṣa*, Pāli *an-upādisesa*), as opposed to that with such a remainder (Skt. *sa-upadhiśeṣa*, Pāli *sa-upādisesa*), originated in the canonical sources of Mainstream Buddhism. I intentionally avoid translating the compound as 'the realm of Nirvāṇa' here, following a theory of Watanabe Fumimaro that *nirvāṇa*(*dhātu*), in its primitive sense, does not refer to the attainment of Nirvāṇa but simply signifies the death of two kinds of Buddhist practitioners: (1) those who get rid of all substratum of continued existence, i.e., the five Aggregates, and will attain Arhatship after death, (2) those who still have a remainder of substratum and will become a Non-Returner (*anāgāmin*) after death; see Watanabe 1961: 537. For Skt. *upadhi*/Pāli *upādi*, quite often equated with the five Aggregates (Skt. *skandha*/Pāli *khanda*), see BHSD s.v. **upadhi**, CPD s.v. **upādi**; for the conflation of these two terms, especially compounded in attributes to *nirvāṇadhātu*, see Hayashi 1938: 586–587. Steven Collins's interpretation (Collins 2010: 39–41 of the *nirvāṇadhātu*) without a remainder of substratum as "nirvana after death", as opposed to "nirvana in life" (i.e., that with such a remainder), is an oversimplified view, if not a misconception, of the state of affairs.

44. For Tib. *gser gyi sa gzhi* (Skt. *kāñcanamayī mahī*) 'the golden layer of earth', see **Abhidharmakośabhāṣya** III 46–49 [ed. Pradhan 1975: 158–159] (cf. la Vallée Poussin 1926: 140–141). As the upper part of the circle of water and gold (*jalakāñcanamaṇḍala*) resting upon the circle of wind (*vāyumaṇḍala*) and space (*ākāśa*), the golden layer of earth, also known as 'the wheel of gold' (*kāñcanacakra*, Chin. jīnlún jì 金輪際), is 320 000 leagues in height and 1 203 450 leagues in diameter. It supports the earth (*pṛthivī*), nine great mountains etc. The Diamond Seat (*vajrāsana*) is resting on no other place than the golden layer, see **Abhidharmakośabhāṣya** III 53 [ed. Pradhan 1975: 161] (cf. la Vallée Poussin 1926: 145–146); for the *bodhimaṇḍa* surrounding the Diamond Seat in Bodhgayā, record in Xuanzang's travelogue, and related archeological evidence, see Lamotte 1987: 199f., n. 1. Apparently, the underlying idea is that the golden layer has greater capacity to support things than any other place in the world, therefore, when the stūpa built by the sixteen Elders can no longer be supported by the earth, it can only plunge into the earth and rest upon the golden layer.

[E1]

1) Then, when the lifespan of people becomes eighty thousand years, the Tathāgata, Arhat, Perfectly Awakened One by the name of Maitreya will emerge in the world. 2) At that time, the Jambudvīpa will become prosperous (*ṛddha*), thriving (*sphīta*), secure (*kṣema*), abundantly provided with food (*subhikṣa*), and crowded with a great multitude of people and human beings[45] (*ākīrṇabahujanamanuṣya*).[46] 3) There will be cities (*nagara*), villages (*grāma*), towns (*nigama*),[47] countries (*janapada*), kingdoms (*rāṣṭra*), and royal capitals (*rājadhāni*), [which are so close together that] a cock [can] fly [from one to another] in a mere single flight[48] (*kukkuṭasaṃpātamātra*).[49] 4) A

45. I am aware how redundant such an expression 'people and human beings' may sound in English. But this is the standardized Tibetan rendering of the compound in question: the Tibetan translators apparently analyzed *bahujanamanuṣya* into *bahu-* and *-janamanuṣya* with the latter understood as a dvandva (*mi dang skye bo mang pos*, cf. **Mvy** 6417 *skye bo dang mi mang pos gang ba*). This reading, albeit not impossible, is not necessarily plausible from the perspective of Sanskrit philology, since *bahujana* 'many people, a multitude' as a compound is well attested, see BHSD s.v. **bahujana**, **bahujanya, bāhu°**. Moreover, *bahujanamanuṣya* is attested in the **Mahāvastu** as a bahuvrīhi referring to a city, cf. *nagaraṃ … bahujanamanuṣyaṃ* [ed. Senart 1.36], the meaning of which should be, as Edgerton suggested, "whose men [or people] constitute a great multitude".

46. The formulaic set phrase (*ṛddha- sphīta- kṣema- subhikṣa- ākīrṇabahujanamanuṣya-*) is abundantly attested in Buddhist literature (cf. **Divyāvadāna** [30x], **Avadānaśataka** [21x], **Saṅghabhedavastu** [20x], **Lalitavistara** [6x] etc.) as attributes of kingdoms (*rājya*), continents (*dvīpa*), countries (*janapada*), cities (*nagara*) etc. under the reign of a law-abiding king; see Hakamaya 2002: 340, n. 45.

47. The Skt. compound *grāmanigama-* (Pāli *gāmanigama-*) was originally not a dvandva, but a tatpuruṣa meaning 'settling down of a group (of people)', which was still correctly understood by Buddhaghosa. But the reinterpretation of the compound as a dvandva (i.e., 'village and small town') seems to have already permeated through the **Aṅguttara-Nikāya**. See von Hinüber 2015a: 369.

48. For this compound see BHSD s.v. **kukuṭa-saṃpāta-mātra**. It was originally a technical term used in the Vinaya commentaries to set the boundaries between two villages (*grāma*), namely, how far a place from a village should be regarded as another village; cf. **Vinayapiṭaka** IV: 131 *kukkuṭasampāte gāme gāmantare*; **Shisong lü** / **Sarvāstivādavinaya**: 不相接聚落界者，若雞飛所及處 [T1435, 23.32b5] etc. The term then turned into a figurative expression for the extreme vicinity of inhabited places which are very close together in a golden age when the population is so large. For its occurrences in other versions of Maitreya's legend, cf. **Mile xiasheng chengfo jing** 彌勒下生成佛經: 城邑次比，雞飛相及 [T454, 14.423c17]; **Mile da chengfo jing** 彌勒大成佛經: 城邑次比，雞飛相及 [T456, 14.429a23f.]; **Zambasta** 22.115: *baysgu bise āvute śśūjīye naysdä naysdä*

single sowing of seeds will yield up to seven harvests.[50]

[E2]

[1)] He will have three assemblies of 'disciples'[51] (*asyāpi śrāvakasannipātās*

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hämāre. samu hatärra brāhä kṛṅgi ka śätäña āvuto' hīśtä "There will be many houses, villages very close to one another. Only once would the cock rise up if it would come to a second village." [ed. and tr. Emmerick 1968: 306–307].

At least two variants of the compound seem to be attested in the Buddhist traditions: (1) Pāli *kukkuṭasampāda* 'no further than a cock can walk; a cock's walking range', see Cone s.v. **kukkuṭa**[1]. (2) **kukkuṭasaṃvāda* 'no further than a cock's crowing (can be heard)', cf. **Chang ahan jing** / **Dīrghāgama**: 村城隣比，雞鳴相聞 [T1, 1.41c28f.]; **Zengyi ahan jing** / **Ekottarikāgama**: 諸村落相近，雞鳴相接 [T125, 2.787c24f.＝T453, 14.421a29]; **Mile laishi jing** 彌勒來時經: 人民衆多聚落家居，鷄鳴展轉相聞 [T457, 14.434b28]; **Maitrisimit** IV 2902: ///-*lar* .. *taqïγu üni ištilgučä yirda* "[so nah, daß] das Gackern des Huhns gehört wird, ..." [ed. and tr. Geng/Klimkeit 1988: 220–221].

49. The description of the Jambudvīpa in this paragraph is reminiscent of a canonical passage of the **Cakkavattisīhanādasutta** which ushers in an account of the righteous reign of the *cakravartin* king Saṅkha whose rise to the throne heralds Metteya's advent; cf. **Dīgha-Nikāya** III: 75 *asītivassasahassāyukesu bhikkhave manussesu ayaṃ Jambudīpo iddho c'eva bhavissati phīto ca, kukkuṭasampātikā gāmanigamarājadhāniyo* 'Monks! When the lifespan of people becomes eighty thousand years, the Jambudīpa will become prosperous and thriving, having settlements and royal capitals [which are so close together that] a cock [can] fly [from one to another] in a single flight.'. However, there is no mention of the *cakravartin* king in the present text.

50. For similar portents mentioned in other versions of Maitreya's legend, cf. **Mile xiasheng chengfo jing** 彌勒下生成佛經: 雨澤隨時，穀稼滋茂，不生草穢，一種七穫，用功甚少，所收甚多 [T454, 14.424a18ff.]; **Mile da chengfo jing** 彌勒大成佛經: 雨澤隨時，天園成熟香美稻種。天神力故，一種七穫，用功甚少，所收甚多，穀稼滋茂，無有草穢 [T456, 14.429c21f.]; **Zambasta** 22.125: *hatärra kerīndi salye ttīma daso-gyūṃnau rrvīttä. naṣdraunjsa-jsera ni rrvīttä. bāri käḍe bāḍäna beḍä* "They will sow seed once a year; it will grow tenfold. [Weeds] to be pulled out will not grow. The rain will rain just at the right time." [ed. and tr. Emmerick 1968: 306–307]. It is remarkable that the Khot. version testifies to 'tenfold' instead of 'sevenfold'. But on close scrutiny of the microfilm (Vorob'ëv-Desjatovskij/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1965: 242), *daso-* 'ten-' does not seem to be necessarily the primitive reading, since *-so-* was added small below the line while merely *da-gyūṃnau rrvīttä* was written in the space assigned to the second pāda. It would therefore be possible to restore <*hau*>*da-gyūṃnau* 'sevenfold' and attribute the restoration *da*/*so*\- to another scribe who proofread the copy and tried to make sense of the obviously incomplete pāda. To be sure, this hypothesis remains speculative in want of further evidence; but, as far as I am aware, a tenfold harvest as a portent of the advent of Maitreya is unheard-of in Buddhist literature. Kikuchi Noritaka has discussed the motif "a sowing of seeds yields a severalfold harvest" extensively, drawing a parallel to some Daoist scriptures and Chinese texts predating the Maitreya texts quoted above; see Kikuchi 2001: 204–206. He regards the idea as more at home in China, and sees in the motif a case of Chinese influence on the reception of the Maitreya legend in Central Asia. His hypothesis seems to me highly unlikely and should be critiqued on another occasion.

51. It should be noted that the 'disciple' here refers to a realized or advanced one, not an

trayo bhaviṣyanti):[52] 2) **(1)** In the first assembly, there will be 960,000,000 disciples assembled. **(2)** In the second assembly, there will be 940,000,000 disciples assembled. **(3)** In the third assembly, there will be a large congregation (*mahāsannipāta*) of 920,000,000 disciples.[53]

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ordinary member of the congregation. That is to say, the numbers that follow relate to the attainments of the audience.

52. The idea of three assemblies held by a Buddha, at which successively decreasing numbers of his disciples attain Arhatship, is of canonical origin, see **Mahāpadānasutta** 10 [**Dīgha-Nikāya** II: 5f.] for those by Vipassi, Sikhi, and Vessabhu; and see **Mahāvadānasūtra** (of the **Dīrghāgama** of the [Mūla]sarvāstivādins) 6 [ed. Fukita 2003: 40ff.], **Daben jing** 大本經 (of the **Dīrghāgama** of the Dharmaguptakas) [T1, 1.2b22ff.] for those by Vipaśyin and Śikhin (Viśvabhuj only held two assemblies). This paradigm was transferred to the future Buddha Maitreya as his legend was in the making.

53. The three assemblies held by Maitreya, at which respectively 96, 94, and 92 *koṭi*s of disciples will attain Arhatship, are mentioned twice in the **Zengyi ahan jing** /***Ekottarikāgama** [T125, 2.757a18–20; 2.789a17–28=T453, 14.422b29–c12]; the scripture to which the second occurrence belongs was in all likelihood translated by Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (late 4th century AD), despite the received attribution of the almost identical T453 to Dharmarakṣa; see Legittimo 2010: 251–293. This is a trope in various Maitreya-texts. For those translated into Chinese, see **Mile xiasheng chengfo jing** 彌勒下生成佛經 [T454, 14.425b1–3], **Mile da chengfo jing** 彌勒大成佛經 [T456, 14.432b28–c12], and **Mile laishi jing** 彌勒來時經 [T457, 14.435a15–19]. Cf. also **Maitreyavyākaraṇa** 79–81: *prathamaḥ sannipāto 'sya śrāvakāṇāṃ bhaviṣyati | pūrṇāḥ ṣaṇṇavatiḥ koṭyaḥ śrāvakāṇāṃ bhavacchidām || dvitīyaḥ sannipāto 'sya śrāvakāṇāṃ bhaviṣyati | pūrṇāś caturnavatiḥ koṭyo muktānāṃ kleśabandhanāt || tṛtīyaḥ sannipāto 'sya śrāvakāṇāṃ bhaviṣyati | pūrṇā dvānavatiḥ koṭyo muktānāṃ śāntacetasām* || [ed. Liu 2005: 67–68] 'He [i.e., Maitreya] will have, as the first assembly of disciples, the whole 96 crores of disciples who prevent transmigration. He will have, as the second assembly of disciples, the whole 94 crores of disciples who are emancipated from the bond of afflictions. He will have, as the third assembly of disciples, the whole 92 crores of disciples who are emancipated with a tranquil mind.'; **Zambasta** 22.217–218: *kṣei'varänotä kūla hämäre ci arahandoñu buvāre. śätäye saṃdävätä tcohoränotä kūla ce parsändä dukhyau jsa. dädye dvāvaränautä kūla ce arahanda hämäre cä biśśä jita puva'ṇa saṃtsera traṃnda ysaṃthūnau vāmu.* "(At a first gathering) [t]here will be [96 crores] who will realize Arhatship. At a second gathering there will be [94 crores] who will escape from woes. At a third (gathering) there will be [92 crores] who will become Arhats, for whom all fears in *saṃsāra* have been removed, (who) have crossed the ocean of birth." [ed. and tr. Emmerick 1968: 321–322].

At the end of this passage, the Tshal-pa recension attests *yin* (*te*), which is missing in all the other witnesses. The phraseological construction *FUT.* (*pa*/*ba*) + *yin* is used in classical Tibetan as an evidential marker denoting that, in the foregoing sentence, the speaker or the author makes a judgement or surmise concerning the future of others, see Yamaguchi 1998: 308f. There is no need to translate it in English, not only since English, to my knowledge, lacks a corresponding grammatical category, but also because it is unclear whether the Tshal-pa reading precedes the other variants without *yin*. Nevertheless, Hakamaya has made an attempt at translation (p. 68): "I think that it will definitely become thus"〔必ずそうなると私は思う〕のです.

[F1.1]

[1)] [There are] those who are patrons and donors, and those who have otherwise engendered wholesome potentialities (*kuśalamūla*) with respect to the Buddha and done [their] duty under the preaching (*pravacana*)[54] of the Blessed One Śākyamuni[55] – [2)] To wit, [they] have humbly set up images or stūpas [made] from [things which are] made of gold (*suvarṇamaya*), silver (*rūpyamaya*), beryl (*vaiḍūryamaya*), crystal (*sphaṭikamaya*),[56] jewels (*ratnamaya*),[57] brass (*raityamaya*), bell-metal (*kāṃsamaya*), pearls (*muktā*), iron (*lohamaya*), copper (*tāmramaya*),[58] sandalwood (*candanamaya*),

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54. See BHSD s.v. **pravacana (1)**.

55. Cf. **Zambasta** 22.219–220: *śśākyamunä śśāśiña balysä ttäte kuśśalamūla yäḍānda. haura hūḍānda vicittra balysä väte dātä bilsaṃggä* "In the *śāsana* of the Buddha Śākyamuni you performed these merit-roots. You gave various gifts to the Buddha, the Law, the Bikṣusaṅgha." [ed. and tr. Emmerick 1968: 321–322]. To the best of my knowledge, the idea that the rebirth in the three assemblies held by Maitreya is contingent on the wholesome potentialities (with respect to the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṅgha, respectively) created by the disciples under Śākyamuni only occurs in the present text and **Zambasta** 22. This may suggest a close tie between the two texts. In light of the parallel, the first hemistich (i.e., 22.219cd) can be translated in a slightly different manner: 'Under the instruction of the Buddha Śākyamuni, you engendered these wholesome potentialities.' For Khot. *yan-* translating Skt. *janaya-* (~ Tib. *skyed pa*), see Skjærvø 2004: (vol. II) 328.

The concept of 'wholesome potentialities' (Skt. *kuśalamūlāni*; literally 'good roots') originated in the canonical sources of Mainstream Buddhism. The traditional Buddhist understanding of *kuśalamūla*s is a threefold one: non-greed (*alobha*), non-hatred (*adveṣa*), and non-delusion (*amoha*), as opposed to three *akuśalamūla*s (i.e., greed, hatred, and delusion). This threefold classification has undergone a considerable development in the Vaibhāṣika texts which testify to a more systematic threefold typology of *kuśalamūla*s, see Buswell 1992: 109–112. This development goes hand in hand with an extension of the significance of giving as an act of merit-making, which stems from the fundamental faculty of non-greed. In many strands of Buddhist literature, special soteriological value is ascribed to giving, which is considered the *kuśalamūla* par excellence; see Buswell 1992: 123–126. It is also the case in the present text and **Zambasta** 22; N.B. the Khot. verse quoted above explicitly identifies the creation of *kuśalamūla*s with the giving of gifts.

56. For Tib. *rang bzhin* = Skt. *-maya*, see Negi s.v. (esp. p. 6144). The first four adjs. ending in *-maya* (i.e., *suvarṇa-*, *rūpya-*, *vaiḍūrya-*, *sphaṭika-*) are often attested in a quadruple syntagm referring to e.g. the mountainsides of Mount Meru [**Abhidharmakośabhāṣya** III 50], bricks of an altar, drinking-vessels, carriages [**Divyāvadāna**] etc. These four items form the 'hard core', as it were, of the seven precious substances (*sapta ratnāni*; cf. BHSD s.v. **ratna** [2]), which are mentioned at the beginning of the Chin. counterpart: "s'ils emploient <u>les sept joyaux</u>, l'or, l'argent ...", tr. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 15.

57. For Tib. *rin po che'i rang bzhin* = Skt. *ratnamaya*, see Negi s.v. and Mvy 6477.

58. For Tib. *dngos po* = Tib. *rang bzhin* = Skt. *-maya*, see Negi s.v. (esp. p. 995). It might be

aloeswood (*agarumaya*),[59] conch shells (*śaṅkhamaya*), horns (*śṛṅgamaya*), ivory (*dantamaya*), clay (*mṛṇmaya*), paintings (*citramaya*),[60] and bones (*asthimaya*);[61] 3) [they] have created wholesome potentialities by humbly setting up [such] images or stūpas even [of the size] of just a finger (*aṅgulimātra*).[62]

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noteworthy that Skt. *-maya* is rendered as Tib. *dngos po* only in the case of copper and its alloys (i.e., brass, bell metal). The two exceptional variants, i.e., *mu tig gi dngos po* [Do] and *tsan dan gyi dngos po* [LSZ], could be explained away through the influence of the immediately preceding words, i.e., *khar ba'i dngos po* and *zangs kyi dngos po*.

59. According to the **Pādmasaṃhitā**, a Vaiṣṇava tantric text composed between the 12th and 13th century, these two kinds of fragrant heartwood are materials of which images are made; cf. **Pādmasaṃhitā** 32.14 *patimā candanamayī pūjitā śriyam āvahet | patimā cāgarumayī bhuktimuktiphalapradā* // [ed. Padmanabhan et al. 1974: (vol. I) 211].

60. Images made of clay and images in painted form are referred to as a pair in the **Īśvarasaṃhitā**, an important Vaiṣṇava ritual text dated to the 8th or 9th century; cf. **Īśvarasaṃhitā** 17.254–255 ... *yat tu citramayaṃ bimbaṃ bhittikāṣṭhāmbarāśrayam // karmabimbasamopetaṃ nityādisnānakarmaṇi | yac cāpi mṛṇmayaṃ bimbaṃ trividhaṃ cāpi citrajam* // "That idol which is made of pictures resting on the wall, wood or cloth, is associated with the proxy-image of the main idol in the works of daily and other baths; and that which is made of clay is also threefold and prepared with various substances." 19.172 *mānuṣaṃ mṛṇmayaṃ bimbaṃ tathā citramayaṃ dvijāḥ | navīkṛtya yathāpūrvaṃ pratiṣṭhāṃ punar ārabhet* // "O Brahmins! Reviving thus the idol (installed by human beings) made of clay or in painted figure, one shall restart the installation as before." [ed. and tr. Lakshmithathachar 2009: (vol. III) 964–965 and (vol. VI) 1118–1119]. For Tib. *sna tshogs* (*pa*) = Skt. *citra*, see Negi s.v.; pace Hakamaya 2007: 68 (綾: 'twill' ~ Skt. *vicitra*[?]). The Chin. counterpart makes reference to some sort of paintings: "ou s'ils emploient des étoffes de soie ou de fil ou des peintures sur soie ..." tr. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 15.

61. Ivories, bones, and horns are enumerated as precious substances alongside gold, silver, and jewels; one who has a needle-case made of these materials commits a *Pācattika*. Cf. **Prātimokṣasūtra** (of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins) *yo puna bhikṣu dantamayaṃ vā asthimayaṃ vā śṛṅgamayaṃ vā suvarṇamayaṃ vā rūpyamayaṃ vā ratnamayaṃ vā sūcīvigrahaṃ kārāpeya bhedana pācattikaṃ* [ed. Tatia 1976: 28 ~ T1425, 22.391b7ff. and T1426, 22.553c22]. See also Harrison/Hartmann/Matsuda 2017: 289, n. 21.

62. This motif is also used in other sūtras to emphasize the soteriological efficacy of the act of setting up images and stūpas. Cf. **Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra** (in Dharmakṣema's version): 造像及（v.l.若）佛塔，猶如大拇指。常生歡喜心，則生不動國。[T374, 12.491b7f.] '[One who] makes the Buddha's images and stūpas [even as small] as thumbs will be perpetually blissful and reborn in the realm of Akṣobhya.' The section does not belong to the part that finds parallels in the other Chin. and Tib. translations. And **Maitreyasiṁhanāda-sūtra:** *'od srung gis gsol ba | bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku gzugs sor mo'i phyogs tsam zhig bgyid du stsal na yang bsod nams mang du skyed lags na / de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku gzugs ri rab tsam du ma*(om. D) *bgyid*(*bgyis* Q) *du stsal*(*rtsal* Q) *pa lta smos*(*lha mos* Q) *kyang ci 'tshal lags* | [dKon-brtsegs: D Ca 108b4f. = Q Zi 104b6f. ~ T310, 11.512c15ff.] 'Mahākāśyapa said: O Blessed One! A lot of merits will be engendered if [one] orders to make an image of the Tathāgata [as small as] just a finger knuckle, not to mention many images of the Tathāgata [which form a pile as large as] Mount Meru.'

The Khot. parallel in **Zambasta** 22 mentions the making of the Buddha's images alone.

[F1.2]

1) They all will obtain human accomplishment[63] under the preaching of the Blessed One, Tathāgata, Arhat, Perfectly Awakened One [by the name of] Maitreya. 2) With pure faith, [they] will be ordained in the first assembly [of Maitreya]. 3) Having shaven off [their] hair and beards, and having clothed themselves in the religious clothes, [they] will go forth from the household life into the homeless state (*keśaśmaśrv avatārya cīvarāṇy ācchādyāgārād anagārikāṃ pravrajya*). 4) In conformity with [their] earnest wish (*yathāpraṇidhānam*), [they] will pass into complete Nirvāṇa. 5) Venerable Ones! Those, then, are the ones who have engendered wholesome potentialities with respect to the Buddha.

Cf. **Zambasta** 22.221: *ce ttä ce pratäbiṃbā hatäro śśākyamuni balysä yäḍāndä lakṣaṇyau āysäta, vaysña mamä vīrä harbäśśä* [*āta*] "Whoever once made images of the Buddha Śākyamuni equipped with the *lakṣaṇa*s have now all come to me", i.e., to the Buddha Maitreya [ed. and tr. Emmerick 1968: 320–321].

63. The phrase *mi'i 'thob pa rab tu thob nas* occurs thrice in the present text (cf. also F2.3.2: 6 and F3.2: 3f.). Therefore, the obscure word *'thob pa* 'accomplishment', albeit not without variants, cannot be simply dismissed as a casual error. In all likelihood, it goes back to the archetype reconstructible from the witnesses that have come down to us. However, what the context requires is rather such a phrase as *mi'i lus rab tu thob nas* (~ Skt. *mānuṣyakam ātmabhāvaṃ pratilabhya*) 'having obtained human body', which is not infrequently attested in Buddhist texts (cf. **Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā** XXII 3 [ed. Mitra 1888: 402], **Saṅghāṭasūtra** 86 [ed. Canevascini 1993: 38] etc.). The strong likelihood that the Indic original has 'body' instead of 'accomplishment' is brought home by the Chin. counterpart of this phrase: "lorsqu'arrivera le moment où Maitreya le Tathāgata deviendra Samyaksaṁbuddha, excellemment ils obtiendront un corps d'homme", tr. Lévi and Chavannes 1916: 16. If it is the case, a possible scenario to derive 'accomplishment' from 'body' would be *ātmabhāvaṃ* > *bhāvaṃ* > *bhāvanāṃ* (for Tib. *'thob pa* = Skt. *bhāvanā*, see Negi s.v. [esp. p. 2151]); but in want of more evidence it remains speculative. The Them-spang-ma variants of the phrase (i.e., *lus thob pa* [L] and *lus thos par* [SZ]) seem to result from an attempt at reading the meaning of 'body' into the text. Despite the fact that LSZ attest the meaning 'body', it is unlikely to be the primary reading, because the same expression occurs thrice in the present text (i.e., [F1.2: 2], [F2.3.2: 6], [F3.2: 3]), but *lus* is only attested at the first occurrence in LSZ. Thus, a huge burden of proof rests on those who are to argue that it dropped not only from all the other versions but also from the other two occurrences in the same versions. Besides, *lus thob pa rab tu thob nas* seems to me quite redundant and difficult to construe.

[F2.1]

1) Again, [there are] those who have created or made [others] create wholesome potentialities with respect to the nectar of the teachings (*dharmāmṛta*)[64] of the Blessed One Śākyamuni [having] 80 000 doctrinal articles (*aśītir dharmaskandhasahasrāni*) as [their] appearance.[65] 2) [They] have copied, have made [others] copy, have recited, have made [others] recite [the following scriptures]:

[F2.1.1]

1) Scriptures of the Great Vehicle which [are] profound, becoming profound, [and] connected with emptiness (*ye mahāyānasūtrāntā gambhīrā gambhīrabhūtāḥ śūnyatāpratisaṃyuktāḥ*).[66] 2) This is to say:[67]

(1) Prajñāpāramitā #[68]

(2) Saddharmapuṇḍarīka #

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64. Tib. *chos kyi bdud rtsi* 'nectar of the teachings' obviously translates the Skt. compound as a tatpuruṣa; however, it is also possible to interpret *dharmāmṛta* as a kharmadhāraya: 'Law-nectar; i.e., the nectar-like teachings'.

65. For the 80 000 doctrinal articles or items (Skt. *dharmaskandha*, literally 'aggregate of the Law'; according to some traditions, the number is 84 000), see Lamotte 1958: 162–163.

66. Tib. *zab par gyur pa* (Skt. *gambhīrabhūta*[?]) 'become profound' is otherwise not attested in similar context, as far as I am aware. For a very close parallel to the phrase, cf. **Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra** VII 19 *mdo sde 'di dag ni … zab pa zab par snang ba | stong pa nyid dang ldan pa …* (~ Skt. **sūtrāntā ete … gambhīrā gambhīrāvabhāsāḥ śūnyatāsaṃprayuktāḥ …*) "Ces discours … sont profonds et d'aspect profond, associés à la vacuité …" [ed. and tr. Lamotte 1935: 76 and 200], where we have *snang ba* (*-avabhāsa*) instead of *gyur pa*. All the three adjs. are well attested in Mainstream canonical sources as attributes of *dharma*/*dhamma* or *sūtrānta*/*suttanta* in general and thus not exclusively restricted to Mahāyāna scriptures, see Cone s.v. **gambhīra** and SWTF s.v. **gambhīra**, **gambhīrāvabhāsa**, **śūnyatā-pratisaṃyukta**. Given the formulaic nature of the phrase, it may not be far-fetched to assume Tib. *zab par gyur pa* to be somehow derived from Skt. *gambhīrāvabhāsa*. Since the reading *gyur pa*, which can hardly be a variant of *snang ba*, is well established in the witnesses collated so far, the variation might have already occurred on the Indic level in ways not yet clear to me.

67. † = sūtra otherwise unknown; # = counterpart identified in the Chin. version of the present text. In what follows, I give reconstructions of the Skt. titles (with purely hypothetical ones indicated by asterisks).

68. This is not so much the title of a single sūtra as the designation of a text-family.

(3) Lalitavistara

(4) Suvarṇabhāsottama #

(5) *Guṇabhāsottama †

(6) *Śūnyatābhāsottama †

(7) Vajrapāṇiguhya etc. = Tathāgataguhya(ka) #[69]

(8) Māyopamasamādhi #

(9) Mahāprātihāryasamādhi[70] #

(10) Sarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhi #

(11) Ārya-Candrapradīpasamādhi = Samādhirāja #

(12) Tathāgatajñāna[mudrā]samādhi[71] #

(13) Tejovatīsamādhi † #[72]

(14) *Bodhisamādhi †

(15) Bodhisamuccaya † #[73]

(16) Sarvabuddhaparigraha † #[74]

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69. The Chin. version attests to an otherwise unknown title which can be reconstructed as ***Vajrapāṇipiṭaka/garbha-sūtra**, see Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 16. The Chin. counterpart of the underlined component 藏 zàng 'storehouse, treasure' or cáng 'to hide, conceal' is semantically not incompatible with Skt. *guhya*, but is, to my knowledge, not one of the typical renderings of the latter. Paul Harrison suggests to me that this title might be the **Tathāgataguhya(ka)**. His suggestion seems to me quite plausible, insofar as this sūtra is quoted in the **Da zhidu lun** / ***Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa** as **Miji (jingang) jing** 密迹(金剛)經 (< ***Guhyaka[vajrapāṇi]sūtra**; cf. Lamotte 1970: xxxv).

70. **'Phang** 105/**Lhan** 46 has a different title, i.e., Tib. **Cho 'phrul chen po bstan pa** (Skt. **Mahāprātihāryanirdeśa**), see Herrmann-Phandt 2008: 28. To my knowledge, nowhere else is the sūtra referred to as **-samādhi(sūtra)**. The identification is thus tentative.

71. The component Skt. *-mudrā-* (Tib. *phyag rgya*), albeit missing in the Tib. version, is testified to by the entries in early catalogues as well as by the Chin. counterpart.

72. Although the sūtra is not yet identified, the name of the samādhi is attested in the **Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā I**: *asti tejovatī nāma samādhiḥ* [ed. Kimura 2007: 184], and translated by Xuanzang as jù wēiguāng 具威光 'endowed with powerful light', a term also used by the same translator to render the sūtra's title in the Chin. version.

73. The title of its Chin. counterpart points to ***Bodhisattvasamuccayasamādhi**, which is otherwise unattested in the Buddhist sources that have come down to us. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 17 identified this sūtra with T414 & 415, both containing *bodhisattva* and *samādhi* in their titles; but this identification is anything but sure. Bodhi(sattva)samuccayā occurs in the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra** as the name of a goddess, but there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest the existence of a sūtra named after the goddess.

74. Skt. *sarvabuddhaparigraha* "Possession-de-tous-les-buddhas" (tr. Fussman), which also

[F2.1.2]

(17) Hastikakṣya

(18) Mahāmegha

(19) Aṅgulimālīya

(20) Laṅkāvatāra

(21) Mahāparinirvāṇa

(22) Candragarbha[75]

(23) Sūryagarbha

(24) Ākāśagarbha

(25) Kṣitigarbha[76]

(26) Maitreyaparipṛcchā

(27) Brahmaparipṛcchā #

(28) Subhūtiparipṛcchā † #[77]

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occurs as an attribute of the **Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra** etc., is expressly attested as the title of the smaller **Sukhāvatīvyūha**; cf. *pattīyatha yūyam idam acintyaguṇaparikīrtanaṃ sarvabuddhaparigrahaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyam* [ed. Fujita 2011: 90, 91, 92] 'You should have faith in this religious discourse entitled "Possession of all Buddhas" [which] proclaims the inconceivable qualities!'. For a detailed discussion of this enigmatic title and its possible original meaning, see Fussman 1999: 568–574. But the identification is problematic, since both the **Sukhāvatīvyūha** and the **Amitābhavyūha** occur below in this list (cf. [71] & [72]), which does not seem to contain various titles of the same text.

75. **Lhan** 145 registers a certain text entitled **Zla ba'i snying pos zhus pa** (Skt. **Candragarbhaparipṛcchā**), which is but one section of the original sūtra; see Herrmann-Phandt 2008: 79. The **Candragarbha-sūtra**, as it stands in the Chin. version (T397[15]), does not seem to have ever existed in Tibet.

76. Hakayama considers it possible to identify this sūtra with the **Kṣitigarbhāṣṭottaraśatakanāmadhāraṇīmantrasahita** (Tōhoku no. 641), see Hakamaya 2007: 82, n. 59. In the **Śikṣāsamuccaya**, Śāntideva quotes several times from a certain **Kṣitigarbha-sūtra**, of which neither Tib. nor Chin. translation seems to be extant (Zieme 1990: 380 identifies the **Kṣitigarbha-sūtra** with the Chin. translation by Śikṣānanda [T412], without adducing any evidence to buttress this identification). Whether the quotations are from the same sūtra as that mentioned in the present text is still an open question. For a useful survey of the Kṣitigarbha literature, see de Visser 1913–14: 6–19.

77. Tib. *legs pa'i mtshan* is not the standard translation for Subhūti (= Tib. *rab 'byor*, cf. **Mvy** 1037), to be sure. But the Chin. counterpart shànjí 善吉 is well attested as the name of Subhūti. Semantically, Tib. *mtshan* 'sign, token, characteristic' is not incompatible with Skt. *bhūti* '(well)being; ornament', so there is virtually no difficulty in deriving the former from

(29) Ugraparipṛcchā #

(30) *Jāliparipṛcchā [78]

(31) Sāgaranāgarājaparipṛcchā #

(32) Ṛṣi-Vyāsaparipṛcchā

(33) Śakraparipṛcchā †

(34) *Ratnapāṇiparipṛcchā #[79]

(35) Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchā #

(36) *Vīrākāśaparipṛcchā †

(37) *Prabhāvatīdārikāparipṛcchā †

[F2.1.3]

(38) *Ratnāvatīdārikāparipṛcchā #[80]

(39) *Suvarṇottamaprabhā[śrī]dārikāparipṛcchā #[81]

(40) Udayanavatsarājaparipṛcchā

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the latter.

78. **'Phang** 139/**Lhan** 159 has a similar title, i.e., Tib. **Rin chen dra ba can gyis zhus pa** (Skt. **Ratnajāliparipṛcchā**), see Herrmann-Phandt 2008: 86f. In spite of the tantalizing affinity between the two titles, there is no way to be sure about the identification.

79. This sūtra is possibly to be identified with the ***Ratnatalaparipṛcchā** in the Chin. version (Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 18), where it occurs not before but after a certain ***Drumaketu-nāgarāja-paripṛcchā**, which should be no other text than the very next sūtra **(35)** in our list – with *-kinnara-* somehow mistaken for *-ketunāga-*.

80. It is very likely that this sūtra corresponds to the so-called "livre de la question de la fille précieuse" in the Chin. version (Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 18). In the Chin. canon, a sūtra with almost the same title, i.e., T399, is found and identified with the **Theg pa chen po'i man ngag** (Skt. **Mahāyānopadeśa**) in the Tib. canon. Despite the fact that the Tib. counterpart has a completely different title which is registered in the early catalogues, Bu ston seems to have recorded an alternate or subsidiary title of this sūtra, namely **Bu mo rin chen gyis zhus pa**, see Herrmann-Phandt 2008: 65.

81. This is obviously the counterpart of the ***Suvarṇaprabhāparipṛcchā** in the Chin. version (Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 18). The female interlocutor of the **Mañjuśrīvikrīḍita** has an almost identical name, which Jens Braarvig reconstructs as *Suvarṇottamaprabhāśrī (cf. Tib. *gser mchog 'od dpal*; Chin. shàng jīnguāng shǒu 上金光首/ shèng jīnsè guāngmíng dé 勝金色光明德). In the Chin. translation by Narendrayaśas, an alternate title of the sūtra is given as ***Suvarṇottamaprabhāśrī-dārikā-sūtra** (cf. T818, 17.825a26: 亦名勝金色光明德女經). It is under an abbreviated version of the same title that a passage and a verse from the **Mañjuśrīvikrīḍita** are quoted in the Chin. translation of the **Prajñāpradipa** by Bhāviveka/Bhavya (cf. T1566, 30.68b26: 又如金光女經言).

(41) Maheśvaraparipṛcchā †

(42) Bimbisāraparipṛcchā[82]

(43) *Pūrṇabhadraśreṣṭhiparipṛcchā †[83]

(44) Susīmadevaputraparipṛcchā †[84]

(45) Candanadevaputraparipṛcchā †[85]

(46) *Svālaṃkāradevaputraparipṛcchā †

(47) Subāhuparipṛcchā #

(48) Siṃhaparipṛcchā #

(49) Siṃhavikrīḍitaparipṛcchā = Puṣpakūṭadhāraṇī[86]

(50) Vīradattaparipṛcchā #

(51) Ratnacūḍaparipṛcchā #

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82. This same title was attributed by Bu ston to **'Phang** 255/**Lhan** 245, a mahāsūtra entitled **Gzugs can snying pos bsu ba** (Skt. **Bimbisārapratyudgamana**; for the Tib. text and parallels see Skilling 1994: 58ff.), see Herrmann-Phandt 2008: 130. But such an identification, as suggested by Helmut Eimer (Eimer 2007: 178), is problematic, because the **Bimbisāra-pratyudgamana** is no Mahāyāna scripture at all. The coincidence between the titles of the two texts is probably due to a transmissional error in Tibetan alone (i.e., *bsu ba* > *zhus pa*), since nowhere is an alternate title ***Bimbisāraparipṛcchā** attested in Indic or Chin. sources, see Skilling 1997: 276ff. The only Mahāyāna scripture known to me that, according to its content, could be called the ***Bimbisāraparipṛcchā**, is the **Bhavasaṃkrānti** (**'Phang** 204/**Lhan** 224), a short sūtra in which Bimbisāra goes to see the Buddha and asks how karma can be effective if all conditioned things are empty. Be that as it may, there is no evidence, to my knowledge, for any alternate title of this sūtra.

83. For the wealthy merchant Pūrṇabhadra, who was prophesied by the Buddha to become a future Buddha, see Akanuma 1931: 522, s.v. **Pūrṇabhadra**[1]. But the sūtra is otherwise unknown. Here the majority reading represented by the Them spangs ma and the Tshal pa group (i.e., LSZ & DNQ), namely *bzang po*(*s*) *gang* (Skt. *pūrṇabhadra*), should be regarded as primary, while *bzang pos* attested in the Mustang group (i.e., BaDo) seems to be secondarily shortened from the former.

84. For this devaputra see Akanuma 1931: 672, s.v. **Susīma**[5]. But the sūtra is otherwise unknown, possibly a Mahāyānized version of the **Susīmasutta** (**Samyutta-Nikāya** 12.70)? The Tshal-pa variant *legs pa'i mtshan* probably originated in some confusion between the name of the devaputra and that of Subhūti in the sūtra no.**(28)**, see above p. 186, fn. 77.

85. For this devaputra see Akanuma 1931: 115, s.v. **Candana**[2]. But the sūtra is otherwise unknown.

86. In all likelihood, this sūtra should be identified with the **Puṣpakūṭa-dhāraṇī**, of which four Chin. translations have come down to us (i.e., T1356–1359). In the text, Siṃhavikrīḍita serves as the Buddha's interlocutor, therefore, it comes as no surprise that one of the Chin. versions bears exactly the same title as that attested in the present text (cf. T1357, 21.875b10: 師子奮迅菩薩所問經 < ***Siṃhavikrīḍita-[bodhisattva-]paripṛcchā**).

(52) Saṁghāṭasūtra

(53) Bodhisattvanāṭaka (sic!) #[87]

[F2.1.4]

(54) Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna[88]

(55) Karmavibhaṅga[89]

(56) Akṣayamatinirdeśa #

(57) Sāgaramatinirdeśa = Sāgaramatiparipṛcchā[90]

(58) Vimalakīrtinirdeśa #

(59) Satya[ka]parivarta = Bodhisattvagocaropāyaviṣayavikurvāṇanirdeśa #[91]

(60) Ajātaśatruparivarta = Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana #[92]

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87. In all the witnesses, the second component of the title is clearly attested as *zlos gar* (= Skt. -*nāṭaka*, cf. Negi s.v.). Probably an error for -*piṭaka*?

88. This text (Ōtani no. 1027/Tōhoku no. 358) was translated into Tibetan by the same team of translators as the present text (i.e., Ajitaśrībhadra and Shakya 'od).

89. As for the second component of this title, most of the witnesses point to Tib. *rnam par bshad pa* (= Skt. -*vyākhyā*, -*vibhāṣā* etc.), but the lectio potior should rather be that of the minority, i.e., *rnam par 'byed* (*pa*) [BaDo] (= Skt. -*vibhaṅga*), which is in accord with the entries in **Mvy** and early catalogues.

90. Although this sūtra is known in most sources as the **Sāgaramatiparipṛcchā**, the alternate title ending in **-nirdeśa** is attested in a number of quotations in some Madhyamika philosophical works dated to the late 11th century, for instance, the **Munimatālaṃkāra** by Abhayākaragupta (cf. Skt. ms. [fol. 65r5]: *sāgaramatinirdeśe ca*; courtesy of Kano Kazuo), the **Madhyamakāvatāra-ṭīkā** by Jayānanda (cf. Matsumoto 2014: 179, n. 32: *rgya mtsho'i blo gros kyis bstan pa las*).

91. The Chin. counterpart 諦實經 **Dishi jing** is traced by Lévi and Chavannes back to ***Satyatattva** "livre du réel de la Vérité" (p. 19). This is not quite convincing, inasmuch as the bisyllabic word 諦實 dìshí normally renders Skt. *satya* in Xuanzang's translation idiom. The standardized Tib. rendering of the title is *bden pa po'i le'u*, but in the present section we seem to deal with titles ending in -*parivarta* which is variously interpreted in the Tibetan version (for Tib. *'jug pa* ~ Skt. *pari-VART* see Negi s.v.).

92. To be sure, it is highly aberrant to have Tib. *'gyur ba* translate Skt. *parivarta*, which is usually rendered as *le'u*. But the context seems to require this section (**60**–**64**) to consist of sūtra titles ending in -*varta*, in light of the only identified title being **Sahasrāvarta** (**62**). On the other hand, 'to change, turn into' falls within the semantic range of *parivarta*(*na*), which, apart from 'chapter', also means 'resolving, (ex)change'. **Ajātaśatruparivarta** is attested as one of the alternate titles of the sūtra usually known as **Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana**. For a thorough survey of the textual sources attesting this alternate title, see Miyazaki 2012: 31–33. According to Miyazaki Tenshō, it is highly probably that °**-parivarta/-sūtra** had been the original title and was known as the

(61) Nārāyaṇaparivarta #[93]

(62) Sahasrāvarta

(63) Jambudvīpaparivarta †

(64) *Samāja(pari/ā)varta †[94]

(65) Buddhāvataṁsaka #

(66) Upāyakauśalya

(67) Padmapāṇi † #

(68) Daśabuddhaka = Guṇaratnasaṃkusumitaparipṛcchā #[95]

(69) Daśadharmaka #

(70) Daśabhūmika

(71) Amitābhavyūha #

(72) Sukhāvatīvyūha #

(73) Saddharmaguṇavyūha (sic!)[96]

(74) Ghanavyūha[97]

[F2.1.5]

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conventional title later on, while °-**kaukṛtyavinodana**, which precisely reflects the content of the sūtra, became the formal title in the course of time (p. 33).

93. It remains open whether this sūtra can be identified with the **Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchā** (Tōhoku no. 684), a *dhāraṇī* or *rakṣā* text which also has *nārāyaṇa-* in its title. The Skt. and Tib. texts of the latter are edited in Banerjee 1941. The same title is quoted once by Śāntideva in the **Śikṣāsamuccaya**, but it turns out that the quoted passages actually hail from the **Sarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhi**, as identified by J.-U. Hartmann *apud* Harrison 2003: 125. That sūtra is already mentioned above, and thus cannot be identified with the enigmatic **Nārāyaṇaparivarta** here.

94. Tib. *'dus pa* translates many Skt. terms such as *samāja*, *samaya*, *saṃnipāta*, see Negi s.v. The reconstruction here is very tentative.

95. A sūtra under the same title is found in the Kanjur (cf. Tōhoku no. 272/Ōtani no. 938), and identified as another translation of the **Guṇaratnasaṃkusumitaparipṛcchā**, which is part of the **Mahāratnakūṭa** collection in both Chinese and Tibetan canons.

96. Probably this is what the Tibetan translators had in their Vorlage. The title is too well attested to allow any emendation, but cannot be the genuine reading, as it is reminiscent of the **Sarvadharmaguṇavyūharājasūtra** (see Hartmann 1997: 135–140, von Criegern 2012). It is at least possible to conceive of the present title as a corrupt form of the latter (through the omission of *-rva-* and *-rāja* and then the hypercorrection *sa*[*d*]*dharma*).

97. Paul Harrison has suggested to me this identification.

(75) *Viśuddhakusumasaṃcaya #[98]

(76) *Lokaśuddhasaṃcaya †

(77) *Bodhisattvaśuddhasaṃcaya †

(78) Sarvatīrthāvatāra † #[99]

(79) Sarvatathāgatadevāvatāra †

(80) Ratnaketu #

(81) Ratnarāśi #

(82) Ratnakaraṇḍaka #

(83) *Citrakūṭa † #[100]

(84) Ratnolkā

(85) Ratnamegha

(86) Ratnavr̥kṣa †

(87) Ratnacūḍa → **(51)**[101]

(88) Ratnākara

(89) *Uṣṇīṣajālin † #[102]

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98. Perhaps to be identified with the **Kusumasaṃcaya** translated into both Tibetan (Tōhoku no. 266/Ōtani no. 932) and Chinese (T434)? However, the title of the **Kusumasaṃcaya** is usually rendered as *me tog gi tshogs* in Tibetan; on the other hand, the foregoing *rnam dag* seems to suggest that the pertinent title in the Vorlage should have contained Skt. *viśuddhi-* or something similar.

99. The Chin. counterpart 入一切道經 **Ru yiqie dao jing** should reflect, according to Lévi and Chavannes, a Skt. title such as ***Sarvamārgāvatāra** "livre de l'entrée dans toutes les voies", which corroborates my surmise that Tib. *babs pa* 'falling, descent' translates here Skt. *avatāra* 'entrance; descent'. In the light of Tib. *stegs* [LSZ] which is to be preferred over the Tshal-pa-variant (*b*)*sdegs*, I reconstruct *-tīrtha-* instead of *-mārga-*, because the former not only means 'way, road' in some contexts, but also occurs among the few Skt. counterparts of Tib. *stegs* (Negi s.v.) 'ford, stairs for landing'.

100. The title is otherwise unknown, but apparently corresponds to the 彩畫經 **Caihua jing** "livre de la peinture multicolore" [Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 19] in the Chin. version. The term 彩畫 *cǎihuà* renders Skt. *citrakr̥ta* in Xuanzang's translation of the **Yogācārabhūmi**, see Yokoyama/Hirosawa 1997: 330, s.v. 彩畫 2). Phonologically, it is quite possible that *-kr̥ta* converges with *-kūṭa* in Middle Indic.

101. This title occurs twice in this list. Since the first occurrence (i.e., [**51**]) is also testified to by the Chin. version, the second one might be a later interpolation in an attempt to extend the group of titles beginning with *ratna-* (cf. [**84**]–[**88**]).

102. The Tib. title does not seem to be in perfect agreement with its counterpart in the Chin. version, i.e., 高頂王經 **Gao dingwang jing** "livre du roi au crâne élevé" (tr.

(90) Gaṇḍavyūha

1) These [sūtras] and the like, one billion [in number], constitute the Basket of the Great Vehicle (*mahāyānapiṭaka*).

[F2.2]

1) Likewise, Baskets of the Disciples (*śrāvakapiṭakāḥ*) [consisting of] the Basket of dogmatics (*abhidharmapiṭaka*), the Basket of the discipline (*vinayapiṭaka*), and the Basket of the scriptures (*sūtrapiṭaka*).

2) What is the Basket of the scriptures? 3) This is to say: the Dīrgha-Āgama, the Madhyama-Āgama, the Ekottarika-Āgama, the Samyukta-Āgama, and the Kṣudraka-Āgama.[103] 4) Those are referred to as the Basket of scriptures.

5) What is the Basket of dogmatics? 6) This is to say: the Ṣaṭpraśnaka, and the Saṃprayoga-Saṃgraha are referred to as the Basket of dogmatics.[104]

Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 19). The term gāo dǐngwáng 高頂王 also occurs in a number of Chin. Tantric texts, in which it in all likelihood translates Skt. *abhyudgata-uṣṇīṣa*, one of the eight 'monarchs of Uṣṇīṣa' (*uṣṇīṣarāja*) to be depicted in a rite, see BHSD s.v. **uṣṇīṣa (3)**.

103. For a thorough discussion on this list of five Āgamas and its probable connection with the Dharmaguptaka, see Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 32–37.

104. The idiosyncratic content of this Abhidharma corpus is reminiscent of the **Śāriputrābhidharma**, which consists of four or five parts, namely the **Sapraśnaka**, the **Apraśnaka**, the **Saṃgraha-Saṃprayoga**, and the **Prasthāna** (no counterpart in the Tib. version, yet clearly attested in the Chin. translation), see Frauwallner 1972: 133–152. That this Abhidharma corpus is affiliated with the Dharmaguptaka is borne out by the mention of an almost identical list in a section of the **Dharmaguptaka-Vinaya** which deals with the council of Rājagṛha, cf. 有難、無難、繫–相應、作處 [T1428, 22.968b26f.]. Lévi and Chavannes made reference to this list (p. 39), but were unable to identify it with the **Śāriputrābhidharma**; and their translation of 有難/無難 as "le (Non-)difficile" is insofar unfortunate, as the character 難 *nàn* here should mean 'interrogation, question' if we take into account the following parallel from the **Pinimu jing**/***Vinaya-Mātṛkā**, cf. 有問分別、無問分別、相攝–相應、處所 [T1463, 24. 818a28f.]. Although the school affiliation of this text is disputed (see Sasaki 2000: 368–370; Clarke 2004: 91, n. 62), the section dealing with the council of Rājagṛha, in which the list occurs, may well be of Dharmaguptaka origin. The only remaining problem is that the present text, in both the Tib. and Chin. versions, attests to the rubric of the first part as ***Ṣaṭpraśnaka** instead of **Sapraśnaka**/**Apraśnaka**. This may be explained through the hypothesis that the Abhidharma corpus referred to in the present text represents an archaic phase of the **Śāriputrābhidharma**, in which the **Apraśnaka** has not yet come into being and the **Sapraśnaka** merely dealt with the six sets of dogmatic concepts (i.e., *āyatana*, *dhātu*, *skandha*, *āryasatya*, *indriya*, and *pratītyasamutpāda*) corresponding to the first part of the old *mātṛkā* in the style of the

7) Moreover, what is the Basket of the discipline? 8) This is to say: the Bhikṣu-Vinaya, the Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya, the Mātṛkā-Skandhaka, and the Vinaya-Mātṛkā.[105] 9) Venerable Ones! Those are referred to as the Basket of discipline.

[2.3.1]

1) As for these [scriptures, as well as[106]] the Jātakamālā,[107] the Avadānamālā,[108]

Pañhāpucchaka in Pāli. For the identification of the old *mātṛkā* in the **Sapraśnaka**, see Frauwallner 1972: 133–140. It was through the removal of *pratītyasamutpāda* from the hypothetical ***Ṣaṭpraśnaka** and the creation of its counterpart without questions that the **Śāriputrābhidharma** started to assume its present shape.

105. Here the Tib. version is significantly different from its Chin. counterpart which enumerates fives items (i.e., the **Bhikṣu-Prātimokṣa**, the **Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa**, the **Vibhaṅga**, the **Skandhaka**, and the **Ekottara**, after Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 20), which correspond closely to the content of the **Dharmaguptaka-Vinaya**, see Lévi/Chavannes *ibid.*: 38 and Frauwallner 1956: 180ff. A possible scenario is to identify the **Mātṛkā-Skandhaka** with the **Skandhaka**, and the **Vinaya-Mātṛkā** with the **Ekottara**, but there is no evidence in support of this identification, with the only exception of the **Pinimu jing**/***Vinaya-Mātṛkā**, which mentions a certain 'Mother of the **Skandha**s' (諸犍度母經 [T1463, 24, 818a19] ~ ***Skandhaka-Mātṛkā**?). However, more text-critical work is required to confirm this reading. For the probable existence of an old *mātṛkā* which is embedded in the Vinayas of several Sthavira schools and contains building blocks for the so-called **Skandhaka** part of the **Mahāsāṃghika-Vinaya**, see Clarke 2004: 77–120.

106. According to the syntactical structure of the Tib. passage, the three *-mālā*s are juxtaposed with the compounds that follow, but not with 'these' (*'di dag ni*). But this does not make sense, since the three genres whose names end in *-mālā* are enumerated as parts of the teachings in addition to the Mahāyāna sūtras and the three Baskets rather than as attributes to the latter. Therefore, I follow the syntax of the Chin. version: "En outre, il y a … **Jātaka-mālā** et … **Pratyekabuddha-mālā**. Dans les recueils de la Vraie Loi tels que ceux-là, il y a [des textes] qui ont été prononcés par …" (tr. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 20).

107. For an introduction to *jātakamālā* as a genre and the major works of this genre, see Straube 2015: 500–502. The earliest **Jātakamālā** known so far, i.e., that of Āryaśūra, probably dates from the late 4th century; see Hahn 2011: 9f. It is followed by that of Haribhaṭṭa (early 5th cent., after Hahn 1981: 107–120) and that of Gopadatta (later than Haribhaṭṭa but before the 8th cent., after Hahn 1992: 28). It is unclear which of the works was known to the tradent(s) of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**. The idiosyncratic use of Tib. *rabs* 'succession, lineage' to translate Skt. *-mālā* 'garland; a series, succession' here is corroborated by the Chin. version, which clearly attests the reading běnshēng màn 本生鬘 "guirlande des Naissances antérieures" (tr. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 20).

108. For an introduction to the genre *avadānamālā* and its stylistic and structural features, see Straube 2015: 502–503. According to some scholars, this belongs to a genuinely Nepalese genre called 'Garland literature', since a substantial number of (if not all) the works of this genre were produced around the 15th century in Nepal, see Tuladhar-Douglas 2006: 38–52. Should it be the case, it is too late for the author of the present text to have ever known this genre. There is no counterpart in the Chin. version, so the mention of *avadānamālā* in the Tib. version might be a later interpolation.

and the Pratyekabuddhamālā,[109] [they are] taught by the Buddha, or expounded by the Pratyekabuddhas,[110] or by the Bodhisattvas, or by the Disciples (*śrāvaka*), or by the deities (*devatā*). 2) [They are] composed of elements (*bhūtasaṃghāta*),[111] verbal presentation of the teachings (*dharma-upasaṃhāra*).[112] 3) [There are] those [who] have read [them], have held [them], have copied [them] into books – even if only a verse of four lines which is taught, have made offerings to preachers of the teachings (*dharmabhāṇaka*). 4) And [there are those who] have made offerings to Pratyekabuddhas,[113] [as follows:]

[F2.3.2]

perfume (*gandha*), garlands (*mālya*), ointment (*vilepa*), incense (*dhūpa*),

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109. The title is also testified to by the Chin. version (cf. dújué màn 獨覺鬘 "guirlande des Individuellement-illuminés" [tr. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 20]). But the genre is otherwise unknown. Maybe it refers to works such as the 辟支佛因緣論 **Pizhifo yinyuan lun/*Pratyekabuddha-nidāna** (T1650), which is a collection of stories telling of some members of the nobility (e.g. kings, ministers, princes etc.) attaining to Pratyekabuddhahood.

110. This phrase is theologically problematic, for, as is well known, the Pratyekabuddhas have no teacher and do not teach themselves. There is no counterpart in the Chin. version.

111. This compound also occurs in the **Abhidharmakośabhāṣya** IV 6 [ed. Pradhan 1975: 200] and the **Bhagavad-Gītā** passim. In both texts, it refers to the body (*kāya*) or bodily being (*kāyika*), which is of a composite nature; see Ram-Prasad 2013: 84f. for a discussion of the case of the **Bhagavad-Gītā**. In the present context, it is used to describe the collection of Buddhist scriptures enumerated above. This usage is reminiscient of Lat. *corpus* 'body; a collection of written texts'.

112. For Tib. *nye bar bsdus pa* = Skt. *upasaṃhāra* or *upasaṃhṛta*, see Negi s.v. For the special meaning of the latter 'production in words; presentation, statement', see BHSD s.v. **upasaṃhāra (3)**.

113. I consider the non-Tshal-pa reading *rang sangs rgyas* 'Pratyekabuddha' [BaDoLSZ] anterior to the Tshal-pa one *nang pa sangs rgyas pa* 'Buddhist' [DNQ], since the latter may be a secondary revision based on some kind of theological considerations that Pratyekabuddhas do not teach themselves and thus should not be worshipped with offerings alongside preachers of the teachings. At variance with the Tibetan version, the Chinese version explicitly mentions 'scriptures' rather than a specific kind of people as the object of worship here, cf. cf. "si aux exemplaires des livres sacrés on présente avec respect des offrandes, c'est à savoir – avec toutes sortes de parfums et de fleurs, de drapeaux et de dais, de danseuses et de musiciennes et d'illuminations ..." (tr. Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 21).

lamps (*pradīpa*), parasols (*chattra*), banners (*dhvaja*), and flags (*patākā*);[114] [1)] have covered and wrapped variegated clothes around the books, have made the best wooden covers, have tied up the books with variegated strings. [2)] They have thus created wholesome potentialities. [3)] They all will obtain human accomplishment[115] under the preaching of the Blessed One, Tathāgata [by the name of] Maitreya. [4)] With pure faith, they will abandon the household life. [5)] Having shaven off [their] hair and beards, and having clothed themselves in religious clothes, [they] will go forth from the household life into the homeless state and be ordained in the second assembly [of Maitreya]. [6)] In conformity with [their] earnest wish, [they] will pass into complete Nirvāṇa. [7)] Venerable Ones! Those, then, are the ones who have engendered wholesome potentialities with respect to the teachings.

[F3.1]

[1)] Likewise, [there are] those who are patrons and donors and have engendered or made [others] create wholesome potentialities with respect to the community (*saṅgha*). [2)] To wit, [they] have uttered a bidding, have led [others] to what is wholesome,[116] have made a feast [on] the eighth day (*aṣṭamika*),[117] have made a feast [on] the fasting day (*poṣadha*), have made an invitation (*upanimantrāṇa*),[118] have humbly given a festive meal

114. The syntactical structure of the Tib. translation of the present passage is a mess. In the original Tib. text, these items are juxtaposed with the various acts of creating wholesome potentialities with respect to the teachings, which makes no sense. In my translation, I interpret them as a supplement to the preceding sentence enumerating the gifts offered to Pratyekabuddhas (or the scriptures, after the Chinese version).

115. See above p. 183, fn. 63.

116. The meaning of this phrase is not quite clear to me. Hakamaya 2007: 73 gives a somewhat abstruse rendering "guidance towards the wholesome" (善に導き), which is tentatively followed here.

117. See **Mvy** no. 5758, and BHSD s.v. **aṣṭamika**.

118. See **Mvy** no. 9357. For Tib. *rab tu* translating both Skt. *upa-* and *ni-*, see Negi s.v.

(*bhojana*)[119] to the community, have invited [monks] to a meal, have incidentally[120] invited [monks] to a meal, have made a monthly feast (*māsika*),[121] have constantly offered food (*naityaka*),[122] have invited preachers (*dharmakathika*) to a meal, have made a quinquennial feast (*pañcavārṣika*),[123] have endowed a temple, have spread couches and seats (*śayyāsana*),[124]

[F3.2]

have offered religious clothes, have made a rite of consecrating the gong,[125] have offered medical herbs, have offered [a monk's] standard belongings (*pariṣkāra*).[126] 1) [In doing so, they] have created wholesome potentialities. 2) They all will obtain human accomplishment[127] under the preaching of the Blessed One, Tathāgata [by the name of] Maitreya. 3) With pure faith, [they] will abandon the household life in the third assembly [of Maitreya]. 4) Having

119. See **Bod Rgya tshig mdzod chen mo**, s.v. *mchod ston* (Zhang et al. 1985: 855): *mchod pa'i dga' ston* 'a feast of offerings'.

120. The meaning of the adv. here (Tib. *glo bur du* = Skt. *ākasmika*, *āgantuka* etc. [Negi s.v. *glo bur*]) is not totally clear to me. Would its Skt. couterpart rather be interpreted as an adj.? Should it be the case, here the reference is probably made to the act of inviting guest monks (*āgantuka*), who visit the monastery incidentally, to a meal.

121. To my knowledge, such a feast is unknown elsewhere in Buddhist literature, although a monthly oblation (i.e., a particular *śrāddha*) to deceased ancestors is attested in Brahmanical sources, see PW s.v. *māsika* **2)**.

122. See **Mvy** no. 5762, and BHSD s.v. **naityaka**.

123. For the quinquennial feast's origins and development from India to Central Asia and China, see Deeg 1995: 67–90, 1997: 63–96. For the reception of this tradition in medieval China, especially at the court of the Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (464–549 CE), see Funayama 2002: 81f. and Chen 2006: 43–103.

124. Hakamaya seems to have construed Tib. *'dings pa* (Skt. *staraṇa*) here as a noun meaning 'blanket', which shares the same verb with 'religious clothes' at the beginning of the next passage (cf. 寢臥具絨毯と法衣を寄進し [2007: 73]). But neither Tib. *'dings pa* nor Skt. *staraṇa* is ever attested in this meaning. Both lexemes are *nomina actionis* denoting the act of spreading or scattering.

125. For the reason that the Tshal-pa variant *gtsug lag khang gsar pa'i* '(the consecration) of a new temple' is rejected as secondary, see above p. 174, fn. 35.

126. See **Mvy** no. 5887, and BHSD s.v. **pariṣkāra**.

127. See above p. 183, fn. 63.

removed [their] hair and beards, and having clothed themselves in religious clothes, [they], with genuine confidence, will go forth from the household life into the homeless state. 5) In conformity with [their] earnest wish, [they] will pass into complete Nirvāṇa. 6) Venerable Ones! Those, then, are the ones who have created wholesome potentialities with respect to the community."

[G]

1) Then, having extensively expounded those causes (*ākāra*),[128] the Elder Nandimitra levitated in the air seven times as high as a palm tree (*sapta tālamātrāṇi*),[129] and displayed multifarious miracles including the twin miracle (*yamakaprātihārya*)[130] in front of those monks. 2) While staying above in the air, [he] renounced both the conditioned states of long life and those of life force (*āyuḥsaṃskārāñ jīvitasaṃskārāñ cotsr̥jya*),[131] and passed

128. Here the Tshal-pa variant reads *rnam par rgya cher bshad nas*, in which *rnam par* seems redundant and a syntactical object is missing. Therefore, I regard the non-Tshal-pa reading *rnam pa de dag rgya cher bshad nas* as superior. For Skt./Pāli *ākāra* (= Tib. *rnam pa*) with the meaning 'cause, reason, ground, account', see CPD s.v. **²ā-kāra (5)**.

129. See SWTF s.v. **tāla-mātra**.

130. Note here a discrepancy between the Tshal-pa line and the non-Tshal-pa witnesses. The former attests to a variant *cho 'phrul ya ma zung sna tshogs*, which Hakamaya renders as "marvelous, manifold miracles" (驚異的な様々な示導 [2007: 73]), whereby he interprets *ya ma zung* as 'marvelous' (驚異的). This is problematic, as *ya ma zung* means 'asymmetric, deformed; heterogeneous' rather than 'marvelous, incredible'. Hence, the non-Tshal-pa reading *rnam pa sna tshogs pa'i cho 'phrul ya ma zung dang ldan pa'i cho 'phrul*, according to the majority principle, is to be followed, despite the fact that it brings an interpretative problem, namely, *ya ma zung* does not mean 'asymmetric', but seems to refer to one of the miracles, that is, to my mind, the twin miracle consisting in the appearance in pairs of phenomena opposite in character, e.g. fire and water (*yamakaprātihārya*; BHSD s.v. **yamaka [1]**). This hypothesis is corroborated by the Koryŏ version of the Chin. translation, which attests to 雙神變事 'twin miracle' [T2030, 49.14c10] instead of 大神變事 (in Song, Yuan, Ming versions; cf. "Il manifesta de grandes transformations surnaturelles inconcevables" [Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 23]). If that is true, *ya ma zung* here, unlike elsewhere in Tibetan, is a hendiadys rendering Skt. *yamaka*: the first component *ya ma* restores the sound of the Skt. word, while the second one *zung* 'pair, couple' renders its meaning. This is, to be sure, not the standard Tib. rendering of the Skt. word, but is not unlikely in the case of the present translators.

131. For the difference between *āyuḥsaṃskāra* and *jīvitasaṃskāra*, and the reason they are plural, cf. **Abhidharmakośabhāṣya** II 10 [ed. Pradhan 1975: 44] *sūtra uktam: bhagavān jīvitasaṃskārān adhiṣṭhāyāyuḥsaṃskārān utsr̥ṣṭavān | teṣāṃ ko viśeṣaḥ | na kaścid ity eke |*

into complete Nirvāṇa. [3] Then, for the Elder Nandimitra, those monks cremated [his] body, built a stūpa, and made offerings [such as] perfume, flowers, incense, lamps, parasols, banners, and flags. [4] These causes are expounded, having been passed on from one saint to another. [5] Why? Because, thinking that the preaching of the Blessed One will endure for a long time, those who are patrons and donors [will] be very happy.

[0']

[1] This edifying narrative is related by the saint Nandimitra.[132] [2] [The text] called **The Edifying Narrative of the Saint Nandimitra** is concluded.

[3] Translated by the Indian scholar Ajitaśrībhadra and the monk Shā kya 'od.

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tathā hy uktam: jīvitendriyaṃ katamat | traidhātukam āyur iti | pūrvakarmaphalam āyuḥsaṃskārāḥ pratyutpannakarmaphalaṃ jīvitasaṃskārā ity apare | yair vā nikāyasabhāgasthitis ta āyuḥsaṃskārāḥ | yais tu kālāntaraṃ jīvati te jīvitasaṃskārā iti | 'It is said in the Sūtra [i.e., **Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra** 16.14; for the source and parallels of this citation, see Pāsādika 1989a: 30 **(53)**]: "The Blessed One, after having preserved the conditioned states (*saṃskāra*) of life force (*jīvita*), abandoned those of long life (*āyus*)." What is the difference between them [i.e., the two kinds of conditioned states]? Some [masters assert]: "[There is] no [difference] at all, because it is said so: 'Which is the organ of life force? [That is] long life of the triple universe.' [quot. **Jñānaprasthāna** 14.19 or **Prakaraṇapāda** fol. 14b6; see Pāsādika 1989a: 30 **(54)**, Imanishi 1977: 21]" Some other [masters assert]: "The conditioned states of long life are the fruit of the deeds in a previous [life]. The conditioned states of life force are the fruit of the deeds in the present [life]." [Some other masters assert]: "The conditioned states of long life are those, by means of which what is common to the category [of living beings] (*nikāyasabhāga*) endures. But the conditioned states of life force are those, by means of which one lives for a period of time." *bahuvacanaṃ bahūnām āyurjīvitasaṃskārakṣaṇānām utsarjanādhiṣṭhānāt | na hy ekasya kṣaṇasyotsarjanam adhiṣṭhanaṃ cāsti | na ca kālāntarasthāvaram ekam āyur dravyam iti dyotanārtham ity eke | bahuṣv eva saṃskāreṣv āyur ākhyā nāsty ekam āyur dravyam | anyathā naiva saṃskāragrahaṇam akariṣyad ity apare* | [...] '[As for why the conditioned states are plural,] some [masters assert]: "The plural number (*bahuvacana*) is because multiple moments (*kṣana*) as the conditioned states of long life or life force are abandoned or preserved, for a single moment is neither abandoned nor preserved. [This is] for the purpose of illuminating [the doctrine] that long life is not one substance lasting [only] for a period of time." Some other [masters assert]: "Long life only designates multiple conditioned states. Long life is not one substance. Otherwise, [the Sūtra] would not have employed the expression 'conditioned state' (*saṃskāra*)".' Cf. la Vallée Poussin 1923: 122f.

132. It is not until this point that a misunderstanding of the translators is finally betrayed, namely, the word *ārya-* in the title was mistakenly attributed to Nandimitra. This error, however, is not transparent in their rendering of the title.

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The present chapter consists of a diplomatic edition of the Chinese translation of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** (= T2030) on the basis of the first Koryŏ edition [**Kr**]. The translation is attributed to Xuanzang (d. 664 AD), and was, according to some catalogs compiled by his contemporaries, completed in 654 or 662 AD.[1] It seems to me quite likely that the earliest form(s) of this translation circulated already in the 660s. The first Koryŏ edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon is part of the great cultural heritage of the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392), to which a copy of the Kaibao canon 開寶藏[2] was donated by the Song imperial court. The blocks of this edition were carved, on the basis of the copy of the Kaibao canon, during the years 1011–1087, and destroyed in 1234 due to the Mongol invasion of Korea.[3] But a substantial portion of this edition survives in more than 2000 printed fascicles now preserved in Korea and Japan, and the Chinese **Nandimitrāvadāna** fortunately belongs to the surviving part. For the present edition, I utilized the photograph of a surviving exemplar of this text preserved at Nanzen-ji 南禪寺 in Kyōto.[4] According to the preliminary report on the Nanzen-ji

1. The translation is registered in a number of catalogs compiled in the late 7th or early 8th century, where it is unanimously attributed to Xuanzang. For the two different dates of its translation, see the **Datang neidian lu** 大唐內典錄 compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 (fl. 596–667) in 664 AD (see Tokuno 1990: 48–50): 大阿羅漢難陀蜜多法住記七紙 唐龍朔二年玄奘於坊州玉華宮寺譯 [T2149, 55.325c26f.] 'The **Fazhu ji** [taught by] the Great Arhat Nandamit[ra], in seven folios; translated by Xuanzang at the monastery of the Jade-Flower-Palace of Fangzhou in the 2nd year of Long-shuo reign period of the Tang dynasty (i.e. 662)', accepted by Mingquan 明佺 et al. (ca. 695) in his **Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu** 大周刊定衆經目錄 (see Tokuno 1990: 50–52), cf. T2153, 55.436c22f.; see also the **Kaiyuan shijiao lu** 開元釋教錄 compiled by Zhisheng 智昇 in 730 (see Tokuno 1990: 52–58): 大阿羅漢難陀蜜多羅所說法住記一卷見內典錄 永徽五年閏五月十八日於大慈恩寺翻經院譯，沙門大乘光筆受 [T2154, 55.557b7f.] 'The **Fazhu ji** taught by the Great Arhat Nandimitra, in one fascicle – see the [**Datang**] **neidian lu**; translated in the Bureau for Translating Sūtras at great Ci'en monastery on the 18th day of the 5th intercalary month in the 5th year of Yong-hui reign period (i.e. 654), written down by the monk Guang styled Mahāyāna'. For the subtle implications of the technical term bǐshòu 筆受 'to write down', frequently found in the colophons and catalogs of Chin. translations, see Fuchs 1930: 88, and Zacchetti 2006: 166, n. 41.

2. For the Kaibao canon in general, see Chikusa 2000: 313–318, and Zacchetti 2005: 96–99.

3. See Buswell 2004: 129f., Lancaster/Park 1979: x–xiv, Lancaster 1996: 174–177.

4. This exemplar is registered in the *Nanzen-ji kyōzō issaikyō mokuroku* 南禪寺經藏一切經目錄; see *Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku* 昭和法寶總目錄, edited by Takakusu Junjirō & Watanabe Kaikyoku (1929), vol. 1, 844b15. The colored photos are available online via http://kb.sutra.re.kr/ritk/sutra/sutraView.do?kcode=1046&vol=001&knameKor=대아라한난제밀다라소설법주기&knameHan=大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記&box=畫&possLoc=남선사.

collection,[5] the folios used for the exemplars of the first Koryŏ edition are 27.6–28.1 cm in height (with columns 21.1–23.0 cm in height), and 43.7–49.0 cm in width. In terms of format, it turns out that the exemplars had been scrolls, and were remodeled into accordion books, since successive folds separated from one another by 5 or 6 columns are visible in the photograph; every folio contains 23 columns, in each of which 14 characters are written.

The main objective of the present diplomatic edition is to replicate the text preserved in the first Koryŏ edition as far as possible. Emendations are made to the text only when it is necessary, and are marked with superscript cross ($^{+}$□) so as to remind the reader that the original text is altered at those points. To speak in western philological jargon, I adopt a quasi-Bédierian approach;[6] that is to say, rather than reconstructing a hypothetical archetype, I base my edition on a select edition whose historicity is unquestionable, collating with it other accessible witnesses. The reasons for my choice are twofold. Firstly, scholars have so far identified three lineages among the xylographic editions of the Chinese Buddhist canon that have come down to us: (1) the Kaibao lineage, (2) the Liao lineage, and (3) the southern lineage.[7] Since the present text is not testified to by the two witnesses of the second lineage (i.e., the stone-carved sūtras of Fangshan and some printings which might have formed part of the Liao canon),[8] we only have access to editions belonging to two out of the three lineages. Hence, whenever the readings of the two lineages differ from each other, it is impossible to make any stemmatic judgment according to the majority principle. The only realistic way to deal with this case is to historically reproduce the text attested in one lineage with variants in the other noted. Secondly, the first Koryŏ edition, coupled with the Jin edition [J], constitutes the earliest witness of the Kaibao canon, i.e., the first printed canon, whose blocks were carved during and shortly after the Kaibao reign period of the Northern Song dynasty (968–976) and first used for printing in 983 AD.[9] Judging from the relative chronology, it is reasonable to assume that the Kaibao lineage is more archaic than the southern lineage, the earliest edition of which was not produced until the late 11th century.

Among the two descendants of the Kaibao canon, the first Koryŏ edition is chronologically prior to the Jin edition, the blocks of which were presumably carved in the 12th century (ca. 1139–1173), when North China was under the

5. *Nihon nanzen-ji shozō Kōrai daizōkyō chōsa hōkokusho* 日本南禅寺所蔵高麗初雕大蔵経調査報告書, edited by Korea: The Research Institute for Tripitaka Koreana & Japan: International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism, Hanazono University (2010).

6. For a brief history of the French Romance philologist Joseph Bédier and his contribution to modern western textual criticism, see Trovato 2014: 77–82.

7. See Chikusa 2000: 281–287, 337–342; Li 2002: 53–57; and Zacchetti 2005: 92–95.

8. The latter mainly refers to those printings discovered inside a Buddha statue of the Yingxian timber pagoda 應縣木塔, which show a certain affinity with the stone-carved sūtra of Fangshan. But whether those belong to the Liao canon is disputed; see Naka 1996: 194–239; Chikusa 2000: 83–97; and Zacchetti 2005: 102–109.

9. The received opinion to regard 983 as the date of the completion of carving is not quite correct; see Chikusa 2000: 315–318.

Jurchen hegemony. For the collation of the present text, I utilized the main exemplar of the Jin edition discovered at Guangsheng monastery 廣勝寺 in Zhaocheng 趙城 (Shanxi).[10] As far as the present text is concerned, it transpires that the two editions are almost identical in both their format and content; only in 6 cases, variations are detected, and 50% of the cases can be safely ascribed to errors pertaining to the first Koryŏ edition.[11] Apart from the remaining 3 cases, the whole text by and large may be traced with certainty back to its counterpart in the Kaibao canon in its original format (*viz*., 23 columns per block, and 14 characters per column). Three cases of omitting the last stroke of two characters (i.e., jìng 敬 and yīn 殷), are found in the first Koryŏ edition, but not in the Jin edition. This method of a missing stroke in tabooed characters is attested for the first time in the Tang period, during the reign of Gaozong (650–683),[12] and was adopted by the redactors of the Kaibao canon to avoid the given names of the grandfather and father of Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 (r. 960–976), the first emperor of the Northern Song dynasty, which are Jing 敬 and Hongyin 弘殷, respectively. In the few surviving exemplars of the Kaibao canon, Sasaki Isamu has only found four characters tabooed in this manner, *viz*., jìng 敬, hóng 弘, yīn 殷, and jìng 竟 (tabooed as a homophone of the first one).[13] The fact that two out of the four characters are attested with a missing stroke in this tiny section of the first Koryŏ edition may well be indicative of the latter's continuity with the Kaibao canon, from which a substantial portion of the tabooed characters was faithfully handed down to the descendant in Korea. The Jin edition of the present text, in marked contrast to its Korean next of kin, does not contain any tabooed character at all. This is also in line with Sasaki's observation that the Jin edition rarely, if not hardly ever, testifies to those tabooed characters, whose missing stroke was probably restored in most cases.[14] If the same holds true for the present text, it is not unlikely that the three cases of tabooing stem from the Kaibao canon, the hyparchetype of this lineage.[15]

As for the southern lineage, the apparatus below makes reference to the five editions, from which variants are collected by the redactors of the *Taishōzō* 大正藏 and the *Zhonghua dazangjing* 中華大藏經:[16]

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10. Reprinted in *Zhonghua dazangjing* 中華大藏經 (Beijing: 1984–1988), vol. 52, 452–456. For the history of this specific exemplar, see Li 2002: 104–106 and Zacchetti 2005: 99.

11. Cf. [C2: 20a&b], [D1.1: 23a], [E1: 3], [F1.1: 21b], [F3.1: 12b] (underscored are occurrences in which the readings of the first Koryŏ edition are erroneous and emended).

12. See Adamek 2015: 144f., §6.2.3.

13. See Sasaki 2013: 414ff.

14. See Sasaki 2013: 410.

15. In principle, the two characters with a missing stroke should be printed in the diplomatic edition which lays claim to historicity. The reason that I temporarily relegate them to the codicological notes in the apparatus is rather a technical one, to wit, the tremendous difficulties in word-processing of such incomplete characters.

16. I was able to access the readings of the following editions only from the apparatuses of these two modern editions. As far as the present text is concerned, there is no discrepancy

F: The exemplar of the so-called old Song edition preserved at the library of the Imperial Household (*kunaichō* 宮内庁) in Tōkyō, which is a mixture of two editions produced in Fuzhou in the late 11th and the 12th centuries.[17]

M: The Jingshan edition 徑山藏, which is a private edition mainly based on the so-called northern canon 永樂北藏 produced during the Yongle reign period of the Ming dynasty (1403–1424).[18]

Q: The Qisha edition 磧砂藏 rediscovered in 1931 at a monastery in Shaanxi, which is an exemplar of the canon carved in Pingjiang Prefecture 平江府 (present-day Suzhou, Jiangsu) from around 1216 onward.[19]

S: The Sixi edition 思溪藏, the blocks of which were first carved during the years 1126–1132 and re-carved around the mid-13th century at the same monastery in Huzhou, Zhejiang.[20]

Y: The Puning edition 普寧藏, the blocks of which were carved during the years 1277–1290 of the Yuan dynasty at great Puning monastery 大普寧寺 in Hangzhou, Zhejiang.[21]

In three cases, I have emended the readings of the Kaibao lineage, *viz*., those shared between the first Koryŏ and Jin editions, in favor of the readings of the southern lineage.[22] The three emended characters are, in all likelihood, to be regarded as errors which first crept into the text in the Kaibao canon. But prior to the Kaibao canon, there is no datable witness of the present text, so there is virtually nothing that we can know about the textual tradition beyond that point (i.e., the late 10th century).

There is, unfortunately, no copy of the present text among the extant Dunhuang manuscripts. But the same text seems to be registered in a fragmentary catalog discovered by M.A. Stein in the Cave Library of Dunhuang (serial no. Or.8210/S.2079) under the following title:

慶友大阿羅漢所說經法住記 一<卷>[23]

The sūtra [entitled] **Fazhu ji** taught by the great Arhat [named] Gracious-Friend (= Nandimitra) in one [fascicle].

This catalog, also copied in another manuscript (i.e., Pelliot chinois 3807), is deemed by Fang Guangchang as an inventory of the collection of Buddhist texts at Longxing monastery 龍興寺[24] dated to the period of Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang (786–848), which was modeled on the **Datang**

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between the readings given by the two collations.

17. See Chikusa 2000: 340 and Zacchetti 2005: 110–112.

18. See Zacchetti 2005: 227, n. 213.

19. See Franke 1997: 124f.; Chikusa 2000: 341f., 353–355; and Zacchetti 2005: 115.

20. See Chikusa 2000: 341 and Zacchetti 2005: 112–115.

21. See Franke 1997: 123f.; Chikusa 2000: 350–353; and Zacchetti 2005: 116.

22. Cf. [A2.1: 17], [E1: 5b], and [F2.1.2+3: 22].

23. For the transcription, see Fang 2006: 191, where it is assigned an *ad hoc* running number 660 (with reference to its serial number in **Datang neidan lu**).

24. For the history of this monastery from the 8th to the 9th century and its significance for the diffusion of Chinese Buddhist canon in Dunhuang, see Fang 2006: 132–141.

neidan lu 大唐内典錄 but adapted to local practical needs.[25] If Fang is right, it would follow that a version of the Chinese translation of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** must have existed in Dunhuang before the mid-9th century.[26] However, it turns out that the case is not that simple. Quite recently, some fragments of exactly the same catalog, which were probably discovered in the Turfan region, have been identified in the Ōtani collection of the Lüshun Museum (Liaoning), the Krotkov collection at St. Petersburg and elsewhere.[27] These new findings demonstrate that the catalog was also circulating in the Turfan region and thus cannot have been a local compilation in Dunhuang, which reflects the state of affairs in the library of the Longxing monastery at that point. It may well have served as a practical blueprint, as it were, for collecting, depositing, or checking Buddhist texts, rather than a *de facto* inventory of books in a certain monastic library.[28] In other words, the catalog is normative rather than descriptive in nature; so the record of the Chinese **Nandimitrāvadāna** in the catalog does not necessarily amount to proof of the historical circulation of the text in Dunhuang.

The title of the text occurs also in another Dunhuang manuscript (serial no. Pelliot chinois 4664+4741) which appears to have originated in a sloppy hand. The content of the manuscript is not so much a catalog of a somewhat complete canon as that of sundry Buddhist texts which are grouped into a number of satchels (zhì 袟). In one of the satchels, the present text, according to the catalog, cohabits with four others:

> 大悲分陁<利>經八卷　仏遺曰摩尼<寶>經一卷　善恭敬<經>一卷　能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經一卷　大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記一卷已上十二卷同一袟
>
> The ***Mahā-Karuṇāpuṇḍa[rīka]-sūtra** (= T158) in eight fascicles, the ***Vevulla-Maṇi[ratna]-sūtra** (= T350; i.e., the **Kāśyapaparivarta** or **Ratnakūṭa**)[29] in one fascicle, the [**Sūtra on**] **the Wholesome Worship** (= T1495) in one fascicle, the **Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā** (= T239) in one fascicle, and the **Fazhu ji** taught by the great Arhat Nandimitra in one fascicle. The above twelve fascicles are in the same satchel.

The ways in which satchels are shared by the different texts (hézhì 合袟) in this manuscript are idiosyncratic, insofar as no distinct pattern is discernible. In the case of two other satchels, Fang Guangchang has detected an affinity to the section 'Register of Canonical Texts' (rùzàng lù 入藏錄) of the **Datang neidian lu**, where most of (but not all) the texts grouped together in this

25. For a detailed comparative study of the catalog of the Longxing monastery and the **Datang neidan lu**, see Fang 2006: 147–151.

26. This seems to be taken for granted by Shih Jen-Lang; see Shih 2002: 12f.

27. For the philological treatment of these fragments in comparison with their counterparts from Dunhuang, see Wang/Meng 2017: 172–188.

28. For detailed arguments with a critical reappraisal of Fang Guangchang's point of view, see Wang/Meng 2017: 188–190, 195f.

29. For linguistic justifications for the reconstruction of the form **vevulla-*, see Karashima 2015: 118f. For the identification of the title of the earliest Chinese translation of the **Kāśyapaparivarta**, see Pelliot 1936: 69f. It is significant that the character yuē 曰 instead of rì 日 is clearly attested in this fragment.

manuscript are also assigned to the same satchel.[30] This is, however, not the case with the texts mentioned above, which, as far as I am aware, are not registered in any other catalog as sharing a satchel. Given the obscure nature of the catalog, which is copied in a manuscript with scribbles in Tibetan and may well date back to the period of Tibetan occupation, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to judge whether it can be considered a piece of evidence for the text's presence in Dunhuang.

The lacuna created by the absence of Dunhuang manuscript can be filled, at least partially, by old manuscripts from Japan, where the present text forms part of seven monastic canonical collections (*issaikyō* 一切経).[31] Within the framework of the present study, I was able to collate two out of the seven manuscripts, *viz*., those at Kōshō-ji 興聖寺 and Kongō-ji 金剛寺.[32]

The nucleus of the canon kept at Kōshō-ji (Kyōto) consists of a collection of texts donated to Kaijūsen-ji 海住山寺 (Kizugawa, Kyōto) in the Kamakura period (1185–1333), which at one time belonged to Nishiraku-ji at Tanba 丹波西楽寺 (Kobe), where they had been copied during the years 1163–1169. It was at some point between 1596 and 1615 that the donated texts were transferred from Kaikūsen-ji to Kōshō-ji, where they have been subject to supplementation several times thereafter. The transformation of their format from scrolls to accordion books did not take place until the Edo period (1603–1867).[33] The extant colophons point to the heterogeneity of the various texts incorporated into this collection, the earliest part of which stems from the Nara period (710–794).[34] In some cases, the Kōshō-ji manuscript attests an archaic version of the text, which is different from that transmitted in the xylographic editions but finds a parallel in other Japanese monastic canonical collections, such as that of Nanatsudera.[35] The Kōshō-ji manuscript [**Ksh**] of the present text (serial no. 446-chō-15), 25.3 cm in height (with columns 19 cm in height) and having about 17 characters per column, appears to be a copy of the late Heian period (900–1185). On the outside of the front cover, the title is written in cursive script with two characters missing: 大阿羅<漢>難提蜜多<羅>所說法住記. Folds are separated from

30. See Fang 2006: 143–145.

31. *Nihon genson hachishu issaikyō taishō mokuroku* 日本現存八種一切経対照目録, edited by Academic Frontier Project, International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies (Tōkyō: 2006), 327, Jō 1164.

32. Photographs courtesy of Prof. Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典.

33. For the history and the origins of the Kōshō-ji collection, see Ochiai 1992: 294f., and Utsunomiya 2000: 663–666.

34. For the Nara period colophons and the Kōshō-ji manuscript of **Chu sanzang ji ji** 出三藏記集 in which some colophons of the Kaibao canon (before 983) are copied, see *Kōshōji issaikyō chōsa hōkokusho* 興聖寺一切経調査報告書, edited by Kyoto Prefectural Board of Education (1998).

35. Cf. e.g. the hagiography of Aśvaghoṣa (i.e. the **Maming pusa zhuan** 馬鳴菩薩傳), a unique version of which is preserved at Nanatsudera and Kōshō-ji and was probably based on a precursor in the Nara period, bearing witness to how the text might have looked in Tang China; see Ochiai 1992: 295–298.

one another by 5 columns. In the upper margin of the first 10 columns, the name of the monastery is written in majuscule characters: 圓通山興聖寺. No colophon, but traces of interlinear emendations are found. There are punctuation marks in red color throughout the manuscript: place and dynastic names are underlined on the right side of the Chinese characters, while personal names and book titles are stricken through with one line and two lines, respectively. Reading marks (*kunten* 訓点), a device used to facilitate the reading of Classical Chinese texts in a Japanese manner, are only found in the first two lines of the manuscript.[36]

Kongō-ji (Nagano, Ōsaka) boasts a rich collection of canonical texts copied over the course of some three hundred years (i.e., from the late Heian to the late Kamakura period) in the monastic complex centering around it, with the addition of supplements from some collections elsewhere, e.g. those from Hatta-ji 八田寺 (Ōsaka) and Amanomiya 天野宮 (Ōsaka).[37] This is also a heterogeneous collection, as is evident from the fact that the colophons of the Kaibao canon found their way into some manuscripts, while some others have colophons dated to the Nara period. Furthermore, it contains some otherwise lost texts which are not found in the *Taishōzō*.[38] The Kongō-ji manuscript [**Kg**] of the present text, which shows more traces of wear than that of Kōshō-ji, is a scroll consisting of seven folios. Every folio is 25 cm in height and 54 cm in width, containing 32 columns, each of which is 19.7 cm in height and has 16–19 characters. There are no punctuation marks, nor reading marks. Glosses on three characters with their pronunciations noted in the fǎnqiè 反切 system are written in minuscules below the occurrence, if the rest of the column is left blank; or at the end of the text, where a remark on the assignment of the text to 'scriptures' (jīng 經) is also written.[39] The glosses and the remark may serve as an indication that the text was read and studied at some point before this copy was made. No colophon is found apart from a cursive remark '[This] has been proofread once' (*ikkō ryō* 一交[→校]了), which seems to be written by a different hand and bears witness to the additional process of proofreading after the copy was finished. In terms of orthography, the Kongō-ji manuscript contains both simplified writings peculiar to Japan (e.g. shì 尺 for 釋, mó 广 for 摩) and idiosyncratic ligatures of disyllabic terms (e.g. nièpán 矣 for 涅槃,[40] shēngwén 聞 for 聲聞), which are to be systematically studied by specialists.

By and large, there seems to be an affinity between the two old Japanese

36. The lines with reading marks are transcribed as follows: 如レ是傳丶聞ノ佛薄–伽–梵般–涅–槃ノ後八百年ノ中執師子國勝軍王ノ都ニ[...]. For the attestation of reading marks in the Kōshō-ji collection in general, see Utsunomiya 2000: 662–690.

37. For the basic information about and the sources of the Kongō-ji collection, see Akao 2005: 339–352 and Ōtsuka 2016: 27–48.

38. See Ochiai 2004 and 2007.

39. Cf. [B2: 21] and [0': 18] below.

40. For 𥳑 and 𥳑, the normal ligatures of this term, see Zhang 2010: 118 and 364–367. For 矣 and its occurrences in Dunhuang manuscripts, see Yu 2008: 55f.

manuscripts, which share common variants here and there. However, due to the lack of data, it is, for the time being, impossible to determine whether the affinity is genealogically significant, and a Japanese sub-branch independent of the aforementioned two lineages, therefore, cannot (yet) be postulated.

Below the edition of the text, the apparatus, and the codicological and orthographic remarks, I present the listing of citations from the Chinese **Nandimitrāvadāna** in the works composed by Chinese, Korean and Japanese monks. The citations not only constitute important *testimonia* to the text at different points of its transmission, but also provide firsthand sources for the future investigation into the history of its reception in East Asia. Since I have for the most part searched the *Taishōzō* electronically, the listing should by no means be considered exhaustive, and I could have overlooked other citations, especially those in those Japanaese works that have not been incorporated into the *Taishōzō*. Be that as it may, I hope to have laid the cornerstone of a more ambitious project, which will be undertaken at some point in the future. In what follows, I offer as the final remark of this section a preliminary sketch of the *Nachleben* of the present text in East Asia, citations from which have so far been detected in the following Buddhist works written in Chinese (arranged in chronological order):

FYZL: The **Fayuan zhulin** 法苑珠林 (T2122), a Buddhist encyclopedia in 100 fasicles, completed in 668 AD by the monk Daoshi 道世 (d. 683),[41] who was a younger contemporary of Xuanzang and probably witnessed the latter's translating of the present text. Within the framework of the encyclopedia, the citation of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, which Daoshi referred to as 'newly translated' (xīnfān 新翻), belongs to the 22th chapter on 'the maintenance of the true teachings' (zhùchí 住持), in which it makes up the bulk of the 6th section dealing with the Arhats.

Gyŏnghŭng: The **Muryangsugyŏng yŏn-ŭi sulmun ch'an** 無量壽經連義述文贊 (T1748), an exegetic text on the larger **Sukhāvatīvyūha**, which was composed by the Korean monk Gyŏnghŭng 憬興 (fl. late 7th century) and exerted a considerable influence on the Japanese Pure Land patriarch Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1263) who quoted from this work extensively.[42] The **Nandimitrāvadāna** was quoted in the **Sulmun ch'an** to take issue with Huiyuan of Jingying monastery 淨影寺慧遠 (523–592), who, commenting on the reference to 'the future extinction of the true teachings' in the larger **Sukhāvatīvyūha**,[43] adopted one of the traditional timetables of the decline (i.e., the true teachings – 500 years; the semblance of the true teachings – 1 000 years; the decadent teachings [mòfǎ/*mappō* 末法] – 10 000 years). By contrast, Gyŏnghŭng was predisposed to the alternate timetable in the **Nandimitrāvadāna**.[44]

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41. On the basis of some records in Buddhist catalogs, Kawaguchi Gishō inferred that Daoshi was born at some point between 599 and 609 and ordained between 611 and 621; see Kawaguchi 1976: 794–797 (= 276–279).

42. For the citations of the **Sulmun chan** in Shinran's **Kyōgyōshinshō** 教行信證, see Sumikura 1995: 553–555 (= 29–31).

43. Cf. **Wuliang shou jing** / ***Amitāyuḥsūtra** 當來之世經道滅盡 [T360, 12.279a11f.] ~ Skt. *anāgate 'dhvani yāvat saddharmavipralope vartamana* ... [ed. Fujita 2011: 74, ll. 14f.].

44. Watanabe Kenshō argued that Gyŏnghŭng's predilection for the timetable in the **Nandimitrāvadāna** was influenced by Huaigan, although the latter was slightly younger than the former; see Watanabe 1980: 334, and 1981: 146–147. However, since the citation of

Huaigan: The **Shi jingtu qunyi lun** 釋淨土群疑論 (T1960) composed by Huaigan 懷感 (d. ca. 700), one of the leading figures of Pure Land Buddhism during the Tang dynasty. This treatise, written in a catechetical format, attempts to address systematically various questions concerning Pure Land doctrines and to reconcile inconsistencies in various scriptures. The citation of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** is situated in a context of Huaigan's criticism of the apocalyptic vision of the Three-Stages Sect (sānjiē jiào 三階教),[45] which rebuts the soteriological efficacy of Mahāyāna scriptures, starting with the larger **Sukhāvatīvyūha** held dear by Huaigan. In order to expound the aforementioned *locus classicus* on the decline in this Pure Land scripture, Huaigan adduced the timetable in the **Nandimitrāvadāna**,[46] to the final part of which he added that Maitreya, after his advent in this world, preached the Pure Land teachings for sentient beings. This ending, which is not attested in any version of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**,[47] was apparently a fabrication of Huaigan who was at pains to reconcile this text with the Pure Land soteriology. The first half of the citation, as quoted by Huaigan, has a peculiar wording unknown in most of the other *testimonia*. In all likelihood, the text was paraphrased by Huaigan or by his predecessor whose work might have influenced Huaigan.

T'unnyun: The **Yugaron k'i** 瑜伽論記 (T1828), a doxographical compendium of exegetic sources on Xuanzang's translation of the **Yogācārabhūmi**, compiled by the Korean monk T'unnyun 遁倫 (aka T'oryun 道倫; ca. mid-7th century to early 8th century).[48] The citation of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** occurs, in that context, as part of an annotation on a passage from the **Śrāvakabhūmi**, which expounds the persistence of the true teachings as one of the propitious conditions regarding others (*parasampad*).[49] Having quoted the opinions of (Hui)jing [惠]景 and (Kui)ji [窺]基[50] on this issue, Tunnyun adduced various timetables of the decline in scriptural sources, including that in the **Nandimitrāvadāna**. The first half of the citation has a different wording from the other *testimonia*, but is almost identical with its counterpart in Huaigan's work. It is thus likely that Tunnyun knew this citation either from Huaigan or from a common source of which Huaigan availed himself.

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the **Nandimitrāvadāna** in Gyŏnghŭng's text lacks the paraphrase and interpolation characteristic of that in Huaigan's catechism (see the discussion below), the hypothetical influence, in this specific case, seems to me not quite plausible.

45. For Huaigan's critique of the doctrines of the Three-Stages Sect, see Nishimoto 1990: 718–720 (= 250–252), and Kaneko 2001: 713–717 (= 207–211).

46. Kendall R. Marchman has failed to notice that this passage was quoted by Huaigan from the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, and considers it an interpretation of his own, representing a brighter outlook which Marchman attributes to the more stable and prosperous life under Tang rule (Marchman 2015: 212). This is a big mistake.

47. Paul Harrison reminds me of the possibility that Huaigan might have drawn inspiration from the appearance of the **Sukhāvatīvyūha** in the list of Mahāyāna scriptures.

48. No biography of Tunnyun or Toryun is extant; for the disputable name and nationality of this monk, see Eda 1934: 87–93 and Yang 1984: 292. Judging from the citations of contemporary works and internal evidence in this compendium, its compilation was completed at the beginning of the 8th century, probably at some point between 705 and 714; see Eda 1934: 98 and Katsumata 1938: 141.

49. Cf. **Yuqieshi di lun** / ***Yogācārabhūmi**: 法教久住(...) [T1579, 30.396c26ff.] ~ **Śrāvakabhūmi** §(I)-A-II-4-b-(2)-iii: *deśitānāṃ dharmāṇām avasthānaṃ katamat* ... [ed. Taishō Univ. 1998: 14].

50. For the interrelationship between this compendium of Tunnyun and the **Luezuan** 略纂 (T1829) attributed to (Kui)ji, see Hayashi-Mizutani 2015: 186–191.

FHZJ: The **Fahua zhuanji** 法華傳記 (T2068), a collection of various accounts of the origin, the transmission, and the miraculous efficacy of the **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra**. This collection, traditionally attributed to Sengxiang 僧詳/祥, is unlikely to have been compiled by the monk Huixiang 惠/慧祥 (ca. 639–706), who is credited with the compilation of the **Hongzan fahua zhuan** 弘贊法華傳 (T2067), as was previously taken for granted.[51] Judging from the dates of works quoted therein, the compilation of the collection was completed no earlier than 774 AD.[52] The compiler quoted from the **Nandimitrāvadāna** twice, *viz*., in the 2nd section narrating the concealment and revelation (yǐnxiǎn 隱顯) of this Mahāyāna scripture, and in the 10th section concerning the future merits obtained by the worshippers of such scriptures. Two portions of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** seem to be especially useful to the compiler: The first one is the timetable of the decline,[53] which helps him frame the historical narrative of the transmission of the **Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra** during the period of the decadent teachings. The other is the passage on the second assembly under Maitreya's preaching, which consists of disciples who have engendered wholesome potentialities with respect to the Buddhist teachings; this section is instrumental in the compiler's promotion of the worship of the **Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra**.

Annyōshō: The **Annyōshō** 安養抄 (T2686) in seven fascicles, extant in a 12th-century manuscript kept at Tōdai-ji 東大寺 (Nara), is an epitome of various canonical and scholastic sources concerning some core doctrines of Pure Land Buddhism. The sources are grouped around a number of dogmatic questions and arranged in the form of a catechism. The compiler's name is not recorded in the *codex unicus*, but a work under the same title (in six fascicles) was attributed, in a Japanese catalog, to the Tendai monk Kyōgetsu-bō Ryōkei 教月房良慶 (1127–1202).[54] The work's indebtedness to the **Ōjōyōshū** 往生要集 of Genshin 源信 (942–1017) is evinced in two sourced citations from the latter.[55] As far as the citation of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** is concerned, the compiler seems to have appropriated the relevant passage in the aforesaid **Sulmun ch'an** of Gyŏnghŭng without acknowledgement of the source.

Myōe: The **Shiza kōshiki** 四座講式 (T2731) composed by the Kegon-Shingon monk Myōe 明恵 (aka Kōben 高弁; 1173–1232) for the assembly on the Buddha's Nirvāṇa (*nehan'e* 涅槃會) at his monastery Kōzan-ji 高山寺. Myōe is best known for his dream diary, but he was also a trailblazer in the history of Japanese Buddhist liturgy. One of his major contributions to the development of Buddhist liturgical literature is the **Shiza kōshiki**, a quadripartite ritual manual which he composed in 1215.[56] The

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51. For instance, Hatani Ryōtai 羽溪了諦 (*pace* Hatani 1913: 1–6). For the life and date of Huixiang, see Ibuki 1987: 33–45.

52. The latest quoted work is the **Fahua wenju ji** 法華文句記 (T1719) by Zhanran 湛然 (711–782), which was completed in 774; for a systematic study of the citations in this text, see Ichioka 2012: 1–15.

53. Ichioka 2012: 10 claims that the citation of this passage in the **FHZJ** contains a significant error which betrays that the compiler probably drew this passage from the citation in the **FYZL**. This is not quite convincing, inasmuch as my collation demonstrates that the so-called error was actually the archaic reading attested in both the first Koryŏ edition and the old Japanese manuscripts (see [D1.1: 23a]). Therefore, it does not bear out any exclusive genealogical affinity between the two citations.

54. Arai Toshio was tempted to identify the compiler of the **Annyōshō** with this Ryōkei; see Arai 1979: 223–225 (= 9–11).

55. For the two citations, see Arai 1979: 225–230 (= 11–16).

56. For the **Shiza kōshiki** in general and an in-depth analysis of its performance practice

Nandimitrāvadāna is quoted in the second of the four sections, namely, the **Jūroku rakan kōshiki** 十六羅漢講式 'liturgy for the sixteen Arhats', which is relevant to an earlier work by Myōe, i.e., the **Rakan kushiki** 羅漢供式 'offering ceremony for the Arhats'.[57] The ritual for the sixteen Arhats is, according to this liturgy, divided into five subsections, and the citations of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** are found in the first and the third subsections, which are concerned with enumerating the Arhats' places of residence and proclaiming the benefits derived from this field of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*), respectively. The first citation seems to share a common source with the invitation (*kanjō* 勸請) part of the the **Rakan kushiki**, where almost the same names, dwelling places, and retinues of the sixteen Arhats (with the addition of Mañjuśrī, Mahākāśyapa etc.) are embedded in a formula for dedications.[58] At the end of the second citation, Myōe also quoted the timetable of the decline up to the point of the Arhats' passage into Nirvāṇa in an abridged form.

FZTJ: The **Fo zu tongji** 佛祖統記 (T2035), a Buddhist *summa historica* compiled by an orthodox Tiantai monk named Zhipan 志磐[59] during the years 1258–1269 and first printed in 1271.[60] This work is, in Schmidt-Glintzer's words, "the apex of the historiographical efforts of Buddhists in China."[61] As the organizing principle of such a unprecedented universal account of Buddhism, Zhipan adopted the format of traditional dynastic histories, which are normally divided into five sections, i.e., basic annals (běnjì 本紀), hereditary houses (shìjiā 世家), biographies (lièzhuàn 列傳), tables (biǎo 表), and monographs (zhì 志). Reorganizing the Buddhist materials accessible to him into such a framework, Zhipan managed to compile a history of Buddhism after the model of official historiography entrenched in China.[62] The citations of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** are all found in the section of monographs: The timetable of the decline is divided up and incorporated into the 30th fascicle dealing with the Buddhas in the past, present, and future, where these are mixed with Buddhist sources of various origins and rearranged in an annalistic form, taking the start of the

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during Myōe's lifetime and at Shingon temples in the Tokugawa period (with special emphasis on its musical aspect), see Mross 2016: 89–130.

57. The earliest extant manuscript of the **Rakan kushiki**, preserved at Kōzan-ji, bears a colophon dated 1205. For a photographic reprint and a transscription of the text, see Ishizuka/Yamamoto/Ōtsuki 2000: 327–366. For studies of its codicological features and musical elements, see Ishizuka 2000: 367–371; of its content in comparion with the **Jūroku rakan kōshiki**, see Yamamoto 2000: 373–381. For a discussion on Myōe and his cult of the Arhats from the perspective of intellectual history, see Maekawa 2012: 229–238.

58. The formula is as follows: [...]中[...]尊者（並自眷屬[...]大阿羅漢）：哀愍攝受所施供，證知大衆三業礼！'The Reverend N.N. in SOMEWHERE (together with his own retinue [consisting of] UMPTEEN great Arhats): May you be so compassionate as to accept what is offered, and be mindful of the homage [paid by] the great assembly with three actions (i.e. with respect to body, speech and mind)!'; cf. Ishizuka/Yamamoto/Ōtsuki 2000: 359–361. For the commonality between the two ritual texts, see Yamamoto 2000: 377.

59. We are not quite informed about the life of this monk, whose dates of birth and death are unknown. For a biographical study of Zhipan, see Jan 1963: 61–66.

60. For bibliographical and historical studies of the **Fo zu tongji**, see Jan 1963: 66–81, and Schmidt-Glintzer 1982: 108–122.

61. Schmidt-Glintzer 1982: 108.

62. Such a historigraphical framework, to be sure, was not tailor-made for the Buddhist tradition. Therefore, it is quite understandable that Zhipan had to freely handle this organizing principle in some cases, so as to avoid putting the history of Buddhism on a Procrustean bed; see Franke 1961: 130.

period of the decadent teachings as the reference point. And the account of the various ways in which the Arhats partake of the offerings is quoted under the rubric of 'offering ceremonies for the Arhats' (gòng luóhàn 供羅漢), which is one of the Buddhist festivals, ceremonies, and cultic activities enumerated in the 33rd fascicle. Apart from sporadic cases of rewording, the citations are close to those in the **Fayuan zhulin**.

Raihō: The **Shakumakaenron kanchu** 釋摩訶衍論勘注 (T2290), a sub-commentary on the **Shi moheyan lun** 釋摩訶衍論 (T1668) attributed to Nāgārjuna, which is itself an apocryphal commentary on the **Dasheng qixin lun** 大乘起信論 (T1667) attributed to Aśvaghoṣa. According to its colophons, the sub-commentary was composed by the Shingon monk Raihō 賴寶[63] at Kōyasan 高野山 during the years 1317–1320. Raihō adduced the sentence mentioning 100 crores of Mahāyāna scriptures from the **Nandimitrāvadāna** to comment on the number of Buddhist scriptures prescribed in the **Shi moheyan lun** as 100 lakhs.[64]

63. The dates of Raihō are disputable. A colophon has it that the sub-commentary was completed when Raihō was 42 years old, so he was probably born in 1279. However, with regard to his date of death, various sources contradict one another; see his biography in *Shingonshū zensho* 真言宗全書, vol. 43, 336–338.

64. Cf. **Shi moheyan lun**: 總百洛叉數 [T1668, 32.593b20] 'Totally 100 lakhs in number'.

[0] Chinese title, *Qianziwen* character, and translator

大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記　畫

2 大唐三藏法師玄奘奉　詔譯

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2 大唐] JKr; Ø FKgKshQSY; 唐 M.

[A1]

3 如是傳聞：佛薄伽梵般涅槃後八百
年中，執師子國勝軍王都，有阿羅漢
名難提蜜多羅唐言慶友，具八解脫、三明、
6 六通、无諍、願、智、邊際定等，无量功德
皆悉具足，有大威神，名稱高遠，以願
智力，能知此界一切有情種種心行。

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4 阿羅漢] JKgKrKsh; 羅漢 FMQSY.
5a 難提蜜多羅] 難提蜜多羅法 Ksh. **5b 具**] 住具 Ksh.
8 能知] 能智 Ksh.

FYZL T2122, 53. 511c22–24: 又依新翻《大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所説法住記》云：薄伽梵般涅槃後八百年中，執師子國勝軍王都，有阿羅漢名難提蜜多羅唐云慶友。

[**A2.1**]

9 復能隨順作諸饒益。化願既畢，將般
涅槃。集諸苾蒭、苾蒭尼等，說己所證
諸妙功德，及應所行利樂有情。諸勝
12 事業，皆悉成辦。告時衆曰：「自今已後，
无復所為；唯无餘依，是所歸趣。仁等
當知，有疑可問。」時，諸大衆聞是語已，
15 舉聲號哭，不能自持，宛轉於地。或起
唱言：「佛薄伽梵久已涅槃，諸聖弟子
亦隨寂滅。世間久空，无真⁺調御。今唯
18 尊者，為天人眼。如何復欲弃捨我等？
願垂哀愍，少留壽命。」尊者慶友慰喻
衆言：「不須啼泣。仁等當知，世間法尒
21 有生必滅。諸佛如來降服四魔，於壽
自在；隨順世故，猶示涅槃。况我今者，||
豈宜恒住？設隨汝請，亦无利益。當體
2 此意，勿生憂惱。但有疑者，應可速問。」

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12 辦] 弁 Kg. **17 真⁺調御**] em. after FKgKshMQSY; 真諦御 JKr. **19 垂**] Ø Kg. **20 啼泣**] 帶泣 Ksh.

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22 猶示涅槃] 猶示𡢁 Kg. This character is also attested in Dunhuang manuscripts (e.g. Pelliot chinois 2173, Or.8210/S.2662) as a ligature of 涅槃; see Yu 2008: 55f. The origin of the ligature and the process of its derivation are unclear.

FYZL T2122, 53.511c24–26: 化緣既畢，將般涅槃。集諸苾芻苾芻尼等：「但有疑者，應可速問。」

[A2.2]

3 諸苾蒭等，雖承告示，猶增涕噎，良久
乃問：「我等未知世尊釋迦牟尼无上
正法當住幾時。」尊者告曰：「汝等諦聽。
6 如來先已說《法住經》，今當為汝粗更
宣說。佛薄伽梵般涅槃時，以无上法
付囑十六大阿羅漢并眷屬等，令其
9 護持使不滅沒。及勑其身，與諸施主
作真福田，令彼施者得大果報。」

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4 **釋迦**] 尺迦 Kg. 8 **等**] 并 Ksh. 9 **及**] 乃 M. 10 **果報**] [子]報 Kg.

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7 **般涅槃**] 般矣 Kg.

FYZL T2122, 53.511c26–512a3: 承告，洟噎，良久乃問：「我等未知世尊釋迦牟尼與(sic)上正法當住幾時。」時，尊者告曰：「汝等諦聽。如來先已說《法住經》，今當爲汝粗更宣說。佛薄伽梵般涅槃時，以無上法付囑十六大阿羅漢并諸眷屬，令其護持使不滅沒。及勑其身，與諸施主作眞福田，令彼施者得大果報。」

Gyŏnghŭng T1748, 37.170b8–11: 今依《法住記》云：佛滅度時，以無上法付囑十六大阿羅漢并諸眷屬，令其護持使不滅沒。及勑其身，與諸施主作眞福田，令彼施者得大果報。

FHZJ T2068, 51.50b21–23: 若依《法住記》：佛薄伽梵般涅槃時，以無上法付囑十六大阿羅漢并眷屬，並令其護持使不滅沒。

Annyōshō T2686, 84.191c10–13: 今依《注記》(sic)云：佛滅度時，以無上法付屬十六大阿羅漢并諸眷屬，令其護持使不滅沒。及勑其身，與諸施主作眞福田，令彼施者得大果報。

FZTJ T2035, 49.319b7f.: 供羅漢：佛滅時，付囑十六阿羅漢，與諸施主作眞福田。

[B1]

時，諸

大衆聞是語已，少解憂悲，復重請言：

12 「所説十六大阿羅漢，我輩不知其名

何等。」慶友答言：「第一尊者名賓度羅

跋囉惰闍。第二尊者名迦諾迦伐蹉。

15 第三尊者名迦諾迦跋釐墮闍。第四

尊者名蘇頻陀。第五尊者名諾距羅。

第六尊者名跋陀羅。第七尊者名迦

18 理迦。第八尊者名伐闍羅弗多羅。

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14 跋囉惰闍] 拔惰闍 Ksh, 跋惰聞 Kg. **15 墮**] 惰 F; 惰 KgKsh. **16 距**] 矩 KgKshMSY. **18 闍**] 閱 F.

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12 知] 如 made over to 知 Ksh.

FYZL T2122, 53.512a3–17: 時，諸大衆聞是語已，少解憂悲，復重請言：「所説十六大阿羅漢，我輩不知其名何等。」慶友答言：「第一尊者名賓度羅跋羅惰闍[...]第二尊者名迦諾迦伐蹉[...]第三尊者名迦諾跋釐惰闍[...]第四尊者名蘇頻陀[...]第五尊者名諾詎羅[...]第六尊者名颰陀羅[...]第七尊者迦理迦[...]第八尊者名伐闍羅弗多羅[...]

[B2]

18 第

九尊者名戍博迦。第十尊者名半託

迦。第十一尊者名囉怙羅。第十二尊

21 者名那伽犀郍。第十三尊者名因揭

陀。第十四尊者名伐那婆斯。第十五

尊者名阿氏多。第十六尊者名注荼||

半託迦。如是十六大阿羅漢，一切皆具

三明、六通、八解脱等无量功德，離三

3 界染，誦持三藏，博通外典。承佛勑故，

以神通力延自壽量，乃至世尊正法

應住，常隨護持；及與施主作眞福田，

6 令彼施者得大果報。」

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19 託] 諾 Kg. **20 囉**] 羅 KgKsh. **21 郍**] 那 FKgKshMQSY. **23a 氏**] 伐 Kg. **23b 注荼**] 住荼 Ksh, 法荼 Kg.
1 託] 語 Kg. **2 脫**] Ø Kg. **5 應住**] 遍住 Kg.

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21 名那伽犀郍] 那伽犀那 Ksh (with「名」落[軼] noted in red color); 名那伽犀那 Kg, with two glosses on 犀 and 那 in the fǎnqiè 反切 system, which I tentatively read 素慈反 and 尼牙反. **3 故]** 放 Ksh (with 故 noted in red color).

FYZL T2122, 53. 512a18–b6: 第九尊者名戍博迦[...]第十尊者名半託迦[...]第十一尊者名羅怙羅[...]第十二尊者名那伽犀那[...]第十三尊者名目(因 MY)揭陀[...]第十四尊者名伐那婆斯[...]第十五尊者名阿氏多[...]第十六尊者名注荼半託迦[...]如是十六大阿羅漢，一切皆具三明、六通、八解脱等無量功德，離三界染，誦持三藏，博通外典。承佛勑故，以神通力延自壽量，乃至世尊正法應住，常隨護持；及與施主作眞福田，令彼施者得大果報。
FZTJ T2035, 49.319b8f.: 時，阿羅漢咸承佛勑，以神通力延自壽量。

[C1]

尒時，苾蒭、苾蒭尼等復重請言：「我等

不知十六尊者多住何處，護持正法，

9 饒益有情。」慶友答言：「第一尊者，與自

眷屬千阿羅漢，多分住在西瞿陀尼

洲。第二尊者，與自眷屬五百阿羅漢，

12 多分住北方迦濕弥羅國。

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7 **苾蒭**] Ø Kg.　　12 **住**] 住在 FKgKshMQSY.

FYZL T2122, 53.512a5–8: 慶友答言：「第一尊者[...]，與自眷屬千阿羅漢，多分住在西瞿陀尼洲。第二尊者[...]，與自眷屬五百阿羅漢，多分住在北方迦濕彌羅國。
Myōe T2731, 84.901a11–14: 《法住記》云：第一尊者[...]，與自眷屬一千阿羅漢，多分住西瞿陀尼州。第二尊者[...]，與自眷屬五百阿羅漢，多分住北方迦濕彌羅國。

［C2］

12 第三尊者，

與自眷屬六百阿羅漢，多分住在東

勝身洲。第四尊者，與自眷屬七百阿

15 羅漢，多分住在北俱盧洲。第五尊者，

與自眷屬八百阿羅漢，多分住在南

贍部洲。第六尊者，與自眷屬九百阿

18 羅漢，多分住在耽沒羅洲。第七尊者，

與自眷屬千阿羅漢，多分住在僧伽

+茶洲。第八尊者，與自眷屬千一百+阿

21 羅漢，多分住在鉢剌拏洲。

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15 住在] 住 Kg. **20a +茶**] em. after FJKgKshMQSY; 茶 Kr. 20b +阿] em. after FJKgKshMQSY; 何 Kr.

FYZL T2122, 53.512a9–18: 第三尊者[...]，與自眷屬六百阿羅漢，多分住在東勝身洲。第四尊者[...]，與自眷屬七百阿羅漢，多分住在北俱盧洲。第五尊者[...]，與自眷屬八百阿羅漢，多分住在南贍部洲。第六尊者[...]，與自眷屬九百阿羅漢，多分住在耽沒羅洲。第七尊者[...]，與自眷屬千阿羅漢，多分住在僧伽茶(茶 MY)洲。第八尊者[...]，與自眷屬千一百阿羅漢，多分住在鉢剌拏洲。

Myōe T2731, 84.901a14–23: 第三尊者[...]，與自眷屬六百阿羅漢，多分住東勝身州。第四尊者[...]，與自眷屬七百阿羅漢，多分住北俱盧州。第五尊者[...]，與自眷屬八百阿羅漢，多分住南贍部州。第六尊者[...]，與自眷屬九百阿羅漢，多分住耽沒羅州。第七尊者[...]，與自眷屬一千阿羅漢，多分住僧伽茶州。第八尊者[...]，與自眷屬一千一百阿羅漢，多分住鉢剌拏州。

[C3]

21 第九尊者，

與自眷屬九百阿羅漢，多分住在香醉

山中。第十尊者，與自眷屬千三百阿||

羅漢，多分住在三十三天。第十一尊

者，與自眷屬千一百阿羅漢，多分住

3 在畢利颰瞿洲。第十二尊者，與自眷

屬千二百阿羅漢，多分住在半度波

山。第十三尊者，與自眷屬千三百阿

6 羅漢，多分住在廣脇山中。第十四尊

者，與自眷屬千四百阿羅漢，多分住

在可住山中。

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2 千一百] 千百 Kg. **5a 山**] 山中 Kg. **5b 千三百**] 千二百 Ksh.

FYZL T2122, 53.512a18–27: 第九尊者[...]，與自眷屬九百阿羅漢，多分住在香醉山中。第十尊者[...]，與自眷屬千三百阿羅漢，多分住在三十三天。第十一尊者[...]，與自眷屬千一百阿羅漢，多分住在畢利颰瞿洲。第十二尊者[...]，與自眷屬千二百阿羅漢，多分住在半度波山。第十三尊者[...]，與自眷屬千三百阿羅漢，多分住在廣脇山中。第十四尊者[...]，與自眷屬千四百阿羅漢，多分住在可住山中。

Myōe T2731, 84.901a23–b3: 第九尊者[...]，與自眷屬一千二百阿羅漢，多分住香醉山。第十尊者[...]，與自眷屬一千三百阿羅漢，多分住三十三天。第十一尊者[...]，與自眷屬一千一百阿羅漢，多分住畢利颰瞿州。第十二尊者[...]，與自眷屬一千二百阿羅漢，多分住半度波山。第十三尊者[...]，與自眷屬一千三百阿羅漢，多分住廣脇山。第十四尊者[...]，與自眷屬一千四百阿羅漢，多分住可住山。

[C4.1]

第十五尊者，與自眷屬

9 千五百阿羅漢，多分住鷲峯山中。第

十六尊者，與自眷屬千六百阿羅漢，

多分住在持軸山中。諸仁者，若此世

12 界一切國王、輔相、大臣、長者、居士，若

男若女，發慇淨心，爲四方僧，設大施

會，或設五年无遮施會，或慶寺、慶像、

15 慶經幡等施設大會；

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9 住] JKr; 住在 FKgKshQMSY. **11 持軸山**] 譬持軸山 Ksh. **12 輔相**] 轉相 Kg. **15 慶經幡**] 慶經慶經幡 Ksh.

FYZL T2122, 53.512a27–b2 & b6–9: 第十五尊者[...]，與自眷屬千五百阿羅漢，多分住在鷲峯山中。第十六尊者[...]，與自眷屬千六百阿羅漢，多分住在持軸山中。[...]若此世界一切國王、輔相、大臣、長者、居士，若男若女，發殷重(淨 FMSY)心，爲四方僧，設大施會，或設五年無遮施會，或慶寺、慶像、慶經幡等施設大會；
Myōe T2731, 84.901b3–6 & 901c28–902a1: 第十五尊者[...]，與自眷屬一千五百阿羅漢，多分住鷲峯山。第十六尊者[...]，與自眷屬一千六百阿羅漢，多分住持軸山。[...]《法住記》云：若此世界一切國王、輔相、大臣、長者、居士，若男若女，發慇淨心，為四方僧，設大施會。

[C4.2]

15 或延請僧至所

住處，設大福會；或詣寺中經行處等，

安布上妙諸坐臥具、衣、藥、飲食，奉施

18 僧衆。時，此十六大阿羅漢及諸眷屬，

隨其所應，分散往赴；現種種形，蔽隱

聖儀，同常凡衆，密受供具，令諸施主

21 得勝果報。如是，十六大阿羅漢護持

正法，饒益有情。

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15 或] 咸 FQSY. **16 住處**] 住家 Ksh. **19 往赴**] 往起 Ksh. **20 密**] 蜜 Ksh. **21 護**] 獲 Kg.

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21 護] Ksh (with the orthographic form 護 noted in red color).

FYZL T2122, 53.512b9–15: 或延請僧至所住處，設大福會；或詣寺中經行處等，安布上妙諸座臥具、衣、藥、飲食，奉施僧衆。時，此十六大阿羅漢及諸眷屬，隨其所應，分散往赴；現種種形，蔽隱聖儀，同常凡衆，密受供具，令諸施主得勝果報。如是，十六大阿羅漢護持正法，饒益有情。

FHZJ T2068, 51.50b23–24: 十六阿羅漢護持正法，饒益有情。

Myōe T2731, 902a1–4: 此十六羅漢及諸眷屬，隨其所應，分散往赴；現種種形，陰弊聖儀，示同凡衆，密受供具，令諸施主得勝果報；護持正法，饒益有情。

FZTJ T2035, 49.319b9–12: 若請四方僧，設無遮施，或所住處，或詣寺中，此諸尊者及諸眷屬，分散往赴，蔽隱聖儀，密受供具，令諸施主得勝果報。《法住記》始賓度羅終半托(sic)迦，凡十六位。

[D1.1]

22 至此，南贍部洲人壽

極長至於十歲，刀兵劫起，互相誅戮；||

佛法尒時當暫滅沒。刀兵劫後，人壽

漸增，至百歲位。此洲人等，厭前刀兵

3 殘害苦惱，復樂修善。時，此十六大阿

羅漢與諸眷屬，復來人中，稱揚顯説

无上正法；度无量衆，令其出家；爲諸

6 有情作饒益事。

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22 至] Ø KgKsh. **23a 長**] KgKrKsh; 短 FJMQSY. **23b 起**] 赴 Kg.

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23 互] 牙 Ksh (with the orthographic form 互 noted in red color). **1 刀兵劫後**] 刀兵{:起}劫後 Ksh.

FYZL T2122, 53.512b15–21: 至此，南贍部洲人壽極長至於十歲，刀兵劫起，互相誅戮；佛法爾時當暫滅沒。刀兵劫後，人壽漸增，至百歲位。此洲人等，厭前刀兵殘害苦惱，復樂修善。時，此十六大阿羅漢與諸眷屬，復來人中，稱揚顯説無上正法；度無量衆，令其出家；爲諸有情作饒益事。

Gyŏnghŭng T1748, 37.170b13–18: 至此，南贍部州人壽極長至於十歲，刀兵劫起，爭相誅戮；佛法爾時當暫滅沒。刀兵劫後，人壽漸增，至百歲位。此洲人等，厭前刀兵殘害苦惱，復樂修善。時，此十六大阿羅漢與諸眷屬，復來人中，稱揚顯説無上正法；度無量衆，令其出家；爲諸有情作饒益事。

T'unnyun T1828, 42.431c12–19 = **Huaigan** T1960, 47.48c15–22: 又慶友《法住記》言此佛法：刀兵劫後，人心厭惡，咸起慈心，不相殺害，共相怜愍，如父如子。命漸增長，至滿百年。十六大阿羅漢[...]并餘眷屬[...]還以[...]教法流行於世，化導群生，造寺度僧，修戒、定、慧。

FHZJ T2068, 51.50b24–25: 此州人壽極長至於十歲。佛法暫滅沒。後，人壽漸增，至四萬歲位。阿羅漢俱來人中，顯説正法。

Myōe T2731, 84.902a4–6: 刀兵劫後，人壽漸增，至百歲位。與諸眷屬，來人中，顯説正法，饒益有情。

FZTJ T2035, 49.299c15f. 南洲人壽至十歲時，刀兵劫起，互相誅戮；佛法是時當暫滅沒。法住記

[D1.2]

6 如是，乃至此洲人壽
六萬歲時，无上正法流行世間，熾然
无息。後至人壽七萬歲時，无上正法
9 方永滅沒。時，此十六大阿羅漢與諸
眷屬，於此洲地，俱來集會；以神通力
用諸七寶造窣堵波，嚴麗高廣。釋迦
12 牟尼、如來、應、正等覺所有遺身馱都，
皆集其内。

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11 釋] 釈 Kg. **13 集**] 悉 F.

FYZL T2122, 53.512b21–26: 如是，乃至此洲人壽六萬歲時，無上正法流行世間，熾然無息。後至人壽七萬歲時，無上正法方未(永 FMSY)滅沒。時，此十六大阿羅漢與諸眷屬，於此洲地，俱來集會；以神通力用諸七寶造窣堵波，嚴麗高廣。釋迦牟尼、如來、應、正等覺所有遺身馱都，皆集其内。

Gyŏnghŭng T1748, 37.170b18–23: 如是，乃至此洲人壽六萬歲時，無上正法流行世間，熾然不息。後至人壽七萬歲時，無上正法方永滅沒。時，此十六大阿羅漢與諸眷屬，於此洲地，俱來集會；以神通力用諸七寶造窣堵波，嚴麗高廣。釋迦如來所有遺身，都集其内。

T'unnyun T1828, 42.431c19–21 = **Huaigan** T1960, 47.48c22–24: 佛法熾盛，至增人壽六萬歲末、七萬歲初。諸阿羅漢總集如來所有舍利，共造寶塔。

FHZJ T2068, 51.50b26–28: 乃至六萬歲時，無上正法流行世間，熾盛(v.l. 然)無息。至七萬歲時，無上正法永滅沒。

Annyōshō T2686, 84.191c13–19: 如是，乃至此州人壽六萬歲時，無上正法流行世間，熾燃不息。彼至人壽七萬歲時，無上正法方永滅沒。時，此十六大阿羅漢與諸眷屬，於此州地，恒來集會；以神通力用諸七寶造卒堵波，嚴麗高廣。釋迦如來所有遺身，都集其内。

Myōe T2731, 84.902a6f.: 乃至人壽七萬歲時，無上正法永滅沒。至此時可唱入滅云云。

FZTJ T2035, 49.300a8f.: 《法住記》：人壽七萬歲時，十六羅漢用七寶造窣堵波，釋迦遺身馱都，皆集其内。

[D2.1]

尒時，十六大阿羅漢與諸

眷屬，繞窣堵波，以諸香、花持用供養，

15 恭敬讚歎，繞百千匝。瞻仰禮已，俱升

虛空，向窣堵波作如是言：「敬禮世尊、

釋迦、如來、應、正等覺！我受教勑，護持

18 正法，及與天人作諸饒益。法藏已沒，

有緣已周，今辭滅度。」

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17 釋] 尺 Kg. **19 有緣**] 化緣 M.

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16 敬] 敬 Kr (with the last stroke omitted because the name of the grandfather [i.e., Jing] of the first emperor was tabooed in the Northern Song dynasty. This taboo persisted until the end of 1162; see Adamek 2015: 164f.); but not attested in J.

FYZL T2122, 53.512b26–c2: 爾時，十六大阿羅漢與諸眷屬，遶窣堵波，以諸香、華持用供養，恭敬讚歎，遶百千匝。瞻仰禮已，俱昇虛空，向窣堵波作如是言：「敬禮世尊、釋迦、如來、應、正等覺！我先受勑，護持正法，及與天人作諸饒益。法藏已沒，有緣已周，今辭滅度。」

Gyŏnghŭng T1748, 37.170b24–29: 爾時，十六大阿羅漢與諸眷屬，遶窣堵波，以香、華持用供養，恭敬讚歎，遶百千匝。瞻仰禮已，俱昇虛空，向窣堵波作如是言：「敬禮世尊、釋迦、如來、應、正等覺！我受教勑，護持正法，及與天人作諸饒益。法藏已沒，有緣已周，今辭滅度。」

T'unnyun T1828, 42.431c21–25 = **Huaigan** T1960, 47.48c24–28: 十六阿羅漢與諸眷屬，遶塔供養，散諸香、華。瞻仰禮已，俱昇虛空，作如是言：「敬禮世尊、釋迦、如來、應、正等覺！我受教勑，護持正法，及與天人作諸饒益。法藏已沒，有緣已周，今辭滅度。」

Annyōshō T2686, 84.191c19–24: 爾<時>，十六大阿羅漢與諸眷屬，造窣堵婆。以香、花持用供養，恭敬讚嘆，遶百千匝。瞻仰禮已，俱昇虛空，向窣堵波作如是言：「敬禮世尊、釋迦、如來、應、正等覺！我<受>教勑，護持正法，及與天人作諸饒益。法藏已沒，有像已周，今辭滅度。」

FZTJ T2035, 49.300a9f.: 香、花供養，作如是言：「我先受勑，護持正法，及與天人作諸饒益。法藏已沒，有緣已周，今辭滅度。」

[D2.2]

説是語已，一時

俱入无餘涅槃。先定願力，火起焚身；

21 如燈焰滅，骸骨无遺。時，窣堵波便陷

入地，至金輪際方乃停住。尒時，世尊

釋迦牟尼无上正法，於此三千大千||

世界，永滅不現，從此无聞。此佛土中，

2 有七萬俱胝獨覺一時出現。

21a 焰] Ø Ksh. **21b 遺**] 貴 Ksh. **21c 窣**] 卒 Kg. 23 **釋**] 尺 Kg. **1 聞**] JKrM; 間 FKgKshSY.

20a 无餘涅槃] 无餘矣 Kg. **20b 火**] 大 made over to 火 Ksh.

FYZL T2122, 53.512b26–c2: 説是語已，一時俱入無餘涅盤。先定願力，火起焚身；如燈焰滅，骸骨無遺。時，窣堵波便陷入地，至金剛際方乃停住。爾時，世尊釋迦牟尼無上正法，於此三千大千世界，永滅不現，從此無間。此佛土中，有七百俱胝獨覺一時出現。

Gyŏnghŭng T1748, 37.170b29–c5: 説是語已，一時俱入無餘涅槃。聖先定願力，火起焚身；如燈炎滅，骸骨無遺。時，窣堵波便陷入地，至金輪際方乃停住。爾時，世尊釋迦牟尼無上正法，於此三千大千世界，永滅不現，從此無間。此佛土中，有七萬俱胝獨覺一時出現。

T'unnyun T1828, 42.431c25–432a2 = **Huaigan** T1960, 47.48c28–49a5: 説是語已，一切俱入無餘涅槃。其舍利塔便陷入地，至金輪際方乃停住。[...]爾時，世尊釋迦牟尼無上正法，於此三千大千世界，永滅不現，從此無間。此佛土中，有七萬俱胝獨覺一時出現。

Annyōshō T2686, 84.191c24f.: 説是語已，一時俱入無餘涅槃。光定願力，火起焚身；如燈焰滅，髓骨無遺。時///

FZTJ T2035, 49.300a9–11: 先定願力，火起焚身。時，窣堵波便陷入地，住金剛際。爾時釋迦正法永滅。從此世間，有七百俱胝獨覺一時出現。

[E1]

至人壽

3 量八萬歲時，獨覺聖復皆滅度；次後，
彌勒如來、應、正等覺出現世間。時，贍
部洲廣博嚴淨；无諸荆棘、谿谷、堆$^{+}$阜，
6 平正潤澤，金沙覆地。處處皆有清池、
茂林、名花、瑞草，及衆寶聚，更相暉映，
甚可愛樂。人皆慈心，修行十善；以修
9 善故，壽命長遠。豐樂安隱，士女殷稠，
城邑鄰次，雞飛相及。所營農稼，一種
七穫；自然成實，不須耘耨。

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3 獨覺聖] Kr; 獨覺聖衆 JKgKshMQSY, 獨覺聖教 F. 5a 諸] Ø Ksh. **5b** $^{+}$**阜**] em. after FKgMQSY; 埠 JKrKsh. **6 清池**] 清淨池 KgKsh. **7a 名花**] 名茇 Ksh. **7b 聚**] 聖 Kg. **11a 耨**] 稱 Ksh.

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9 殷] 殸 Kr (with the last stroke omitted because the name of the father [i.e., Hongyin 弘殷] of the first emperor was tabooed in the Northern Song dynasty; see Adamek 2015: 274); but not attested in J. **11 實**] 寶 made over to 實 Ksh.

FYZL T2122, 53.512c8–10: 至人壽八萬歲時，獨覺聖衆復皆滅度；次後，彌勒如來、應、正等覺出現世間。時，贍部洲廣博嚴淨。
Gyŏnghŭng T1748, 37.170c5f.: 至人壽量八萬歲時，獨覺聖衆復皆滅沒；次後，彌勒如來出世。
T'unnyun T1828, 42.432a2–3: 至人壽量八萬歲時，獨覺聖衆復皆滅度；以後，彌勒出現世間。
Huaigan T1960, 47.49a5–8: 其人壽量八萬歲時，獨覺聖衆復皆滅度。次後，彌勒出現世間，還為衆生說淨土教，令無量衆得生淨土。
FZTJ t2035, 49.300A11: 人壽八萬歲時，獨覺聖衆復皆滅度；次後，彌勒如來出現世間。

[E2]

諸仁者，於

12 彼時中，國界莊嚴、有情果報，陳之難

盡。具如《弥勒成佛經》説。弥勒如來成

正覺已，爲聲聞衆三會説法，令出生

15 死，得證涅槃。第一會，度九十六俱胝

聲聞衆。第二會，度九十四俱胝聲聞

衆。第三會，度九十二俱胝聲聞衆。

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11 於] Ø Kg.

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15 得證涅槃] 得證矣 Kg. **16 九十四俱胝聲聞**] 九十四俱胝聞 Kg (prob. a ligature for 聲聞, two characters both containing the radical 耳). **17 九十二俱胝聲聞**] 九十二俱胝聞 Kg

FHZJ T2068, 51.95b4f.: 《法住記》云：彌勒如來成正覺已，為聲聞衆三會說法，令出生死，得證涅槃。

[F1.1]

若

18 國王、大臣、長者、居士、男女一切施主，

於今釋迦牟尼佛正法中，能爲佛事；

自種善根，或教他種。謂：以七寶、金、銀、

21 眞珠、璧玉、香材、鍮石、銅、鐵、木、石、泥，或以

繒縷，或以綵畫，作佛形像及窣堵波，

若大若小，乃至最小如指節量；或以||

1 香、花諸妙供具，若多若少，而爲供養。

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18 國王] 諸國王 FKgKshMQSY. **19a 釋迦**] 尺迦 Kg. **19b 為佛事**] 為佛事佛 Kg. **21a 材**] 林 FKgKsh. **21b 泥**] KgKrKsh; 尼漆 J; 泥土 FMQSY. **22 窣堵波**] 卒都波 Kg. **23 小**] 少 Ksh. **1 少**] 小 Kg.

[F1.2]

彼由如是善根力故，至弥勒如來成

3 正覺時，善得人身；於彼佛第一會中，

以淨信心，捨俗出家，剃除鬚髮，披著

法服。既預聖衆，隨宿願力，便得涅槃。

6 是名第一爲佛事故種善根者所得

果報。

4a 以淨信心] 淨□信心 Kg. **4b 剃**] 淨 FKgKshMQSY. **4c 披**] 被 KgKsh **5 法服**] 善法服 Ksh.

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5 既預聖衆］{既以淨信心捨俗出家}既預聖衆 Ksh (prob. a dittography noticed by the copyist who left the rest of the line blank and resumed the text on a new line).

[F2.1]

若諸國王及以臣、庶、一切施主，

於今釋迦牟尼佛正法中，能爲法事；

9 自種善根，或教他種。

---

8 釋] 尺 Kg.

FHZJ T2068, 51.95b5–7: 乃至若諸國王及以臣、度一切施，於今釋迦牟尼佛正法種，能為法事；自種善根，或教他(v.l. 化)種。

[F2.1.1]

9 謂於大乘素呾

纜藏，所有甚深、空性相應諸大乘經；

謂：**(1)**般若波羅蜜多經、**(2)**妙法芬陀利迦

12 經、**(3)**金光明經、**(4)**金剛手藏經、**(5)**首楞伽摩

三摩地經、**(6)**幻喻三摩地經、**(7)**大神變三

摩地經、**(8)**集諸功德三摩地經、**(9)**還如來

15 智印三摩地經、**(10)**具諸威光三摩地經、

(11)寶臺經、**(12)**集諸菩薩三摩地經、**(13)**諸佛攝

受經、

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9 呾] 怛 KshM; 但 Kg. **12 金剛手藏經**] 金剛手藏 KgKsh. **14 還**] 逮 FMQSY; Ø KgKsh.

13–16 三摩地] 三广地 Kg. 16 菩薩] 芃 Kg.

FHZJ T2068, 51.95b7–9: 謂於大乘素呾<u>覽</u>藏，所有甚深、空性相應諸大乘經；謂：般若波羅蜜多經、<u>妙芬陀利</u>(v.l. 羅)經、金光明經等。

[F2.1.2+3]

(14)集請問經、**(15)**梵王問經、**(16)**善吉問經、

18 **(17)**勇猛問經、**(18)**能滿問經、**(19)**海龍王問經、**(20)**無

熱惱龍王問經、**(21)**樹幢龍王問經、**(22)**寶掌

問經、**(23)**寶髻問經、**(24)**虛空音問經、**(25)**虛空吼

21 問經、**(26)**幻網問經、**(27)**寶女問經、**(28)**妙女問經、

(29)善臂問經、**(30)**師子問經、**(31)**猛$^{+}$授問經、**(32)**金光

女問經、

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19 幢] 憧 KgKsh. **20 吼**] 孔 Kg. **22 $^{+}$授**] 校 JKr, 挍 S; after FKgKshMQY.
23 經] Ø Ksh.

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19 熱] 勢 made over to 契 Ksh.

[F2.1.4+5]

23 (33)說无盡慧經、(34)說無垢稱經、(35)未||
生怨王經、(36)諦實經、(37)那羅延經、(38)佛花嚴
經、(39)蓮華手經、(40)十佛名經、(41)无量光衆經、
3 (42)極樂衆經、(43)集淨華經、(44)大集經、(45)入一切
道經、(46)寶幢經、(47)寶聚經、(48)寶篋經、(49)彩畫經、
(50)高頂王經。如是等大乘經，有百俱胝，
6 部黨差別。復有大乘毗奈耶藏、阿毗
達磨藏，衆多部類。一切皆是菩薩藏
攝。

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23 无盡慧] 无應惠 Kg, 无盡惠 Ksh. **2a 蓮華**] 蓮花 KgKsh. **2b 十**] 千 MQY. **3 淨華**] 淨花 KgKsh. **4 幢**] 憧 Kg, 愔 Ksh. **5 高**] 尚 Kg.

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4 寶篋經] 寶{一入切到經寶憧經}篋經 Kg (prob. a dittography noticed by the copyist who left the rest of the line blank and wrote 篋經 on a new line).
7 菩薩藏] 井藏 Kg.

FHZJ T2068, 51.95b9–11: 如是等大乘經，有百俱胝，部黨差別；大乘毘奈耶[...]
Raihō T2290, 69.627c6–8: 《法住記》云：諸大乘經，有百俱胝，部黨差別。復有大乘毘那耶藏、阿毘達摩藏，衆多部類。一切皆是菩薩藏攝。

[F2.2]

復有聲聞三藏；謂：素怛纜藏、毗奈
9 耶藏、阿毗達磨藏。素怛纜藏有五阿
笈摩；謂：長阿笈摩、中阿笈摩、增一阿
笈摩、相應阿笈摩、雜類阿笈摩。毗奈
12 耶藏中，有苾蒭戒經、苾蒭尼戒經、分
別戒本、諸蘊差別及增一律。阿毗達
磨藏中，有攝、六問、相應、發趣等衆多
15 部類。

8–11 阿笈摩] 阿笈广 Kg, 阿笈磨 Ksh. **15 磨**] 广 Kg.

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8 聲聞三藏] 聑三藏 Kg (聑 is prob. a ligature for 聲聞).

FHZJ T2068, 51.95b11: 聲聞三藏[...]
Raihō T2290, 69.627c8–9: 復有聲聞三藏[...]有五阿笈摩略抄。

[F2.3.1]

15 復有本生鬘讚、獨覺鬘讚。於如
是等正法藏中——或是佛説，或菩薩説，
或聲聞説，或諸仙説，或諸天説，或智
18 者説——能引義利，乃至有能於四句頌，
若自誦，若教他誦，若自讀，若教他讀，
若自持，若教他持，若自解説，若教他
21 解説；或於法師恭敬供養；

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17 **聲聞**] 了了 Kg.

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21 **敬**] 敬 Kr (with the last stroke omitted because of the aforementioned taboo); but not attested in J. 20 **自持**] 自於 made over to 持 Ksh.

FHZJ T2068, 51.95b11–15: 於如是等正法藏中——或是佛説，或菩薩説，或聲聞説，或諸天説，或智者説——能引義利，乃至有能於四句頌，若自讀，若教他讀，若自持，若教他持，若自解説，若教他解説；或於法師恭敬供養；

[F2.3.2]

21 或於經卷

恭敬供養——謂：以種種香花、幡盖、伎樂、

燈明，而爲供養；或於經卷，以諸雜綵、||

囊帊、縷帶而嚴飾之。由如是等善根

力故，至弥勒如來成正覺時，善現人身；

3 於彼佛第二會中，以淨信心，捨離家

法，出趣非家，淨除鬚髮，披著法服；既

預聖衆，隨宿願力，便得涅槃。是名第

6 二爲法事故種善根者所得果報。

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22 幡] 憣 KgKsh. **1 帊**] 皤 KgKsh. **2 現**] 得 MQSY. **4 披**] 被 KgKsh.

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4 **披**] 披 made over to 被 Ksh.

FHZJ T2068, 51.95b15–22: 或於經卷恭敬供養——謂：以種種香華、幡蓋、伎樂、燈明而爲供養；或於經卷，以諸雜綵、囊<u>葩</u>、縷帶而嚴飾之。由如是等善根力故，至彌勒如來成正覺時，善<u>得</u>人身；於彼佛第二會中，以淨信心，捨離家法，出趣非家，淨除鬚髮，披著法服；既預聖衆，隨宿願力，便得涅槃。是名第二爲法事故種善根者所得果報法雲經彼記大同此文。

[F3.1]

若諸國王及臣、庶、一切施主，於今釋

迦牟尼佛正法中，能爲僧事；自種善

9 根，或教他種。謂：諸苾芻、苾芻尼衆，或

次第請，或隨緣請，於月一日，或月八

日，或十五日，設齋供養；或往寺中，若

12 供養佛，若供養衆；或作給+侍；或有供

養修靜慮者；或有供養諸説法者；或

見有人，欲於正法學習、流布，從師聽

15 受，不作留難，施其所安，无令怯退；或

設五年无遮施會；或施四方僧；

7a 臣庶] 臣庶等 FKgKshMQSY. **7b 釋**] 尺 Kg. 9 諸] 於 KgKsh. **11 齋**] 呑 Kg. **12a 佛**] 一 KgKshMQSY. **12b +侍**] 付 Kr; after FJKgKshMQSY. **14 學**] 覺 Ksh. **15 難**] 经 Kg.

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9 或(教)] 或 *ditto* Kg. **11 (八)日**] 月 made over to 日 Kg.

[F3.2]

或施寺

舍及坐卧具；或施鍾磬；或施園林；如是

18 等類，供養僧衆。彼由如是善根力故，

至弥勒如來成正覺時，善得人身；於彼

佛第三會中，以淨信心，捨離家法，出

21 趣非家，淨除鬚髮，披著法服；既預聖

衆，隨宿願力，便得涅槃。是名第三爲

僧事故種善根者所得果報。

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16 寺] 与 Kg. 21 **披**] 被 KgKshMSY. **22 衆**] 衆生 Kg.

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18 由] 申 made over to 由 Ksh. **22a 宿**] 當 made over to 宿 Ksh. **22b 得涅槃**] 得矣 Kg. 22c 為] 名 made over to 為 Ksh.

[G1]

23 尒時，慶||

友大阿羅漢爲諸大衆廣説如上事

已，以神通力，於大衆前身昇虚空，高

3 七多羅樹；示現種種不可思議雙神

變事，令所觀衆增進勝道。時，彼尊者

現神變已，即於空中結跏趺坐；捨諸

6 壽行及諸命行，入无餘依般涅槃界；

先定願力，火起焚身，於虚空中雨身

遺骨。時，諸大衆悲歎希有，競收遺骨，

9 起窣堵波，以諸香花、寶幢、幡蓋、伎樂、

燈明，常爲供養。

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3 雙] 大 MQSY. **5 結**] 洁 Kg. **6 依**] Ø Kg. **9a 窣**] 變 Kg. **9b 幢**] 憧 KgKsh. **9c 幡**] 憣 KgKsh. **10 燈**] Ø Kg.

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6 般涅槃界] 般矣界 Kg.

[G2]

此《法住記》，古昔諸師

展轉相承，誦持不忘；爲令一切國王、

12 大臣、長者、居士、諸施主等，了達因果，

厭生、老、病、死、芭蕉、幻焰、泡沫之身，修

諸勝業，於當来世，逢事弥勒，解脱煩

15 惱，得大涅槃；生受樂故，於佛正法護

持、建立，令久不滅。

---

10 諸] 法 Ksh. **11 轉**] 輔 Ksh. **13 幻焰**] 幻炎 Kg. **14 勝業**] 勝樂 Kg. **15 受**] FJKr; 愛 KgKshMQSY. **16a 持**] 於 Ksh. **16b 令久**] 合反 Ksh.

14–15 煩惱] □ (a ligature which I cannot read) Kg. **15 得大涅槃**] 得大矣 Kg.

[0'] End title

18 大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記

18a 大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅] 慶友大阿羅漢 FKgKshS.
18b 法住記] 法住記一卷 KgKsh.

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18 大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記] 慶友大阿羅漢所說法住記一卷 Kg; with two lines of additional notes written by the same hand:
目錄中經中入，々此義甚吉。《法住經》者，佛說也。 宁者(→者个)尊者仿之。
'[It is] assigned to "scriptures" in the catalog, [it] makes good sense to assign it to this (category). The **Fazhu jing** (= T390?) was preached by the Buddha. This Elder (= Nandimitra) emulated him (= the Buddha).'
穫胡郭反。乎臒反。什(→詩)：「十月之(=穫)稻」也。得也。□也。禾苅(→刈禾)也。七枝也。
This is obviously a gloss on the pronunciation and semantics of the character 穫 that occurs in [E1: 11].

∴

In his introduction to the **Bhadramāyākaravyākaraṇa**, a text which, just like the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, is extant in Khotanese, Tibetan and Chinese, Constantin Régamey proposed the following method as part of his approach to a Buddhist text whose Indian original is no longer preserved:

> The reconstruction into Sanskrit is a rather useless amusement, and is seldom successful not only with European, but also with Indian Sanskritists. On the contrary a manner of translating which by analogy with the 'critical edition' may be called a 'critical translation', would come nearest to the original ... Just as in the 'critical apparatus' all the *variae lectiones*, even the obvious mistakes, are noted, so all the *variae versiones*, even sheer absurdities, should be noted (under the text) in a critical translation of this kind. In that manner, not only all the data helping to reconstruct the original become synthetized (even those which though they seem absurd at first sight, may, after a thorough investigation, prove to be correct), but also this assemblage of different versions may constitute a useful contribution to the study of the technique of Buddhist translators.[1]

The idea of "critical translation" proceeds out of the presumption of an Indian original as the forebear of all the extant versions, and takes for granted that, wherever the translations of the versions differ from one another, one of the different meanings must be that of the original, while others are deemed 'variants' derived from the original in a linear manner. If the present study is anything to go by, it has hopefully demonstrated that what Régamey proposed 80 years ago is doomed to failure in the case of a living text similar to the **Nandimitrāvadāna**. As is pointed out above, things that we title as the **Nandimitrāvadāna** probably result from a process of communal composition and/or compilation on the basis of some pre-existing textual modules and a fill-in-the-blanks narrative template, which may have been transmitted orally and could be expanded according to a certain model.[2] Régamey's theory postulates a creative author on the one hand, and various translators on the other – the former is credited with the production of the single originating text; as regards the latter, however, we can only speak of their translation technique. This bipartite schema (i.e., author/translator) does not do justice to a living text, whose textual history knows no clear-cut distinction between the authorial and the translatorial activities.

The absence of a borderline demarcating the boundaries of authorship makes possible an essentially open tradition, which is receptive to recasting and imitation of (parts of) the text. This seems to have been the case in Khotan, where, as is shown above, a forebear of the Khotanese **Nandimitrāvadāna** was recast and incorporated into the 22nd Canto of the **Book of Zambasta**

1. Régamey 1938: 10f.

2. See above pp. 24f.

composed before the late 5th century.[3] Some 300 years later, an imitation of the frame narrative found its way into the **Prophecy [of the Arhat] of the Li Country**, a presumably Khotanese text which was rendered into Tibetan and, in turn, into Chinese.[4] Both examples attest to the increased potentiality of the living text in serving as an incentive to literary innovations by members of the faith community who were eager to swim with the tide. It is thus not unlikely that the openness of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, coupled with its religious affordances,[5] has given rise to the prevalence of the related ideas and practices in different strands of Buddhism.

Readers may have noticed that so far I have left an issue unaddressed in this thesis, to wit, the text's school affiliation. I have done so intentionally since I consider it basically a wrong question. I am well aware of the vast amount of scholarship devoted to this topic, starting with Lévi and Chavannes, who, on the basis of the section enumerating the canonical literature of Śrāvakayāna (i.e., [**F2.2**]), hypothesized that the text probably hailed from Dharmaguptaka circles.[6] This was in turn taken for granted by Przyluski and Frauwallner in their discussions on the geographical diffusion of this Mainstream school.[7] The Dharmaguptaka hypothesis presupposes an essentially non-Mahāyāna origin of the text, which has undergone a process of Mahāyānization later on. A similar viewpoint is represented by Nattier, who goes so far as to suggest that the list of Mahāyāna scriptures (i.e., [**F2.1**]) was a late addition.[8] This scenario implies two agents contributing to the formation of the text as it stands, *viz*., a primary author who was non-Mahāyāna, if not necessarily Dharmaguptaka, in background, and a secondary redactor who was a Mahāyāna follower. Its textual history can thus be divided into a non-Mahāyāna phase and a post-Mahāyānization one. Thinking along similar lines, some other scholars seem to have been baffled by the fact that the Arhats rather than the Bodhisattvas serve as protectors of the teachings.[9]

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3. See above pp. 53–65.

4. See above pp. 51f.

5. See above pp. 27–31.

6. See Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 32, 39–40.

7. See Przyluski 1926: 328f. and Frauwallner 1956: 20 and 22. Both of them prioritized the Khotanese version which sets the frame narrative in Surāṣṭra, where they saw the presence of the Dharmaguptaka school.

8. See Nattier 1988: 45f., n. 54. A radical extension of Nattier's theory is asserted by Shin 2002: 51–57, whose claim seems to me very speculative.

9. See de Visser 1922–1923: 66–68 and Shih 2002: 48–49. The hypothesis of Lévi and Chavannes was misunderstood by de Visser as an assertion of the text having been authored by a Mahāyānist who wanted to "attach the Arhats to his doctrine and to connect the two schools by one kind of cult" (p. 67). Shih Jen-lang, in his turn, regards de Visser's old arguments in support of a "Hīnayānistic origin" of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** as a rebuttal of Lévi's and Chavannes' theory, turning a blind eye to the remarks that de Visser made immediately thereafter on the same page: "After having written this I read the learned and interesting arguments, given by the Professors Lévi and Chavannes in favour

No serious attempt has, to my knowledge, been made to come to grips with these points of view, quite a few of which should have raised an eyebrow, but two points seem to me most problematic and are thus discussed here. First, the exaltation of the Arhats is held by some scholars to be incompatible with the list of Mahāyāna scriptures, which is explained away either as a secondary addition or as trace of syncretism. This is a pre-conception influenced by the widespread East Asian idea of identifying the 'way of the Arhat' (luóhàn dào 羅漢道) with Śrāvakayāna.[10] But in the case of Indian Buddhism, as is pointed out by Ruegg, "it cannot correctly be held that, in all circumstances, the ideal of Arhatship is antithetically opposed to (and even contradictory with) that of Bodhisattvahood or Buddhahood."[11] Thus, if there is any fundamental difference between Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna, it is not reflected in the recognition of the Arhat ideal; and I do not see any reason that the cult of the Arhats promoted in this text cannot go hand in hand with that of Mahāyāna scriptures. Second, the main proof of the Dharmaguptaka hypothesis is the content and structure of the three Baskets (*tripiṭaka*) of Śrāvakayāna, which, as is described in the Chinese and the Tibetan versions, dovetail with a record in the **Dharmaguptaka-Vinaya**.[12] This detail can at best be interpreted as indicative of a strong likelihood that the target audience addressed by the tradents of the two versions was under as strong an influence of the Dharmaguptaka canon as that exerted by Mahāyāna scriptures. However, this does not point to a Dharmaguptaka origin of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, insofar as there is no evidence that this section, as it stands, goes back to the earliest stage of the text's history. We must be alert to the risk of overgeneralization by assuming every commonality of the later versions to be a bequest of a unitary Indian original. My reservations about the Dharmaguptaka hypothesis are not based on unreasonable doubt, since the Khotanese recasting in the **Book of Zambasta**, as is demonstrated above, testifies, at this point, to some features peculiar to the canonical literature of the Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika school.[13] These peculiarities by no means suggest an alternative hypothesis of Sarvāstivāda origin, but, at the very least, make us wary of the fact that a significantly different version of this section was known in Khotan no later than the late 5th century.

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of the *Mahāyānistic* origin of the this cult. I must confess that I regretted to see the balance turn to that side … Yet Lévi's and Chavannes' arguments are so convincing, that we must acknowledge the correctness of their theory." (p. 66) Thus, Shih seems to have misunderstood de Visser's misunderstanding.

10. This convention seems to have started with Lokakṣema who used *luóhàn*(*dào*) as a functional equivalent of *śrāvaka*(*yāna*); see Harrison 1987: 81f. For this term used as the counterpart of *hīnayāna* or *śrāvakayāna* in his translation of the **Kāśyapaparivarta** (i.e., T350), see Vetter 2001: 63. No such term seems to be ever attested in Skt.

11. See Ruegg 2004: 8.

12. Lévi's and Chavannes' argument was based on the Chin. version alone, but this case of the Tibetan version is not substantially different; see above, pp. 192f., fn. 103 and 104.

13. See above pp. 58–60.

To be sure, school affiliation does help us understand some types of texts, for instance, Vinaya texts, which are, as a rule, transmitted and used within the confines of a certain monastic environment dominated by a specific school; and, maybe to a lesser extent, doctrinal texts, which contain religious viewpoints attributable to a specific school or, in generic terms, to Mahāyāna or Śrāvakayāna. But with regard to texts which are neither Vinaya-related nor doctrinally oriented, it is pointless to distinguish between Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna, much less to associate their origin with a specific school of Mainstream Buddhism. A case in point is the work known in Tocharian as **Maitreyasamitināṭaka** and in Uighur as **Maitrisimit**, which, as Jens-Uwe Hartmann plausibly argues, has no school affiliation at all, or, more cautiously put, for which such a phenomenon as school affiliation is not yet proven to have ever functioned as a distinguishing feature.[14] As further examples for this type of texts, Hartmann refers to the so-called **Yogalehrbuch** and the **Maitreyavyākaraṇa**, which seem to evade every attempt of categorization either by school affiliation or through a rigid dichotomy between Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna.[15] These texts, characterized by their openness, represent, according to Hartmann, a type of 'living Buddhism', in which not only does school affiliation play no rôle, but also the line between Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna starts to become blurred.[16]

Hartmann's theses also apply to the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, which is partially overlapping with the legend of Maitreya and coalesced in the **Book of Zambasta** with a unique version of the legend, which, according to Kumamoto Hiroshi, "occupies a place that bridges the Sanskrit texts and the hugely expanded Tocharian-Uighur versions,"[17] i.e., the **Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka** and the **Maitrisimit.** We may better understand the non-sectarian character of these texts by viewing them as living texts which have come into being at the hands of multiple tradents rather than a single author. It is thus highly unlikely to presume that all the tradents were affiliated with the same school in terms of their monastic background, or that they targeted at a homogeneous audience associated with the same school. If we do not consider it fruitful to work with either of the two presumptions, the issue of school affiliation need not be addressed in the study of living texts.

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14. See Hartmann 2013: 37–50. The main thesis of his article is formulated as follows: "Das Werk besitzt keine Schulzugehörigkeit, oder, etwas vorsichtiger formuliert, beim derzeitigen Kenntnisstand lässt sich nicht nachweisen, dass so ein Phänomen wie Schulzugehörigkeit für ein Werk wie **Maitreyasamitināṭaka** und **Maitrisimit** als angestrebtes Unterscheidungsmerkmal überhaupt eine Rolle spielt." (p. 40).

15. See Hartmann 2013: 46–48.

16. See Hartmann *ibid.* 45: "Ich will daher noch eine weitere These wagen. Sie lautet, dass bei einem Werk wie der **Maitrisimit** aus verschiedenen Quellen geschöpft wird und dass es einen Buddhismus repräsentiert, bei dem nicht nur Schulzugehörigkeiten keine Rolle (mehr) spielen, sondern bei dem auch die Grenze zwischen Hīnayāna … und Mahāyāna zu verschwimmen beginnt."

17. See Kumamoto 2009: 9.

I offer as my final remark a tentative answer to a question which might be of interest for both textual critics and literary theorists: In what sense can we speak of a 'work', when it comes to such a living text as the **Nandimitrāvadāna**? As opposed to a 'document' which is a concrete object containing a record of human activity, a 'work', according to the textbook definition, is a creation produced by an author which conveys his (or her) intention to an audience and may never have existed in any concrete form.[18] According to this definition, the text of a work differs from that of a document, insofar as the former is the presentation of the original product of the author and, unlike the latter, not found in any actual manuscript or book. Thus, some scholars argue that the aim of textual criticism is to establish the text of a work by examining the varying texts of its documents.[19]

In the case of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, we have access only to some documentary texts which are not amenable to stemmatic analysis and cannot be regarded as verbal instantiations of a work created by a single author, as the above chapters demonstrate. It is thus unknown whether such an author ever existed in history, and if so, his (or her) silhouette cannot be clearly distinguished from that of every scribe or translator involved in the history of this text. What is at issue here is probably a type of literary culture, in which the author's intention gave way to the interpretive experiments undertaken by people engaged in a variety of interactions with the text. In this case, it is pointless to speak of a 'work' in the *authorial* sense, namely, as the original product of an individual, inasmuch as the presumption of an author does not get us anywhere. Therefore, one possibility to answer the question is to argue that, in the present case, there is no work, but only documents, the texts of which have taken shape in various cultural contexts.

Be that as it may, it seems to me also possible to treat the **Nandimitrāvadāna** as a 'work' in the *tradental* sense; that is to say, we may be justified in viewing the overall tradition as a collective product of various tradents, distinguished from its every single freeze-frame, i.e., its every single documentary text, which temporarily stills the constant flow of the tradition and thus represents a simulacrum of the work. In doing so, we can come to terms with the dynamics of the living text and better understand its historicity, which finds expression precisely in the work's entanglement in the heterogeneity of the documents and the diversity of human experiences associated with them. From this perspective, we may conceive the **Nandimitrāvadāna** as something of a work, a work which remains unfinished and is constantly enriched by the experiences of people it engages with – in other words, a 'work in progress'.

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18. For the first definition of 'work' and 'document' as a pair of contrastive terms, see Tanselle 1989: 11–38 and 1990: 1–33. For the adaptation of these concepts to the text-critical study of Rabbinic literature, see Milikowsky 1999: 138, n. 4; and of Buddhist literature, see Silk 2015: 206, 209–210. For a monographic study of the concept of 'work' in its various aspects, see Smiraglia 2001.

19. See, for instance, Tanselle 1989: 34–38 and Milikowsky 1999: 138.

Appendix 1: The Sixteen Elders

Listed below is some basic information about the sixteen Elders, as is attested in various sources surveyed in the present work, including the three versions of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** (i.e., Khot., Tib., and Chin.), the recasting in the **Book of Zambasta** [**Zambasta**],[1] three late Khotanese documents from Dunhuang (i.e., doc. A = Or. 8210/S. 2471, doc. β = IOL Khot 83+84, and doc. γ = IOL Khot S. 46),[2] and an alternate list of the Elders known above all from late liturgical texts (i.e., Tib. altern.).[3] This appendix has been compiled with two main objectives in mind: First, to lay a solid foundation for the reconstruction of the underlying Indic forms meant by the tradents; and second, to bring out the discrepancies among the various *testimonia*, which attest to the living text at different points of its long history. The basic information of each Elder is comprised of four elements, which are presented below as follows:

> *name* [*serial number in the list*]
> *place of residence/number of accompanying Arhats*

While Indic proper names are relatively transparent in the Khotanese texts that are written in an Indian script, they are basically treated in two manners in the Chinese and the Tibetan sources: In some case they are transliterated, while in others an attempt has been made to render the meaning of (parts of) Indic proper names into Chinese or Tibetan. As a rule, I render translated (parts of) proper names into English and reconstruct the presumed Indic antecedent. For transliterated (parts of) proper names in Chinese, I provide the reconstructed pronunciation of each character in Middle Chinese,[4] and reconstruct the presumed Indic antecedent if and only if it is at variance with the form attested in the other sources. For transliterated proper names in Tibetan, I provide only romanizations.

The order in which the Elders are arranged below is after the Chinese and the Tibetan versions. The name(s) of each Elder serving as the heading of the specific entry is/are the Sanskrit counterpart(s) of the form(s) attested in the majority of the sources included in the present survey. In case some of the Elders are otherwise known in textual sources of various Buddhist traditions, references to entries in lexicographical works and to a select number of previous studies are given in the footnotes attached to the respective headings in order to facilitate future investigations.

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1. See above pp. 53–65.
2. See above pp. 65–70.
3. See above pp. 129–135.
4. The reconstruction of Middle Chinese is after Baxter/Sagart 2014.

Piṇḍola Bharadvāja[5]

Khot. *Piṃḍaula-Bharadvāji* [1]
Gauyāṃni/1,000
Zambasta 22.93: *Baradvāju*
doc. α: *Paiṇḍūra-Bharädvāja* [1]
doc. β: *Piṃdūra-Bharadvāgya* [1]
doc. γ: *Piṇḍūra-Bharadvājä* [1]

Tib. *ba ra dwa dza bsod snyoms len* 'alms-taker' < **Piṇḍa-la* [1]
ba lang spyod kyi gling 'Cont. of Cattle Moving' < **Go-yāna-dvīpa*/1,000

Tib. altern. *bha ra dwa dza bsod snyoms len* [12]
shar gyi lus 'phags gling 'Cont. Sublime-Body of the East' < *Pūrva-videha-dvīpa*/1300

Chin. 賓度羅跋囉惰闍 *pjin-du-la bat-la-dwa-zyae* [1]
西瞿陀尼洲 'The western Cont. Godānīya (*gju-da-nrij*)'/1,000
Cf. Pelliot chinois 3645 *verso* 賓頭盧波羅墮<誓> *pjin-duw-ljo pa-la-dwa*[*-dzyej*]

Kanakavatsa

Khot. *Kanakavatsi* [2]
Kaśmīri/5[00?]
Zambasta 22.94a: *Kanakavatsu*
doc. α: *Kanakava<tsä>* [2]
doc. β: *Kanakavatsi* [2]
doc. γ: *Kanakavatsä* [2]

Tib. *gser be'u* 'golden calf' < *Kanakavatsa* [2]
byang phyogs kyi kha che'i yul 'The country Kashmir of the North'/5,000

Tib. altern. *gser be'u* [7]
kha che'i yul 'The country Kashmir'/500

Chin. 迦諾迦伐蹉 *kae-nak-kae bjot-tsha* [2]
北方迦濕弥羅國 'The country Kashmir (*kae-syip-mjie-la*) of the North'/500

Kanaka Bharadvāja

Khot. *Kānaka-Bharadvāji*
Pūrvadvī
Zambasta 22.94b: *Kanaka-Bāradvāju*
doc. α: *Barädvāja* [6]
doc. β: *Kanaka-Bharadhvājä* [3]
doc. γ: *Kanaka-Bharadvājä* [5]

Tib. *ba ra dwa dza* [3]
shar gyi lus 'phags kyi gling < *Pūrva-videha-dvīpa*/6,000

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5. Akanuma 1931: 504f. (s.v. **Piṇḍola-Bharadvāja**), and Malalasekera 1960: vol. 2, 202 (s.v. **Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja**). See also Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 205–275, de Visser 1922–1923: 71–80, Strong 1979: 50–88, and Ray 1994: 151–162.

Tib. altern. *bha ra dwā dza gser can* 'golden' < *Kanaka-* [8]
nub kyi ba lang spyod gling 'Cont. Cattle-Moving of the West' < *Apara-go-yāna-dvīpa*/700
Chin. 迦諾迦跋釐墮闍 *kae-nak-kae bat-li-dwa-zyae* [3]
東勝身洲 'The eastern Cont. Surpassing-Body' < *Pūrva-videha-dvīpa*/600

Abhedya

Khot. *Abhiji* [4]
Uttarū
Zambasta 22.95a: *Abiju*
doc. β: <*A*>*bhai*{*ṣa*}*jä* [4]
doc. γ: *Abhijä* [4]
Tib. *mi phyed pa* 'indivisible' < *Abhedya* [4]
'dzam bu'i gling 'Cont. Rose-Apple' < *Jambu-dvīpa*/7,000
Tib. altern. *mi phyed pa* [16]
gangs can 'the snow land' < *Himavat* (Himālaya)/1,000
Chin. 蘇頻陀 *su-bjin-da* < **Subhinda*[6] [4]
北俱盧洲 'The northern Cont. Kuru (*kju-ljo*)' < *Uttara-kuru-dvīpa*/700

Bakkula/Bākula/Vakkula[7]

Khot. *Bakkulä* [5]
Jaṃbvīya
Zambasta 22.93c: *Bakulu*
doc. β: *Bakulä* [5]
doc. γ: *Bakulä* [3]
Tib. *shing shun can* 'endowed with barks' < **Vālkala* [5]
byang gi sgra mi snyan gyi gling 'Cont. Unpleasant-Sound of the North' < *Uttara-kuru-dvīpa*/6,000
Tib. altern. *ba ku la* [9]
byang gi sgra mi snyan < *Uttara-kuru*/900
Chin. 諾距羅 *nak-kju-la* < **Nakula*[8] [5]
南贍部洲 'The southern Cont. Jambu (*dzyem-buw*)' < **Dakṣiṇa-jambu-dvīpa*/800

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6. The curious Chin. transcription might have resulted from a scribal error or misreading of **Subhaⁱṃda* for **Abhed*(*y*)*a*: the two *akṣaras a* and *su* look similar in Gupta and Gilgit-Bamiyan-Type Brāhmī, while diacritic *-e* can easily be mixed up with *-ṃ*.

7. Akanuma 1931: 73f. (s.v. **Bākula, Bakkula, Vakkula**), and Malalasekera 1960: vol. 2, 261f. (s.v. **Bakkula, Bākula, Vakkula Thera**). See also Anālayo 2007: 1–21, Legittimo 2009: 91–103, and Anālayo 2010: 1–28.

8. The word *nakula* 'mongoose, ichneumon' is well attested in Sanskrit literature as a proper name. Therefore, this case of variation might have not been triggered by phonological or paleographical factors, but by an overhasty reading of a tradent who misinterpreted the trisyllabic name on the basis of the last two *akṣaras* (i.e., *-kula*) alone.

Bhadra[9]

Khot. *Bhadṛ* [7]
Ttāmravarṇikadvīpi
Zambasta 22.94a: *Badru*
doc. α: *Badrraika* [3]
doc. β: *Bhadrrika* [6]
Tib. *bzang po* 'gracious' < *Bhadra* [6]
zangs gling 'Cont. Copper' < **Tāmra-dvīpa*/9,000
Tib. altern. *bzang po* [6]
chu bo ya mu na'i gling 'Isle of Yamunā River' < *Yamunā-dvīpa*/1,200
Chin. 跋陀羅 *bat-da-la* [6]
耽沒羅洲 *tom-mwot-la* < **Tāmra-dvīpa*/900

Kālika[10]

Khot. +*Kāḍi* [6]
Seṃkhaladvīpi
Zambasta 22.94a: *Kāḍu*
doc. β: *Kāḍika* [7]
doc. γ: *Kāṇḍä* [6]
Tib. *nag po* 'black' < **Kāḷa* [7]
sing ga la'i gling < *Siṃhala-dvīpa*/10,000
Tib. altern. *dus ldan* 'endowed with time' < *Kālika* [4]
zangs gling < **Tāmra-dvīpa*/1,100
Chin. 迦理迦 *kae-li-kae* [7]
僧伽荼洲 *song-gae-dja* < **Saṃghaḍa-dvīpa*(?)

Vajraputra/Vajrīputra[11]

Khot. *Vajraputṛ* [8]
Yamunavarṇikadvīpi
Zambasta 22.95a *Vajjiputru*
doc. β: *Vajrraputrä* [8]
doc. γ: *Vajrrīputrä* [7]
Tib. *bad sa'i bu* 'son of calf' < **Vatsaputra* [8]
pa na sa'i gling < **Panasa-dvīpa*(?)/11,000
Tib. altern. *rdo rje mo'i bu* < **Vajrīputra* [5]

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9. Multiple figures could be identified with this Elder, cf. Akanuma 1931: 87f. (s.v. **Bhaddiya**[1]), and Malalasekera 1960: vol. 2, 348 (s.v. **2. Bhadda Thera** & **3. Bhadda Thera**), 358 (s.v. **1. Bhaddiya Thera** & 2. **Bhaddiya Thera**).

10. This Elder might be the son of Anāthapiṇḍika, cf. Akanuma 1931: 258 (s.v. **Kāḷa**[1]), and Malalasekera 1960: vol. 1, 571f. (s.v. **1. Kāḷa**).

11. Akanuma 1931: 728 (s.v. **Vajjiputta**), and Malalasekera 1960: vol. 2, 810f. (s.v. **1. Vajjiputta Thera** & **2. Vajjiputta Thera**).

sing gha la'i gling < *Siṃhala-dvīpa*/1,000

Chin. 伐闍羅弗多羅 *bjot-zyae-la-pjut-ta-la* [8]

鉢剌拏洲 *pwat-lat-nrae* < **Paraṇa-dvīpa*(?)/1,100

Gopaka[12]

Khot. *Gaupāki* [9]

Ga(*ṃ*)*dhamāyaṃ garä*

Zambasta 22.93d *Ggaupaku*

doc. γ: *Gaupakä* [8]

Tib. *ba lang skyong* 'cowherd' < *Go-paka* [9]

ri bo spos kyi ngad ldang 'Mt. Fragrance of Incense-Arising' < **Gandha-mādana*/8,000

Tib. *altern. sbed byed* 'shelterer' < *Gop-aka* [15]

bi hu la 'Mt. Bihula(?)'/1,400

Chin. 戍博迦 *syu-pak-kae* < **Śopaka*[13] [9]

香醉山 'Mt. Fragrance-Intoxicating' < **Gandha-mādana*/900

Panthaka[14]

Khot. *Paṃthai* [11]

Prabhaṃkaradvīpi

Zambasta 22.94d: *Pantho*

doc. γ: *Pathaikä* [9]

Tib. *lam pa* 'traveler' < *Panthaka* [10]

lha'i gnas sum cu rtsa gsum 'the abode of the Devas of the Thirty-three' < *Trayastriṃśa*-[*deva*]*bhavana*/13,000

Tib. altern. *lam bstan* 'guide' < *Panthaka* [13]

lha'i gnas sum cu rtsa gsum < *Trayastriṃśa*-[*deva*]*bhavana*/900

Chin. 半託迦 *pan-thak-kae* [10]

三十三天 'the heaven of the Thirty-three' < *Trayastriṃśa*/1,300

Rāhula[15]

Khot. *Rāhuli* [10]

Ttrayastrīṃśvā

Zambasta 22.94c: *Rāhulu*

doc. α: *Rāhūla* [10]

doc. γ: *Rāhulä* [10]

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12. Possibly Akanuma 1931: 214 (s.v. **Gopa**) or Malalasekera 1960: vol. 1, 817 (s.v. **1. Gopaka**)?

13. The two *akṣaras go* and *śo* can easily be mixed up in Brāhmī.

14. Akanuma 1931: 386 (s.v. **Mahāpanthaka**), Malalasekera 1960: vol. 2, 530 (s.v. **Mahāpanthaka Thera**), and BHSD s.v. Mahāpanthaka.

15. Akanuma 1931: 526–528 (s.v. **Rāhula**[1]), and Malalasekera 1960: vol. 2, 737–740 (s.v. **1. Rāhula Thera**). See also Mochizuki 2005: 41–62 on the Elder's legends in various traditions, and Sadakata 2007: 33–38 specificially on the meaning of his name.

Tib. *sgra gcan 'dzin* 'holder of Rāhu' < *Rāhu-la* [11]
pri yang ku'i gling < *Priyaṅgu-dvīpa*/1,000
Tib. altern. *sgra gcan 'drin* < *Rāhu-la* [10]
pri yang ku'i gling < *Priyaṅgu-dvīpa*/1,100
Chin. 囉怙羅 *la-hu-la* [11]
畢利颰瞿洲 *pjit-lij-yang-gju* < *Priyaṅgu-dvīpa*/1,100

Nāgasena[16]

Khot. *Nāgaseṃ* [12]
Kailāsä gari
Zambasta 22.94d: *Nāgasenu*
doc. γ: *Nāgasai*(*na*) [11]
Tib. *klu sde* 'serpent-army' < *Nāgasena* [12]
ri bo skya bo 'Mt. White' < *Paṇḍava*/12,000
Tib. altern. *klu'i sde* 'serpent's army' < *Nāgasena* [14]
ri bo ngos yangs 'Mt. Extensive-Side' < *Vipulapārśva*/1,200
Chin. 那伽犀郎 *na-gae-sej-na* [12]
半度波山 *pan-du-pa* < **Paṇḍupa* < *Paṇḍava* (For the assimilation *p* … *v* > *p* … *p* in Pāli, see von Hinüber 2001: 158, §182)/1,200

Aṅgaja/Aṅgada[17]

Khot. *Aṃgälä* [13]
Gṛdhakūlä gari
Zambasta 22.93c: *Iṅgaṇu*
doc. γ: *Iṃgaṃṇḍä* []
Tib. *zur gyis shes* 'hint, sign' < **Iṅgita* [13]
ri bo ngos yangs 'Mt. Extensive-Side' < *Vipulapārśva*/13,000
Tib. altern. *yan lag 'byung* 'born from limbs' < *Aṅgaja* [1]
te se 'Mt. Kailash'/1,300
Chin. 因揭陀 *'jin-gjot-da* < **Iṅgada* [13]
廣脇山 'Mt. Extensive-Flank' < *Vipulapārśva*/1,300

Vanavāsin[18]

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16. Akanuma 1931: 436f. (s.v. **Nāgasena**[1]), and Malalasekera 1960: vol. 2, 46 (s.v. **1. Nāgasena Thera**). The name of the Elder does not seem to occur elsewhere than in the **Milindapañha**, except for a single reference to him in the **Abhidharmakośavyākhyā** by Yaśomitra (ed. Wogihara 1932–1936: 708, line 9); see Rhys Davids 1891: 476–478.

17. The name of the Elder seems to have become a puzzle for all the tradents of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** and related sources, and not any two of them are agreed upon this point. The only possible forms which seem to be otherwise attested as Elders' names are Aṅgada or Aṅgaja; cf. Akanuma 1931: 38 (s.v. **Aṅgada**, **Aṅgaja** = **Aṅgaṇika-Bhāradvāja**).

18. Possibly Malalasekera 1960: vol. 2, 830 (s.v. **2. Vanavāsī Thera**)?

Khot. +*Vānāvāsä* [14]
Uṣayä gari
Zambasta 22.93c: *Vanavāysu*
doc. α: *Vanavāsa* [5]
doc. β: *Vanavāsa* [14]
doc. γ: *Va*(*na*)*vāsä* [14]
Tib. *nags na gnas* 'dweller in forest' < *Vanavāsin* [14]
lus 'phags kyi ri 'Mt. of Sublime-Body' < *Videhaka*/14,000
Tib. altern. *nags na gnas* < *Vanavāsin* [3]
lo ma bdun ba'i ri phug 'Cave of the seven-leaved' < *Saptaparṇi-guhā*/1,400
Chin. 伐那婆斯 *bjot-na-ba-sje* [14]
可住山 'Mt. Inhabitable' < *Vaihāra*/1,400

Ajita[19]

Khot. *Aśauki* [15]
Ma(*hā*)*pā*(*ṃ*)*ḍari gari*
Zambasta 22.93d: *Aśśauku*
doc. β: *Ajittä* [15]
doc. γ: *Ajittä* [13]
Tib. *mi pham pa* 'invincible' < *Ajita* [15]
bya rgod phung po'i ri 'Mt. of Vulture-Peak' < *Gṛdhrakūṭa*/15,000
Tib. altern. *ma pham pa* < *Ajita* [2]
drang srong ri 'Mt. Ṛṣi'/100
Chin. 阿氏多 *a-dzye-ta* [15]
鷲峯山 'Mt. Vulture-Peak' < *Gṛdhrakūṭa*/1,500

Cūḍapanthaka[20]

Khot. *Cūḍapaṃthai*
Vaidehi garä/1,600
Zambasta 22.94d: *Cūḍapantho*
doc. α: *Cūḍāpattai* [7]
doc. β: *Cūḍāpathai* [16]
doc. γ: *Cūḍapathai* [16]
Tib. *gtsug gi lam pa* 'traveler of crest' < *Cūḍa-panthaka* [16]
ri bo gnya' shing 'dzin 'Mt. Yoke-Holder' < *Yugaṃdhara*/16,000
Tib. altern. *lam phran bstan* 'small guide' < **Kṣudra-panthaka* [11]
bya rgod phung po'i ri < *Gṛdhrakūṭa*/1,600
Chin. 注荼半託迦 *trju-dja-pan-thak-kae* < *Cūḍa-* [16]
持軸山 'Mt. Axle-Holder' < *Yugaṃdhara*/1,600

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19. Akanuma 1931: 12f. (s.v. **Ajita**[1]) and Malalasekera 1960: 36 (s.v. **5. Ajita-mānava**, **6. Ajita**).

20. Akanuma 1931: 136f. (s.v. **Cūḷapanthaka, Cullapanthaka**), Malalasekera 1960: 897–900 (s.v. **Cūlapanthaka Thera**), and BHSD s.v. **Cūḍa-panthaka**.

Appendix 2: The List of Mahāyāna Scriptures

I present below a synoptic table of the Tibetan and the Chinese versions of the list of Mahāyāna scriptures attested in the **Nandimitrāvadāna** (i.e., [**F2.1**]).[21] In the left column, titles attested in both versions are arranged in the order in which they are found in the Tibetan version, while those only attested in the Chinese version are listed beneath the respective titles which they follow immediately in the Chinese context. All the titles are given below in reconstructed Sanskrit forms, which are admittedly hypothetical. Conjectural titles, which are not borne out by any textual evidence, are marked with an asterisk (*), and readers interested in the underlying Tibetan and Chinese forms are referred to the numbered items in my editions above. In addition, I make reference to titles registered in three widely consulted early Tibetan works (i.e., the **Mahāvyutpatti** [**Mvy**],[22] the **'Phang thang ma** [**'Phang**],[23] and the **Lhan kar ma** [**Lhan**]), which can be identified with some of the titles included in the present list.[24] Uncertain identifications are marked with a tilde (~) so as to sound a note of caution. These references not only provide data useful for the reconstruction of the Indic forms of the titles, but also illustrate to what extent the Tibetan tradents were indebted to their predecessors in the first diffusion period (*snga dar*).

The present list is unique in Buddhist literature, insofar as the way in which the Mahāyāna scriptures are arranged does not seem to be attested elsewhere. By and large, an organizational principle transpires that titles sharing the same first or second component are grouped together:

4–6: *-bhāsottama*
8–14: *-samādhi*
22–25: *-garbha*
26–51: *-paripṛcchā*
56–58: *-nirdeśa*
59–64: *-pari/āvarta*
68–70: *daśa-*
71–74: *-vyūha*
75–77: *-saṃcaya*
78–79: *-avatāra*
80–82 & 84–88: *ratna-*

As is the case with the other sections of this living text, the list of Mahāyāna scriptures is characterized above all by its fluidity. With regard to the number of titles, the Tibetan version outnumbers its Chinese counterpart by nine to five. However, it has to be kept in mind that a short list is not necessarily and invariably older than a longer one, before more evidence comes to light.

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21. For a pioneering study of the present list based on the Tibetan version, see Eimer 2007: 171–182. For useful, passing comments on the list, see Nattier 1988: 45f., n. 54.

22. After Ishihama/Fukuda 1989.

23. After Kawagoe 2005.

24. After Herrmann-Phandt 2008.

Title	Tib.	Mvy	'Phang	Lhan	Chin.
Prajñāpāramitā	1				1
Saddharmapuṇḍarīka	2	1339	43	79	2
Lalitavistara	3	1335	37	75	
Suvarṇa-bhāsottama	4	1343	231	87	3
*Guṇa-bhāsottama	5				
*Śūnyatā-bhāsottama	6				
Vajrapāṇiguhya = Tathāgataguhya(ka)	7	1367	44	27	4
Śūraṃgama-samādhi		1368	72	111	5
Māyopama-samādhi	8		128	153	6
Mahāprātihārya-samādhi	9		~ 105	~ 46	7
Sarvapuṇyasamuccaya-samādhi	10		86	122	9
Ārya-Candrapradīpa-samādhi = Samādhirāja	11	1336	35	77	
Tathāgatajñāna[mudrā]-samādhi	12	1392	111	137	8
Tejovatī-samādhi	13				10
*Kūṭāgāra					11
*Bodhi-samādhi	14				
Bodhi[sattva]samuccaya	15				12
Sarvabuddhaparigraha	16				13
*Paripṛcchāsamuccaya					14
Hastikakṣya	17	1404	136	156	
Mahāmegha	18		47	85	
Aṅgulimālīya	19	1403	59	98	
Laṅkāvatāra	20	1342	49	84	
Mahāparinirvāṇa	21	1375	42	80	

Candragarbha	22			~ 145	
Sūryagarbha	23	1365	41	81	
Ākāśagarbha	24	1347		152	
Kṣitigarbha	25				
Maitreya-paripṛcchā	26		27	65	
Brahma-paripṛcchā	27		178	189	15
Subhūti-paripṛcchā	28				16
Ugra-paripṛcchā	29	1401	106	43	17
Pūrṇa-paripṛcchā			723	41	18
***Jāli-paripṛcchā**	30		~ 139	~ 159	
Sāgara-nāgarāja-paripṛcchā	31	1369	56[175, 228]	96[187, 237]	19
Anavatapta-nāgarāja-paripṛcchā		1394	82	120	20
Ṛṣi-vyāsa-paripṛcchā	32	1397	126	72	
Śakra-paripṛcchā	33				
***Ratnapāṇi-paripṛcchā**	34				22
Druma-kinnararāja-paripṛcchā	35	1356	73	110	21
***Ākāśasvara-paripṛcchā**					24
***Ākāśasiṃhanāda-paripṛcchā**					25
***Māyājāla-paripṛcchā**					26
***Vīrākāśa-paripṛcchā**	36				
***Prabhāvatī-dārikā-paripṛcchā**	37				
***Ratnāvatī-dārikā-paripṛcchā**	38	~ 1371	~ 80	~ 116	27
Sumati-dārikā-paripṛcchā			184	54	28
***Suvarṇottamaprabhā[śrī]-dārikā -paripṛcchā**	39		~ 112	~ 139	32
Udayana-vatsarāja-paripṛcchā	40		176	53	
Maheśvara-paripṛcchā	41				

Bimbisāra-paripṛcchā	42	1384	204	224	
***Pūrṇabhadra-śreṣṭhi-paripṛcchā**	43				
Susīma-devaputra-paripṛcchā	44				
Candana-devaputra-paripṛcchā	45				
***Svālaṃkāra-devaputra-paripṛcchā**	46				
Subāhu-paripṛcchā	47	1398	31	50	29
Siṃha-paripṛcchā	48	1399	212	61	30
Siṃhavikrīḍita-paripṛcchā = **Puṣpakūṭa-dhāraṇī**	49		350	364	
Vīradatta-paripṛcchā	50	1411		52	31
Ratnacūḍa-paripṛcchā	51	1362	91	70	23
Saṁghāṭa-sūtra	52	1391			
Bodhisattva-nāṭaka (sic!)	53	~ 1334	~ 34	~ 36	
Śārdūlakarṇa-avadāna	54				
Karma-vibhaṅga	55	1377	249	280	
Akṣayamati-nirdeśa	56	1348	55	93	33
Sāgaramati-nirdeśa = **Sāgaramati-paripṛcchā**	57		46	86	
Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa	58	1344	65	103	34
Satya[ka]-parivarta = **Bodhisattva-gocaropāya-viṣaya-vikurvāṇa-nirdeśa**	59		70	109	36
Ajātaśatru-parivarta = **Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodana**	60	1357	74	257	35
Nārāyaṇa-parivarta	61				37
Sahasra-āvarta	62		406	434	
Jambudvīpa-parivarta	63				
***Samāja-(pari/ā)varta**	64				
Buddhāvataṁsaka	65	1333	18	17	38

Upāyakauśalya	66	1349	152	173	
Padmapāṇi	67				39
Daśa-buddhaka = Guṇaratna-saṃkusumita-paripṛcchā	68			58	40
Daśa-dharmaka	69		134	33	
Daśa-bhūmika	70	1354	20	20	
Amitābha-vyūha	71		89	29	41
Sukhāvatī-vyūha	72		188	196	42
Saddharmaguṇa-vyūha (sic!)	73		~ 63	~ 102	
Ghana-vyūha	74	1346	78	121	
Viśuddha-kusuma-saṃcaya	75				43
Mahāsannipāta					44
***Loka-śuddha-saṃcaya**	76				
***Bodhisattva-śuddha-saṃcaya**	77				
Sarva-tīrtha-avatāra	78				45
Sarvatathāgata-deva-avatāra	79				
Ratna-ketu	80	1353			46
Ratna-rāśi	81		24	68	47
Ratna-karaṇḍaka	82	1412	81	119	48
***Citra-kūṭa**	83				49
Ratna-ulkā	84	1380	21	115	
Ratna-megha	85	1341	52	89	
Ratna-vṛkṣa	86				
Ratna-cūḍa	87→51				
Ratna-ākara	88		54	96	
Uṣṇīṣa-jālin	89				50
Gaṇḍa-vyūha	90	1345		24	

Abbreviations

BHSD *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. Edited by Franklin Edgerton. New Haven, 1953.

DKS *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Edited by Harold W. Bailey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

PW *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. 7 vols. Edited by Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth. St. Petersburg, 1855–1875.

Prolexis *Indo-Scythian Studies: Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta.* Edited by H.W. Bailey. Cambridge University Press, 1967.

SGS *Saka Grammatical Studies*. By Ronald E. Emmerick. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

SHT *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfan-Funden*. Edited by Ernst Waldschmidt et al.: Teil 1ff., Wiesbaden, 1965ff.

Studies *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese I–III*. Edited by R.E. Emmerick and P.O. Skjærvø. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1982–1997

Suffixe *Khotanische Suffixe.* By Almuth Degener. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989.

SWTF *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden und der kanonischen Literatur der Sarvāstivāda-Schule.* Edited by Heinz Bechert et al.: Lieferung 1ff., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994ff.

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大蔵經. Edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡辺海旭. 100 vols. Tōkyō: Taishō issaikyō kankyōkai 大正一切経刊行会, 1924–1934.

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English Summary

This dissertation offers a comprehensive treatment of the textual sources of the **Nandimitrāvadāna**, a Buddhist narrative which is deemed an authoritative source for the cult of the Elders or Arhats in Central and East Asia. It is not only the first monographic study of this narrative and its textual history, but also the first systematic disquisition on living texts from the Buddhist tradition, a type of Buddhist texts that seem to lack a stable text-form and a unitary authorship. Putting all the three (i.e., Khotanese, Tibetan, Chinese) versions of the **Nandimitrāvadāna** under philological and historical scrutiny, the dissertation draws attention to the interplay between the fluid text and the cultic practice, and sheds light on the complexity of the tradition as well as the reception of the narrative in various cultural spheres. With the **Nandimitrāvadāna** as a case, the dissertation attempts to tackle methodological issues raised by living texts of that nature and to uncover the mechanism by which these texts have come into being. The conclusions reached may have far-reaching implications for the study of other genres of Buddhist literature, such as Mahāyāna sūtras, apocrypha, etc.

Nederlandse Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift bevat een uitvoerige behandeling van de tekstuele bronnen van het **Nandimitrāvadāna**, een boeddhistisch verhaal dat beschouwd wordt als de gezaghebbende oerbron voor de cultus van de Ouden of Arhats in Centraal- en Oost-Azië. Het is niet alleen de eerste monografische studie over dit verhaal en zijn tekstgeschiedenis, maar ook de eerste systematische verhandeling over 'levende teksten' (*living texts*) uit de boeddhistische traditie: teksten die geen stabiele vorm lijken te hebben en door meerdere auteurs geschreven lijken te zijn. Door alle drie versies (namelijk: Khotanees, Tibetaans en Chinees) aan filologisch en historisch onderzoek te onderwerpen, vestigt dit proefschrift de aandacht op de wisselwerking tussen de onvaste tekst en de cultische praktijk, en werpt het een verhelderend licht op de complexiteit van de traditie evenals op de receptiegeschiedenis van het verhaal in verschillende culturen. Het **Nandimitrāvadāna** wordt als case-study gebruikt in dit proefschrift, waarin getracht wordt om methodologische vraagstukken te behandelen die door dergelijke levende teksten worden gesteld, en om het mechanisme te ontrafelen waarmee deze teksten zijn ontstaan. De conclusies kunnen verstrekkende gevolgen hebben voor de bestudering van andere genres uit de boeddhistische literatuur, zoals Mahāyāna-soetra's, apocriefe geschriften enz.

Curriculum Vitae

Ruixuan Chen was born on November 12, 1987 in Rui'an, Zhejiang, China. He went to primary school (1994–1999), middle school (1999–2002), and high school (2002–2005) in Rui'an. At Fudan University in Shanghai, Chen obtained a BA in Chinese language and literature (2009) and was admitted to the MA program "Classical Chinese literature", of which he dropped out (2010). With the help of a scholarship provided by Chinese government, he moved to Munich, where he studied Classical Indology, Tibetology, and Indo-European Linguistics at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. He obtained a MA within the traditional German system (i.e., *Magister Artium*) and graduated with first-class honors (2014). Since 2014, he has been employed by Universiteit Leiden as a PhD employee in Buddhist Studies, teaching undergraduate courses on Buddhism and Chinese literature. During his stay in Leiden, he has published peer-reviewed articles in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, *Central Asiatic Journal* etc., and read papers at a number of international conferences and workshops.