

## Review of Salomon, R. (2018) The Buddhist literature of ancient Gandhāra: an introduction with selected translations

Silk, J.A.

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## **Book Reviews**

Richard Salomon, *The Buddhist Literature of Ancient Gandhāra: An Introduction with Selected Translations*. Somerville, Mass.: Wisdom Publications, 2018. xxiv, 456 pp., ISBN 978-16-14-29168-8. \$ 29.95.

One of the grave limitations on the study of the ancient Indian past is that written records, with the exception of those hewn in stone, are, thanks to the physical environment of the subcontinent, all of relatively recent date.<sup>1</sup> Of course, we do have old, even very old, evidence, in the first place the astonishingly well transmitted Vedic literature; there is certainly no straight-forward relationship between a physical substrate and the contents of a written text; and finally, to be sure much, much more could be done with the lithic evidence than has, more or less since the demise of the Raj, been achieved.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, regarding physical evidence, certainly there are manuscripts in or from Nepal which date to around the 9th c., and from Central Asia we have much older fragments; for instance, Franco considers the so-called Spitzer manuscript to date to the 3rd c. CE (Eli Franco, "The oldest philosophical manuscript in Sanskrit," Journal of Indian Philosophy 31 [2003]: 21). But this is precisely the point, namely that these materials are not found in India proper, having been obtained for the most part thanks to geo-political concerns which motivated thinly veiled spying expeditions throughout the regions once comprising part of the socalled Silk Roads, arid regions in which organic materials were preserved. More recently, it was again politics which produced the conditions for the discovery

<sup>1</sup> I am aware of only one published appreciation of this volume so far, that by Jinkyoung Choi in *International Journal of Buddhist thought and Culture* 28/2 (2018): 227–230.

<sup>2</sup> It is to the author of the volume considered here that we owe the most important survey of Indian epigraphy, his 1998 Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Other Indo-Aryan Languages (New York: Oxford University Press). Moreover, recent work, for instance on the corpora from Andhra, is rapidly changing the picture: see http://hisoma.huma-num.fr/exist/apps/EIAD/about.html.

of a new set of even older materials, in this case the violence and chaos which accompanied successive invasions of what was anciently known as Gandhāra, a region which spans the border between present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan.

As he briefly sketches in the Preface to the volume under consideration here, for more than 20 years Richard Salomon has been at the forefront of the concentrated and highly fruitful study of the materials in the Kharoṣṭhī script and what is conventionally called the Gāndhārī language, a joint endeavor which today finds contributors not only in Seattle, where Salomon himself is based, but also in Munich, Lausanne, Sydney and Kyoto. Nearer the beginning of this ever growing research project, Salomon published a lavishly illustrated introduction, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), a book which is quite accessible. Most of the work produced subsequently by the Seattle team and by the related projects, however, has been aimed at specialists, and is highly technical, often forbiddingly so, even for those with, for example, some familiarity with Buddhist scriptures.<sup>3</sup>

Now Salomon offers a volume explicitly aimed at a more popular audience, but while indeed highly readable and accessible, there is much of interest to the specialist here as well. Above all, aside from its lucid and up-to-date summation of the state of the field, the volume contains a remarkable amount of new material: partial translations from the so-called Khotan *Dharmapada*, the so far unpublished \**Bahubuddhaka sūtra*, a commentary on the *Saṅgīti sūtra*, an Abhidharma text, likewise yet unpublished, and finally a Gāndhārī version of

- Vol 3: Timothy Lenz's 2003 A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-Birth Stories: British Library Kharoşthī Fragments 16 + 25.
- Vol 4: Andrew Glass's 2007 Four Gāndhārī Samyuktāgama Sūtras: Senior Kharosthī Fragment 5.
- Vol. 5: Salomon's 2008 Two Gāndhārī Manuscripts of the Songs of Lake Anavatapta (Anavatapta-gāthā): British Library Kharosthī Fragment 1 and Senior Scroll 14.
- Vol. 6: Timothy Lenz's 2010 Gandhāran Avadānas. British Library Kharoşthī Fragments 1–3 and 21 and Supplementary Fragments A–C (rev. by O. v. Hinüber in 11J 58/1 [2015]: 96– 100)

To this list should be added the 2012 publication of David Jongeward, Elizabeth Errington, Richard Salomon, and Stefan Baums, also from the University of Washington Press, *Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries*, in the series Gandharan Studies 1 (rev. by O. v. Hinüber in 11J 58/2 [2015]: 187–193).

<sup>3</sup> The University of Washington Press series of Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, publishing the work of Salomon's team, comprises to date the following:

Vol 1: Salomon's 2000 A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra: British Library Kharosthī Fragment 5B.

Vol 2: Mark Allon's 2001 Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-Type Sūtras: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 12 and 14.

the extant portions of (what [later?] became) the *Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines*. These are all materials new even to scholars, and therefore of the very highest interest.<sup>4</sup>

In the following, I would like to move through the book, offering several, often disconnected, observations, but it must be stressed that anything seemingly negative in the following is so overshadowed by the merits of the work as to be nearly meaningless; the comments are offered only in the hope that a future revised version of the book can become even marginally better.

Salomon begins<sup>5</sup> with a section in which he sketches the "World of Gandhāran Buddhism," focusing on history and geography, then considering the script and language, and the "Gāndhārī hypothesis" (on which, more below), to finally offer an overall sketch of the varieties of literature so far identified. The second part of the volume contains translations, with often detailed introductions, frequently becoming detailed paraphrases of the selected texts, which follow in integral translation. One of the remarkable features of these translations is how smooth they are, something which, if anything, is misleading, in that the originals are so drastically fragmentary that it is only a profound familiarity with the script, language and indeed the overall world of the texts—the outlines of which are so ably presented in the first portion of the book—that permits Salomon to make any sense, much less good sense, of these sources.

In his one hundred pages of introduction, there is rather little on which to comment. However, at one or two points perhaps things might have been clarified a bit better. On p. 17 in speaking of the locations at which sermons are said to have been given Salomon offers statistics saying:

By far the most common references—nearly 60 percent according to a representative sampling of Pali texts—are places in and around the city of Śrāvastī, the capital of the Kosala kingdom in central north India. After Śrāvastī, the most frequently mentioned location is Rājagrha, the capital of the kingdom of Magadha, to the southeast of Kosala. Other commonly mentioned cities are [...]. The kingdoms of Kosala and Magadha were ruled during the Buddha's lifetime by Kings Prasenajit and Ajātaśatru,

<sup>4</sup> An intriguing note to yet more is found on p. 84 where, in discussing a small fragment of a Gāndhārī version of what is well known in Pali as the *Atthakavagga*, Salomon writes "a much larger fragment of the same manuscript is known to exist." I cannot decode this, but hope that the manuscript will soon be available for study.

<sup>5</sup> Strictly speaking, he begins with an unnumbered page of moving dedication to the late Carol Goldberg Salomon, an expert in Bengali, tragically killed in an accident in 2009. The Hebrew with which she is here memorialized reads *zikronah librakah*, "may her memory be for a blessing."

and the prestige and material support afforded by their patronage was no doubt a major reason that the Buddha and his followers spent so much of their time in their capitals.

I cannot agree with the presentation here. In the first place, as the author well knows (because he cites the paper in his own bibliography!), already in 1997 Schopen clearly demonstrated that there existed guidelines for selecting a location at which a sermon was delivered by the Buddha if the reciter were to have forgotten.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, even accepting all else, we can make no historical assumptions on the basis of what one set of texts tells us (and Salomon repeatedly emphasizes his own keen awareness of the fluidity of the textual traditions, giving the lie to the idea that here somehow we can put special trust in the Pali tradition). Furthermore, I simply do not see why we should accept anything that the Pali texts (or other texts, for that matter) tell us about the life circumstances of the Buddha as historically viable. Another example of this presentation is Salomon's claim (p. 282) that "the Buddha criticized the rigid hierarchy of the brahman-dominated society of his time." Even if Johannes Bronkhorst is not right,<sup>7</sup> and something of the circumstances of the Buddha's historical world *can* be known from the much later texts, we do not know what this might be. That there is a connection between patronage and the monastic community is obvious, but where the Buddha might have spent time, and why, seems to me something entirely beyond our ability to know historically. Whether the Brahmanical culture of the caste system even had reached the region where the Buddha putatively roamed during his lifetime also seems to me at the very least open to question, not to mention how the Buddha may have responded to whatever situation he encountered. What is open to inquiry is how later traditions painted their pictures of the life of the Buddha, and these depictions are an intensely interesting object of study, but I would hold that it is a misstep to confuse that with history as such.

I would apply the same logic to Salomon's claim (p. 21) that "Asoka's image is modeled on the pattern of the royal patrons of the Buddha's lifetime." To me, it makes much more sense to suggest precisely the opposite, or even that depictions of both Asoka and the (narratively) earlier monarchs belong to a world

<sup>6</sup> Gregory Schopen, 1997. "If You Can't Remember, How to Make It Up: Some Monastic Rules for Redacting Canonical Texts." In Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann, eds., *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert On the Occasion of His 65th Birthday.* Indica et Tibetica 30 (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag): 571–582.

<sup>7</sup> See his *Buddhism in the Shadow of Brahmanism*. Leiden: Brill, 2011, rev. by J.A. Silk in 11J 58 (2015): 163–201.

of fiction, and thus the direction of influence is in this respect (*qua* history) a moot question. When Salomon speaks (as on p. 61, mentioning "the Buddha's explicit preference for local vernacular languages over Sanskrit") of what the Buddha thought or said or did, I would favor an approach that sees such presentations as representative of some authors, belonging perhaps to times centuries after the time of the birth of Buddhism, and therefore reflecting ideologies of communities likely only indirectly related to some putative earlier stages of Buddhism. Another similar example where I would argue that the logic is rather the inverse of that suggested by Salomon is found on p. 283, where we read that "the duration of the teaching of the Dharma was an urgent concern for ancient Buddhists, because the Buddha had predicted that it would be corrupted and forgotten some centuries after his parinirvāṇa." In my opinion, the case is precisely the opposite: traditional sources depict the Buddha as having warned of the decay of his teaching and community because that worry was *their* own urgent concern.

Although Salomon already published his idea some time ago, in 2002, and it seems to have been accepted in some quarters, I stubbornly harbor some doubt about the claim (p. 45) that Huviska is referred to as a "follower of the Mahāyāna" solely based on a 4th c. manuscript which reads ///yāna-samprasthitaḥ. And this is precisely the point here, because Salomon does not quote the text this way, but rather as [\*mahā]yāna-samprasthitaḥ. He goes on "This epithet is consistent with other indications that Mahāyāna Buddhism was growing and beginning to take a coherent form during the Kuṣāṇa period ....." This strikes me as a circular argument, and I am curious why Salomon does not recognize it as such. I wish to be clear that I am not asserting that the bracketed reconstruction is wrong, only that there is precisely no evidence for it whatsoever.

Another example of a claim for which there is no evidence of which I am aware is the following (pp. 335–336):

Mahāyāna sūtras were understood by their followers to represent teachings of the Buddha that were not addressed to the general lay and monastic public like the "mainstream" sūtras preserved in the Pali canon but rather were reserved for select disciples, divine beings, and sometimes also lay followers whose level of spiritual awareness enabled them to comprehend these deeper teachings. Not surprisingly, as with esoteric teachings in other religions, these texts were rejected as latter-day forgeries by the followers of the traditional conservative doctrines and canons, who predominate in modern Buddhism as adherents of the Theravāda school in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. But those who accepted the new revelations looked down upon the old ways as a lower (though not false) path, which they referred to as the Hīnayāna, that is, the "inferior" or "abandoned" vehicle,<sup>8</sup> which in their view had been superseded by the new and superior Mahāyāna, or "great vehicle." Adherents of Mahāyāna Buddhism now prevail throughout Tibet and most of East Asia, including China, Korea, and Japan.

I do not know what would constitute any sort of actual evidence for many of the claims here, and this way of making the claims seems to me to fall prey to the desire to see in the rhetoric of the texts some reflection of a historical reality. How are we to know how followers of Mahāyāna sūtras (does this make any sense? Were people "followers of sūtras"?) understood these texts? And how are we to know how they might have contrasted that understanding with an understanding of other texts, those modern scholars sometimes call "Mainstream"? I would rather imagine that for many, there would have been little distinction at all between works which claimed to convey the word of the Buddha, although to be sure some scholastic works do show a defensive attitude toward the status of the Mahāyāna (provisionally using the singular here, although it would be less elegant but probably more helpful to use a plural form), though such works are rather later than the sūtras themselves in most cases. Moreover, the place where we find rhetoric imputing that Mahāyāna sūtras are forgeries is precisely in these very texts themselves, when they assert in a clearly defensive mode that some opponents might slander them by claiming this, by claiming that they are nothing more than poetic creations, rather than the authentic word of the Buddha. Again, though, are we to take this as historical reportage, as Salomon presents it? Should we assume some historicity behind the rhetoric? How would we adjudicate such claims? Finally, although a great deal more could and should be said on the general topic, it is at least incautious and potentially highly misleading that Salomon juxtaposes those who (according to him) "rejected [Mahāyāna sūtras] as latter-day forgeries" with modern "adherents of the Theravāda school in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia." Whatever sort of continuity there might be between the (to my mind, in fact, imagined) opponents depicted in Mahāyāna sūtras and present day Buddhists, the link is not facile or obvious in the way that Salomon's articulation could be read to suggest.

<sup>8</sup> I am intrigued by the suggestion that  $h\bar{n}a$ , which is of course the past passive participle of  $\sqrt{h\bar{a}}$ , should be understood in this direct sense, namely, as "thrown away, rejected." I do not recall having encountered this suggestion before, but find it very attractive, if nothing else in bringing out an interesting aspect of the semantic domain of the term.

When he turns to his sketch of literature, some things Salomon says may, again, perhaps be better nuanced. I do not think that the claim (p. 54) that "The three independent Buddhist canons that have come down to us in complete form are preserved in Pali, Tibetan, and Chinese" is quite right, at least as stated. No doubt what Salomon means to do is to contrast the intact nature of these collections with the highly fragmentary nature of what we have in Gāndhārī, Central Asian Sanskrit or the like. However, without any meaningful reflection on the sense of "complete" here, this is potentially misleading. Moreover, we know that in the case of each of these collections there is dispute about what belongs in the "canons" and what does not, so even emically speaking it is hardly correct to speak of completeness. Likewise, on the following page (p. 55) Salomon injudiciously states that "the Chinese canon is a comprehensive compilation of all of the Buddhist texts in Chinese that were available to its compilers," but this is manifestly false, as emic Chinese debates over "apocrypha" clearly demonstrate. A problem of this type of thinking is illustrated by the formulation (p. 83) that "a great deal of new material [...] does not neatly fit into the structure of canons as we know them from other Buddhist traditions. Some of these texts are 'paracanonical,' that is, marginally or disputedly canonical [...]." Disputed by whom? Since Salomon does not indicate the agent of this act of disputation, it is in fact impossible to understand what he means, all the more so as he repeatedly shows his keen awareness of the diversity of Buddhist traditions.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, Salomon knows full well that to apply standards

of "canonicity" from one scriptural domain onto another is not meaningful. And it seems highly unlikely, well-neigh impossible, that he is in fact asserting that within the realm of Gandhāran Buddhism itself there was dispute over the canonicity of the texts in question. In point of fact, it has yet to be demonstrated that there was any emic sense of canonicity in Gandhāra at all. It is in this respect, however, important to note Salomon's conclusion (p. 94) that the selection and arrangement of *Saṁyuktāgama* sūtras "show[s] that they must have been extracted from a preexisting complete *Saṁyuktāgama* whose structure resembled that of the corresponding collections of the Pali and Chinese canons. [...] This makes it clear that the Gandhāran Buddhists were familiar with complete sūtra compilations that were generally similar in content and structure to those preserved in other parts of the Buddhist world." Without

<sup>9</sup> He also indicates his awareness of the historical place of this material: as he writes quite clearly on p. 107, "The value of the newly discovered Gāndhārī manuscripts, as of the other Buddhist manuscript finds of recent and earlier times, thus lies not in bringing back a 'true' original version but rather in illuminating the variety, complexity, and richness of the many Buddhist traditions while confirming the essential unity underlying the vast diversity."

doubting at all Salomon's conclusion, I do not think that this necessarily should be equated with a consciousness of "canonicity," as Salomon sometimes at least seems to assume. Perhaps the lesson here is that more clarity about the concept of canonicity would be helpful.

The second, and more than three times as long, section of the book comprises introductions and translations divided into 12 selections: 1. Three Numerically Grouped Sūtras; 2. Five Thematically Grouped Sūtras; 3. The Rhinoceros Sūtra; 4. A Chapter from the Dharmapada; 5. Songs of Lake Anavatapta (8 selections); 6. Six Stories of Previous Lives and Other Legends; 7. Avadāna Legends (2); 8. The Many Buddhas Sūtra; 9. A Commentary on the Sūtra of Chanting Together; 10. A Commentary on Canonical Verses; 11. An Abhidharma Treatise on Time and Existence; 12. The Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra. Some of these selections offer more readable and smoother renditions of works already known to scholars, but as noted above, many are completely new.

In the context of the ninth of these, Salomon addresses directly the abovementioned "Gāndhārī hypothesis," the idea that many earlier Chinese translations may have been based on sources in Gāndhārī, and he argues, here and elsewhere, that evidence for this idea is mounting. As our grasp on this literature grows, on the one hand, and as studies of Chinese sources in turn become more sophisticated on the other, the situation is sure to become clearer still.

For many readers, one of the most exciting portions of the book is sure to be the treatment of the so-far earliest known form of a Perfection of Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā) text. The text itself has been published by Harry Falk and Seishi Karashima,<sup>10</sup> but not heretofore translated. To make it easier to follow the text, Salomon introduces paragraph numbers, but he does not correlate these with the edited text. The list below identifies Salomon's paragraph numbers with the page and line number of the Gāndhārī text in the edition published by Falk and Karashima:

## A

1.	28.1	12.	40.4
2.	28.4	13.	44.8
3.	30.1	14.	44.9

<sup>10 &</sup>quot;A first-century Prajñāpāramitā manuscript from Gandhāra—parivarta 1 (Texts from the Split Collection 1)," Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Bud-dhology at Soka University 15 (2012): 19–61; "A first-century Prajñāpāramitā manuscript from Gandhāra—parivarta 5 (Texts from the Split Collection 2)," 16 (2013): 97–16. The translations in these articles are from Lokakṣema's closely corresponding Chinese version.

5. 110.9

6. 112.5

7. 112.7

8. 116.4

9. 118.1

30.4	15.	50.2
32.3	16.	50.8
34.2	17.	52.1
36.1	18.	54.1
36.3	19.	54.3
36.6	20.	56.1
38.1	21.	58.8 (part of two words only)
33.3	22.	Ø
ø	10.	118.6
104.1	11.	122.4
104.5	12.	124.1
110.4	13.	146.111
110.7	14.	150.1
	32.3 34.2 36.1 36.3 36.6 38.1 33.3 Ø 104.1 104.5 110.4	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$

15.

18.

19.

154.1

162.8

 $168 2^{12}$ 

16. 156.3 17. 160.7

No reader who compares the English translation with the Gāndhārī text can fail to be amazed at the skill—bordering on wizardry—with which Salomon has drawn from a fantastically partial text a coherent reading. It is true that he had in a great many places a Sanskrit parallel, which was obviously vital, and in terms of meaning a much closer Chinese translation, but the amount of material not placed within brackets, but when compared to the edition found to rely on a single syllable in some cases, reveals the incredible acumen with which this work was carried out.<sup>13</sup> No one can feel anything other than awe and

<sup>11</sup> The edition of Falk and Karashima includes the corresponding material in the *textus recep tus* of the *Astasāhasrikā*, and therefore although looking at the page numbers one might assume that section 12 in the Gāndhārī text is extraordinarily long, in fact this is not the case; rather, if we assume some sort of linear growth in the text (which is not necessarily true, but is also not implausible), then over time the text here has been gigantically expanded in comparison with the form found in the Gāndhārī text and Lokakṣema's Chinese.

<sup>12</sup> The colophon is given in the first part of Falk and Karashima's article on p. 25.

<sup>13</sup> I noticed only one minor error: on p. 354, 4 lines from the bottom a closed bracket must be added after "teach."

appreciation for this singular contribution, which bears witness, once again, to Salomon's unparalleled familiarity with this literature.

Finally, there are very few places in which one could say that Salomon has outright erred, but one occurs on p. 138, when he speaks of the sūtra containing the parable of the log (*Dāruskandha sūtra*). After referring to several versions of the same discourse in Pāli, Sanskrit and Tibetan, he writes, "A very abbreviated version of the sūtra is also included in the *Sūtra in Forty-two Chapters*, the early anthology translated into Chinese by An Shigao." However, as is rather well known, this famous text (*Sishier zhang jing* 四十二章經), traditionally attributed to Kāśyapa Mātaṅga (Jiashe Moteng 迦葉摩騰) and Dharmaratna (Zhu Falan 竺法蘭), while transmitted in a variety of recensions, in fact dates most likely to no earlier than the 5th c., and while it certainly contains Indic materials, it is not a translation as such. I am not sure where Salomon got the idea that this work is to be associated with An Shigao, but at least I cannot find any trace of such an idea elsewhere.

On p. 184, referring to what is generally known as the Patna *Dharmapada*, Salomon states that it "is composed in an otherwise unknown dialect of Prakrit." This is not quite true: in fact, what is more, Salomon not only knows this, he himself has said so (11J 55 [2012]: 40): "Although the Patna Dhammapada is not written in Bhaikṣukī script, its peculiar mixture of Sanskrit and Middle Indian forms resembles closely the mixed language of the Bhaikṣukī inscriptions and the Maṇicūḍajātaka manuscript in Bhaikṣukī script, which has recently been presented in a diplomatic edition by Albrecht Hanisch."<sup>14</sup>

A few almost trivial notes: On p. 26, speaking of the *śloka*, Salomon writes that it is "the shortest and simplest Indian meter." Perhaps he meant common meter, for at least the sources one can consult speak of meters with four, five, six and seven syllables in a quarter, before reaching the *anuṣṭubh* or *śloka* with eight. On p. 340 Salomon writes *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*. I do not know quite why he prints this as if it were a compound. Is not the first term an adjective modifying the second? Finally, in the bibliography, under Karashima 1994,

<sup>14</sup> This notion, with reference to the inscriptional corpus, had already been argued by Namikawa Takayoshi 並川孝儀 in 1987 in "Shinshiryō Darumapada no denshō: Pāra ōchōki no hibun to no kanren yori mite"新資料ダルマパダの伝承—パーラ王朝期の碑文との関連よりみて, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 35/2: 954–950, and again, in English in 1993, "The Transmission of the New Material Dharmapada and the Sect to Which it Belonged," *Bukkyō Kenkyū* 22: 151–166. Apparently unaware of Namikawa's work, in 1997 Peter Skilling published "On the School-affiliation of the Patna Dharmapada," *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 23: 83–122. All of these contributions make the point that the language of the Patna *Dharmapada* is not uniquely attested there.

the title should read  $J\bar{o}agonky\bar{o}$ , not  $Ch\bar{o}^{\circ}$ , and the corresponding Chinese title is misprinted, *Chan* having lost its *g*: *Chang* is correct.<sup>15</sup>

In conclusion, although more or less explicitly presented as aimed at an educated general public, a sort of *haute vulgarisation*, in fact, it is no exaggeration to say that this book deserves in the first place to be read by any scholar serious about understanding the history of Buddhism or Buddhist literature, but more broadly by anyone interested in the Indian religious past, and perhaps the Indian past in general. It cannot be too highly welcomed.<sup>16</sup>

Jonathan A. Silk Leiden University j.a.silk@hum.leidenuniv.nl

I add here a note based on information brought to my attention by my student Jiang 15 Yixiu. On p. 5 Salomon states that for the century after the discovery of the so-called Khotan Dharmapada "this manuscript constituted virtually the only known specimen, except for a few other tiny scraps, of Buddhist literature in the ancient language of the Gandhāran region." On p. 76 he speaks of the Khotan Dharmapada as the "only one actual manuscript of a Buddhist text in Gandhari," and on p. 86 he states that "to date only two certain examples [of Vinaya texts in Gāndhārī] are known, both in the Bajaur collection." This information is, however, not quite correct: a fragment of the Dharmaguptaka prātimoksa was discovered by Aurel Stein from Niya in the early twentieth century, along with a prayer for a Buddha bathing practice. The transliteration of these two texts was first given in A.-M. Boyer, E.J. Rapson, E. Senart, and P.S. Noble, 1920–1929, Kharosthi Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan, Oxford: Clarendon Press, § 510-511. For the translation and study of the prātimoksa, see Lín Méicūn (林梅村), 1995. "Xīnjiāng Níyǎ suǒchū Jiàntuóluóyǔ "Jiětuō Jiè Běn" cánjuàn" 新疆尼雅所出犍陀罗语《解 脱戒本》 残卷. Xīyù yánjiū 西域研究 20: 44-48, transcribed at https://www.gandhari .org/a\_document.php?catid=CKDo510. Photos are available at http://idp.bl.uk/database/ oo\_scroll\_h.a4d?uid=7857015525;recnum=16779;index=5, though in normal light the text is almost illegible. For a translation of the prayer, see T. Burrow, 1940, A Translation of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan, James G. Forlong Fund, vol. xx, London: The Royal Asiatic Society, § 511. Photos of § 511 are found at http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo\_scroll h.a4d?uid=7828716014;recnum=17035;index=5, transcribed at https://www.gandhari.org/ a document.php?catid=CKD0511. Given this, both texts are undoubtedly actually known to Salomon, of course.

<sup>16</sup> When I discussed this book with my students, I made use of the printed edition. However, the students accessed the book through our university library, which through ebscohost .com makes the work available digitally. A result of this is that the pagination of the version downloaded (legally) by the students does not agree with the printed text. I can anticipate this creating a massive confusion moving forward, and perhaps the publishers (certainly not the author) should consider this issue in the future.