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The Nandimitrāvadāna: a living text from the Buddhist tradition

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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-)Kanjurs⁴ 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 of 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.

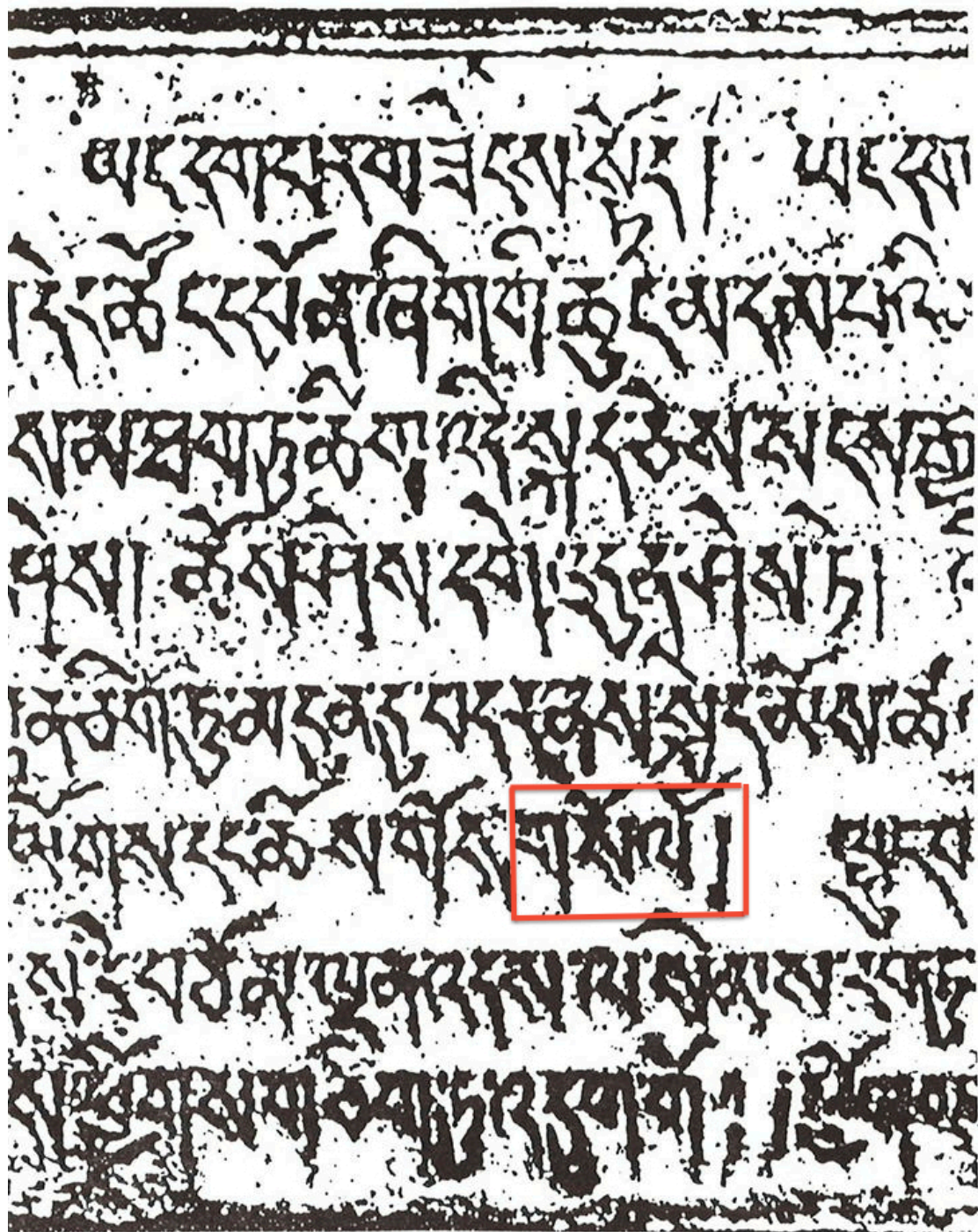


Figure 4 Detail of a folio of the 'Jang Sa tham version of the Jñānakasūtrabuddha-avadāna (*mdo sde*, am, fol. 311/312a), with *gsol* resembling *gsolo* indicated. Adapted from Eimer 1989: 49.

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 Them 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:

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, §640.

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 : Derge (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) commissioned 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 : Narthang (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 (Qing) 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 reprints⁵³ 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 : Basgo 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 **Nandimitrāvādāna** 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 *rectos* 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 former. 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 : Dolpo 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 prefatory 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 codicological 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 prefatory 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 **Tathāgatarbhasūtra** (**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 *-i*) 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 resemblance. 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 kyi '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 kyi lung bstan nas bshad do // DNQ *versus* dge slong gi dge 'dun 'dus pa la(s) bcom ldan 'das kyi 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* ganḍi'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 nmam par** rgya cher bshad nas / DNQ *versus* **gnas brtan dga' ba'i (b)shes gnyen gyi(s) nmam 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 zhid gnas te** / NQ *versus* **sems kyi spyod pa shes pa zhid 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. *śārdūlakarna*.)

[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 śrutam.*)

[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.

[o': 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. *gandhamādāna.* 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,

mind that the stemmatic relations yielded by the present study only hold for the Tibetan *Nandimitravadāna* 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 zhid chos la dge ba'i rtsa ba** bskrun pa yin no // SZ *versus* **tshe dang ldan pa dag ni re shid chos la dge ba'i rtsa ba (b)skrun pa yin(or yon) no** // BaDoL, **tshe dang ldan pa dag de dag ni re zhid 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 mas zhus pa** BaDo *versus* **bu mo rin chen ldan gyis zhus pa**

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DNQSZ, bu mo rin po cen ldan gyis zhus pa L.

[F2.1.3: 3–4] dge ba **bzang pos** zhus pa BaDo *versus* dge ba **bzang pos gang** gis zhus pa LSZ, dge ba **bzang po gang** gis zhus pa DNQ. (→ Cf. Skt. *pūrṇābhadrā*.)

[F3.1: 2–3] **ji ltar** spyān 'dren bsgrags pa dang / BaDo *versus* 'di ltar spyān 'dren pa bsgrags pa dang / LSZ, 'di ltar 'di dge 'dun spyān '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 mams skye bar 'gyur ro // BaDoLSZ *versus* lan cig sa bon btab pas lo bdun gyi bar du 'bras bu mams 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. *ṛṣivṃśāparipṛcchā*.)

[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-upadhīśeṣe 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. *naiyaka*.)

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 prefatory 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 arrangement 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 significantly 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 Puṅyamalla, 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.

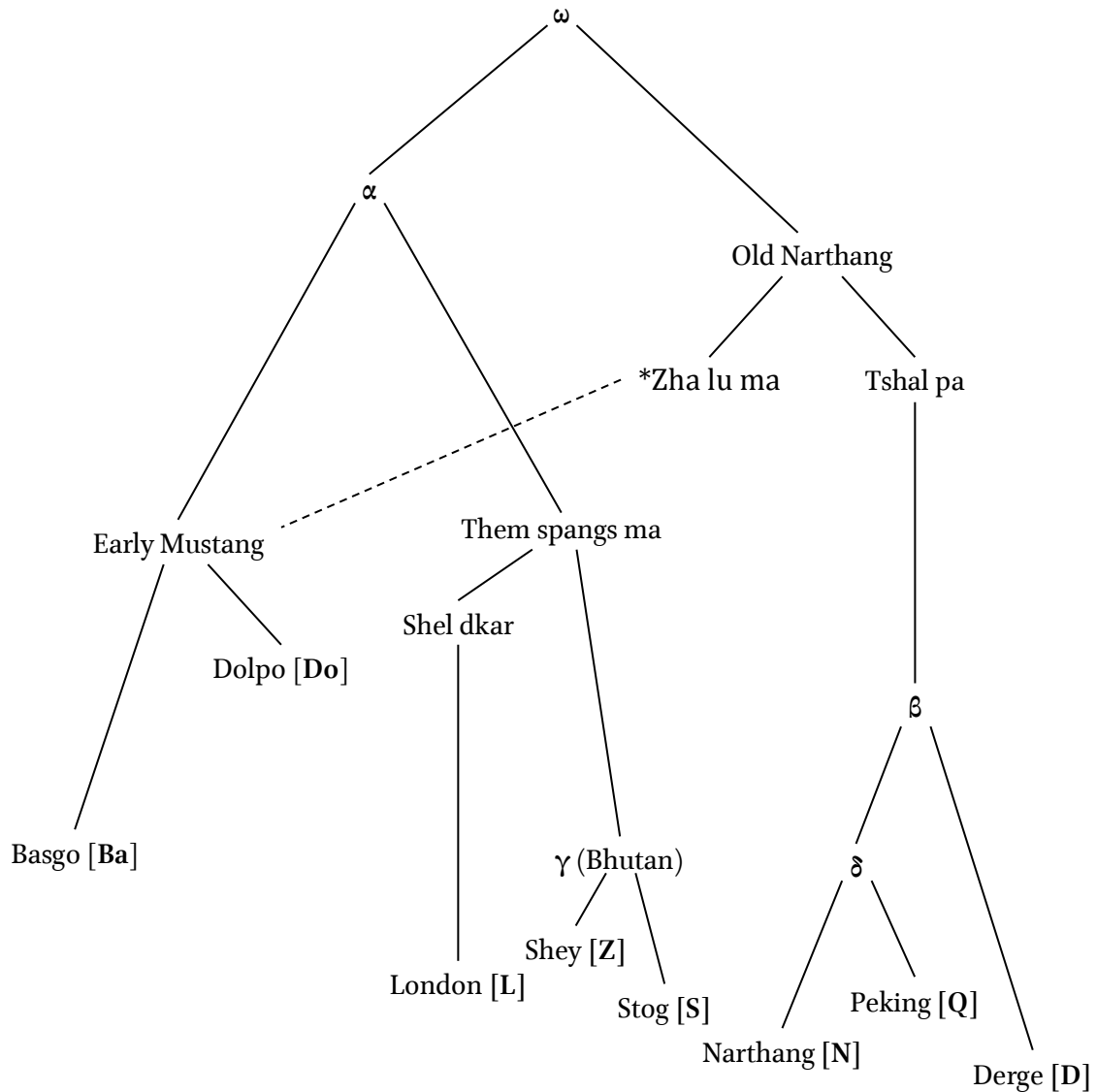
81. The Early Mustang manuscript Kanjur was produced in 1436–1447, the Shel dkar in 1472, and the Them spangs ma in 1431.

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 dharmapracicayasyārthe śāstrā kila buddhenābhidharma uktaḥ | na hi vinābhidharmopadeśena śiṣyaḥ śakto dharmān pravīcetum iti | sa tu prakīrṇa ukto bhagavatā bhadanta-Kātyāyanīputraprabhṛtibhiḥ piṇḍikṛtya sthāpito bhadanta-Dharmatrātodānavargīyakaraṇavad ity āhur vaibhāṣikāḥ |* 'Vaibhāṣikas assert: "For that reason, on account of the discernment of the *dharmas*, the teacher, the Buddha, preached the Abhidharma; because, without the teaching of the Abhidharma, the pupils are incapable of discerning the *dharmas*. 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' zhid phyi rol pa'i rig byed kyi gzhung gi cha shas su snang bas bstan bcos gyur ro cog gi nang du dris pas [...]*

“*Dhāraṇīs* 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 **Varṇārhavarna Buddhastotra**, the **Saptakumārikāvadāna** etc., were composed by later scholastic writers such as the master Śūra; and because certain works like the [Mahā]munigargarsyakṣanimittākṛtinirdeśa 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

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 panegyric 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 khirms 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 spyang 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 **Suvarṇavarṇavadāna** translated by Rin chen bzang po; §887 the **Saptakumārikāvadāna** composed by the master Gopadatta; §888 the **Arhan-Nandimitrāvadāna** translated by Śākya 'od; §889 the **Kunālavadāna** 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 **Drṣṭāntapaṅkti** (= the **Kalpanamaṅḍitikā**) translated by Tshul khirms yon tan and Rin chen bzang po; §894 the **Mahāmuniḡargarsyakṣa-nimittākṛtinirdeśa**; §895 the **Sthaviropānimantraṇa** 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 spyang 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*]gargarsyakṣanimittākṛti- nirdeśa, and the *Sthaviropānimantraṇa* – 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 to the colophon preserved in all the extant versions, the *Nandimitrāvadāna* was translated by a duo consisting of an Indian pundit Ajitaśrībhadrā 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 *Mahāmuni-gargarsya-kṣanimittākṛtinirdeśa* 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. *Daśākuśalakarmapathā-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-vinayapāriccheda*)

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 Aśvaghōṣa (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 **IHan 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 **IHan 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 *dhāraṇīs* 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 **IHan 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 *dhāraṇīs*, 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 Ajitaśrībhadrā and

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 **IHan 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 **IHan 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 **IHan 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 *Upa 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.

Abhisamayālaṃkārikā-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 *-pañjika* 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

Unidentified. But the author Jñānaśrī is undoubtedly Jñānaśrīmitra (980–1030).

Tr. with Kumārakalaśa.

§1048 gTan tshigs kyī 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.

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 remaining 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 Ajitaśrībhadrā.

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 Ajitaśrībhadrā, 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 gтам dang* / [806] *slob spon dpa' bos mdzad pa'i rin po che za ma tog lta bu'i gтам 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 Śākya-prabha 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 **Nandimitrāvādāna**, 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. hinaufrücht.”

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 Ajitaśrībhadrā 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 Ajitaśrībhadrā 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 Śākyaśrībhadrā (1127/40s–1225), better known to Tibetans as Kha che Paṅ 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 *piṭakas* 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 bsdu 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 Śākyaśrībhadrā'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 Lotsāva Rin-khen-khos-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) Ratnakūṭa; 3) Buddhāvataṃsaka; 4) Lalitavistāra[sic!]; 5) Abhiṅgamaṇasūtra; 6) Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra; 7) sämtliche Sūtra's, Tantra's u.s.w.: der Inhalt der drei Piṭaka's.”

Śākyaśrībhadrā'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 Śākyaśrībhadrā'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

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 Vidyābhūṣaṇa 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 mnyam 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 chung 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 lung 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?) 嘎魯禰喇嘛本傳 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 khirms 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* 羅漢圖讚集 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.

INTRODUCTION (TIB.)

No.	Name (Tib. < Skt.)	Place of residence	Retinue
1(13)	<i>yan lag 'byung</i> < Aṅgaja	Mt. Kailāsa	1300
2(15)	<i>ma pham pa</i> < Ajita	R̥ṣi-Mt. Uśīra	100
3(14)	<i>nags na gnas</i> < Vanavāsin	Cave Saptaparṇi	1400
4(7)	<i>dus ldan</i> < Kālīka	Tāmradvīpa	1100
5(8)	<i>rdo rje mo'i bu</i> < Vajrīputra	Simhaladvīpa	1000
6(6)	<i>bzang po</i> < Bhadra	Yamunādvīpa	1200
7(2)	<i>gser be'u</i> < Kanakavatsa	Kashmir	500
8(3)	<i>bha ra dwā dza gser can</i> < Kanakan-Bharadvāja	Aparagodānīyadvīpa	700
9(5)	<i>ba ku la</i> < Bakula	Uttarakurudvīpa	900
10(11)	<i>sgra gcan 'dzin</i> < Rāhula	Priyaṅgudvīpa	1100
11(16)	<i>lam phran bstan</i> < Kṣudrapanthaka	Mt. Gṛdhrakūṭa	1600
12(1)	<i>bha ra dwā dza bsod snyoms len</i> < Piṅḍola-Bharadvāja	Pūrvavidehadvīpa	1000
13(10)	<i>lam bstan</i> < Panthaka	Trayastrimśa	900
14(12)	<i>klu'i sde</i> < Nāgasena	Mt. Vipulapārśva	1200
15(9)	<i>sbed byed</i> < Gopaka	Mt. Bihula	1400
16(4)	<i>mi phyed pa</i> < Abhedya	Himālaya	1000

Even a cursory comparison with the list attested in the Tibetan **Nandimitrāvādāna** 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 Śākyaśrībhadrā, 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 gTsong lag phreng ba (1504–1564/66) traced this tradition back to a prophecy of Śākyaśrībhadrā,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
ལྷོ་མི་ '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 Heimbrel 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 Kālīka 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 Śākyaśrībhadrā 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 Ajitaśrībhadrā 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 richesses* 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 \circ and \circ') 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.

[o] 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.

=====
a. Ba: sangs rgyas dang /

[A1]

1) 'di skad bdag gis thos te / bcom ldan 'das mya ngan las 'das nas^a lo bryad
 brya 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 bryad 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 brya stong phrag du ma na gnas pa'i sems can rnam las tha na
 grog mo dang^h +kun ta'i yang sems kyi spyod pa shes pa zhig gnas te /

 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.

 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 dang /. g.
 Ba: om. h. LSZ: grog ma 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.

 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

=====
 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 kyī bkas^e gnas
 pa yin no // sbyin pa po dang^f sbyin bdag rnams kyī sbyin pa yongs su dag par
 byed do //

 3 gnyis pa] gnyis kyī 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 kyī bkas] kyis bka' NQLSZ, kyī bka' Do. 10a kyī] kyis
 NQ. 11 byed do] byaso Do.

a. BaDoNQ: om. b. Ba: /khams gsum pa \ las 'dod chags. c. Do: stobs kyis :.ma.:
 tshe. d. LSZ: bsrungs nas /. e. Do: bcom ldan 'das kyī bka'. 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 //

 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 kyis lus 'phags po'i gling
 D.

=====
 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
 3 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
 6 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)
 9 gnas brtan bad sa'i bu zhes bya ba niⁱ '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.

 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 kyī ngad ldang na gnas so // (10) gnas brtan lam
 3 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
 6 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
 9 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 kyī 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 kyī
 gnas LSZ; lha rnams kyī 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 yam 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.

=====
 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 / spyang
 drang ba 'am / bco lnga ston nam / gtsug lag khang 'bul ba 'am / gaṅḍī'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 gaṅḍī'i] SZ, gaṅḍī'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.

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].

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]

=====
 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 kyis 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 naⁱ 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

 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
 BaDoLSZ; 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]

 a. DoLSZ: gyur pa na /; Ba: 'gyur ba na /. b. Ba: zhes bya /ba\
 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.

 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 'amⁱ mchod rten bzhengs su gsol bas^j dge ba'i rtsa ba bskyed pa

 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.

=====
 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.

 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 /

 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.

=====
 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 ni²⁾ '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
dangⁱ / (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] zhiḡ 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.

a. Do: chen po'i. 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.

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.

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 naⁱ 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.

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) mam dag me tog bsduṣ pa dang / (76) 'jig rten dag pas bsduṣ pa^a dang /
 (77) byang chub sems dpa' dag pas^b bsduṣ 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 'di dag la sogs pa bye ba phrag brgya ni theg pa
 9 chen po'i^l sde snod yin no //

 1-2 **bsduṣ**] sduṣ 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.

=====
 a. Do: sduṣ pa .:byed sgra.: dang. b. Ba: dag /pa'i\ . c. Do: om. d. Do: tharind (skung yig).
 e. Do: rin po che'i. f. Do: om. g. Do: om. h. Do: rin chen.
 i. Do: om. j. Do: om. k. Do: om. l. Do: po'i.

[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 bsdu 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 bsdu] 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.

=====
 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
 kyis 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 kyis NQ.
 2–3 rang sangs rgyas kyis bstan pa] DSZ; rang sangs rgyas kyis bstan pa LNQ, rang sangs
 rgyas gyi bstan pa Ba, rang sangs rgyas kyis 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 kyis 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.

 a. Do: 'di dag nī. b. Do: om. c. Do: rang sangs rgyas .:dang.: kyis 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 mams 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 nasⁱ 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.

=====
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 spyān '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 / spyān 'dren pa dang / glo bur du spyān 'dren pa dang / zla ston
 6 byed pa dang / rtag re skor byed pa dang / chos sgrags pa spyān 'dren pa dang
 / lo lnga ston byed pa dang / gtsug lag khang 'bul ba dang / mal stan 'dings pa
 dang /

 1 ni] om. BaDoLSZ. 2a bskrun] skrun Do. 2b skyed] bskyed L. 2c 'di ltar] ji
 ltar BaDo. 2d spyān 'dren pa] LSZ, spyān 'dren BaDo; 'di dge 'dun spyān '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 spyān] du
 DoLSZ, om. Ba. 6 rtag re] LSZ; stag res BaDDoNQ. 7a gtsug] rtsug Do. 7b 'bul]
 dbul DNQZ. 7c 'dings] stobs BaDo.

a. LSZ: sbyin pa po dang /.

[F3.2]

- chos gos 'bul ba dang / gaṅḍī'i rab gnas byed pa dang / sman 'bul ba dang / yo
 byad 'bul bas^{a 1)} dge ba'i rtsa ba bskyed pa²⁾ 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 gaṅḍī'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.

=====
 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 // ⁵⁾ de ci'i phyir zhe na /
 sbyin pa po dang / sbyin bdag gang yin pa rnams bcom ldan 'das kyis 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 kham s 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.

=====
 a. Ba: rtsam du /. b. BaDo: nam mkha'i kham s 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 + :?).

[o'] 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 shri 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.
ze so] s.hyo(sic!) Ba, s.ho(sic!) DoL. 3a a dzi ta shri bha dra] a dze te shri bha tra Q, a
dze ta shri bha tra N, dge slong ā dzi ta shi 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.

=====

a. Ba: om. b. Do: mkhan po //. c. Do: om.

[o] 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 Vidyāsena⁴ dwelt. ⁴⁾ At that time,

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 Megasthenēs 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 Heraclēs through *Interpretatio Graeca*). A similar kind of observance was performed by the king of Śibis (*śaibyō 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 countries in the **Mahāvastu**, cf. *śivi-daśārṇām* [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 Vidyāseṇa, a monk by the name of Nandimitra dwelt – ^{4a)} [He was] absorbed in the eight emancipations (*aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyin*),⁵ endowed with the six extraordinary faculties (*ṣaḍabhijñā*),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

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 típódī 提婆底 (MChin. *dej-ba-tej* < *Deva(va)tī* [T160, 3.333b12f.]) or típóbátī 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 toponym, 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. Vidyāseṇa, rather than that of the majority *rigs pa'i sde* which could presuppose Skt. Yuktiseṇa, 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)ʒe/ (< 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 *ṣaḍabhijñā*, cf. **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka VII: sarve ca te traividyāḥ ṣaḍabhijñā aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyinaḥ saṃvṛttāḥ** [ed. Kern-Nanjio 1912: 179f.] >> sentient beings under the preaching of the Buddha Mahābhijñāñānābhībhū; **Larger Sukhāvativyūha: ṣaḍabhijñair vaśībhūtair aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyibhir balaprāptair abhijñānābhijñātaiḥ sthavirair mahāśrāvakaiḥ** [ed. Fujita 2011: 4] >> disciples accompanying the Buddha Śākyamuṇi. With *maharddhika* and *mahānubhāva*, cf. **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka VIII: gaṇanāsamatīkrāntāś cāsyā 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 *caturdhyānalābhīn* and *pañcābhijñā* (15x, as attributes to Ṛṣi[s]), which are similar in nature to *aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyin* and *ṣaḍabhijñā* 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

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

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 ttā biśśā ggāṭhā ysīnīta kye mamā śśāśīṇa 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 Inḡita.¹⁹ (14) The

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. *bakkulā*, 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. *kālā* 'time' and non-Ved. *kāla* '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 *vrājya* 'belonging to a cattle-shed' [Vājasaneyi-Saṃhita XVI 44]/*vatsā* 'calf', cf. e.g. Atharvaveda [Śaunakiya] IV 38,7 *ayāṃ vrājā ihā vatsāṃ 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' [R̥gveda+].

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. *inḡita*). 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] (*traipīṭaka*), [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.”

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 *-d- : -l-/-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- ākāśapāñitalasamacitta- vāsīcandanakalpa- vidyābhijñāpratisaṃvitprāpta- bhavalābhalobhasatkāraparāñmukha- sendropendrāñāṇ devānāṃ pūjya- mānya- abhivādyā- 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 (*āyurutsargādhiṣṭhānavasītasamṃpad*), 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 (*prthagjana*), 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. *vyapakṣya* '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 Kāsmīra of the North, together with a retinue of 5,000 Arhats.

[C2]

(3) The Elder called [Kanaka] Bharadvāja²⁵ 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 arithmetic 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):

$$y = \begin{cases} 1000x \\ 1000(x+3) \Leftarrow 2 \leq x \leq 10 \end{cases}$$

27. Skt. *tāmradvīpa* (cf. BHSD s.v.) is often attested as a name for Sri Lanka, later replaced by *siṃhaladvīpa*. The name was probably derived from earlier forms such as Skt. *tāmraparṇī*, MInd. *tambapa(ṇ)ṇī* [Aśokan inscriptions]. For Gk. *taprobánē* ‘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 Simhaldvīpa, 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] (*trayastrimśa[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 Inḡita 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 *simhaldvīpa* (where Kālika dwells), as if they designate two different localities. Instead of *simhala-*, the Chin. version seems to read **saṅghaṭa-* (after Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 10), but **saṅghaṭadvīpa* 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 Yugamdhāra, together with a retinue of 16,000 Arhats.³²

¹⁾ There is not even the slightest thing which is not known (*jñāta*), or seen (*dr̥ṣṭa*), 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

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. *jagdhī, 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*)” (十五年齋會 [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. *pañjavaṣṣī*, TochB. *pañcwarṣik*, Uighur *pančvrśik*). 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 Sobkobyak 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 (Ötani 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 Bendor 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 Sobkobyak 2015: 709–712. In the absence of any other clear reference to

slightest thing unknown [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

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 *tantras*, 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 nīyojenti satvakoṭīśātān 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 surrounded⁴¹ [the stūpa, they] will sit down in cross-legged posture (*paryāṅkam 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 bzhuḡs 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 bzhuḡs 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 nirvāṇadhātu*).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.

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 substratum (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 *khandā*), 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 (*prthivī*), 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 *bodhimāṇḍa* 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 beings⁴⁵ (*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 flight⁴⁸ (*kukkuṭasampātamaṭra*).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**^o. Moreover, *bahujanamanuṣya* is attested in the **Mahāvastu** as a bahuvrīhi referring to a city, cf. *nagaram ... bahujanamanuṣyam* [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. **kukkuṭa-sampāta-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.

Vinayapīṭaka IV: 131 *kukkuṭasampāte gāme gāmantare*; **Shisong lü / Sarvāstivādinaya**: 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 naysdā naysdā*

single sowing of seeds will yield up to seven harvests.⁵⁰

[E2]

¹⁾ He will have three assemblies of ‘disciples’⁵¹ (*asyāpi śrāvakasannipātās*

hāmāre. samu hatārre brāhā kṛṅgi ka śātāña āvuto’ hīstā “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*. (2) **kukkuṭasamvāda* ‘no further than a cock’s crowing (can be heard)’, cf. **Chang ahan jing** / **Dirghāgama**: 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, 雞鳴展轉相聞 [T457, 14.434b28]; **Maitrisimit IV** 2902: *///-lar .. taqiyu üni ištīlgüčä 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 **Cakkavattisihanādasutta** 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 *asitvassasahassāyukesu bhikkhave manussesu ayam 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: *hatārre kerīndi salye ttīma daso-gyūṃnau rrvittā. naṣdrauṃsa-jsera ni rrvittā. bāri kāḍe bādāna beḍā* “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 rrvittā* 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

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 *Mahāvādānasūtra* (of the *Dirghāgama* of the [Mūla]sarvāstivādins) 6 [ed. Fukita 2003: 40ff.], *Daben jing* 大本經 (of the *Dirghāgama* 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 *koṭis* 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: *prathamah sannipāto 'sya śrāvakāṇāṃ bhaviṣyati | pūrṇāḥ ṣaṇṇavatiḥ koṭyaḥ śrāvakāṇāṃ bhavacchidāṃ || dvitīyaḥ sannipāto 'sya śrāvakāṇāṃ bhaviṣyati | pūrṇāḥ caturnavatiḥ koṭyo muktānāṃ kleśabandhanāt || tṛtīyaḥ sannipāto 'sya śrāvakāṇāṃ bhaviṣyati | pūrṇā dvānavatiḥ koṭyo muktānāṃ śāntacetāsām ||* [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'varānotā kūla hāmāre ci arahandoṇu buvāre. śātāye saṃdāvātā tcohorānotā kūla ce parsandā dukhyau jsa. dādye dvāvarānautā kūla ce arahanda hāmāre cā biśśā jita puva'ṇa saṃtsera traṃnda ysamthīnau 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” (必ずそうなると思ふ) 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 Śākyamuni⁵⁵ – ²⁾ To wit, [they] have humbly set up images or stūpas [made] from [things which are] made of gold (*suvarṇamaya*), silver (*rūpyamaya*), beryl (*vaidūryamaya*), crystal (*sphaṭikamaya*),⁵⁶ jewels (*ratnamaya*),⁵⁷ brass (*raityamaya*), bell-metal (*kāṃsamaya*), pearls (*muktā*), iron (*lohamaya*), copper (*tāmramaya*),⁵⁸ sandalwood (*candanamaya*),

54. See BHS D s.v. *pravacana* (1).

55. Cf. **Zambasta** 22.219–220: *śśākyamunā śśāsiṅa balysā ttāte kuśśalamūla yāḍānda. haura hūḍānda vicitra balysā vāte dātā bilsamggā* “In the *śāsana* of the Buddha Śākyamuni you performed these merit-roots. You gave various gifts to the Buddha, the Law, the Bikkhusaṅgha.” [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 *kuśalamūlas* is a threefold one: non-greed (*alobha*), non-hatred (*adveṣa*), and non-delusion (*amoha*), as opposed to three *akuśalamūlas* (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 *kuśalamūlas*, 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 *kuśalamūlas* 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-*, *vaidūrya-*, *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. BHS D s.v. *ratna* [2]), which are mentioned at the beginning of the Chin. counterpart: “s’ils emploient les sept joyaux, 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. *dn̄gos 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

noteworthy that Skt. *-maya* is rendered as Tib. *dnogs po* only in the case of copper and its alloys (i.e., brass, bell metal). The two exceptional variants, i.e., *mu tig gi dnogs po* [Do] and *tsan dan gyi dnogs po* [LSZ], could be explained away through the influence of the immediately preceding words, i.e., *khar ba'i dnogs po* and *zangs kyi dnogs 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 śrīyam āvahet | patimā cāgarumayī bhuktimuktiphalaṅgadā ||* [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 bhittikāṣṭhāmbārāśrayam || karmabimbasaṃopetaṃ nityādisnānakarmaṇi | yac cāpi mṛṇmayam bimbaṃ trividham 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 mṛṇmayam bimbaṃ tathā citramayaṃ dvijāḥ | navikṛtya yathāpūrvam 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 dantamayam vā asthimayam vā śṛṅgamayam vā suvarṇamayam vā rūpyamayam vā ratnamayam vā sūcīvigrahaṃ kāraṇya 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 **Maitreyasīhanāda-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 accomplishment⁶³ 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 (*keśaśmaśrṇ 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 ttā ce pratābimbā hatāro śśākyamuni baḷysā yādāndā lakṣanyau āysāta, vaysña mamā vīrā harbāśśā [āta]* “Whoever once made images of the Buddha Śākyamuni equipped with the *lakṣanas* have now all come to me”, i.e., to the Buddha Maitreya [ed. and tr. Emmerick 1968: 320–321].

63. The phrase *mī'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 *mī'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 Samyaksambuddha, 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 #

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. *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* 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) Vajrapāṇiguḥya etc. = Tathāgataguḥya(ka) #⁶⁹
 (8) Māyopamasamādhi #
 (9) Mahāprātihāryasamādhi⁷⁰ #
 (10) Sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhi #
 (11) Ārya-Candrapradīpasamādhi = Samādhirāja #
 (12) Tathāgatajñāna[mudrā]samādhi⁷¹ #
 (13) Tejovāsisamādhi † #⁷²
 (14) *Bodhisamādhi †
 (15) Bodhisamuccaya † #⁷³
 (16) Sarvabuddhaparigraha † #⁷⁴

69. The Chin. version attests to an otherwise unknown title which can be reconstructed as *Vajrapāṇipitaka/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. *guḥya*, 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 Tathāgataguḥya(ka). His suggestion seems to me quite plausible, insofar as this sūtra is quoted in the *Da zhidu lun* / *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa as Miji (jīngāng) jīng 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 *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* I: *asti tejovatī nāma samādhīḥ* [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) Aṅgulimāliya
- (20) Laṅkāvatāra
- (21) Mahāparinirvāṇa
- (22) Candragarbha⁷⁵
- (23) Sūryagarbha
- (24) Ākāśagarbha
- (25) Kṣitigarbha⁷⁶
- (26) Maitreyapariṣcchā
- (27) Brahmaṃpariṣcchā #
- (28) Subhūtipariṣcchā † #⁷⁷

occurs as an attribute of the **Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra** etc., is expressly attested as the title of the smaller **Sukhāvatīvyūha**; cf. *pattīyatha yūyam idam acintyaḡaṇaparikīrtanaḡ sarvabuddhapariḡrahaḡ 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. **Candragarbhapariṣcchā**), 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) Ugrapariṣcchā #
 (30) *Jālipariṣcchā ⁷⁸
 (31) Sāgaranāgarājapariṣcchā #
 (32) Ṛṣi-Vyāsapariṣcchā
 (33) Śakrapariṣcchā †
 (34) *Ratnapāṇipariṣcchā #⁷⁹
 (35) Drumakinnararājapariṣcchā #
 (36) *Virākāśapariṣcchā †
 (37) *Prabhāvatīdārikāpariṣcchā †

[F2.1.3]

- (38) *Ratnāvatīdārikāpariṣcchā #⁸⁰
 (39) *Suvarṇottamaprabhā[śrī]dārikāpariṣcchā #⁸¹
 (40) Udayanavatsarājapariṣcchā

the latter.

78. 'Phang 139/Lhan 159 has a similar title, i.e., Tib. **Rin chen dra ba can gyis zhus pa** (Skt. **Ratnajālipariṣcchā**), 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 ***Ratnatalapariṣcchā** in the Chin. version (Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 18), where it occurs not before but after a certain ***Drumaketu-nāgarāja-pariṣcchā**, 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 ***Suvarṇaprabhāpariṣcchā** in the Chin. version (Lévi/Chavannes 1916: 18). The female interlocutor of the **Mañjuśrīvikrīḍita** has an almost identical name, which Jens Braarvig reconstructs as ***Suvarṇottamaprabhāsī** (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 Narendrayāśas, an alternate title of the sūtra is given as ***Suvarṇottamaprabhāsī-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 **Prajñāpradīpa** by Bhāviveka/Bhavya (cf. T1566, 30.68b26: 又如金光女經言).

- (41) Maheśvaraparipṛcchā †
 (42) Bimbisāraparipṛcchā⁸²
 (43) *Pūrṇabhadraśreṣṭhiparipṛcchā †⁸³
 (44) Susīmadevaputraparipṛcchā †⁸⁴
 (45) Candanadevaputraparipṛcchā †⁸⁵
 (46) *Svālaṃkāradevaputraparipṛcchā †
 (47) Subāhuparipṛcchā #
 (48) Siṃhaparipṛcchā #
 (49) Siṃhavikrīḍitaparipṛcchā = Puṣpakūṭadhāraṇī⁸⁶
 (50) Vīradattaparipṛcchā #
 (51) Ratnacūḍaparipṛcchā #

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 **Bhavasamkrānti** ('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 spans 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) Saṃghāṭasūtra

(53) Bodhisattvanāṭaka (sic!) #⁸⁷

[F2.1.4]

(54) Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna⁸⁸

(55) Karmavibhaṅga⁸⁹

(56) Akṣayamatīrdeśa #

(57) Sāgaramatīrdeśa = Sāgaramatīparipṛcchā⁹⁰

(58) Vimalakīrtīrdeśa #

(59) Satya[ka]parivarta = Bodhisattvagocaropāyaviṣayavikurvāṇanīrdeśa #⁹¹

(60) Ajātaśatruparivarta = Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana #⁹²

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., Ajitaśrībhadrā and Shākya '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 **Sāgaramatīparipṛcchā**, the alternate title ending in **-nīrdeśa** is attested in a number of quotations in some Madhyamika philosophical works dated to the late 11th century, for instance, the **Munimatālaṃkāra** by Abhayākara Gupta (cf. Skt. ms. [fol. 65r5]: *sāgaramatīrdeśe ca*; courtesy of Kano Kazuo), the **Madhyamakāvātāra-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 *dishí* 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) Buddhāvataṃsaka #
 (66) Upāyakauśalya
 (67) Padmapāṇi † #
 (68) Daśabuddhaka = Guṇaratnasamkūsumitaparipṛcchā #⁹⁵
 (69) Daśadharmaka #
 (70) Daśabhūmika
 (71) Amitābhavyūha #
 (72) Sukhāvativyūha #
 (73) Saddharmaguṇavyūha (sic!)⁹⁶
 (74) Ghanavyūha⁹⁷

[F2.1.5]

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 *raṅgā* 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 **Sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhi**, 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 **Guṇaratnasamkūsumitaparipṛcchā**, 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]harma*).

97. Paul Harrison has suggested to me this identification.

- (75) *Viśuddhakusumasamcaya #⁹⁸
 (76) *Lokaśuddhasamcaya †
 (77) *Bodhisattvaśuddhasamcaya †
 (78) Sarvatīrthāvatāra † #⁹⁹
 (79) Sarvatathāgatadevāvatāra †
 (80) Ratnaketu #
 (81) Ratnarāśi #
 (82) Ratnakaraṇḍaka #
 (83) *Citrakūṭa † #¹⁰⁰
 (84) Ratnolkā
 (85) Ratnamegha
 (86) Ratnavṛkṣa †
 (87) Ratnacūḍa → (51)¹⁰¹
 (88) Ratnākara
 (89) *Uṣṇīṣajālin † #¹⁰²

98. Perhaps to be identified with the **Kusumasamcaya** translated into both Tibetan (Tōhoku no. 266/Ōtani no. 932) and Chinese (T434)? However, the title of the **Kusumasamcaya** 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. *citrakṛta* in Xuanzang’s translation of the **Yogācārabhūmi**, see Yokoyama/Hirosawa 1997: 330, s.v. 彩畫 2). Phonologically, it is quite possible that *-kṛta* 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.

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¹⁾ These [sūtras] and the like, one billion [in number], constitute the Basket of the Great Vehicle (*mahāyānapīṭaka*).

[F2.2]

¹⁾ Likewise, Baskets of the Disciples (*śrāvakaṭīṭakāḥ*) [consisting of] the Basket of dogmatics (*abhidharmaṭīṭaka*), the Basket of the discipline (*vinayaṭīṭaka*), and the Basket of the scriptures (*sūtraṭīṭaka*).

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 Śaṭpraśnaka, 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 Saprāsna, the Aprāsna, 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-Mātrkā, 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 *Śaṭpraśnaka instead of Saprāsna/Aprāsna. 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 Aprāsna has not yet come into being and the Saprāsna merely dealt with the six sets of dogmatic concepts (i.e., *āyatana*, *dhātu*, *skandha*, *āryasatya*, *indriya*, and *pratīyasamutpāda*) corresponding to the first part of the old *mātrkā* 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 Māṭṛkā-Skandhaka, and the Vinaya-Māṭṛkā.¹⁰⁵ 9) Venerable Ones! Those are referred to as the Basket of discipline.

[2.3.1]

1) As for these [scriptures, as well as¹⁰⁶] the Jātakamālā,¹⁰⁷ the Avadānamālā,¹⁰⁸

Pañhāpucchaka in Pāli. For the identification of the old *māṭṛkā* in the *Saprasānaka*, 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 five 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: 18off. A possible scenario is to identify the **Māṭṛkā-Skandhaka** with the **Skandhaka**, and the **Vinaya-Māṭṛkā** with the **Ekottara**, but there is no evidence in support of this identification, with the only exception of the **Pinimu jing**/***Vinaya-Māṭṛkā**, which mentions a certain ‘Mother of the **Skandhas**’ (諸犍度母經 [T1463, 24, 818a19] ~ ***Skandhaka-Māṭṛkā**?). However, more text-critical work is required to confirm this reading. For the probable existence of an old *māṭṛkā* 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 *-mālās* 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 **Nandimitravadāna**. 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 *běnsēng 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 (*bhūtasamghāta*),¹¹¹ verbal presentation of the teachings (*dharmā-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*),

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 reminiscent 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 accomplishment¹¹⁵ 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 incidentally¹²⁰ 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 accomplishment¹²⁷ 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. counterpart 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. *starāṇa*) 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. *starāṇa* 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 (*āyuhṣaṃskārāṅ jīvitasamṣkārāṅ cotsrjya*),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 Koryō 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 *āyuhṣaṃskāra* and *jīvitasamṣkāra*, and the reason they are plural, cf. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* II 10 [ed. Pradhan 1975: 44] *sūtra uktam: bhagavān jīvitasamṣkārān adhiṣṭhāyāyuhṣaṃskārān utsrṣṭavān | 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.

[o’]

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 Ajitaśrībhadrā and the monk Shā kya ’od.

tathā hy uktam: jīvitendriyaṃ katamat | traidhātukam āyur iti | pūrvakarmaphalam āyuhṣaṃskārāḥ pratyutpannakarmaphalam jīvitasamskārā ity apare | yair vā nikāyasabhāgasthitis ta āyuhṣaṃskārāḥ | yais tu kālāntaram jīvati te jīvitasamskārā 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.” *bahuvacaṇam bahūnām āyurjīvitasamskāraḥ ṣaṇānām 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 (*bahuvacaṇa*) is because multiple moments (*kṣaṇa*) 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.