

**The Bajaur collection: A new collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts  
– A preliminary catalogue and survey –**

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Table 1: Survey of the manuscripts of the Bajaur collection

Table 2: Survey of the scribal hands of the Bajaur collection

## 1. The Bajaur collection and its discovery

The late nineties of the 20th century witnessed a remarkable series of discoveries of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. Its beginning was marked by the British Library (BL) collection, which was first described in 1997 by Richard Salomon. It is a quite large collection comprising altogether 29 birch-bark scrolls with ca. 23 Buddhist texts of different genres and styles, but obviously all belonging to a Śrāvākayāna/Hīnayāna school, most probably the Dharmaguptakas.

After the discovery of the BL collection a considerable number of additional new manuscripts appeared, among them another large collection, called after its owner the Senior collection. It bears a quite different character, containing mainly manuscripts written by one and the same scribe and forming a coherent collection of canonical texts, mainly from the Saṃyuktāgama (Salomon 2003, Glass 2006: 2-3)<sup>1</sup>.

More than 100 years only a single Buddhist text in Kharoṣṭhī, the Dharmapada from Khotan, had been witness of a much richer and broader Buddhist tradition written in the language of the Indian North-West which seemed to be lost forever. Although it had been suggested since long that such a tradition existed we are only now in the position to get immediate access to it. That also means that we can now study manuscripts from a very early and crucial period of the Buddhist tradition, from a region which is not only largely responsible for the spread of Buddhism into Central and East Asia, but is also supposed to play a major role in the changes Buddhism faced at that time.<sup>2</sup>

In 2006 a new collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts was introduced in an article by M. Nasim Khan & Sohail Khan (2004 (2006)). This new collection, now named after its probable origin the Bajaur collection, in many regards continues this remarkable series. According to its character it can be best compared to the BL collection. Like the latter one it is a quite heterogeneous compilation of birch-bark manuscripts. Almost every scroll is written by a different hand and its texts reach from canonical *sūtras* to philosophical treatises. Also regarding its extent it is comparable to the BL collection covering nearly 60 % of it.

But in other regards the Bajaur collection differs considerably from any of the known Kharoṣṭhī manuscript collections. First of all it contains absolutely important examples of otherwise scarcely known genres of Gāndhārī literature. Thus its largest text represents a quite elaborate version of a Gāndhārī Mahāyāna sūtra. It is written in more than 600 lines on both sides of a large composite birch-bark scroll which is more than 220 cm long. Another text contains the first example for a nearly completely preserved Arapačana syllabary in Kharoṣṭhī script. In both cases the collection fulfills expectations which were uttered long ago on the basis of previous research. What could hardly be expected, however, is also present: a Nīti/Arthaśāstra type text in Kharoṣṭhī script and the oldest Vinaya texts discovered so far.

The Bajaur collection has got another peculiarity, which is especially important for the evaluation of its historical context. Most of the known Gāndhārī manuscripts came to the attention of scholars only at a time, when they had already been shifted to Europe, North America or Japan. Thus with regard to the original provenance we have in most cases to rely on the information given by the sellers of these manuscripts.

It is more than a guess that lots of the new material are the result of illegal diggings along the mostly tribal belt on both sides of the Pakistan/Afghanistan border. In many cases the dealers

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<sup>1</sup> A catalogue of this collection is being prepared by Mark Allon. A good survey of the newly discovered material is given by Glass 2004 and Allon 2007.

<sup>2</sup> The majority of these newly discovered Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts is being studied by the Early Buddhist Manuscript Project of the University of Washington, Seattle under the guidance of Richard Salomon. See the project's informative homepage <http://www.ebmp.org>.

and their middlemen try to hide the true origin of their objects. Thus they are mostly said to hail from a region which is known for similar discoveries in the past and large enough to avoid further investigation.<sup>3</sup>

The Bajaur manuscripts are not a complete exception but the information we have about their discovery is by far more reliable than in the cases of the other collections. According to the original statement of the owner, the collection was found in the ruins of a Buddhist monastery known today under the name Mahal and situated according to Nasim Khan's description „in the Bajaur area in the entrance of a narrow valley opposite to Mian Kili village (District Dir) on the right side of Bajaur river known as Rud“ (Nasim Khan & Sohail Khan (2006):10). The Mian Kili mentioned here can be identified with the place situated at 34° 49' 24" North, 71° 40' 17" East on the left side of the river. Accordingly the monastery can be located with some certainty within the region indicated on the accompanying map.

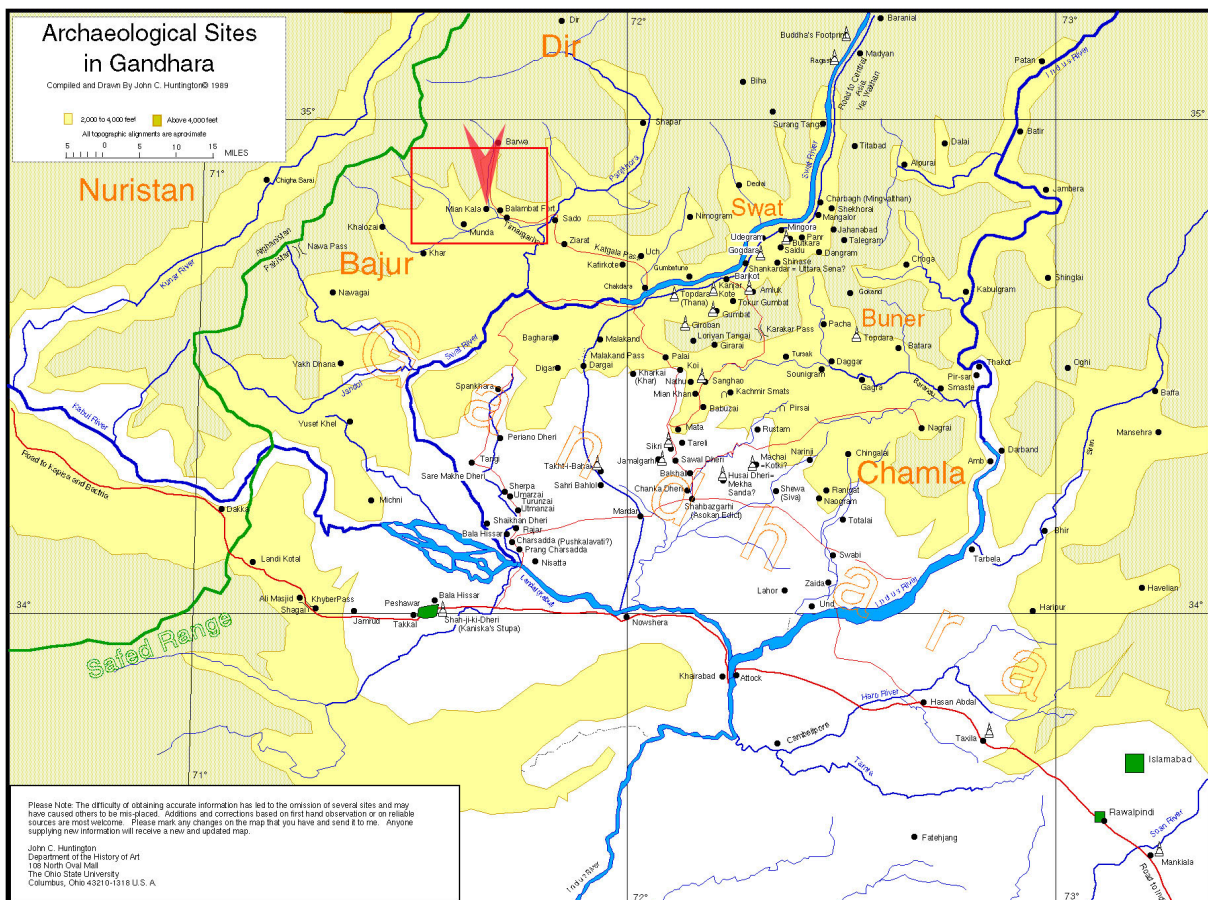


Fig. 1: Map of Gandhāra with Miān Kili (courtesy: John Huntington, source: <http://kaladarshan.arts.ohio-state.edu/maps/gandh.html>)

Fig. 2: Surroundings of Miān Kili with Dir-Bajaur border indicated (source: Google Earth®)

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the provenance of the British Library collection from Haḍḍa is far from sure (cf. Nasim Khan & Sohail Khan 2004(2006)).

Possibly an ancient road connecting the Gandhāra plain via Swāt and Dir with the regions west of the Hindukush was passing this place and could be responsible for the establishment of a Buddhist monastery in that remote area.

Miān Kili does certainly not belong to the „standard“ find-spots which are often indicated by art dealers. On the contrary it is almost unknown in the secondary literature. The only reference we came across is found in connection with some stone seals and sealings introduced as early as 1889 by Senart and referred to by Konow (1929: 6, no. 3) and recently by Callieri (1997). According to Senart three of the seals are coming „du pays de Bajaur (au nord-est de Jellalabad) est c'est dans le village de Miankilli qu'ils ont été acquis“ (Senart 1889: 375). One of them (Senart 1889, no. 1, Konow 1929: 6, no. 3) shows a standing figure accompanied by a Kharoṣṭhī text reading *su theudama[sa]* „of King Theodama“. The Greek name beginning with *theo*<sup>o</sup> as well as the preceding syllable *su* which can be compared with coin legends of Hermaios and Kujūla Kadphises support a dating prior to the 1st c. AD. It is – however – far from certain, that Senart's place is identical with the Miān Kili in Dir, since there is another village of that name in the Bajaur district situated 34° 44' 33" North, 71° 32' 57" East, i.e. about 15 km away as the crow flies.

Only later the former owner shifted the manuscripts' origin to the more popular Kandahar region outside Pakistan and thus outside the reach of official investigation, in accordance with the strategy described above.

Some time after the discovery, in 1999, the manuscripts were brought to M. Nasim Khan who kept them for conservation and further studies in the Department of Archaeology of the University of Peshawar. As Nasim Khan wrote, the manuscripts were deposited in a „single large cardboard box“ when brought to his office (Fig. 3).

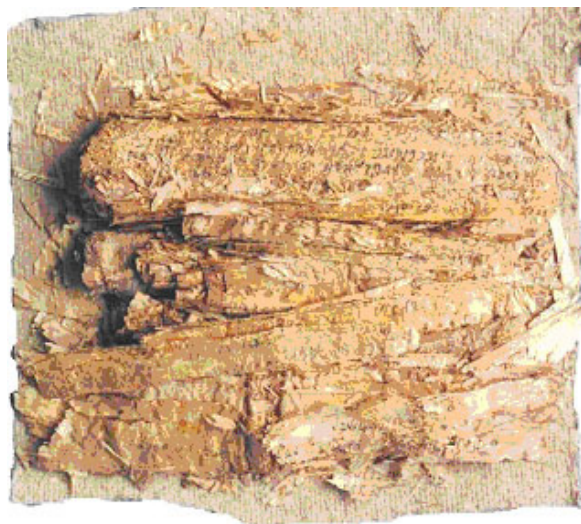


Fig. 3: Inside of the card box with manuscripts in their original condition (photography: Nasim Khan)

According to the owner, however, they „were found *in situ* placed in a square chamber of stone slabs of about half a meter of diameter. The chamber was found in one of the cell(s) of the monastery“ (Nasim Khan & Sohail Khan 2004(2006): 10).

If this description is correct, the Bajaur collection differs in a further point from the British Library or Senior collections, which both were found inside earthen pots. It is probable that these pots were deposited inside a *stūpa*, from where they were taken by the illegal diggers. Either the manuscripts were no longer in a usable and intact condition as R. Salomon suggested with regard to the British Library collection (1999: 69-71) or they were intentionally written for being buried inside a *stūpa* as one might suggest in the case of the Senior collection which was interred as an intact and cohesive collection (Salomon 2003: 78-79). Although - as Richard Salomon pointed

out to me - the description of the finding circumstances of the Bajaur collection could well fit to a relic chamber of a *stūpa*,<sup>4</sup> it cannot be excluded that the Bajaur manuscripts were indeed found inside a room within the precincts of the monastery. We will come back to that point and its importance with regard to the contents of the collection at the end of the article.

In the years following this discovery the scrolls were unrolled and basically restored by M. Nasim Khan and his team at the University of Peshawar (cf. Nasim Khan & Sohail Khan 2004 (2006): 10-12). Despite the difficult conditions this work was conducted in an extraordinarily careful and professional way using also the experiences gained from the restoration of the British Library fragments. Thanks to M. Nasim Khan it was possible to preserve all of the manuscripts in an optimal condition. It is primarily his reward that the Bajaur collection was saved from irreversible damage and is now in a state that allows further investigation. The main restoration process was finished in 2005 and resulted in the preservation of the scrolls within 35 glass frames measuring between 30 cm x 40 cm and 40 cm x 50 cm. All of these frames are part of a private collection which is presently kept in the premises of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Peshawar for research purposes.

Since October 2005 the collection has been studied in the framework of a project under the guidance of Harry Falk sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. This project was in its initial phase from 2005 till 2007 part of a more comprehensive cooperation between the Department of Archaeology of the University of Peshawar and the Freie Universität Berlin („Pak-German projects“).

The present article presents the results of this initial research work and is meant as a first survey of the contents of the collection, representing thereby also an important step towards a comprehensive catalogue. It should serve as a first orientation for the interested public and also as an invitation for a hopefully fruitful discussion about the presented texts and their place in Buddhist literature.<sup>5</sup>

In a first part we will describe the physical conditions of the manuscripts including technical data like size, number of lines and letters. The script used is ascribed to a particular scribe, a first suggestion about the contents is given. Since a considerable number of texts being preserved in the Bajaur collection do not belong to the canonical tradition of a Śrāvākayāna/Hīnayāna school we are at present not in the position to present for all texts a title or a parallel from another Buddhist tradition. In these cases we will try to give at least an indication of the genre the text seems to belong to. In a small number of cases, however, even this is not possible because of the very fragmentary condition of the manuscript. Part 1 will be accompanied by a table in the appendix showing all technical data at a glance.

The second part contains a short introduction into the palaeographical features of the collection with sample lines and a table in the appendix comparing selected letters from all scribes.

In the following main part we will give a more detailed analysis arranging the texts according to their genres and giving more details about their contents. This part is illustrated by more or less extensive extracts from the manuscripts in transcript and translation as well as facsimile photographs.

The article will be concluded by a short evaluation of the contents and character of the collection.

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<sup>4</sup> Salomon is referring to a comparable relic chamber in one of the Haḍḍa stūpas described in Tarzi 2005: 258 and illustrated on p. 284.

<sup>5</sup> This catalogue is replacing the list contained in the first announcement of the collection by M. Nasim Khan and Sohail Khan (2004 (2006)).

## 2. Catalogue of the fragments (preliminary)

The Bajaur collection comprises altogether fragments from ca. 18<sup>6</sup> different birch-bark scrolls, written by at least 19 different scribes. The largest scroll (fragment 2) is more than 220 cm long, while the shortest birch bark fragment measures only about 6 cm (fragment 7). Similarly heterogeneous is the fragments' state of preservation. While some scrolls are almost completely preserved, many of them miss one side – a feature which was also to be observed with many manuscripts of the BL collection. A few are almost entirely broken into many small fragments. In these cases it is presently difficult to establish exact measurements or even the contents of the text.

In the cases of long scrolls the fragments are divided into several parts which are kept in different frames. They are numbered according to the sequence of their documentation. Citations are made according to the number of the part and the respective number of the line in this part. In the process of reconstruction these parts will be arranged in the correct order while the lines will be numbered continuously within one fragment.

The preliminary catalogue below is prepared after the model of the BL manuscripts catalogue contained in Salomon 1999 (42-53) with the same sort of reservation due to its preliminary character (ibid.: 42-43). Accordingly, the following information will be included:

1. General condition: Information about the general form, state of preservation, special features.
2. Measurements: width x height, lines, Akṣaras per line (a/l) (approximate value). If the scroll is divided into several parts we will give the measurements and line figures of the entire scroll. The data of the single parts can be drawn from the accompanying table 2 in the appendix. If the original width or length of the scroll is preserved the figures are underlined.
3. Hands: The script used is ascribed to a particular scribe. For more palaeographical data see chapter 3.
4. Contents: Short description only, for more details cf. chapter 4.

### Fragment 1, Parts 1-3 (Frames 1, 16 and 12)

1. General condition: The long scroll was possibly folded in the middle. This caused the loss of big portions of its left-hand side. The remaining portions which cover nearly 60 % of the whole text are quite legible. The scroll contained originally a single text which covered the entire obverse and one line in the beginning of the reverse. Later on a second text was added on the reverse. Like in other instances of manuscripts in this format, the margin was sewn.
2. Measurements: 17,5 cm x 70,5 cm  
80 lines on r, 21 lines on v  
42 a/l on r, 20 a/l on v
3. Hands: Scribe 1 (recto, one line verso), scribe 2 (verso).
4. Contents: First text (scribe 1): Gāndhārī parallel to the Dakkhināvibhaṅgasutta (MN no. 142)/Gautamīsūtra, cf. below 1.1. Second text (scribe 2): unidentified *raḁṣā/dhāraṇī* like text.

### Fragment 2, Parts 1-10 (Frames 2-8, 31, 34 and 35)

1. General condition: This is the by far largest scroll of the entire collection. It belongs to the class of composite scrolls described by Salomon (1999: 87-98). The preserved part of the scroll was nearly 230 cm long and is now kept in ten frames. Parts 9 and 10 which are heavily destroyed seem to belong to the most outside portion of the scroll, which was possibly wrapped from the beginning of the obverse lying inside. This is indicated by the size of the broken pieces which are very small in the case of the innermost part 3, get bigger in the case

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<sup>6</sup> It cannot be excluded that some of the fragments treated here separately turn out to belong to one and the same scroll in the further course of research. The same could be true for some of the scribes, who look slightly different at the first glance. These differences, however, could also be due to a different writing tool, ink or birch bark.



of the following parts 1, 2, 7 and 4 and are almost completely preserved in the adjacent parts 6 and 5, before getting rather destroyed in parts 8, 9 and 10 due to the physical injuries from outside. The intact portions are clearly legible. In most parts the left sewn margin is almost entirely preserved. The right side is damaged in varying degrees. According to the text the original width of the scroll should have measured around 19-20 cm.

Both sides are inscribed with the same text.

2. Measurements: 18 cm x 223,5 cm  
371 lines on r, 267 lines on v  
49 a/l on r, 39 a/l on v
3. Hands: Recto and verso seem to be written by the same hand (scribe 3). The rough surface of the reverse side is responsible for the larger script used here. Sometimes, however, like in part 6, both scripts are almost of the same size.
4. Contents: Mahāyāna sūtra with parallels to the Akṣobhyavyūha (cf. below 4.5)

### Fragment 3, Parts 1-2 (Frames 17 and 9)

1. General condition: Both sides are inscribed with the same text which covers the whole obverse and nearly half of the reverse. The introductory portion of the text (part 1) is largely damaged, especially on its left side. Part 2, however, is very well preserved missing only some portions on its left side. The intact part covering nearly 80 % of the text is quite legible. Much of the lost portions can be restored according to the preserved parallel text. Both margins are indicated by a vertical line.
2. Measurements: 17 cm x 39 cm  
39 lines on r, 12 lines on v  
30 a/l
3. Hands: Scribe 4
4. Contents: A *raṅṣā* text containing a *mantra* called *nagaraya-manaspiya vija*, Skt. *nāgarāja-mānasvikā vidyā*). Cf. below 4.4.

### Fragment 4, Part 1-2 (Frames 10, 18)

1. General condition: This fragment is heavily damaged with a big number of single pieces of a broken scroll. Due to its bad state of preservation its original measurements cannot be established. Similarly, it is in the present stage of research not possible to make out the correct arrangement of the preserved fragments. The scribe seems to be identical with that of fr. 11. Since it is possible to rearrange the pieces of fr. 4 to a size according to that of fr. 11, these two fragments probably belong to one scroll. Both sides contain a single text.
2. Measurements: The fragments are now arranged in two frames. Their surviving portions measure 25 cm x 19 cm and 26 cm x 17 cm.
3. Hands: Both sides are written by the same hand (scribe 5).
4. Contents: The literary style of the surviving portions as well as the mentioning of the word *prañaparamida* could indicate a (part of a) Mahāyāna text of the Prajñāpāramitā circle. If our assumption that fr. 4 belongs to the same scroll as fr. 11 is correct the contents should be identical with that described below for fr. 11. Cf. below 4.2.2.

### Fragment 5 (Frame 11)

1. General condition: According to the textual evidence the length of the fragment is almost completely preserved with three lines missing in the beginning of recto. Its left margin, however, is nearly completely destroyed. The intact portions are quite legible. Both sides contain a single text.

2. Measurements: 11 cm x 37 cm  
40 lines on r, 41 lines on v  
20 a/l
3. Hands: Both sides are written by the same scribe (scribe 6).
4. Contents: Collection of Buddhist verses, arranged according to the Arapacana syllabary, cf. below 4.3.2.

### Fragment 6, parts 1-3 (Frames 29, 30 and 32)

1. General condition: The fragments are part of a very much deteriorated scroll. It is now preserved in three parts of only 7 to 8 lines on both sides, written by the same scribe and containing probably a single text. The letters are very weak and partly not legible at all. Part 2 is the best preserved part of the scroll and seems to contain the final portion of the text.
2. Measurements: 16,5 cm x 26,5 cm  
ca. 26 lines on r, ca. 21 lines on v  
32 a/l on r and v
3. Hands: Both sides are written by the same scribe (scribe 19).
4. Contents: Scholastic literature. As far as one can judge from the surviving passages the text shows a close resemblance to fragments 4 and 11 using the same terminology and even whole phrases with identical wording. We therefore provisionally ascribe fragment 6 to the same genre. A remark at the end of fr. 6, part 2 could indicate that the text of this fragment was copied from another, partly destroyed scroll. It reads: *śeṣapatade likhidae* „This was written from the remaining manuscript“. Possibly, fr. 6 is a copy of another scroll. Cf. below 4.2.2.

### Fragment 7 (Frame 13)

1. General condition: The frame contains remains of a small sheet of birch bark broken into numerous pieces. The letters, however, are quite legible and allow a reconstruction of the fragment.
2. Measurements: 16 cm x 6 cm  
ca. 8 lines on r, ca. 5 lines on v  
ca. 40 a/l on r and v
3. Hands: Both sides are written by the same hand (scribe 7).
4. Contents: r: Karmavācanā formula for the appointment of a *śayyāsanagrāhaka*, v: Karmavācanā formula for the entering of the saṃgha into a *vihāra* at the beginning of the rainy season (*varṣopagamana*). Cf. below 4.1.2.1.

### Fragment 8 (Frame 14)

1. General condition: The relatively well preserved sheet of birch bark contains a single text, which is covering the lower quarter of the obverse. The three remaining quarters of the obverse and the whole reverse are blank. The manuscript was folded in the middle. It belongs to the class of smaller scrolls with an exceptionally wide format (cf. Salomon 1999: 98-100). The arrangement of the verses on one line with a small space between the half (or quarter) verses corresponds to that of other Gāndhārī verse texts written in this format (Salomon 1999: 99).
2. Measurements: 21,5 cm x 19 cm  
4 lines on r  
41 a/l
3. Hands: Scribe 8
4. Contents: Four verses praising the Buddha Śākyamuni. Cf. below 4.3.1.1.

### Fragment 9, Parts 1-2 (Frames 15 and 24)

1. General condition: Very well preserved scroll with small portions in the beginning of r missing. The letters are clearly legible.
2. Measurements: 16 cm x 55 cm  
ca. 53 lines on r, 47 lines on v  
29 a/l on r, 27 a/l on v
3. Hands: Both sides are written by different scribes (r: Scribe 9; v: Scribe 10)
4. Contents: The obverse contains a collection of verses related to the genre of Nīti literature. Cf. below 4.6. On the reverse we find a yet unidentified philosophical treatise quoting the opinions of different authorities. Cf. below 4.2.1.

### Fragment 10 (Frame 19)

1. General condition: Small scroll broken into pieces. The upper and left portion are mostly destroyed, the remaining parts are quite legible. Only the obverse is inscribed.
2. Measurements: 16 cm x 23 cm  
17 lines on r  
32 a/l
3. Hands: Scribe 11
4. Contents: Unidentified (part of a) text praising the Buddha in conventional phrases. Cf. below 4.3.1.2.

### Fragment 11, Parts 1-2 (Frames 20, 21)

1. General condition: Relatively well preserved scroll with parts of its right side missing. Especially part 2 lacks big portions of its right margin. The handwriting is quite carelessly done and sometimes difficult to read. According to its script and contents this fragment could be part of the same scroll and text as fr. 4.
2. Measurements: 15,5 cm x 37,5 cm  
61 lines on r, 37 lines on v  
40 a/l on r and v
3. Hands: Both sides are written by the same scribe 5.
4. Contents: On both sides one scholastic text is written, discussing several topics, among them the character of *sukha* which is said to be intermingled with different sorts of suffering. Cf. below 4.2.2.

### Fragment 12 (Frame 22)

1. General condition: Poorly preserved remains of a small scroll. Due to its bad state of preservation it is difficult to establish safe readings of a larger passage.
2. Measurements: 15,5 cm x 14 cm  
16 lines on r, 14 lines on v  
29 a/l on r and v
3. Hands: Both sides are written by scribe 12, which is perhaps identical with scribe 4.
4. Contents: As far as one can judge from the little remains this fragment contains small portions of another dogmatical text. It contains references to *ruasaño* (Skt. *rūpasamjñā*) and *atva-jivasaño* (Skt. *ātmajīvasamjñā*). Words like *śujadi* (Skt. *śudhyati*) and *śudha* (Skt. *śuddha*) suggest a context reflecting on matters of purification.

### **Fragment 13 (Frame 23)**

1. General condition: Very well preserved fragment of a scroll. The upper part of its obverse and almost its entire reverse are very difficult to read because of the weak visibility of the letters. Possibly, parts of the scroll came into contact with a material destroying the ink.
2. Measurements: 16 cm x 23 cm  
25 lines on r, 22 lines on v  
34 a/l on r, 31 a/l on v
3. Hands: Different hands on both sides (r: scribe 13, v: scribe 14).
4. Contents: Both sides contain parallel portions of the Prātimokṣasūtra: r: Naiḥsargika Pācittiya 1-9, v: Naiḥsargika Pācittiya 1-8. Cf. below 4.1.2.2.

### **Fragment 14 (Frame 33)**

1. General condition: Very poorly preserved fragments with big portions missing. In many places the surface is destroyed.
2. Measurements: 10 cm x 7 cm  
ca. 10 lines on r, ca. 7 lines on v  
28 a/l on r, 22 a/l on v
3. Hands: Both sides are written by the same hand (scribe 18).
4. Contents: Not identified dogmatical text. The contents shows certain parallels to fragment 16 which seems to be written by the same scribe. The different format of the fragments, however, forbids to take them as parts of the same scroll. Cf. below 4.2.3.

### **Fragment 15 (Frames 25, \*26)**

1. General condition: Relatively well preserved fragments of a wide scroll with some portions of the upper half missing. Only one side is inscribed. A row of holes to the right of the middle indicates that a thread was stitching the folded sheet together. Probably, a seal was fastened to this thread. A small fragment of this scroll is preserved in frame 26.
2. Measurements: 21 cm x 19 cm  
15 lines in r  
60 a/l
3. Hand: Scribe 15
4. Contents: A document regarding a loan business and signed by witnesses. Cf. below 4.7.

### **Fragment 16, Part 1-2 (Frames 27, 28)**

1. General condition: Poorly preserved remains of a wide scroll with its left and right side stored in two different frames.
2. Measurements: ca. 24 cm x 20 cm  
10-11 lines on r, 10-11 lines on v  
15 a/l on r and v
3. Hands: Scribe 18 on both sides.
4. Contents: Not identified dogmatical text, closely related to that of fragments 14 and 18, cf. below 4.2.3.

### Fragment 17, Parts 1-2 (Frames 26, \*25)

1. General condition: Heavily damaged scroll of the wide type folded in the middle. Broken into several pieces with the surface sometimes destroyed. Only the upper half of the obverse and a quarter of the reverse are inscribed. A small portion of this scroll is preserved together with fragment 15 in frame 25.
2. Measurements: ca. 23 cm x 16 cm  
ca. 8 lines on r, ca. 5 lines on v  
36 a/l on r, v not completely visible
3. Hands: Scribe 16 on r, scribe 17 on v.
4. Contents: Possibly, Buddhist verses (?).

### Fragment 18 (Frame 32)

1. General condition: Very poorly preserved remains broken into many pieces with large portions of text missing.
2. Measurements: 17 cm x 19 cm  
20 lines on r, 19 lines on v  
40 a/l on r and v
3. Hands: Scribe 5 on both sides.
4. Contents: Not identified dogmatical text, closely related to that of fragments 14 and 16. Cf. below 4.2.3.

## 3. Palaeographical remarks

### 3.1 General features of the scripts represented in the Bajaur collection

Like in the case of the BL collection we can discern a large number of scribes representing different writing styles. All of them belong to the late phase of Kharoṣṭhī (i.e. after 1 AD) and can be roughly divided into two distinct groups depending on their relationship to cursivity. Whereas in the first group we place writing styles which abstain from joining letters and write clearly distinct and separate signs, the second group is characterized by a varying degree of cursivity. The tendency of cursivity as a distinguishing feature coincides remarkably with the shape of the akṣara *ka* used in the different styles: Group A prefers the older, archaic *ka* written as a vertical stem with a horizontal line to the left at its top and a hooked line added to the right side at the middle of the vertical. The scribes of group B use the younger shape of the *ka* which was written with a curved stroke on the top and a vertical inserted below. Some forms of *ka* seem to indicate a transitional phase where the upper curved stroke was written as a wave and thus resembles the old shape of the *ka* (scribe 8). It is significant that also scribes who use the younger form of *ka* take its archaic type when adding a diacritic mark (e.g. scribe 4 *ke*). The use of footmarks seems to be restricted to scribes of group A.

The following scribes can be ascribed to group A representing a more or less conventional Kharoṣṭhī with archaic features and clearly separated letters: 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17.

The second group comprises scribes using a cursive or semi-cursive Kharoṣṭhī with a clear tendency to join letters: 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19.

### 3.2 Short description of the scribal hands with sample lines

1. Small, clear, upright hand with a developed tendency towards footmarks: fragment 1, r.

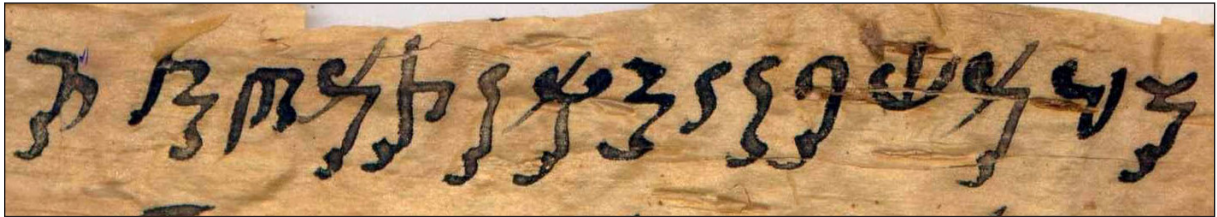


Fig. 4: Fragment 1, part 3, recto, line 7

2. Large, bold hand with clearly separated letters: fragment 1, v.



Fig. 5: Fragment 1, part 2, verso

3. Flowing, thin, fine hand with small but clearly separated letters: fragment 2.

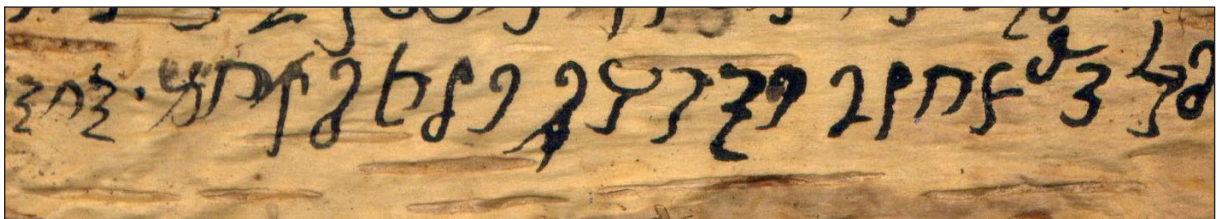


Fig. 6: Fragment 2, part 5, recto

4. Flowing, slanting hand with a developed tendency towards cursivity: fragment 3.

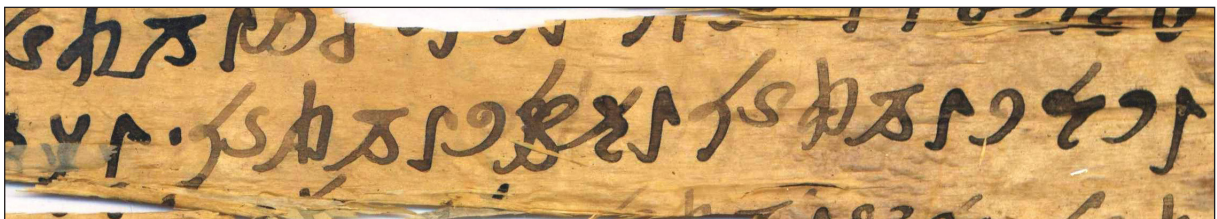


Fig. 7: Fragment 3, part 2, recto, line 31.

5. Small, flowing hand with a tendency towards cursivity, sometimes letters are connected: fragments 4, 11, 18.

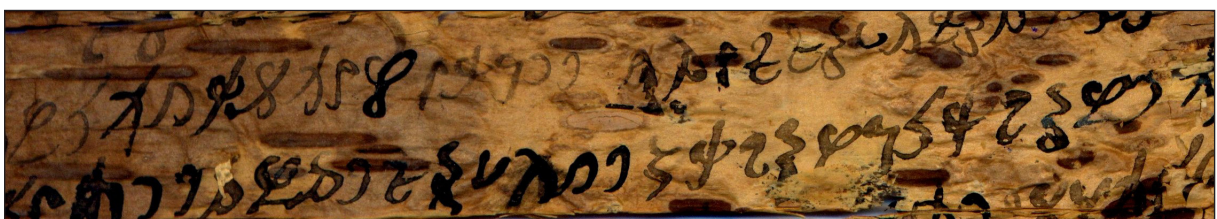


Fig. 8: Fragment 11, part 1, recto, line 18

6. Large, bold and flowing hand with a tendency towards cursivity, sometimes letters are connected. The shape of letter *ka* alters between the older and younger form: fragment 5.

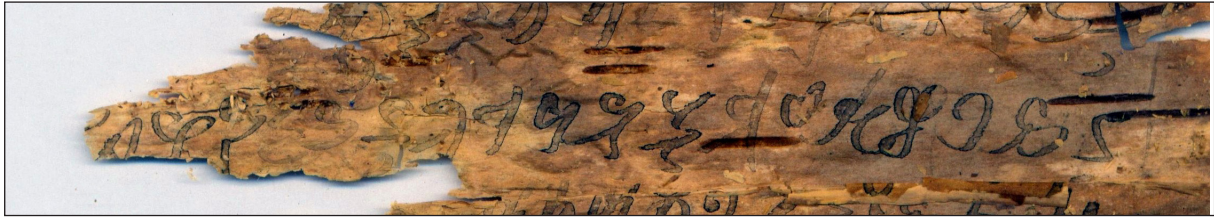


Fig. 9: Fragment 5, recto, line 11

7. Upright, bold hand, a light tendency towards footmarks (*na*, *ra* [hook open to the left]): fragment 7.

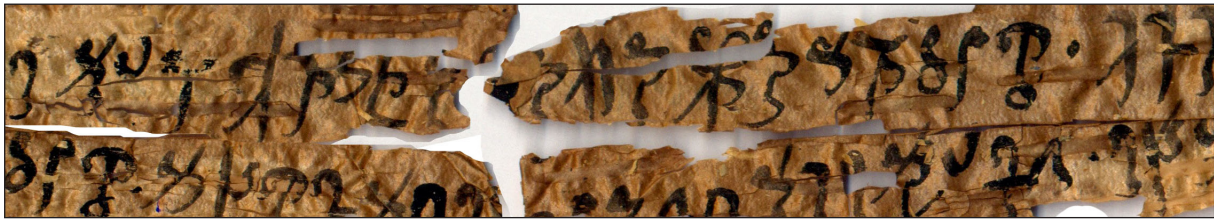


Fig. 10: Fragment 7, recto, lines 1-2

8. Clear, flowing hand with a tendency towards cursivity. The shape of the letter *ca* is reminiscent of that of the Wardak vase and several Schøyen fragments: fragment 8.

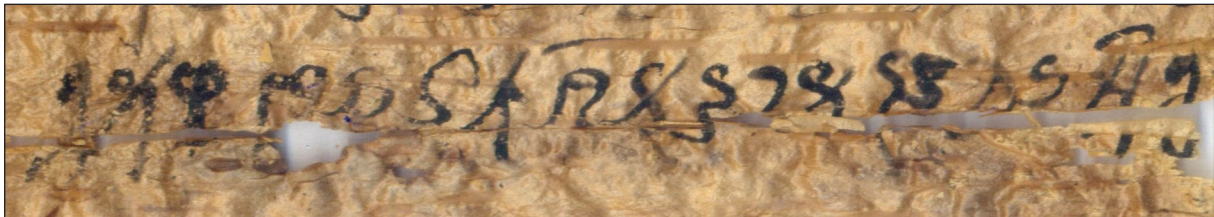


Fig. 11: Fragment 8, recto, line 4

9. Thin, upright, sometimes trembling hand with a tendency towards footmarks: fragment 9, r.

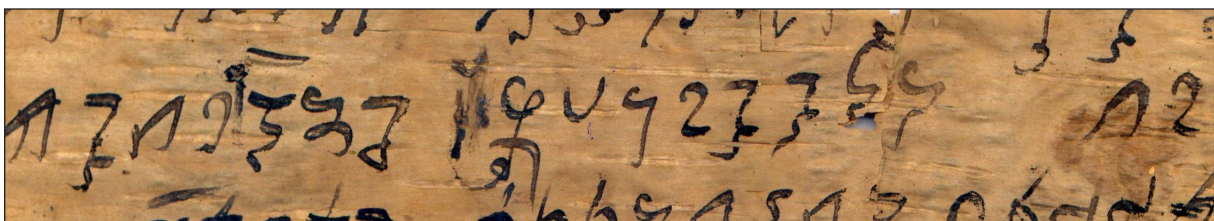


Fig. 12: Fragment 9, part 1, recto, line 14

10. Bold, upright hand with large clearly separated letters and a very clear style, tendency towards footmarks (hook open to the left). Although the script seems to be more archaic than that on the obverse the text must have been written later: fragment 9, v.

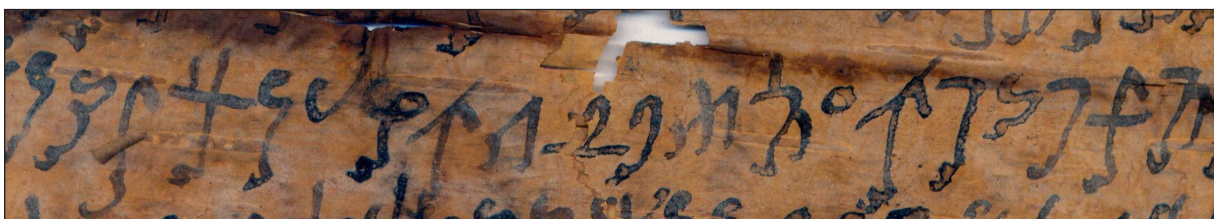


Fig. 13: Fragment 9, part 1, verso, line 15

11. Small, bold, upright hand with a light tendency towards footmarks. The peculiar shape of the letter *sa* can be compared to that of scribe 1: fragment 10.

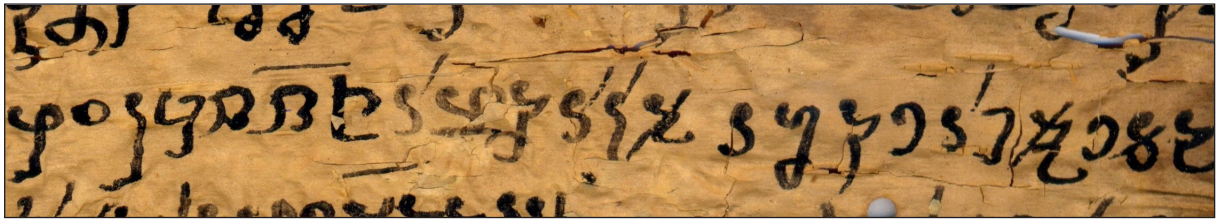


Fig. 14: Fragment 10, recto, line 13

12. Flowing, slanting hand with a developed tendency towards cursivity, very similar and possibly identical with scribe 4: fragment 12.

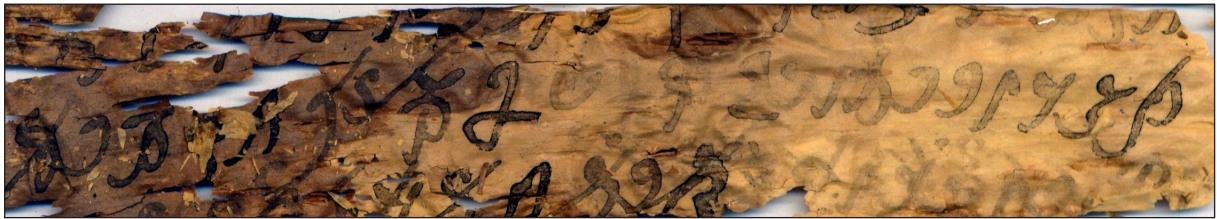


Fig. 15: Fragment 12, recto, line 11

13. Thin, flowing, small hand with a developed tendency towards cursivity, often letters are connected, *a/va* almost indistinguishable: fragment 13, r.

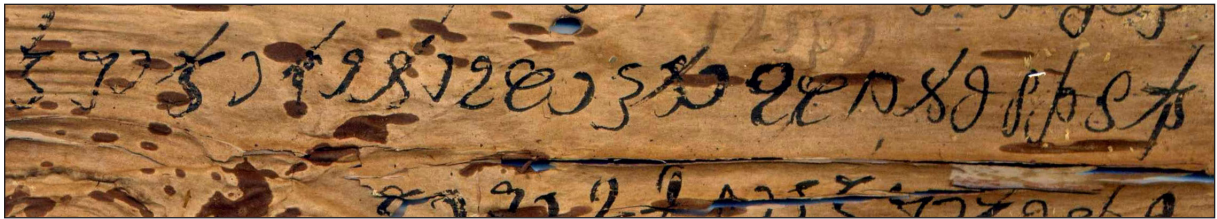


Fig. 16: Fragment 13, recto, line 14

14. Bold, flowing, small hand with a tendency towards cursivity, clearly distinct from scribe 13: fragment 13, v.



Fig. 17: Fragment 13, verso, line 20.

15. Very small, neat and flowing hand, with a weak tendency towards footmarks (*mi, da, na*): fragment 15.

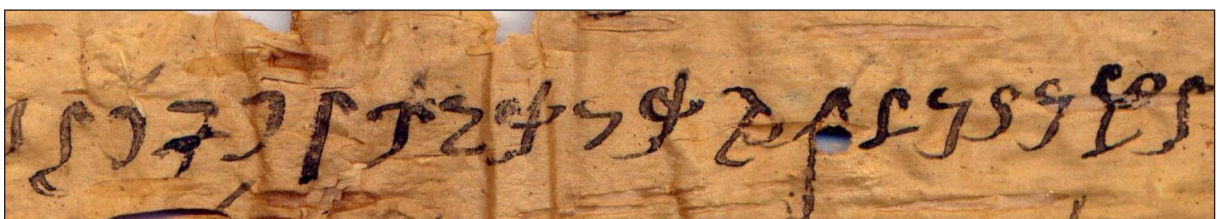


Fig. 18: Fragment 15, recto, line 6.



16. Bold upright hand with a tendency towards footmarks, with letter *na*: fragment 17, r.

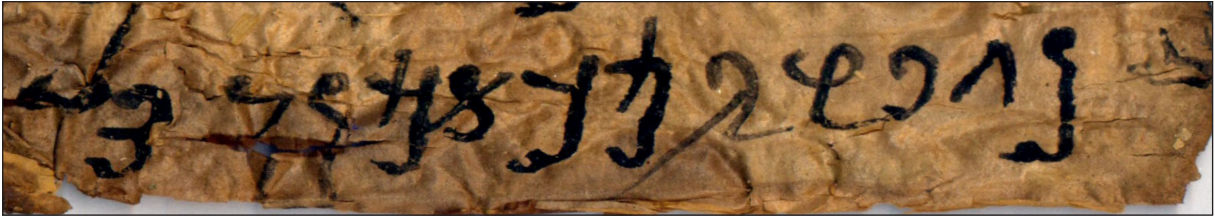


Fig. 19: Fragment 17, part 1, recto, line 4

17. Flowing, thin hand with a tendency towards footmarks: fragment 17, v.



Fig. 20: Fragment 17, part 2, verso, line 2

18. Flowing hand with relatively high, prolonged letters and a tendency towards cursivity. Very similar to, but obviously different from scribe 5: fragments 16, 14.



Fig. 21: Fragment 16, part 2, recto, line 5

19. Bold, upright and flowing hand, similar to, but obviously different from scribe 12: Fragment 6.



Fig. 22: Fragment 6, part 2, recto, line 4

### 3.3 Comparative palaeography and the date of the collection

With regard to the early shape of the letter *ka* our group A can be attributed to the scripts used in the BL collection. The majority of them show the old shape of *ka* (Salomon 1999: 116f.). We must keep in mind, however, that the scripts of our group A are much less monumental and upright than those of the BL collection. Most of them show a flowing style adjusting them well to group B. Moreover, if we compare the shape of the significant akṣaras throughout the whole collection, we see no major differences between both groups with exception of the letter *ka*, which could also simply serve as an indicator of cursivity which must not necessarily provide a chronological

argument. The difference between both groups is mostly a stylistic one: between cursive/semi-cursive and non-cursive Kharoṣṭhī. It is almost indiscernible with regard to the shape of single letters. Thus it is quite probable, that despite their different attitude to cursivity the scripts of both groups belong to a more or less uniform palaeographical background of the same period.

The more cursive style of Kharoṣṭhī as represented by the second group with its more recent *ka* could be associated to the Senior collection scribe whose date can be fixed on the basis of historical data provided by the accompanying epigraph to 140 AD. But this date does not exclude the possibility that other cursive forms of Kharoṣṭhī could have been in use before that time.

If we take the degree of Sanskritisation as further evidence for dating our manuscripts they are also closely related to the above mentioned collections and rather different from the later Schøyen and Pelliot manuscripts which show a marked tendency towards Sanskrit orthography and are supposed to go back to a date from around the late 2nd/3rd centuries AD.<sup>7</sup> The only exception within the Bajaur collection, the Nīti text on fragment 9, belongs to the rare instances of Sanskrit texts written in Kharoṣṭhī.<sup>8</sup> Contrary to the Schøyen manuscripts and most of the Pelliot fragments (cf. Salomon 1998: 150-151; 2001) it is a pure Sanskrit text which seems to have never been composed in another language. Moreover, it belongs to a completely different, originally non-Buddhist literary genre. It is therefore not possible to take this text as an indicator for a chronology which depends on the degree of the Sanskritization of a text or text collection. Fragment 9 is rather showing that at a time when Gāndhārī proper was used for Buddhist texts written in Kharoṣṭhī script Sanskrit texts were also known in Gandhāra and were written down in the same script.

To sum up, it seems permissible to date the Bajaur collection provisionally within the frame provided by the BL and Senior collections, i.e. from the second half of the 1st into the first half of the 2nd centuries AD with a tendency towards the later part of this period.

But due to the highly conjectural character of every dating of a Kharoṣṭhī text based merely on palaeographical data we cannot exclude a more recent date which seems, however, most unlikely. Only own radio carbon data which are planned for the near future will hopefully give a more precise date.

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<sup>7</sup> For the whole complex of Sanskritisation of script and language and chronological implications cf. Salomon 2001, for the Pelliot and Schøyen manuscripts cf. *ibid.*: 248, Salomon 1998: 150. For the dating and palaeography of the Schøyen Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra fragments cf. Allon & Salomon 2000: 266-268. The radio-carbon data relating to Schøyen and Senior manuscripts are communicated and discussed by Allon, Salomon, Jacobsen & Zoppi 2006. See also Glass 2006: 119-120.

<sup>8</sup> The only other manuscript in Kharoṣṭhī Sanskrit known so far which shares many features with our fragment 9 is fragment 1 of the Pelliot collection (Salomon 1998: 124-137).

## 4. A survey of the texts contained in the Bajaur collection

The following survey does not intend to replace a proper edition of the texts. It is solely meant for a general overview about their contents and position within Buddhist literature. For that purpose the Gāndhārī texts are often compared to some of the distinctive parallel texts. We intentionally avoid discussing at this point phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexicological problems on a large scale. If such discussions are necessary for an understanding of the cited passages they are given in the footnotes. Otherwise this type of analysis is kept for the later edition when it can be properly done within the broader context of the whole text and its parallels. For the conventions regarding the transcription and editing we refer to the standard used in the GBT series from Allon 2001 onwards.

### 4.1 Canonical texts

#### 4.1.1 A text from the Madhyamāgama

The only text of the Bajaur Collection which can certainly be identified with a canonical sūtra is represented by fragment 1. This text is a Gāndhārī version of a sūtra parallel to the Pāli Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅgasutta given as No. 142 of its Majjhimanikāya (MN III 253-257). In the Chinese translation of the Madhyamāgama (T 26), prepared by Gautama Saṅghadeva in 397-398, it is No. 180 (T I 721c21) and bears the title 瞿曇彌經 qu tan mi jing transliterating Skt. Gautamīsūtra. Another translation into Chinese from an independent version was prepared much later by Dānapāla in 1001 (T 84). Its Chinese title (分別布施經) corresponds to the Pāli name of the text.

A single small fragment from the Turfan collection is all that remained of a Sanskrit version of this sūtra (Waldschmidt SHT 3, Nr. 979). Both versions – the Chinese and the Skt. ones – belong to the Sarvāstivādins, whose Madhyamāgama is the only one preserved in the Chinese canon. Another version of this sūtra is cited in Śamathadeva's commentary on the Abhidharmakośa, the Upāyikā Abhidharmakośaṭīkā (cf. Mejer 1991: 63-74), extant today only in the Tibetan translation of Jayaśrī. This translation is now part of different recensions of the Tanjur (e.g. P 5595, D 4094). As was shown by Schmithausen (1987: 338-343), Śamathadeva's quotations show generally stronger parallels to Mūlasarvāstivādin texts preserved in the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama than to the extant texts of the Sarvāstivādin Madhyamāgama. It is therefore highly probable that Śamathadeva quoted from a Madhyamāgama of the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition.

The following extracts from the Gāndhārī text accompanied by its Pāli parallel will give an impression of the character of this text and its relation to the Pāli version.

As was noticed by Richard Salomon and Mark Allon with regard to their editions of canonical sūtra texts, the relationships between the Gāndhārī version and its Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese counterparts are „quite complex“ and „they do not divide into clear and neat groupings“ (Salomon 2000: 38, Allon 2001: 26). According to Allon the Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama like sūtras edited by him represent a stage of literary tradition „somewhat between P[āli] and Skt. texts“ (2001: 37). While word-by-word parallels are by no means rare, we often find extensions or abbreviations compared to the respective Pāli sūtra text. Sometimes these differences are shared by the Sanskrit parallels, sometimes the Gāndhārī version stands alone against the others representing an independent recension (Allon 2001: 26-37).

As one might expect, the same is true for our Madhyamāgama sūtra. This will be illustrated by the following extracts from fragment 1. Whereas extract 1 seems to be an almost word-by-word translation of the Middle Indian origin, extract 2 contains a passage where the repeated insertion of a stereotypical formula leads to a more elaborate version of the text. Extract 2 also reveals some differences in content.

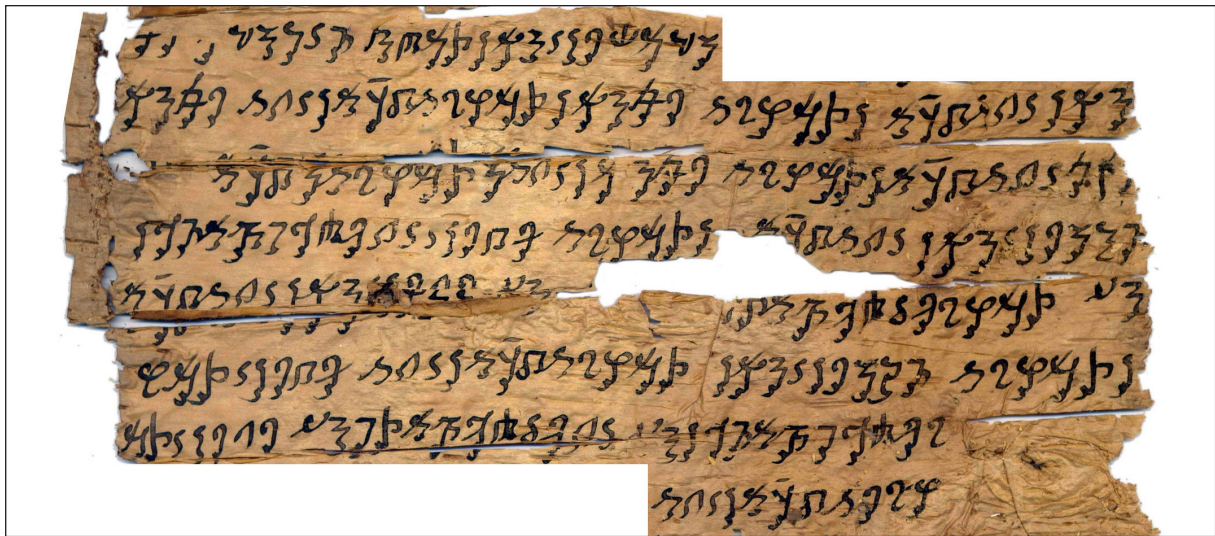


Fig. 23

- 7 ... catvarime anaṃda dhakṣina pariśodhi kadara catva[ri] [asti]  
 8 dhakṣina dayado śujāti na paḍigahado asti dhakṣina paḍigahado śujāti na dayado asti  
 dhakṣi  
 9 [na] nevi dayado śujāti na paḍigahato asti dhakṣina dayato ca paḍigahato ca śujāti  
 10 kaṣa ca anaṃda dhakṣina dayado sujāti na paḍigahato iśa anaṃda dayao śilava bhoti ka-  
 lana  
 11 dhamo paḍigahao duśilo bhoti [pava] dhammo [aya anada] dhakṣina dayato śujāti  
 12 na paḍigahato kasam ca anada dhakṣina paḍigahato sujāti na dayato iśa anada paḍigra  
 13 hao śilava bhoti kalanadhammo dayao duśilo bhoti pavadhhammo aya anaṃda paḍi  
 14 gaheado śujāti na dayato ...

„There are these four purifications of offerings, Ananda. What four? There is the offering purified by the giver but not by the recipient. There is the offering purified by the recipient but not by the giver. There is the offering purified neither by the giver nor the recipient. There is the offering purified both by the giver and the recipient.

And how, Ānanda, the offering is purified by the giver but not by the recipient? In this case, Ānanda, the giver is of moral habit and lovely character, the recipient is of poor morality and evil character. This offering, Ānanda, is purified by the giver but not by the recipient.

And how, Ānanda, the offering is purified by the recipient but not by the giver? In this case, Ānanda, the recipient is of moral habit and lovely character, the giver is of poor morality and evil character. This offering, Ānanda, is purified by the recipient but not by the giver” (after Horner 1959: 304).

Synoptic version with Pāli text (MN III 256):

G	catvarime	naṃda	dhakṣinapariśodhi	kadara catva[ri]	[a]sti	dhakṣina
P	cattaso	kho panānanda	dakkhiṇāvisuddhiyo.	Katamā cattasso:	atthānanda,	dakkhinā

G	dayado	śujāti	na paḍigahado	asti	dhakṣina paḍigahado	śujāti
P	dāyakato	visujjhati	no paṭiggāhakato.	Atthānanda,	dakkhiṇā paṭiggāhakato	visujjhati

G	na dayado	asti	dhakṣi(na) nevi	dayado	śujāti	na paḍigahato
P	no dāyakato.	Atthānanda,	dakkhiṇā	neva dāyakato	visujjhati	no paṭiggāhakato.

G asti dhakṣina dayato ca paḍigahato ca sūjati  
P atthānanda dakkhiṇā dāyakato ceva visujjhati paṭiggāhakato ca.

G kaṣa ca anaṃda dhakṣina dayado sūjati na paḍigahato  
P kathaṇ cānanda, dakkhiṇā dāyakato visujjhati no paṭiggāhakato.

G iśa anaṃda dayao śilava bhoti kalanadhamo paḍigahao duśilo bhoti [pa](va)dhammo  
P idhānanda dāyako hoti sīlavā kalyāṇadhammo, paṭiggāhakā honti dussīlā pāpadhammā.

G [aya anada] dhakṣina dayato sūjati na paḍigahato  
P evaṃ kho ānanda, dakkhiṇā dāyakato visujjhati no paṭiggāhakato

G kaṣaṃ ca anada dhakṣina paḍigahato sūjati na dayato  
P kathaṇ cānanda dakkhiṇā paṭiggāhakato visujjhati no dāyakato.

G iśa anada paḍigrahao śilava bhoti kalanadhamo dayao duśilo bhoti pavadhamo  
P idhānanda, dāyako hoti dussīlo pāpadhammo, paṭiggāhakā honti sīlavanto kalyāṇadhammā.

G aya anada paḍigaheado sūjati na dayato  
P evaṃ kho ānanda dakkhiṇā paṭiggāhakato visujjhati no dāyakato.

Extract 2 (Fragment 1, part 2, lines 2-5)



Fig. 24

2 ... [sati me] anaṃda saṃ<sup>gha</sup>gāda dhakṣina yaṣa ṇa sukar[o]  
3 puṃṇaṣa pramano grahetu etao puṇati[va] puṇa gamodiva puṃṇaviṣadodi<sup>9</sup>  
4 va aṣa mahado puṇakaṃdho aprame tveva saṃ[kha gacha]ti kadara ṣata iśaṃnada taṣagado  
tiṭhaṃti yave  
5 budhap[r]amu[haṣa] (bhi)[kh](usaṃghasa) [da]ṇo deti aya [ana]da paḍhama saghaḍgāda  
dhakṣina yaṣa na sukaro puṇa

“There are these seven offerings to the order, Ānanda, the measure of merit of which is not easy to grasp. So big is this merit, is this wish for merit, is this outflow of merit, that the mass of merit is considered as immeasurable<sup>10</sup>.

Which are these seven, Ānanda? (Who), as long as<sup>11</sup> a Tathāgata is living<sup>12</sup>, gives a gift to the order of monks with the Buddha at its head - this, Ānanda, is the first offering, the measure of merit of which is not easy to ...”

<sup>9</sup> puṇativa: cf. P. *puṇṇa* + *tivā* (iti vā); puṇagamo: P., S. °*kāma*, puṃṇaviṣado: S. °*abhiṣyanda*, P. °*abhisanda*.

<sup>10</sup> aprame: erroneously for aprame(y)a, which is written in parallel passages of fragment 1.

<sup>11</sup> yave: cf. GDict. yavi: Skt. *yāvat*.

<sup>12</sup> tiṭhaṃti: read tiṭhati with wrong anusvāra instead of the similar footmark.

Pāli parallel (MN III 255)

*Satta kho panimānanda saṅghagatā dakkhiṇā. Katamā satta buddhapamukhe ubhato saṅghe dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ paṭhamā saṅghagatā dakkhiṇā.*

“And there are these seven kinds of offerings to the Order, Ānanda: one gives a gift to both Orders with the Awakened One at the head – this is the first offering to the Order.” (Horner 1959: 303).

The formula used here can be compared to similar stereotypical phrases dealing with *puñña*(*°ābhisanda*) in Pāli canonical sūtras like e.g. AN II 55<sup>13</sup>:

*evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave imehi catuhi puññābhisandehi kusalābhisandehi samannāgatassa ariyasāvakassa na sukaraṃ puññassa pamāṇaṃ gahetu ettako puññābhisando kusalābhisando sukhassāhāro sovaggiko sukhavipāko saggasaṃvattaniko iṭṭhāya kantāya manāpāya hitāya sukhāya saṃvattatīti. Atha kho asaṅkheyyo appameyyo mahāpuññakkhandho t’eva (v.l. tveva) saṅkhaṃ gacchati.*

“Moreover, monks, if an Ariyan disciple be possessed of these four floods of merit, floods of things profitable, it is no easy thing to take the measure of his merit, (as to say): ‘Such and such is the extent of the flood of merit and so forth,’ nay, it is to be reckoned as an incalculable, immeasurable, mighty mass of merit” (Woodward 1933: 64).

## 4.1.2 Vinaya (related) texts

One of the remarkable features of the new collection is the fact that it contains texts from the Vinaya. Despite the fact that Vinaya texts belong to the oldest layers of Buddhist literature the most ancient manuscripts known so far cannot be dated prior to the 5th century AD (cf. Sander 1991, Salomon 1999: 163-164). This fact has promoted the theory that for quite a long time Vinaya texts were exclusively orally transmitted and set in writing at a rather later period, i.e. after the Kuṣāṇas. According to Salomon, „certain classes of texts, particularly the basic vinaya texts, namely the prātimokṣas, would have been the least likely to be written down, since their frequent communal recitation would preclude any danger of their being forgotten or corrupted“ (1999: 164). The Vinaya related fragments of the Bajaur collection show that, at least for the North-Western area, this theory has to be abandoned. Two of its fragments belong to the basic texts of Vinaya: the Karmavācanā and the Prātimokṣasūtra. Maybe, the fact that the Prātimokṣasūtra fragment contains more than one version of this text gives a hint on the motivation of its writing down. Once there appeared different versions within one Buddhist community it became necessary to fix one or even more of them for saving them as an authoritative reference source.

### 4.1.2.1 Karmavācanā texts

#### Fragment 7

Fragment 7 is a rather small (remnant of a) collection of Karmavācanā formulae. The two texts preserved are a Karmavācanā about the appointment of a monk responsible for the allotment of lodging places (*śayyāsanagrāhaka*) (cf. Härtel 1956: 157-160) on the obverse and another one about the entering of a residence in the rainy season (*varṣopagamana*) (cf. Härtel 1956: 124-129) on the reverse of the small sheet of birch bark. Despite their rather fragmentary condition it is clearly visible that the formal structure of both formulae agrees with that of the comparable Pāli and Skt. material.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also AN III 52, III 337 etc. or SN V 400 etc.

Extract 3 (Fragment 7, recto, lines 1-4, preliminary reconstruction)

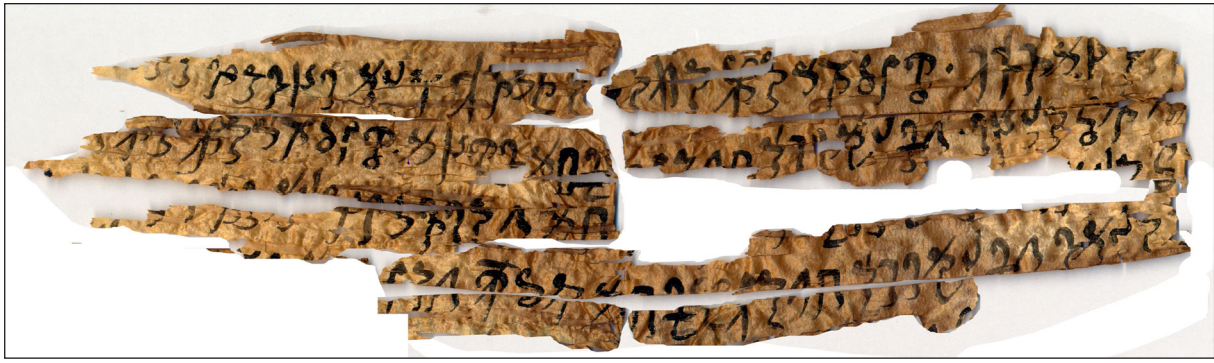


Fig. 25

The extract represents the introductory portion of a formula for the appointment of a monk who is responsible for the allotment of lodging places (*śayyāsanagrāhaka*). It can be compared with the respective prescriptions in the Pāli Cullavagga (VI.11,2 = Vin II 166-167) and the text contained in a formula collection from Turfan (Härtel 1956: 159f.).

Reconstructed Gāndhārī text

- 1 [eṣa] ñati kaṭavo ° ṣuṇadu bhate saṃgho sayi sa(gha)sa pratakalo kṣamadi añae saṃgha[sa] (itthuna)
- 2 (m)[o ya] bhikhu saṃmañña ° ya imasvi avase śayasāṇa [ga]hiṣati eṣa ñati. ṣuṇadu bhate saṃgho saṃgho [i](tthu)
- 3 (ṇamo) (bhi)khu [saṃ]ma(m)[ñña](te) (ya imasvi avase śayasāṇa gahi)ṣati yasa aśpaṭaṇa kṣamati [saṃgheṇa] (itthunamasa bhi)
- 4 (khuna) samudie ya imasvi avase śayasāṇo gahiṣati so tuṣi

“This application<sup>14</sup> is to be made. Venerables, the order should listen. If the order considers the time to be proper, this monk N.N. should be appointed on behalf of the saṃgha as (the person), who will allot in this settlement the lodging places. This is the application.

Venerable, the order should listen. The order is appointing this monk N.N. as (the person), who will allot in this settlement the lodging places. Who of the venerables<sup>15</sup> is pleased by the appointment<sup>16</sup> of the monk N.N. by the order (as the person) who will allot in this settlement the lodging places, he should be silent ...”

<sup>14</sup> ñati: P. *ñatti*, S. *jñapti*.

<sup>15</sup> aśpaṭaṇa: G. *aśpata*, equivalent for S. *āyuṣmat-*. Other attested G. forms are G. *aīśpa(ta)* / *aīśpa(ta)* (cf. for these forms Salomon 2001: 245). With Lenz (2003: 188-189) it is possible to regard *aśpata* forms as contractions used in oblique forms of this noun.

<sup>16</sup> samudie: P. *sammati*.

Synoptic version (Gāndhārī / Pāli: Vin II 166-167 / Skt.: Härtel 1956: 159f.<sup>17</sup>)

P Paṭhamamaṃ bhikkhū yācitabbo, yācitvā vyattena bhikkhunā paṭibalena saṅgho ñāpetabbo:  
G[eṣa] ñati kaṭavo °

G ṣuṇadu bhate saṅgho sayi sa(gha)sa pratakalo kṣamadi  
P *suṇātu me bhante saṅgho. yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ*  
S *śṛ(ṇotu bha)danta saṅghaḥ I*  
ayama itthaṃnāmā bhikṣur utsahate saṅghasya śayyāsanagrāha(kaḥ I)  
*sacet saṅghasya prāptakālaḥ kṣamada*

G añae saṅgha[sā] x (itthunaṃmo ya) bhikhu  
P *saṅgho itthannāmaṃ bhikkhūṃ senāsanagāhāpakamaṃ*  
S *ājñā ca saṅghasya yat saṅgha itth(aṃnāmānaṃ bhikṣuṃ) saṅghasya śayyāsanagrāhakaṃ*

G saṃmaṃñea ° ya imasvi avase śayasāṇa [ga]hiśati eṣa ñati.  
P *sammanneyya. eṣā ñatti.*  
S *sammanyeta eṣā jñaptiḥ*

G ṣuṇadu bhate saṅgho saṅgho [i](tthunāmo) (bhi)khu  
P *suṇātu me bhante saṅgho. senāsanagāhāpakassa sammata*  
yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhūno *itthannāmaṃ bhikkhūṃ*  
*saṅgho*  
S *śṛṇotu (bhadanta saṅghaḥ*  
ayama itthaṃnāmā bhikṣur utsahate saṅghasya śayyāsanagrāhakaḥ I  
(tat *saṅgha itthannāmaṃ bhikṣuṃ*

G [saṃ]ma(m)[ñā](te)  
P *senāsanagāhāpakamaṃ sammannati*  
S *saṅgha)sya śayyāsanagrāhakaṃ samma(nyate I).*

G (ya imasvi avase śayasāṇa gahi)śati yasa aśpaṭaṇa kṣamati saṃgheṇa  
P > *yassāyasmato khamati*  
S *(yasyāyuṣmataḥ kṣamata*

G (itthunāmasa bhikkhūna) samudie  
ya imasvi avase śayasāṇo gahiśati so tuṣi  
P *itthannāmassa bhikkhūno senāsanagāhāpakamaṃ sammata < so tuṇhassa*  
S *itthannāmaṃ bhikṣuṃ saṅgha)sya śayyāsa(nagrāhakaṃ sammantuṃ sa tūṣṇim*

<sup>17</sup> This is the Sarvāstivādin version of the formula which is also preserved in the Chinese translation of the Śayanāsanavastu in the Vinaya of this school (T. I, Bd. 23, S. 245b, Z. 6-2 v.l., cited after Härtel 1956: 159, fn.2). The Mūlasarvāstivādin version of the Śayanāsanavastu is somewhat different. It uses the term *vihāroddeśaka* (also called *śayanāsanoddeśaka*) and shows some minor derivations from the Sarvāstivādin version with which it, however, generally agrees (ed. Gnoli 1978: 55-56).



We see that against the other versions only the Pāli text of the formula is showing a different sequence of the phrases *yassāyasmato khamati ithannāmassa bhikkhūno senāsanagāhāpakassa sammati* and *saṅgho ithannāmaṃ bhikkhuṃ senāsanagāhāpakaṃ sammannati* within the text.

On the other hand, the Gāndhārī version is the only one which avoids the official designation *senāsanagāhāpaka* and uses throughout the text a paraphrase with a relative clause: *ya imasvi avase śayasana [ga]hiśati* “who will (cause to) take in this settlement the lodging places”.

Another significant difference of the Gāndhārī version is the use of the phrase *ñati katavo* in the beginning of the formula. This can be compared to a similar phrase used by the Mūlasarvāstivādins for the introduction of their Karmavācanā texts: *ekena bhikṣuṇā jñaptiṃ kṛtvā karma kartavyam* (ed. Gnoli 1978: 55, cf. also Härtel 1956: 14-15). Like all the other other versions the Mūlasarvāstivādins conclude the application (*jñapti*) by the phrase *eṣā jñaptiḥ*, whereas the immediately following decision is introduced by *karma kartavyam*.

Possibly, our Gāndhārī text represents a related variant introducing the application with another formula ending in *kartavya*: *ñati kaṭavo / jñaptiḥ kartavyā* and concluding it with the usual *eṣa ñati / eṣā jñaptiḥ*.

To sum up, it is presently impossible to attribute the Gāndhārī text to any of the known versions of Karmavācanā texts. It should be regarded as another independent variant of these formula texts – possible those used by the early Dharmaguptaka school – going back to a more ancient common source.

Karmavācanā texts were transmitted in two different ways.<sup>18</sup> On the one hand they are part of the Vinaya, where they are incorporated in a surrounding narrative frame. Thus many Karmavācās of the Theravāda school are known from the respective Skandhaka passages, whereas those of the Sarvāstivāda/MSV schools can be deduced from several *vastus* of their Vinayas.

Equally common, and probably even earlier, was the transmission of Karmavācanā formulae in the shape of collections. Such collections were quite popular in the case of the Theravāda school (cf. Bechert 1979: 10, von Hinüber 1996: 15-16 § 28, Peters 1997), the Sarvāstivāda school (cf. Härtel 1956) and the Mūlasarvāstivāda school. Thus the Gilgit texts not only contained large portions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, but also a quite big collection of Karmavācanā formulae (e.g. von Hinüber 1969 [cf. Chung 1997], Banerjee 1949). A comparison of both groups – „canonical formulae“ and „practical formulae“ - shows that despite a certain number of derivations they are almost identical and remained unchanged over a long period of time within the tradition of one school.

A similar relationship between the formulae within the canonical text and as a part of a separate collection can be observed in the case of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins (Mah-Lok.). Thus the formulae of the *upasampadā*-Karmavācanā from the Schøyen collection „display nearly identical contents and wording with those which are handed down in the corresponding part of the Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya“ of the Mah-Lok. (Chung 2002: 229).<sup>19</sup>

The Gāndhārī fragment represents by far the earliest manuscript of a Karmavācanā proving that such collections were in use already at the beginning of the first millenium AD.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> For a general description of this type of texts cf. Härtel 1956: 7-16.

<sup>19</sup> For a comprehensive bibliography of the available Karmavācanā collections in different languages see Yuyama 1979 (Sarvāstivādins: 4-6, Mūlasarvāstivādins: 17-19, Dharmaguptaka: 34-36, Mahīśāsakas: 37, „unbekannte Schule“: 44). More recent data are given by Oberlies 2003.

<sup>20</sup> The Turfan fragments used by Härtel are written exclusively on paper in the so-called late „nordturkistanische Brāhmī“ (Härtel 1956: 17) datable not prior to the 7th c. AD. The Schøyen fragments show the so-called „Gilgit/Bamiyan type 1“ dated by Sander into the 6th c. AD (Sander 2000: 298-300), the Gilgit fragments are written according to von Hinüber in the „Gilgitschrift“ (=Typ 1 bei Waldschmidt SHT 1) (1969: 102 fn. 7). This is identical with the so-called „Gilgit/Bamiyan-Typ II“ or Proto-Śāraḍa datable later than 600 AD.

#### 4.1.2.2. Prātimokṣasūtra fragment

Fragment 13 gives two different versions of the beginning of the *naiḥsargika-pācittika-dharma*-section (NP)<sup>21</sup> of the Prātimokṣasūtra. Version A written on the obverse represents a more archaic version close to the Theravāda and Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin texts and comprises NP 1-9. The second version (B) on the reverse contains the rules NP 1-8 and shows a more elaborate text which can be compared to that of the Skt. Prātimokṣasūtras of the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins. However, both versions are not identical with either of the known Prātimokṣasūtras. It seems that our texts offer a glance into a phase of the history of Prātimokṣa literature when the writing down of texts coincided with the process of levelling different textual traditions. This process can also be observed within the manuscript remains from Central Asia. Beside the known codified versions of sūtra texts which remain almost unchanged in the course of later textual transmission single fragments of terminologically and linguistically „unusual“ Prātimokṣasūtra manuscripts were found which bear witness of other traditions which were obviously given up in the course of transmitting and authorizing the canonized texts.

Differences in terminology serve as one of the most significant features to distinguish the versions of the Prātimokṣasūtra with regard to their school affiliation. Among others the term used for P. *pācittiya* is considered as one of the most reliable indicators. The later texts show quite unanimously the following distribution<sup>22</sup>:

Theravāda:	<i>pācittiya</i>
Sarvāstivādin:	<i>pātayantika</i>
Mūlasarvāstivādin:	<i>pāyattika</i>
Dharmaguptaka:	<i>pācittika</i> (SHT 1, 656)
Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin:	<i>pācattika</i>

In the Mahāvvyutpatti (see BHSD s.v. *pātayantika*) we find numerous, often corrupted forms which can be reduced according to Oskar von Hinüber to the following variants: *pāyattikāḥ*, *pāyattikāḥ* (v.l. *pādayattikāḥ*), *śuddhaprāyaścittikāḥ*, *snānaprāyaścittikam*, *pāyattikā* (v.l. *pāṭāyattikā*) (1988: 64).

Oskar von Hinüber convincingly demonstrated that the Middle Indic forms go back to the Old Indian *prāyaścitta*. According to the comparable Jaina canonical development *prāyaścittika* > *pāyacchittiya*, *pacchittiya* the forms with *ca* should be the original ones whereas forms with internal *ya* are confined to the Northern Buddhist texts and can be explained by the influence of a supposed Gāndhārī form *\*pāyatti(ka)*.

Comparing the different variants of this term von Hinüber concludes:

„Bei der engen Verbindung der Mūlasarvāstivādin zum Nordwesten Indiens überrascht es dabei kaum, daß das Prakrit dieses Raumes wesentlichen Einfluß auf die sprachliche Entwicklung genommen hat. Da die bei E. Waldschmidt verzeichneten chinesischen Transkriptionen ebenfalls auf *pāyattika* deuten, wird es wahrscheinlich, daß wohl auch die Dharmaguptaka diese oder eine ähnliche Form verwendeten, wenigstens solange sie sich noch vor der Übernahme des Sanskrit des Mittelindischen bedienten. In späterer Zeit sanskritisierten sie den Begriff zu *pācittika*“ (1988: 66).

Without laying too much stress on von Hinüber’s conclusion regarding the school affiliation of this term, the etymological development suggested by him is absolutely convincing:

*prāyaścittika* > *pācittiya/pācittika/pācattika* > *pāyitti/pāyatti* > *pāyattika* > *pātayantika*

<sup>21</sup> Cf. for the meaning of this type of offences von Hinüber 1999: 17-18.

<sup>22</sup> The following discussion is largely indebted to von Hinüber 1988: 63-66.

The Gāndhārī forms (bold) divide the *ca* from the *ya* forms and make the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin variants dependent on a Gāndhārī phonetical (and textual?) influence.

Is there any evidence for this influence outside etymological considerations?

Von Hinüber showed that there are indeed Sarvāstivādin texts using this intermediary variant instead of their typical secondary *pāṭayantika*. He points to the Turfan fragment 39 of the Sarvāstivādin Prātimokṣasūtra showing the forms *pāyitti* and *pātti*. The edition of this fragment which together with SHT 40 forms a part of a Prātimokṣasūtra manuscript from around the 6th century AD (von Simson 1997) shows that there are still more indications of a Gāndhārī phonetical influence on the language of this text. Concerning its relationship to the standard Prātimokṣa of the Sarvāstivādin its editor says: „[D]ie sprachlichen Unterschiede dagegen sind so erheblich, daß die Hs. nicht als direkter Textzeuge für die kritische Edition verwendet werden kann“ (von Simson 1997: 583). One of the most peculiar forms of this Prātimokṣa manuscript is Fr. aa Rb *adirṇa* = *adinna* = Skt. *adatta* using even the Kharoṣṭhī orthography of the Gāndhārī equivalent of this word with the preconsonantal *r* to indicate a geminata (cf. Salomon 1999: 122-123). Von Simson is characterizing its language as a variety of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit or „indische(n) *lingua franca* dieser Zeit ..., die sich seit den ersten Jahrhunderten u.Z. für mindestens ein halbes Jahrtausend in Nord- und Nordwestindien bis nach Zentralasien hinein offenbar großer Beliebtheit erfreut hat.“ (600) According to him this language is closely related to that of many Central Asian *raṅṣā* and *dhāraṇī* texts. Although von Simson is not pointing to the particular Gāndhārī character of the underlying Prākṛit many of the forms which are peculiar to these texts can easily be explained on the basis of Gāndhārī (cf. von Simson: 599f.). That this language is a quite hopeful candidate for the basis of this *lingua franca* also with regard to the *raṅṣā* / *dhāraṇī* literature can be shown by our fragment 3 which proves that this kind of literature was known and transmitted within Gāndhārī Buddhist circles.

A further evidence of this supposed Gāndhārī form in Sarvāstivāda circles is the Tocharian rendering of the term as *pāyiti* in a Prātimokṣasūtra fragment from Kuča (Lévi 1913: 110-111).

As indicated by the Chinese transcriptions of this term (e.g. po-i-t'i, po-ye-t'i)<sup>23</sup> it is quite possible, that also the Dharmaguptakas used this Gāndhārī form in their texts.<sup>24</sup> The only doubtless Dharmaguptaka text of a Prātimokṣasūtra (SHT 656, cf. Waldschmidt 1980: 164-167), however, shows the form *pācittika* which was explained by von Hinüber as a secondary sanskritisation (1988: 66).<sup>25</sup>

Summing up the evidence cited above we have to conclude that the Gāndhārī influenced forms of the term are found in texts of different school affiliation. All we can say on the basis of our newly discovered fragment 13 which unanimously contains the form *payati* (= *pāyatti*) is that this variant can now clearly be ascribed to the Gāndhārī language. While the question of language affiliation is now solved, that of the school affiliation remains open.

<sup>23</sup> For different phonetic renderings in the Chinese Vinayas cf. Heirman 2002,1: 141-142.

<sup>24</sup> Although it is not possible to ascribe every Gāndhārī text *per se* to that school, there is strong evidence that many of the known texts and the two big collections, i.e. BL and Senior collections, are associated to it (cf. Salomon 1999: 166-175 for BL, Glass 2006: 16-17). See also Heirman 2002b: 401-402 for more references.

<sup>25</sup> Disputed is the affiliation of the Prātimokṣa fragments SHT I 44 m Vc (*pāca[ti]*) and P(elliot) Skt. Bleu 46 and 47 (*pācattikā*) which according to Klaus Wille belong to the same school tradition which is different from that of the Sarvāstivādins (1997: 311). But their attribution to the Dharmaguptakas is not clear, since the order of the offences differs from that known from the Chinese version of their Prātimokṣasūtra. Ann Heirman suggests a Sarvāstivādin background of these fragments pointing to the existence of different versions of this text among that school (2000,1: 28-34). Thus *pācattika* would have been used also in Sarvāstivādin texts. Another supposed Dharmaguptaka Prātimokṣasūtra fragment (P.Skt.Pr.44 from the Pelliot collection) is transcribed by von Simson (2000: 153). It has nothing to contribute to our discussion.

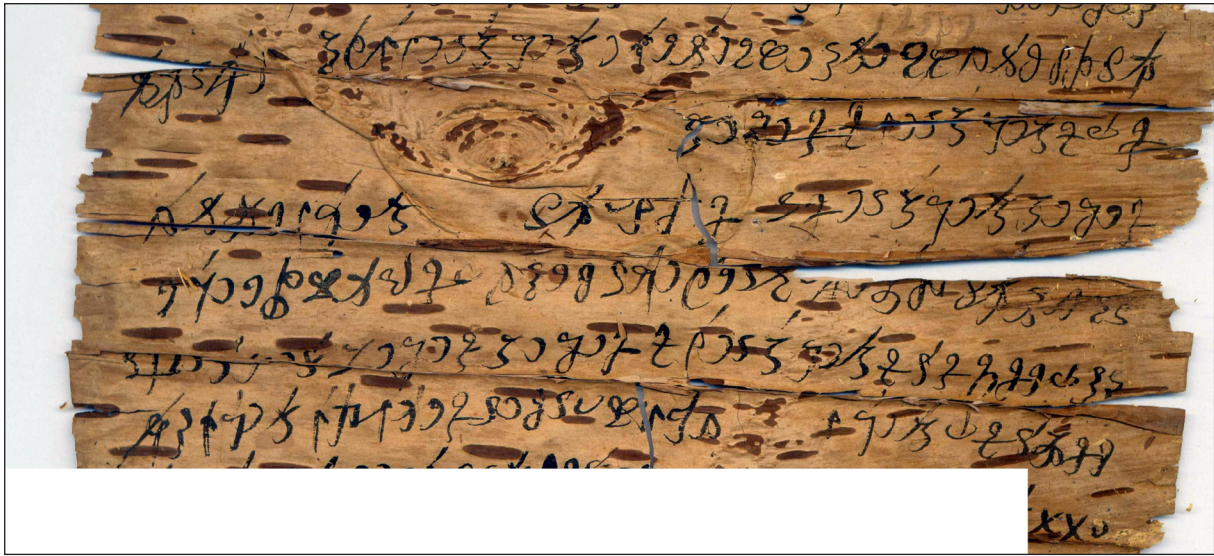


Fig. 26: Fragment 13, recto, lines 14-20

recto

14 bhikhu puṇu udiśa añadaeṇa grahavadisa va grahavadiani va civaracedavaṇaṇi pracuvastida bhodi

15 imehi civara-cedavaṇ[e]hi evar[u]va ca

16 evaruva ca civara cedavaṇi ithuṇama bhikhu civareṇa achadiśe

17 datra ya so bhikhu [purva] [aṇimatrida] apravarida uṣakramaṇitva viḡarpa avajea

18 saṣo me aiśpa edehi civaracedavaṇehi evaruva ca evaruva [ca] [civara] [cedavaṇida]

19 aiçhadehi me civareṇa - kalaṇaḡamada uvadae aviniphaṇe civare ṇesagi

20 ° 4 4

„A not related householder or a householder’s wife have set apart the price for a robe for a particular monk (with the idea): ‚With this robe-fund I will buy such and such a robe and dress the monk N.N. with (this) robe.‘ And if in this case this monk without first having been invited, without having been offered<sup>26</sup> would come (to him/her) and would say : ‚Please, venerable, buy with this robe-fund such and such a robe and dress me th (this) robe.‘ Because of the state of being desirous for pleasant things<sup>27</sup> this is, in the case that (particular) robe is obtained, a *naihsargika* (offence). 8.“

<sup>26</sup> apravarida: cf. Skt. *pravārayati*, P. *pavāreti* „to offer, to present“ (BHSD s.v., PTSD s.v.), „jd. befriedigen / anbieten“ (pw), also „to invite“ (PTSD s.v.). See the detailed discussion of this word in Heirman 2002,2: 492, who translates „to invite“. In this case the preceding *aṇimatrida* / Skt. *animantrita* looks like a paraphrase of the possibly obscure *apravarida* of the original.

<sup>27</sup> kalaṇaḡamada uvadae: BHS *kalyāṇakāmatā* „state of being desirous of pleasant things (a sin in a monk)“ (BHSD s.v.), uadae: BHS *upādāya* „on the basis of, in view of, because of“.



Fig. 27: Fragment 13, verso, lines 17-22

verso

17

**bhikhu puṇa udiśa**

18 (a)ñadaeṇa g(r)ahavadiṇa grahavadiṇia va civara ceda[vaṇaṇ](i) uvakhaḍaṇi

19 bh(o)di ° imehi vahe civara cedavaṇe[hi] evaruva ca [evaru]va ca civara

20 c(e)davaṭṭa ithuṇama bhikhu civareṇa avichadi[śama] tatra ya so bh(ikhu)

21 pruva apravarida samaṇa [uaṣa]kra[ma]ṭṭa añadeasa [graha]vadisa

22 grahavadaṇie [ca] sati

„A not related householder or a householder’s wife have set apart the price for a robe for a particular monk (with the idea): ‚With this robe-fund we<sup>28</sup> will buy such and such a robe and dress the monk N.N. with (this) robe.’ And if in this case this monk without first having been invited ... would come (to him/her) and (would say) to the not related householder or householder’s wife ///“

The parallel texts of other schools run as follows:<sup>29</sup>

Dharmaguptaka (Beal 1871: 215-217)

If a householder or his wife shall have collected money in order to provide a robe for a particular priest, and if this priest, before receiving it, and without any invitation, go to the house of the master of the family, and speaks thus to him, „ Excellent householder! Purchase such and such a robe and give it me, because it is good!“ If he obtain his request, it is nissaggiyā pācittiya.

Sarvāstivādin (von Simson 2000: 186-187)

*bhikṣuṃ punar uddiśya ajñātinā gṛhapatinā gṛhapatipatnyā vā cīvaracetanakāny upaskṛtāni syur ebhir ahaṃ cīvaracetanakair evaṃrūpa(m) e(vaṃ)rūpaṃ cīvaraṃ cetayivā evaṃnāmānaṃ bhikṣuṃ ācchādayiṣyāmīti tatra cet sa bhikṣuḥ pūrvam apravāritaḥ samānaḥ upasaṃkramya ajñātiṃ gṛhpatiṃ gṛhapatipatnīm vā kaṃcid eva v(i)k(a)lp(am ā)padyann evaṃ vaded yāni tāny āyuṣmatā māṃ uddiśya cīvaracetanakāny upaskṛtaṇy ebhi(ś c)īvaracetanakair evaṃrūpaṃ eva(ṃ)rūpaṃ cīvaraṃ cetayivā (e)va(m)nāmānaṃ bhikṣuṃ ācchādayiṣyāmīti sādhu āyuṣmaṃs taiś cīvara(ceta)nakair evaṃrūpaṃ evaṃrūpaṃ cīvaraṃ cetayivā cīvareṇa mā(m ā)cchādayeti kalyāṇakāmatām upādāya abhiniṣpanne cīvare niḥsargikā pātayantikā 8.*

<sup>28</sup> vahe: cf. GDict. vae „we“, for h:0 (h as written in place of alif or –y- as syllable-divider) cf. Brough 1962: 92 §39.

<sup>29</sup> For more versions see Pachow 2000: 95-96.

Mūlasarvāstivādin (Banerjee 1954: 15-16)

*bhikṣuṃ khalūddiśyājñātinā gṛhapatinā gṛhapatipatnyā vā cīvaracetanakāny pratyupasthāpitāni syuḥ ebhir ahaṃ cīvaracetanakair evaṃrūpaṃ caivaṃrūpaṃ ca cīvaraṃ cetayitvā evaṃnāmā bhikṣur upasaṅkramiṣyati tam ācchādayiṣyāmi cīvareṇa kāle kalpikeneti. tatra caiko bhikṣuḥ pūrvam apavāritaḥ san kaṃcid eva [vikalpam] pratipadya tam ajñātiṃ gṛhpatiṃ gṛhapatipatnīṃ vopasaṅkramyaivaṃ [vadetyānitānyāyusmatāmā] muddiśya cīvaracetanakāni pratyupasthāpitāni sādhyāyusmaṃs te cīvaracetanakair evarūpaṃ caivaṃrūpaṃ ca cīvaraṃ cetayitvā ācchādathe 'haṃ cīvareṇa kālena kalpikeneti. abhiniṣpanne cīvare naisargikā pāyantikā.*

Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin (Tatia 1975: 14)

*bhikṣuṃ khopunaruddiśya anyatareṣāṃ dvinnāṃ gṛhapatikānāṃ cīvaracetāpanāny abhisamskṛtāni bhavanti abhisamcetayitāni. Imehi vayaṃ cīvaracetāpanehi cīvaraṃ cetāpayitvā itthanāmaṃ bhikṣuṃ cīvareṇācchadayiṣyāmaḥ. Tatra ca bhikṣuḥ pūrvam apravārito upasaṅkramitvā vikalpam āpadyeya. Sādhu kho puna yūyam āyusmanto imehi cīvaracetāpanehi cīvaraṃ cetāpayitvā itthanāmaṃ bhikṣuṃ cīvareṇācchādetha. evaṃrūpeṇa vā [evaṃrūpeṇa vā] ubhau 'pi sahita uke-na kalyāṇakāmatām upādāya. abhiniṣpanne cīvare ni[ssa]rgikapācattikaṃ*

Theravādin (Vin III 216)

*bhikkhuṃ paṇ'eva uddissa aññātakassa gahapatissa vā gahapatāniyā vā cīvaracetāpanaṃ upakkhaṭaṃ hoti iminā cīvaracetāpanena cīvaraṃ cetāpetvā itthannāmaṃ bhikkhuṃ cīvarena acchādessāmūti. Tatra ce so bhikkhu pubbe appavārito upasaṅkramitvā cīvare vikappaṃ āpajjeyya sādhu vata maṃ āyasmā iminā cīvaracetāpanena evarūpaṃ vā evarūpaṃ vā cīvaraṃ cetāpetvā acchādehīti, kalyāṇakamyataṃ upādāya, nissaggiyaṃ pācittiyaṃ ti*

Synoptical version of NP 8

R - fragment 13, recto, V – Sarvāstivādin, Mū – Mūlasarvāstivādin, Mah – Mahāsāṃghika - Lokottaravādin, Ther - Theravādin

R	<b>bhikhu puṇu</b>	<b>udīsa</b>	<b>añādaeṇa</b>	<b>grahavadisa va</b>	<b>grahavadiāṇi va</b>	<b>civara-cedavanāṇi</b>
V	<b>bhikhu puṇa</b>	<b>udīsa</b>	<b>(a)ñādaeṇa</b>	<b>g(r)ahavadiṇa</b>	<b>grahavadiṇia va</b>	<b>civara ceda[vaṇaṇ](ṭi)</b>
Sa	bhikṣuṃ punar uddīsa	ajñātina	ajñātina	gṛhapatina	gṛhapatipatnyā vā	cīvaracetanakāny
Mū	bhikṣuṃ khalu uddīsa	ajñātina	ajñātina	gṛhapatina	gṛhapatipatnyā vā	cīvaracetanakāny
Mah	bhikṣuṃ kho punar uddīsa	anyatareṣāṃ dvinnāṃ	anyatareṣāṃ dvinnāṃ	gṛhapatikānāṃ	gṛhapatipatnyā vā	cīvaracetāpanāny
Ther	bhikkhuṃ paneva uddissa	aññatakassa	aññatakassa	gahapatissa vā	gahapatāniyā vā	cīvaracetāpannam.
R	<b>pracuvastida</b>	<b>bhodi</b>	<b>imehi</b>	<b>civara-cedavaṇe[hi]</b>	<b>evaru[va] ca</b>	<b>evaruva ca</b>
V	<b>uvakhaḍaṇi</b>	<b>bh(o)di °</b>	<b>imehi vahe</b>	<b>civara cedavane[hi]</b>	<b>evaruva ca</b>	<b>[evaru]va ca</b>
Sa	upaskṛtāni	syur	ebhir ahaṃ	cīvaracetanakair	evamrūpa(m)	e(vam)rūpaṃ
Mū	pratyupasthāpitāni	syuḥ	ebhir ahaṃ	cīvaracetanakair	evamrūpaṃ	caivamrūpaṃ ca
Mah	abhisamskṛtāni	bhavanti abhisamcetaṭitāni.	Imehi vayaṃ	cīvaracetāpanehi		
Ther	upakkhataṃ	hoti.	Iminā	cīvaracetāpanena		
R	<b>civara cedavaṭṭa</b>	<b>ithuṇama</b>	<b>bhikhu</b>	<b>civareṇa</b>	<b>achadiṣe</b>	<b>datra ya so bhikhu</b>
V	<b>civara c(e)davaṭṭa</b>	<b>ithuṇama</b>	<b>bhikhu</b>	<b>civareṇa</b>	<b>avichadi[ṣama]</b>	<b>tatra ya so bh(ikhu)</b>
Sa	cīvaraṃ cetayitvā	evamnāmanam	bhikṣuṃ		ācchādayiṣyāmīti	tatra cet sa bhikṣuḥ
Mū	cīvaraṃ cetayitvā	evamnāmā	bhikṣur upasaṃkramiṣyati tam		ācchādayiṣyāmi	tatra caiko bhikṣuḥ
Mah	cīvaraṃ cetāpayitvā	itthanāmaṃ	bhikṣuṃ	cīvareṇa	ācchādayiṣyāmaḥ.	Tatra ca bhikṣuḥ
Ther	cīvaraṃ cetāpetvā	itthannāmaṃ	bhikkhuṃ	cīvarena	acchādessāmīti.	Tatra ce so bhikkhu
R	<b>[purva] [aṇimatrīda]</b>	<b>apavarīda</b>	<b>apavarīda</b>	<b>uaṣakramaṭṭva</b>	<b>añādeva sa [graha]vadiṣa</b>	<b>grahavadiṇie [ca] sati</b>
V	<b>pruva</b>	<b>apavarītaḥ</b>	<b>samana x x</b>	<b>(uasa)kra[ma]ṭṭa</b>	<b>ajñātīṃ</b>	<b>gṛhapatipatnīm vā</b>
Sa	pūrvam	apavāritah	samānaḥ	upasaṃkramya	gṛhapatīm	gṛhapatipatnīm
Mū	pūrvam	apavāritah	san	kamcid eva [vika]lpam	ajñātīṃ	gṛhapatipatnīm
Mah	pūrvam	apavārito		upasaṃkramitvā	ajñātīṃ	
Ther	pubbe	appacārito		upasaṃkramitvā	gṛhapatīm	

R		<b>viġarpa</b>	<b>avaġġea</b>		<b>saġo</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>aġġpa</b>	<b>eġġehi</b>	<b>cġvara-cedavanehi</b>
V	///								
Sa	kaṃcid eva	v(ṭ)k(a)lp(am	ā)padyaṇṇ	evaṃ vaded yāni tāny			āyusmatā māṃ uddiṣya		cġvaracetanakāny
Mū		vopasaṃkramya <sup>30</sup>		evaṃ vadet yāni tāny			āyusmatā māṃ uddiṣya		cġvaracetanakāni
Mah		vikalpam	āpadyeya.				Sādhu kho puna yūyam āyusmanto		imehi cġvaracetāpanehi
Ther	cġvare	vikappaṃ	āpajjeyya.				Sādhu vata maṃ		iminā cġvaracetāpantena
R				<b>evaruva ca evaruva [ca]</b>		<b>[cġvara] [cedavaġda]</b>			
V	///								
Sa	upaskṛtāny		ebhi(ś	cġvaracetanakair	evaṃrūpaṃ	eva(m)rū(paṃ	cġvaram) cetayitvā		(e)va(m)nāmānaṃ bhikṣum
Mū	pratyupasthāpitāni	sādhyāyusmaṃs	te	cġvaracetanakair	evārūpaṃ	caivaṃrūpaṃ	ca	cġvaram) cetayitvā	itthanāmaṃ bhikṣum
Mah					evārūpaṃ	vā	evārūpaṃ	cetāpayitvā	
Ther					cġvara(ceta)nakair	evaṃrūpaṃ	evārūpaṃ	cetāpetvā	
Sa <sup>31</sup>	acchādayisyāmīti	sādhvāyusmaṃs	taś					cġvaram) cetayitvā	
R		<b>aġchadehi</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>cġvareṇa</b>					
V	///								
Sa	mā(m	ā)cchādayeti							
Mū		acchādathe	'haṃ	cġvareṇa					
Mah	cġvareṇa	acchādeṭha			evaṃrūpeṇa vā	[evamrūpeṇa vā]	ubhaupi	sahitau	ekena
Ther		acchādehīti							
R	<b>kalaṇaġamada</b>	<b>uvadae</b>	<b>aviṇiṇphaṇe</b>	<b>cġvare</b>	<b>ṇesagi ° 4 4</b>				
V									
Sa	kalyāṇakāmatāṃ	upādāya	abhiniṣpanne	cġvare	niḥsargikā	pāyantaikā			
Mū	kālena kalpikeneti.		abhiniṣpanne	cġvare	naisargikā	pāyantikā.			
Mah	kalyāṇakāmatāṃ	upādāya.	abhiniṣpanne	cġvare	ni[ssal]s[rikapācattikaṃ				
Ther	kalyāṇakamyataṃ	upādāya		nissaggiyaṃ	pācittiyaṃ	ti			

<sup>30</sup> The Mū version has changed the order from ... *upasaṃkramya ... vikalpam to vikalpam ... upasaṃkramya*.

<sup>31</sup> This passage is inserted only by the Sa. It is shaped according to the preceding sentences.



The fact that the only Vinaya texts preserved in the collection are a Karmavācanā text and a Prātimokṣasūtra fragment might not be significant with regard to the generally fragmentary character of the preserved Gāndhārī Buddhist tradition. However, it should be noticed that just these two text groups are supposed to form the basis of the respective parts of the Vinaya. While its narrative portions were possibly composed at a rather later period<sup>32</sup> and construed like a frame around the old rules, the Karmavācanā formulae and the Prātimokṣasūtra belong to the substantial and earliest part of the Buddhist literary tradition.<sup>33</sup> Due to their basic character they have probably always been transmitted separately in their own manuscript traditions. It is quite possible that only the incorporation of this textual material into a broader canonized context led to its final unification inside a school tradition. The relationship of the different school versions shows that this process did not stop at the school borders but seemed to be a kind of pan-Buddhist phenomenon crossing these limits. It was certainly accompanied by mutual influences between the different versions (school A – school B, separate text – inbound text) and produced a number of texts which can be regarded as dead branches of this manifold tree (cf. Chung 1997: 39-40).

## 4.2 Non-canonical scholastic texts

Most of the non-identified texts belong to this group. They share an interest in dogmatical questions which are dealt with not in a *sūtra* style ascribing the text to the Buddha or another authority but discussing it in an anonymous and more technical manner. Some of these texts show very strong parallels to each other and could be parts of identical or closely inter-related works belonging to one text tradition.

The following fragments are related to this genre: 4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18. Although according to the number of fragments this group is the largest of the collection all these manuscripts are rather short and more or less fragmentary and some of them hardly allow the reconstruction of a coherent text.

### 4.2.1 Fragment 9, verso

One of the best preserved and most peculiar texts of this group can be found on the reverse of fragment 9. It has a commentary-like character citing different opinions on several topics surrounding the character of a Buddha and his features, his relationship to the corporeal and incorporeal spheres (*rūpadhātu* / *ārūpyadhātu*) and the character of his *cittas*.

Extract 5 (Fragment 9, verso, lines 14-16)

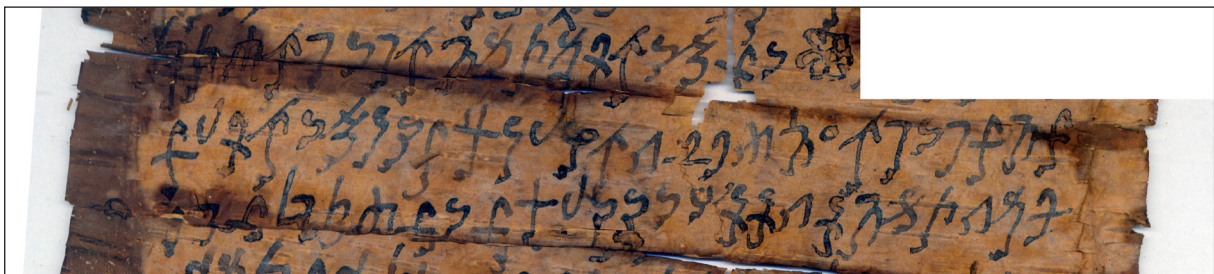


Fig. 28

<sup>32</sup> Gregory Schopen, e.g., suggests, „that our vinayas could not have been compiled in the form that we know them until after the beginning of the Common Era“ (2004: 79 = 1994: 552).

<sup>33</sup> This idea is expressed by Oskar von Hinüber in his *History of Pāli Literature*: „While the Suttavibhaṅga has grown around the Pātimokkhasutta another important set of rules is found though not systemically arranged in the Khandhaka. These are the Kammavācā, which exist as separate texts in an extremely broad manuscript tradition. These rules have to be recited in different legal procedures of the saṃgha such as is the ordination of monks (1996: 15-16).“ Cf. also *ibid.*: 9 and von Hinüber 1999: 3-4.

- 14 /// ❁ taṇi citaṇi iri<sup>ya</sup>patikaṇi vatavaṇi śipa[ṭha]  
 15 ṇikaṇi vatavaṇi ° keyi aho yaṇi gamanatheṇasanacitaṇi imaṇi  
 16 iriyapadikani yani nimitasa samathaṇi taṇi śipaṭha[ṇikaṇi] °

„These thoughts are to be called ‚related to modes of physical behaviour’ (and) are to be called ‚related to crafts’<sup>34</sup>. Some say: The thoughts which are directed towards going, standing and sitting are ‚related to modes of physical behaviour’, (the thoughts) which are suitable<sup>35</sup> for a certain aim are ‚craft related’ (*śilpasthānika*).“

A comparable classification of *cittas* can be observed in Sarvāstivādin dogmatical texts, like e.g. Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (II.72)<sup>36</sup>.

As in the preceding example for all topics discussed different opinions are cited which are introduced with *keci(d) aho / keyi aho* (Skt. *kecid āhuḥ*) or *apare aho* (Skt. *apare āhuḥ*).

#### 4.2.2 Group A = fragments 4, 6, 11

Those texts which find parallels among the fragments within the collection can be divided into two major groups.

Group A is formed by the fragments 4, 6 and 11, whereby fragments 4 and 11 are likely to be parts of the same scroll and text. Both are written by the same scribe and contain partially identical or closely related passages. With regard to its contents fragment 6 which is, however, very poorly preserved belongs to the same (class of) text(s). According to its script and format it is, however, part of a different scroll.

A major part of the text is devoted to the definition of different kinds of *sukha / suha* “happiness, bliss” and their relationship to each other and to *duḥka* “suffering”. Repeatedly *sukha* is characterized as *duḥkavidimiśa* (Skt. *duḥkhavyatimiśra*) “mixed with suffering” (11,1,r). Among others, terms like *vivegasuha* (Skt. *vivekasukha*), *veragasuha* (Skt. *vairāgyasukha*), *kamasuha* (Skt. *kāmasukha*) are used to characterize these types of bliss.

Other passages discuss the relationship between *sukha* and *priti*.

Throughout the text the phrase *ṇa ida ḥhaṇe vijadi* (Skt. *naitat sthānaṃ vidyate*) is used to structure the discussion. This formula is met with frequently in the canonical sūtras and was incorporated into the later non-canonical literature as well (cf. BHSD s.v. *sthāna* 5), PTSD s.v. *thāna* IVb).

Although the context is not yet quite clear a part of the text describes the character of a *Bodhisattva*. Terms like *bodhimaṇḍa*, the formula *gagaṇadivaliaṣamal(o)ḡadhadu* = Skt. *gaṅgānadīvālukasama-lokadhātu* as well as phrases referring to *prañaparamida* (4,2,v) (Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*) and the six *pāramitās* (*edeṣa ṣahi paramidehi*) (11,2,r) could indicate that the whole text might be located within the circle of the post-canonical and, most probably, early Mahāyāna literature.

<sup>34</sup> G. iriyapadikani: Skt. *īryāpāthika* < BHS *īryāpatha*, P. *iriyāpatha*, „way of deportment, mode of movement, good behaviour“, cf. BHSD s.v.: „four postures or bodily attitudes, that is modes of physical behaviour, viz. walking, standing, sitting and lying down“. Frequently only three are enumerated like in our text: walking, standing, sitting.

<sup>35</sup> G. samathaṇi: Skt. *samarthāni*.

<sup>36</sup> For this parallel we are most grateful to Lance Cousins who commented on the Online version 1.0 of this article.

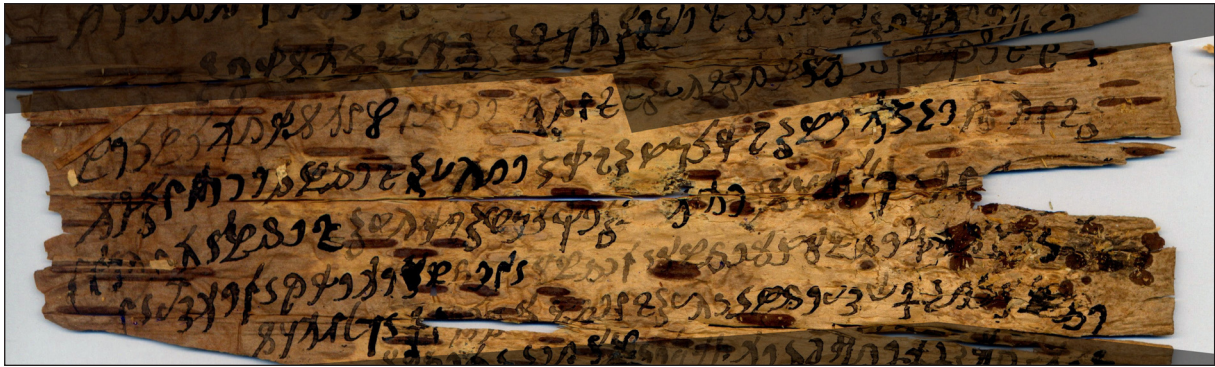


Fig. 29

17 ... hiṇakaya avaramiṇa guṇa vidimiśa viveḡa veraḡa  
18 suhe ṇa karya atra ca viveḡasuhami veragasuhami ca aya kamasuhe atoḡado avaśi ṇa siadi  
19 + + ? ṇa eda [ḡhaṇe v]ijadi avaśi [vi](ve)[ḡa]suami veraḡasuhami kamasuhe adoḡade keṇa  
karaṇeṇa  
20 + + ta vucadi [śile] atoḡade kṣati atoḡade daṇe atoḡade daṇe adoga[de] avi amiṣadaṇe avi  
dharmadaṇe  
21 atoḡade [te] yadra ime dhama atoḡada ta kamasuhe ṇa atoḡade bhavae ṇa ida ḡhano vijadi

“The happiness resulting from detachment and the happiness resulting from absence of desire should not be intermingled with the low qualities of the body. In this case this worldly happiness would not inevitably<sup>37</sup> be included within the happiness resulting from detachment and the happiness resulting from absence of desire. This is not plausible.

The worldly happiness is inevitably included in the happiness resulting from detachment and the happiness resulting from absence of desire. Why is [...] that said? The morality is included, the patience is included, the gift is included – the gift is included (means:) the material gift as well as the *dharma* gift is included<sup>38</sup> – , where these entities are included the worldly happiness would not be included. This is not plausible.”

#### 4.2.3 Group B = Fragments 14, 16 and 18

The other group of dogmatical texts consists of fragments 14, 16 and 18 which are in a still worse state of preservation. Fragments 14 and 16 were written by the same scribe, but belong according to their differing formats and pens to different scrolls.

Fragment 18 was most probably written by scribe 5 who is also responsible for fragments 4 and 11 of group A.

All fragments of group B contain passages like *yadi jive bhavedi* „if he is meditating upon life“ and *yadi dhama bhavedi* „if he is meditating upon dharma“. This and a number of terminological coincidences indicate their association to the same text (tradition). Due to their bad condition it is at present difficult to say anything more detailed about their contents.

<sup>37</sup> G. avaśi = P. *avassa*, BHS *avaśya*.

<sup>38</sup> *Śīla*, *kṣānti* and *dharma* belong to the *pāramitās* which are here probably referred to.

## 4.3 Miscellaneous Buddhist Texts

### 4.3.1 Texts praising the Buddha

#### 4.3.1.1 Four verses praising the Buddha Śākyamuni

Some of the best preserved fragments contain hitherto unknown collections of verses. One of them – fragment 8 – is supposed to belong to the well represented and heterogeneous genre of Buddhastotra: Buddha praising verses compiled into texts of varying size. The text of fr. 8 comprises altogether only four verses built along a *yeṇa ... tassa* construction. One of them is given here together with a tentative translation as an example. It appears to be composed in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre with certain irregularities:

Extract 7 (Fragment 8, recto, line 4)



Fig. 30

(ye)[ṇa] uḷitaka ñativa sadiṣa nikhato aṇaḡario  
tasa śakamuṇisa sarvaradaṇe puye trime dhadu[e]

“Who has given up<sup>39</sup> his relatives<sup>40</sup> (and) has left in such a way his house,  
to this Śākyamuni one should present respectfully these three world spheres, (which  
house) all kinds of jewels.”<sup>41</sup>

#### 4.3.1.2 Fragment 10: a text about *prāśaṃsyasthānas*

Another Buddha praising text is represented by Fragment 10. The text is divided into single sentences each of which is enumerating so called *prāśaśaṭhanas* (Skt. *prāśaṃsyasthāna*, P. *pāsaṃsaṭhāna*) “praiseworthy things” of the Buddha. Although this term is used in canonical (cf. PTSD s.v. *pāsaṃsa*) and non-canonical literature, none of these references coincides with the Gāndhārī text. Almost all of the passages end in a phrase like *cadurede suḡade prāśaśaṭhana* ◦ “Four are these praiseworthy things in a Buddha”. Due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript it is difficult to decide whether these sentences represent verses. The Buddha is characterized by attributes like *nilinakileśa* “whose passions are hidden” (P. *nilīna* + P. *kileśa* / S. *kleśa*), *viśudhiprato* “who has attained purity” (Skt. *viśuddhiprāpta*) or *svadiaṣivadeasabuda* „controlled through the power of mindfulness“ (P. *satādhipeṭeya* / Skt. *smṛty*◦ + P. *saṃvuta* / Skt. *saṃvṛta*).

<sup>39</sup> uḷitaka: P. *ujjhita* < *ujjhati* “to leave, give up”.

<sup>40</sup> ñativa: P. *ñāti*. For the plural ñativa cf. the in-stems in the KhDhP transferred to the i-declension and preserving the final i: -vihari’o (P. *vihārino*) (Brough 1962: § 78), but see also the G. version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra 6b: ñatia baṃdhava ya (differently Salomon 2000: 124-125: ñati a = \**jñātīm ca*). The final va could be explained by analogy to the u-stems (baṃdhava). The same alternation between a/v can be observed in the case of the u-stems: dhadue/dhaduve (cf. GDict.).

<sup>41</sup> G. puye: cf. for this phrase Mahāvastu 1.80.11 (BSHD s.v. *pūjayati*) : *lokadhātuyo anekaratnācitapūrṇā lokanāthāna pūjayet* “...(who) would present respectfully the world spheres, filled with many jewels, to the Saviours of the world (= Buddhas)”.

trime dhadue: trime < tri+ ime, cf. P. *tedhātuka*, BHS *traidhātuka* “the triple universe (of kāma-, rūpa-, and arūpa existence)” (BHSD s.v.).

### 4.3.2 A collection of Buddhist verses arranged according to the Arapacana alphabet

The verse collection of Fragment 5 is the only hitherto known Gāndhārī text arranged according to the sequence of the Arapacana syllabary. In addition, it is the only Gāndhārī text preserving an almost complete specimen of this alphabet which later on became widely popular in Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna circles.

Our text gives much weight to the convincing study of Richard Salomon according to whom the Arapacana alphabet is of Gāndhārī origin (Salomon 1990)<sup>42</sup>. Apart from single instances of fragments preserving small parts of the alphabet its complete shape is known only from literary sources written down in much later manuscripts and in a non-Kharoṣṭhī script. Some of these sources connect the letters/syllables of the alphabet with certain key words, which, however, differ from source to source. Due to this John Brough developed the theory, according to which „such a list of head-words ... might have been in origin a mnemonic device to fix the order of the verses or paragraphs of some important text, by taking the first word of each. Thereafter, the mnemonic would have been further reduced to initial syllables where possible“ (1977: 94). The structure of this theory might be subsumed as text : key words : alphabet. Salomon is supporting this theory as the „most plausible offered to date as to the technical origin of the Arapacana syllabary“ (1990: 257).

On the other hand it is equally probable to suggest a text composed intentionally in order to create an alphabet or composed according to an already existing alphabet in order to memorize it properly. These two variants of a „secondary text theory“ which has the alphabet as the primary *raison d'être* of the text as opposed to Brough's „primary text theory“ were in fact recently proposed by Andrew Glass in a discussion of the Indo-Eurasia Yahoo group (August 16, 2005). Although Glass is rejecting the link between text and key words, reducing the whole structure to the relationship key word: syllabary, it is not impossible to extend his argumentation to the text level retaining Brough's threefold structure: alphabet : key word : text.<sup>43</sup> The thus resulting „secondary text theory“ could also be used to explain the character of our verse collection.

It is not very probable that it represents a prototype text which Brough made responsible for the emergence and shape of the syllabary. Equally it is doubtful whether it is identical with the first variety of secondary texts developed to create an inventory of the script. Our text could be best characterized as belonging to the third category of discussed mnemonics: a text composed according to an existing Arapacana alphabet. Whether its purpose was to remember the alphabet, or vice versa, whether the alphabetical arrangement was chosen to remember the text, remains doubtful. Similarly open is the question which role the keywords played in this process: Is the text composed along a fixed list of them or did they just influence the choice of the author at some instances?

In any case this kind of arrangement is unfamiliar to Indian texts. Its use in Gandhāra could be the result of Iranian influence from where alphabetically arranged texts are known. Thus we know about Manichaean hymns in Parthian containing verses in alphabetical order. Jan Nattier rightly points to the Semitic origin of this tradition meant basically as a mnemonic device (2003: 292 n.).

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<sup>42</sup> See also Salomon 2006 for the use of letters of the Arapacana alphabet as location markers in Gandhāran sculpture and architecture. How the alphabet can be used for the reconstruction of dearranged artistic ensembles is described by Koizumi 2007 with regard to the recently discovered panels of Zar Dheri (Hazara District, NWFP, Pakistan).

<sup>43</sup> Glass is writing: „Rather, the mnemonic as attested in the Lalitavistara must have been developed with the desire to make an inventory of the signs in the script, or after the fact as a means to remember an earlier traditional syllabary.“ In a personal communication Andrew Glass wrote that he principally agrees with the proposed extension of his theory.

The scroll is in its length almost entirely preserved ranging from *ra* to *dha* on the obverse and from *śa* to *ḍha* on its reverse, comprising thereby 41 out of the 42 letters of the complete Arapacana syllabary.

Unfortunately almost one third of its left side is missing. Therefore it is in most cases not possible to reestablish the wording of a whole verse. Since the right side of the scroll is perfectly preserved we can, however, deduce the complete sequence of the Arapacana syllabary in Kharoṣṭhī letters.

If we compare it with the extract of the alphabet known from Niya it becomes obvious that both versions agree entirely with each other supporting thus mutually their authenticity and reliability. Equally reliable is the list given by Salomon according to the literary sources with some significant deviations due to the transmission of the syllabary into a remote writing system and phonology.

As an illustration of the degree of agreement between the different versions I give below a table with an extract of the syllabary contained on the Niya tablet (after Salomon 1990), together with the key-words as given by the literary versions and our Gāndhārī text. Corresponding keywords are indicated by bold type.

No.	Arapacana order <sup>42</sup>	Fr. 5	Niya 512 <sup>43</sup>	Keywords <sup>44</sup>	Initial words in Fragment 5
16	sa	sa	[sa]	<i>sarvajñajñānāsambheda</i> Lv 2 <i>sarvajñajñānābhisambodhana</i> PP <i>samatā</i> Ku <i>sarva</i>	<i>sarvabadhana</i> : Skt. <i>sarvabandhana</i>  <i>satva</i> : Skt. <i>sattva</i>
17	ma	ma	(ma)	<i>māra</i> Lv 2 <i>madamānopaśamana</i> Pp, Ku <i>mamakāra</i>	<i>marga</i> : Skt. <i>mārga</i> <b><i>māra</i></b>
18	ga	ga	(ga)	<i>gam-</i> Pp <i>gamana</i> Ku <i>gada</i> (Skt <i>gata</i> )	<i>gayarayo</i> : Skt. <i>gajarāja-gaṇḍhadiva</i> : Skt. <i>gandhadīpa-</i>
19	tha	tha	tha	<b><i>thā</i></b> (Skt <i>sthā</i> ): <b><i>thāman</i></b> (Skt <i>sthāman</i> ) Pp <i>sthāna</i> Lv 2 <b><i>thāma-bala-vega-vaiśaradya</i></b>	<b><i>thamo</i></b> : Skt. <i>sthāman</i> / P. <i>thāma</i>  <i>tha[i]ra</i> : Skt. <i>sthavira</i> / P. <i>thera</i>
20	ja	ja	(ja)	<b><i>jāti</i></b> Lv 2 <b><i>jarā-maraṇa-samatikramaṇa</i></b> Pp <b><i>jāti</i></b> Ku <b><i>jādi-jarā</i></b>	<b><i>jadi</i></b> : Skt. <i>jāti</i> <b><i>jara</i></b> <i>vyaṣi maraṇe</i> : Skt. <i>jarā vyādhi maraṇa-</i>
21	śva (sva)	śpa	spa (IS śpa)	G. <i>svadi</i> (Skt. <i>smṛti</i> ) Ku <i>śpa</i> Pp <i>śva</i> > <i>śvāsa</i>	<i>śpahu</i>

<sup>44</sup> According to Salomon 1990: 256. A more recent but generally identical version of the alphabet including the epigraphical data drawn from the location markers on Gandhāran sculptures is found in Salomon 2006: 216.

<sup>45</sup> After Salomon 1990: 267.

<sup>46</sup> According to the Lalitavistara translation by Dharmarakṣa, A.D. 308, Lv 2 Skt. text of the Lalitavistara according to Lefmann's edition, Pp Prajñāpāramitā, Ku Kumārajīva (after Brough 1977).

22	dha	dha	dha	<i>dharmā</i> Pp <i>dharmadhātu</i> Lv 2 <i>dhanam āryāṇaṃ sapta-</i> <i>vidham</i>	<i>dhavata</i>  <i>dhanasataṇṇu</i> : Skt. <i>dhanasaptajña</i> <sup>45</sup>
23	śa	śa	śa	„sigh, praise“ < ( <i>anu</i> ) <i>śaṃsā</i> or < Gāndhārī * <i>śasana</i> (Skt. <i>śāsana</i> ) Lv 2 <i>śamatha-vipaśyanā-</i> Pp <i>śamatha-</i> Ku <i>śā(ṃ)ta-</i>	  <i>śamtodaro</i> : Skt. <i>śāntottara</i> <i>śamedame</i> : Skt. <i>śamitāvin</i>
24	kha	kha	kha	„difficult“ < <i>akkhaṇa</i> (Skt. <i>akṣaṇa</i> ), Gāndhārī <i>khāṇa</i> (GDhP) Lv 2 <i>khasama-sarva-dharma</i> Pp <i>khasamatā</i> Ku <i>kha / khaga</i>	  <i>khalida</i> : Skt. <i>skhalita</i> <i>khargo = khagga</i> : Skt. <i>khadga</i>
25	kṣa	kṣa	kṣa	<i>kṣaya</i> Lv 2 (corrupt) <i>kṣaṇa-</i> for <i>akṣara-</i>	<i>kṣamti</i> : Skt. <i>kṣānti</i> <i>kṣaṇia</i> : Skt. <i>kṣaṇita</i>
26	sta	sta	sta	„place“ < <i>sthāna</i>	<i>stavadita</i> <i>stavia</i>
27	jña	ña	ña	<i>ñāna</i> (Skt. <i>jñāna</i> ) Pp <i>jñāna</i> Ku <i>ñāna</i>	<i>ñatva</i> : Skt. <i>jñātvā</i> <i>ñana</i> : Skt. <i>jñāna</i>

The only difference with regard to the letters occurs with *śva/sva*, which is written in our manuscript as the conjunct sign *śpa*. The same letter occurs in the Niya tablet, erroneously transliterated by Salomon as *spa*. The faksimile of the tablet published by the IDP, however, clearly shows the conjunct letter *śpa* which is distinctively different from the conjunct *spa* given somewhat later. Thus we do not have to concede that the scribe repeated this letter by mistake.



Fig. 31: Niya 512 (= British Library Or.8211/1390, source IDP data bank: <http://idp.bl.uk/>)



Fig. 32: Signs *spa* and *śpa*

According to Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Lalitavistara, however, the respective letter should be *sva*, illustrated by a Chinese sign corresponding to Skt. *smṛti*, which has the regular Gāndhārī form *svadi*. Another tradition represented by Kumārajīva and the Prajñāpāramitā texts gives *śpa* and *śva* instead of *sva*. The reason for this ambiguity can be explained on the basis of Gāndhārī phonology. All these sound combinations – *sva*, *śva*, *śpa* – can be used to signify Old Indian *sva* and are widely interchangeable.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā 34: *dhanasaptadāyaka*.

Similarly Salomon is arguing: „But the discrepancy can be explained on dialectical grounds, as *sp* and *sv* (as also *śp* and *śv*) can alternate in Gāndhārī, e.g., *sparga* and *svaga* = Sanskrit *svarga* in the Dharmapada (Brough 1962: 103).“ We only have to extend the validity of his statement to the alternation between *sp/sv* on one side and *śp/śv* on the other side to explain the given evidence. Thus the Kharoṣṭhī sign *śp*- can also be used for Gāndhārī sounds corresponding to Old Indian *sv*- like in Skt. *svarga* > Gāndhārī *śpaga*, Skt. *svara* > Gāndhārī *śpara*, Skt. *svaṛṇa* > Gāndhārī *śparṇa* (beside Gāndhārī *sparṇa*, Gāndhārī *svara*, Gāndhārī *sparga*, *svarna*).<sup>48</sup> Regarding the keywords, we see that less than half of the instances agree. This might be a reflection of an older common tradition but could also be just a consequence of a coincidence. Namely in cases of words starting with a syllable rarely found in an initial position (e.g. *ñā*, *thā*) these cannot necessarily be taken as evidence of a common textual tradition. On the other hand, the correspondence in case of the letters *dha* (*dhana-sapta*), *ma* (*māra*) and *ja* (*jarā*, *jāti*) seems to be significant for a supposed tradition of Arapacana key-words, which is reflected in this text. Further research will hopefully help to settle this question.<sup>49</sup>

As an illustration of the character of the verses I give here the verse exemplifying the letter DA and referring to the legendary defeat of the prominent thief Aṅgulimāla by the Buddha.

Extract 8 (Fragment 5)

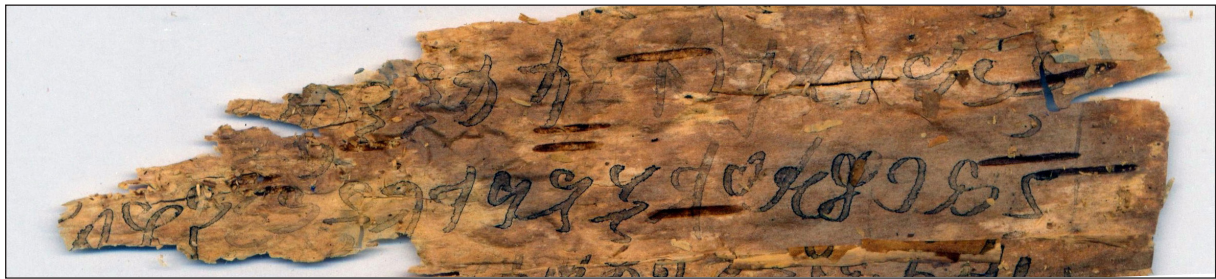


Fig. 33

daṃta te jaḍīla aneḡa viviṣa . . . ///  
 dato aguḍimalo coro balavo daṃta ///

“Tamed are these ascetics, many different . . .  
 Tamed is this mighty thief Aṅgulimāla, tamed are ....”

#### 4.4 Rakṣā texts

Altogether two texts of the collection can be ascribed to this class of texts. The first of them on the reverse of fragment 1 is rather carelessly written and poorly preserved.

The other one, however, contains an impressive and nearly complete example of early Buddhist post-canonical apotropaic (*rakṣā*) literature.<sup>50</sup>

In the Gāndhārī *rakṣā* text of Fragment 3 the Nāga king Manasvin is presenting the Buddha a spell named *nagaraya-manaspia vija* (Skt. *nāgarāja-mānasvikā vidyā*) „the charm of the Nāga

<sup>48</sup> The correct phonetical value of this sign remains disputed (cf. Glass 2006: 114). For references for the cited words see the Gāndhārī online dictionary of the EBMP ( <http://depts.washington.edu/ebmp/dictionary.php>).

<sup>49</sup> For the connection of Arapacana keywords with the *mukhapadas* of Mahāyāna Buddhism cf. now Pagel 2007: 18-38. According to him, the discrepancies in the headwords of the different traditions is due to a process of updating, preserving the alphabet but changing the keywords according to changing dogmatical needs (23f.).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. for this genre of Buddhist literature the comprehensive survey of Skilling 1992, without which the following discussion would not have been possible.



king Manasvin“: The name of this figure is frequently mentioned in Northern Buddhist sources,<sup>51</sup> but completely unknown in the South and in canonical texts. Hence it is probable that our text was composed as a post-canonical *rakṣā* text in the north of the Indian subcontinent. Its composition can be compared to that of other texts of this class which are known from later Skt. manuscripts like e.g. the Appendix (*vyākaraṇa*) of the Nagaropamasūtra (cf. the edition of Bongard-Levin, Boucher, Fukita & Wille 1996: 30-37) or some of the Pañcarakṣā texts like the Mahāmāyūrī or the Mahāsāhasrapramardinī.

It was stressed by Peter Skilling that these post-canonical *rakṣā* texts were composed according to canonical predecessors and used intensively the phraseology shaped by these prototype texts (1992: 168-169). Among the canonical prototypes of *rakṣā* literature the Āṭānāṭika-Sūtra and the Dhvajāgra-Sūtra belonged to the most influential. Both of them were quite popular in Northern Buddhism and were included by at least the 8th century AD into the ten Mahāsūtras of the Mūlasarvāstivādins - a category of *rakṣā* texts (Skilling 1992: 125-129).<sup>52</sup> In Theravāda circles they were treated as *paritta* texts (cf. Skilling 1992: 116-124, von Hinüber 1996: 44 § 87 and n. 151). Some schools extended the *rakṣā* practice by the use of *mantras* or *vidyās*, according to Skilling „by the beginning of the Common Era at the very latest“ (1992: 168, cf. also 158).

One of the common parts of an apotropaic text was the enumeration of the spheres of activity the *mantra* transmitted is supposed to cover. The dangers against which the *mantra* is effective are often listed according to a conventional inventory which generally agrees with the so-called ten *antarāyas* which are already known to the Vinaya (cf. CPD s.v.), among them the king, thieves, fire, water, human beings, non-human beings, wild beasts, snakes (*rāja, cora, aggi, udaka, manussa, amanussa, vāḷa, siriṃsapa*). A similar inventory of *antarāyas* was known in later texts like the Divyāvadāna listing *rājan, caura, manuṣya, amanuṣya, vyāḍa, agni, udaka* (ed. Cowell 1886: 544, line 19).

This list is closely related to that of the so-called *ānisaṃsa*, BHS *anusāṃsa*, which appear like positive counterparts of these calamities. One such list of eleven *ānisaṃsas* „advantages“ is found in the Mettānisaṃsasutta (AN V 342.1-13), which is listed among the Pāli *paritta* texts. The means by which they can be attained is defined as *mettā* „friendliness“, a close relative or even substitute of magic.<sup>53</sup>

*sukhaṃ supati, sukhaṃ paṭibujjhati, na pāpakaṃ supinaṃ passati. Manussānaṃ piyo hoti, amanussānaṃ piyo hoti, devatā rakkhanti, nāssa aggī vā visaṃ vā satthaṃ vā kamati, tuvaṭaṃ cittaṃ samādhiyati, mukhavaṇṇo vipasādati, asammūḷho kālaṃ karoti, uttariṃ appaṭivijjhanto brahmalokūpago hoti* (AN V 342.5-10)

„One sleeps happy and wakes happy; he sees no evil dream; he is dear to human beings and non-human beings alike; the devas guard him; fire, poison or sword affect him not; quickly he

<sup>51</sup> Cf. e.g. Lalitavistara (ed. Lefmann: 204, lines 9-10; 219, line 9), Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra (ed. Vaidya: 2.17), and Mahāvīyutpatti (chapter 168, ed.: 227-231). The special association of this Nāga-king with magical practices is indicated by his mentioning in the Mahāmāyūrī (ed. Oldenburg: 221, 247) and the so-called Āṭānāṭikahrdaya, a Central Asian appendix to the respective *sūtra* (ed. Hoffmann: 104 (repr. 120), v. 14, cf. Sander 1987: 207-208).

<sup>52</sup> The Tibetan texts of these Mahāsūtras and their available Pāli and Sanskrit parallels were edited and extensively studied by Skilling 1994 and 1997.

<sup>53</sup> For the close relationship between *mettā* „friendliness“ and the supposed magic power of a *paritta* see the study by Schmithausen 1997. I cite from his summary: „Though, on the one hand, friendliness tends to become regarded as an autonomous means for protection, ... effective with regard to insentient forms of nature like water, fire or poison, there is, on the other hand, a tendency to have some doubt about its protective effectivity. At any rate, it is often supplemented or even replaced by other protective devices like commemoration of the Buddha or the Three Jewels, or appealing to their (or other powerful beings’) protective power, or ‘tapping’ this power by means of truth magic. Increasingly, magical formulas (*mantra, dhāraṇī*) come to be employed...“ (1997: 67).

concentrates his mind; his complexion is serene; he makes an end without bewilderment; and if he has penetrated no further (to Arhantship) he reaches (at death) the Brahma-world“ (tr. Woodward 1936: 219).

Other comparable lists of *ānisaṃsas/anuśaṃsas* are known, by far not all of them connected with *maitrī* or magic. Thus in the Divyāvadāna eighteen praiseworthy things in the behaviour of a Buddha are repeatedly referred to (*aṣṭādaśānuśaṃsā buddhacārikāyām*) which are defined at one place as *nāgnibhayaṃ nodakabhayaṃ na siṃhabhayaṃ na vyāghrabhayaṃ na dvīpitarakṣu-paracakrabhayaṃ na caurabhayaṃ na gulmatara-paṇyātīyātrabhayaṃ na manuṣyāmanuṣyabhayaṃ ...* (ed. Cowell 1886: 92).

In later texts these and similar kinds of immunities are subsumed under the term *dr̥ṣṭadhārmika guṇa* „advantages even here and now“ (Conze 1973 s.v.). The list of these *guṇas* is clearly related to the older *antarāyas* and *ānisaṃsas/anuśaṃsas*.

All these lists were not definitely closed but influenced each other and included new material. At the same time they were largely associated with magic actions and their results. Thus the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā is comparing the „Perfection of wisdom“ with a great magic spell<sup>54</sup> before describing the resulting immunities:

*katamaiḥ punar bhagavan dr̥ṣṭadhārmikair guṇaiḥ samanvāgatās te kulaputrāḥ kuladuhitaraś ca bhaviṣyanti? bhagavān āha: na te kauśika kulaputrā vā kuladuhitaro vā viṣamāparihāreṇa kālaṃ kariṣyati, na viṣeṇa kālaṃ kariṣyati, na śastreṇa kālaṃ kariṣyati, nāgninā kālaṃ kariṣyati, nodakena kālaṃ kariṣyati, na daṇḍena kālaṃ kariṣyati, na paropakrameṇa kālaṃ kariṣyati... tasmāt tarhi kauśika ye 'pi te vyālasarīṣp akāntāramadhyagatāḥ, teṣāṃ kulaputrāṇāṃ kuladuhitīṅṅāṃ vā manuṣyā vā amanuṣyā vā avatāraprekṣiṇo 'vatāragaveṣiṇaḥ, te 'pi teṣāṃ kauśika avatāraṃ na lapsyante sthāpayitvā pūrvakarmavipākam* (ed. Vaidya 1961: 38.7-21)

“But which kind of advantages even here and now these noble men and women will show? The Venerable said: These noble men and women, Kauśika, will not die out of a calamity, will not die from poison, will not die from a weapon, will not die from fire, will not die from water, will not die from a (royal) punishment, will not die from the violence of an enemy. Therefore, Kauśika, those noble men and women who will get in the middle of wild beasts, snakes and deep forests will not be harmed by human beings and non-human beings who are intending to harm them - except as a fruit for past deeds.”

The same connection with magic can be observed in the Ekādaśamukha (Gilgit Manuscripts I: 37.5-14) which contains a similar list of *dr̥ṣṭadhārmika guṇas*.

It is probable that comparable lists of calamities and respective immunities belong to the standard repertoire of early post-canonical *raṅgā* literature. Thus we find an almost identical list in the Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-sattvāvalokana-buddhakṣetrasandarśana-vyūha describing the efficiency of the Abhayatejadharaṇī (Gilgit Manuscripts I: 57). The Amoghapāśahrdaya-Dharaṇī is even using the old term *anuśaṃsa* known as *ānisaṃsa* from the Mettānisaṃsasutta for its list of 20 immunities (ed. Meisezahl 1962: 316-318), resulting from observances prescribed for its *mantra*. Equally the Appendix of the Nagaropamasūtra, one of the most popular apotropaic texts in Central Asia, is describing the effects of its *mantra* with the help of a comparable list:

*yaḥ kaścin māriṣa idaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ ... manasikariṣyati saḥ ahinā na daṃkṣyati viṣaṃ kāye na tariṣyati śastraṃ na kramiṣyati nodakena kālaṃ kariṣyati agninā na dhakṣyati rājāno 'pi na prasahiṣyanti corā na muṣiṣyanti rājakulamadhyagato 'pi svastinottariṣyati*

<sup>54</sup> *mahāvīdyeyaṃ bhagavan yaduta prajñāpāramitā* „A great lore, Venerable, is this perfection of wisdom“ (ed. Vaidya 1961: 36.30-31).

*gāḍhabandhana-baddho 'pi mokṣyati āsannāsamāgato 'pi abhyavakāśagato bhaviṣyati sarve ca kṛtyakākhordamantraveṭāḍa prativigamiṣyaṃti sarve ca bhūtagaṇā na viheṭhayiṣyaṃti anyatra pūrvakeṇa karmaṇā* (ed. Bongard-Levin, Boucher, Fukita, Wille 1996: 85; II.11, cf. also II.25)

“Whosoever, Good Sir, will ... reflect upon this exposition, he will not be bitten by snakes, nor will poison work in his body, nor will weapons have effect (against him), nor will he drown, nor will he be burned by fire, nor will kings suppress him, nor will thieves rob him; even when he is in the midst of a royal palace, he will escape (any misfortune) on account of his good luck; even when he is bound by tight fetters, he will be freed; even when he is encroached upon (by others), he will be unconstrained; and all sorceries, maledictions, curses, and demonic arts will be neutralized; and all the legions of ghosts will not harm him except as a result of his former karma.” (tr. Bongard-Levin, Boucher, Fukita, Wille 1996: 99)

Our Gāndhārī text is in general agreement with the cited texts when referring to the efficiency of its *mantra* stating:

Extract 9 (Fragment 3, part 2, recto, lines 29-33, reconstructed version)

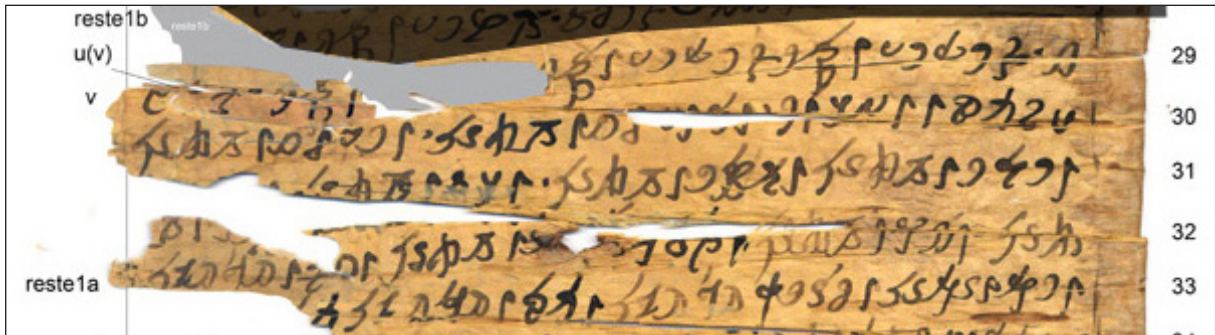


Fig. 34

29 ... evameva maṇaspia evameva maṇaspia (evameva ma)<sup>s(v), reste1b/</sup>ṇaspia ° i[me<sup>/t/</sup>ṣa]  
 30 mahaviṣaṇa ṇamo jaṇea ° ṇa teṇa maṇuṣaṇa bhayidave ° ṇa ama<sup>/t/</sup>ṇuṣaṇa bhayidave  
 31 ṇa vaḍeaṇa bhayidave ṇa drigheṇa bhayidave ° ṇa jadoṇa bhayi[da](v)e [ṇa] + <sup>/reste 1a/</sup> [ṣaṇa]  
 bha  
 32 yidave ṇa yakṣaṇa bhayidave ṇa pa[duṭhaci]taṇa bhayidave ṇa ṣa<sup>/reste 1a/</sup>str(e)ṇa kale kaṭave  
 33 ṇa aḡiṇa dajidave ṇa udeami kale kaṭave ṇa viṣeṇa kale kaṭave

„Thus is (the spell) of Manasvin, thus is (the spell) of Manasvin, thus is (the spell) of Manasvin. (Who) would know the names of these great poisons,<sup>55</sup> he has not to be afraid of human beings, of non-human beings, of wild beasts,<sup>56</sup> of snakes,<sup>57</sup> of ghosts,<sup>58</sup> of ?, of *yakṣas*, of Evil-Minded, he cannot die from a weapon, he is not to be burnt by fire, he cannot die in the water, he cannot die from poison.“

This description is closely related to another part of the text which shortly beforehand gives the instruction concerning the situations in which the *mantra* is to be reflected on:

<sup>55</sup> This statement is referring to the words contained in the mantra. They are mostly related to designations of poisons.

<sup>56</sup> G. vaḍeaṇa Gen. Pl. vaḍea: Skt. \*vyāḍaka. Cf. P. *vāla*, Skt. *vyāla*.

<sup>57</sup> drigheṇa Gen.Pl. drighea: Skt. \*dīrghaka, cf. P. *dīgha* „snake“.

<sup>58</sup> jadoṇa Gen.Pl. jado: Skt. *yātu* „a kind of evil spirit, fiend, demon“ (MW s.v.).

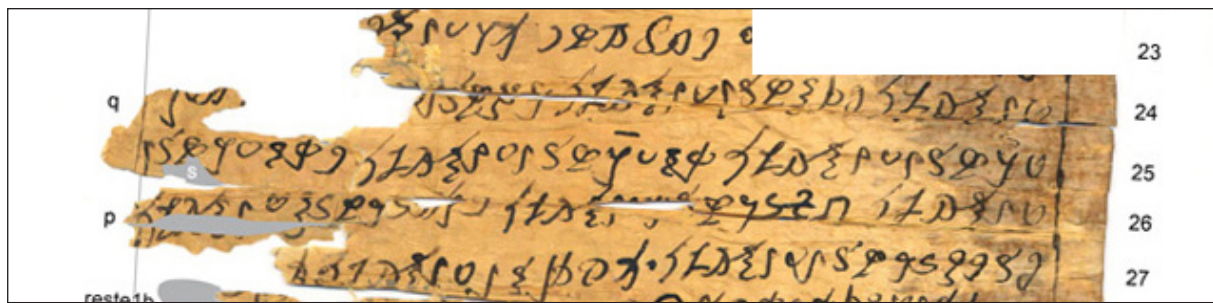


Fig. 35

23 ... aya khu bhaḡava vija maṇaspia ( ° pathagadeṇa)  
 24 maṇasi kaṭave upaṣaḡadeṇa maṇasi kaṭave raṇaḡadeṇa [ma](ṇasi kaṭave ra)<sup>60</sup>[yaula]  
 25 maḡaḡadeṇa maṇasi kaṭave midramaḡaḡadeṇa maṇasi kaṭave <sup>61</sup>amidramaḡaḡadeṇa  
 26 maṇasi kaṭave śastratarāḡa[deṇa ma]ṇasi kaṭave a[ḡi]a<sup>62</sup>/taraḡadaṣa maṇasi kaṭave  
 27 udeaamṭaraḡadeṇa maṇasi kaṭave ° viṣapiṭeṇa maṇasi kaṭave

„On this spell, Venerable, one should concentrate the mind when going on the path<sup>60</sup>, when going off the path, when having gone into the forest, when having gone inside the king’s palace, when having gone amidst friends, when having gone amidst enemies, when having gone in between weapons, when having gone inside the fire, when having gone inside the water, when having drunk poison.“

It is obvious that this second enumeration describing the spheres of use largely agrees with the „immunity“ list. Both lists enumerate all sorts of dangerous and frightening situations. The second list, however, enlarges the items by including still other types of persons and situations. Thus it is listing persons going on a path, or off a path and living outside a settlement (*raṇaḡada*: Skt. *araṇyagata*). All these persons can be considered as threatened and being in need of a magical device for their protection. In fact, these “enlargements” are likely to be the original core of this second list. In the oldest canonical texts the protective power a magical *sūtra* is promising is directed towards a special group of persons. Thus the canonical *Ātānāṭikasūtra* mentions laymen and monks living outside, in remote wilderness (*araṇyavanaprasthāni prāntāni śayanāsanāny adhyāvasanti*, ed. Hoffmann 1939 (1987): 35, cf. Skilling 1994: 465) when introducing the purpose of the *sūtra*. In the same way, another prototype text, the *Dhvajāgrasūtra*, is addressing monks, who are living in the wilderness, at the root of a tree or in an empty house (ed. Sander 1987: 137, Skilling 1994: 292-293) using thereby a stereotypical string of attributes which was applied in canonical literature to characterize recluses: *araṇṇāgata*, *rukkhamūlagata*, *śuṇṇāgāragata* (cf. PTSD s.v. *rukkhamūla*).<sup>61</sup> Possibly, it was this particular group of monks which was – at least initially – responsible for this kind of Buddhist practice and the respective literature. At least, according to the canonical texts the magic *sūtras* were composed intentionally with regard to the needs of these members of the Buddhist community.<sup>62</sup>

It seems that in the course of time this conventional address was considerably enlarged as was certainly also the sphere of the practical use of these *sūtras*. This enlargement was obviously strongly influenced by the other conventional list, i.e. that of the calamities/immunities. Thus on the one hand more pairs of opposites of the *maṇuṣya-amaṇuṣya* type were included like

<sup>59</sup> The small superscript numbers refer to the fragment(s) in which the text is found.

<sup>60</sup> The reading pathagadeṇa instead of pasa<sup>o</sup> is attested in another passage of this text.

<sup>61</sup> For the use of this string in a canonical Gāndhārī text see Glass 2006: 41-42.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. also Schmithausen 1997: 35-36 about the origin of these practices among Buddhists and their relationship to Vedic ideas.

*utpatha-patha* and *mitra-amitra*, the latter possibly also influenced by the calamity list, which contains enemies. On the other hand most of the items of the lists of calamities/immunities were taken over, i.e. water, fire, thieves, the king, poison, snakes, wild animals etc. Although we know only a very small part of this vast bulk of literature, it is possible to draw a rough picture of the development and mutual influence of these formulas.

The Appendix of the Nagaropamasūtra introduces its text with a description reminiscent of the beginning portion of our Gāndhārī passage but without the calamities.

... *pathagatā apy utpathagatā api ārāmagatā api śūnyāgāragatā* (ed. Bongard-Levin, Boucher, Fukita, Wille 1996: 83; II.2)

„... whether they are on the (right) path or have gone astray, whether they are in pleasure gardens or in deserted houses“ (tr. Bongard-Levin, Boucher, Fukita, Wille 1996: 96).

A similar passage in the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra is using this original addressee formula for describing the effects of the Prajñāpāramitā which is taken as a magic device:

*na ca khalu punar devaputrās tasya kulaputrasya vā kuladuhitur vā imāṃ prajñāpāramitām udgrhṇato dhārayato vācayataḥ paryavāpnuvataḥ pravartayamānasya arāṇyagatasya vā vṛkṣamūlagatasya vā śūnyāgāragatasya vā abhyavakāśagatasya vā pathi gatasya vā utpathagatasya vā aṭavīgatasya vā mahāsamudragatasya vā ... bhayaṃ vā bhaviṣyati, stambhitatvaṃ vā bhaviṣyati, utpatsyate vā* (ed. Vaidya 1960: 25.18-22)

„There will be no fear, will be no paralysis, and they will not appear, Gods, for the noble man or woman who is learning, keeping, reciting, mastering and teaching this Perfection of Wisdom, not in a forest, not at the root of a tree, not in an empty house, not in an open place, not on the path, not off the path, not in the woods, not on the ocean.“

Thus it seems that quite soon both lists – that of the spheres of use (< addressee) and that of the effects – became practically interchangeable. This might have contributed to their gradual fusion, which can be seen in the Gāndhārī text.

The foregoing discussion demonstrated that our Gāndhārī *sūtra* is in general agreement with known examples of *raḥṣā* literature, which can be explained on the basis of common features of this genre. A closer relationship which seems to go somewhat beyond this type of general coincidence can be observed with regard to the Mahāmāyūrī, which later on became part of the Pañcarakṣā collection (cf. Skilling 1992: 138-144). The Mahāmāyūrī in its known form must be considered as a rather complex compilation around an ancient core going back to a text related to the Pāli Morajātaḥ. This core was enriched, step by step, by components from other *raḥṣā* texts, surely not all of them traceable any more (cf. Skilling 1992: 140, Schmithausen 1997: 53-57).

First of all we observe quite strong structural parallels. Like our text the Mahāmāyūrī enumerates the spheres of use and the effects of the mantra in two independent lists. The first list is composed with the gerund *manasīkartavya* and includes beside the ascetic attributes the list of calamities.

The second list enumerates the effects of the *mantra* and is clearly related to the first, although it is largely extended and textually not linked to it. Like the Gāndhārī text it uses a form of  $\sqrt{bhī}$  for describing the immunities, comparable to our bhayadive: Skt. *bhetavya*.

1) *iyaṃ cānanda mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī grāmagatena manasikartavyā. arāṇyagatena manasikartavyā. pathigatena manasikartavyā. utpathagatena. rājakulamadhyagatena. cauramadhyagatena. agnimadhyagatena udakamadhyagatena. pratyarthikamadhyagatena. parśanmadhyagatena. vivādamadhyagatena. ahidaṣṭena. viṣapītena. sarvabhaya-sannipāitena ca manasikartavyā.* (ed. Takubo 1972: 9-10, cf. ed. Oldenburg 1899: 224 )

“This queen among the spells, this Mahāmāyūrī, should be reflected on by a person, who has gone into a village, who has gone inside a forest, who has gone on the path or off the path, who has gone inside the king’s palace, who has got amidst thieves, who has got into a fire, who has got into the water, who has got amidst enemies, who has got into an assembly, who has got into a dispute, who was bitten by a snake, who has drunk poison, (to sum up) who is afflicted by all sorts of fear.”

2) *rājabhayāc caurabhayād agnibhayād udakabhayāt bandhakabhayāt pratyarthikabhayāt* (ed. Takubo 1972: 42, cf. ed. Oldenburg 1899: 248, cf. ed. Takubo 1972: 28)

“(release from) the fear from kings, thieves, fire, water, allies and enemies”

But it is not only this structural congruence which places the Gāndhārī text near the Mahāmāyūrī. In extract 9 we observed the phrase **i[me<sup>tu</sup>ṣa] mahaviṣaṇa ṇamo jaṇea** „(who) would know the names of these great poisons“ which is directly referring to the contents of the spell (*viṣa (vidyā) / matra (mantra)*) which enumerates a list of obscure terms. Some of these terms can directly be associated to the names of great poisons mentioned in the Mahāmāyūrī (ed. Takubo 1972: 55, cf. ed. Oldenburg 1899: 257-258):

Gāndhārī	Mahāmāyūrī
paṃḍara	Paṃḍarā
karaḍa	Karaḍā
keyura	Keyūrā
bidumaṭi	Vindupaṭi
śirimaṭi	Śiripaṭi
teyavadi	Tejapati
taraḡatriṭhi	Taraṅgāriṣṭa <sup>63</sup>

Some of these terms are also part of *mantras* contained in the Śārdūlakārṇāvadāna (ed.: 5), the Mahāsaahasrapramardinī (ed.: 33) and the Mahāmāyūrī (ed. Takubo 1972: 44, ed. Oldenburg 1899: 223, 250), all of them meant as spells against poisonous substances. This clearly shows that all these texts are indebted to a quite special common tradition containing a list of designations of poisons unattested elsewhere.

As far as we know there is no Sanskrit parallel to the Gāndhārī Manasvināgarājavidyā text. However, the Tibetan Kanjurs contain in their *rgyud* department (= Tantra) a text with the title *’phags pa klu’i rgyal po gzi can gyis žus pa žes bya ba’i gzuñs* (see Eimer 1989: 106, Nr. 284). Its Sanskrit title is given in different spellings. The Western Group of Kanjurs is using almost unanimously the title (*ārya-*)*vira/vīra-nāgarāja-pariprcchā-nāma-dhāraṇī* (cf. e.g. Narthang [Csoma de Kőrös 1881: 328, no. 17] and Stog 615 [Skorupski 1985: 280]). The text itself is included in volume *pha* of the *rgyud* department.

The Eastern Group, however, transliterates the *nāgarāja*’s name either with *namasvi* or with *tapasvi*, both obviously different from the western *vira/vīra*. The variant *tapasvi* is confined to Kanjurs which go back to the Derge print but spread from there also into recent Kanjur catalogues, often against the text inside the Kanjur which reads *namasvi* (e.g. Berlin: Beckh 1914:

<sup>63</sup> The edited text reads *taraṅgā, riṣṭa*.

120, 195; Peking: vol. 165: 50, no. 336). Both variants, however, seem to be the result of a corruption from an original *manasvi*, which can easily be misread/miswritten as *namasvi*. It seems that none of the published Kanjurs preserved this supposed original reading. But the correct name of this Nāgarāja was still known to the Mahāvīyutpatti (3285) that is associating tib. *klu'i rgyal po gzi can* with Skt. *manasvī-nāgarāja*. Taken together with the Gāndhārī *maṇaspi-nagaraya* this evidence allows to reconstruct the original Sanskrit title of the Tibetan *dhāraṇī* text as *Ārya-Manasvi-nāgarāja-pariprcchā-nāma-dhāraṇī*.

That both texts are at least related to each other can be shown by the *mantras* which share a common inventory of terms. But at the same time the *mantra* of the Tibetan version shows some words which are not contained in the Gāndhārī text but can be found in other contexts like e.g. the list of poisons as given in the Mahāmāyūrī.

Gāndhārī	Tibetan	Mahāmāyūrī
<i>paṇḍara</i>	<i>paṇḍare</i>	<i>Paṇḍarā</i>
<i>karaḍā</i>	<i>karate</i>	<i>Karaḍā</i>
<i>keyura</i>	<i>keyūre</i>	<i>Keyūrā</i>
<i>bidumaṭi</i>	<i>bindumate</i>	<i>Vindupati</i>
<i>śirimaṭi</i>		<i>Śirīpati</i>
<i>teyavadi</i>		<i>Tejapati</i>
<i>taraḡatriṭhi</i>	<i>taraṅgapriṣṭi</i>	<i>Taraṅgāriṣṭa</i>
<i>daha</i>	<i>daha</i>	
	<i>araḍa</i>	<i>Araḍā</i>
	<i>bobhuṅgamate</i>	<i>Bhūtāṅgamā</i>
	<i>jolejola</i>	<i>Johā Jolā</i>

The narrative frame of both versions is rather different and is hard to connect with a common source. Thus it seems that the Gāndhārī and the Tibetan represent different versions of a *dhāraṇī* text composed around a spell ascribed to the Nāgarāja Manasvin. One might suppose that they belong to quite remote ends of a broad common tradition which is based on a list of poisonous substances as represented e.g. in the Mahāmāyūrī.

#### 4.5 An early Mahāyāna sūtra related to the Akṣobhyavyūha

Both sides of the large composite scroll of fragment 2 contain a single text which can be described as a Mahāyāna *sūtra* with parallels to early so-called „pure-land Buddhism“ texts, especially the Akṣobhyavyūha (henceforth abbreviated as Akṣobh). It is by far the largest text of the collection covering nearly 60 % of its entire extent.

Like other comparable texts the *sūtra* is composed as an instruction given by the Buddha (Śākyamuni) to his disciple Śāriputra at his request. Since the process of reconstruction is not yet completed it is presently not possible to give a detailed analysis of the whole text and its structure. The *sūtra* begins with a talk between Śāriputra and the Buddha. In the course of his teaching the Buddha is reporting about the *dharma* instruction of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya and is describing the qualities of his Buddhakṣetra. The whole instruction of Akṣobhya as laid down by the Buddha (Śākyamuni) is addressed to the *devaputras*, i.e. the 84,000 gods who are attending it. After that the Buddha is continuing with a description of the results of this teaching with regard to these *devaputras*. Thus they are characterized as obeying the ten *kuśalakarmapathas*. Although most of the text is written in prose, longer metrical passages are inserted reaching up to 32 verses.

For illustrating the character of the text and its relationship to known specimens of early Mahāyāna literature we will reproduce some characteristic passages and compare them shortly with known

texts, especially with the Akṣobh and texts influenced by it and with the Sukhāvātīvyūha. A detailed discussion of these parallels is not intended and will be part of the forthcoming edition of this text which is under progress.

Although many passages of the Gāndhārī sūtra are clearly related and sometimes even identical to the Akṣobh it is not possible to state an identity of both texts. In contrast to the Akṣobh the Gāndhārī sūtra incorporates the *dharmā* teaching of Akṣobhya and the propagation of his paradise as a goal of salvation into a broader instruction of the Buddha. Nothing is said about Akṣobhya's „prehistory“ including his vows nor about his *parinirvāṇa*. Thus it might be presumed that our text used a source similar to the known Akṣobh and extracted certain passages from it for its own purposes. This kind of procedure can be compared to the composition of other early Mahāyāna sūtras like the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra and the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa where descriptions of Akṣobhya's paradise as the paradigmatic „pure land“ are part of a larger instruction.<sup>64</sup>

The given examples will show that our Gāndhārī text presupposes a quite developed conception of Akṣobhya's Buddha-land comparable to that contained in the Akṣobh and thereby supports the hypothesis of the very early genesis of this conception among the Mahāyāna literature (cf. Nattier 2000). The Akṣobh itself being translated by Lokakṣema in the 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D. into Chinese (= T 313) belongs to the earliest Mahāyāna sūtras.<sup>65</sup> Later it became incorporated into the Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra collection and was translated again by Bodhiruci around 700 (= T 310 [6]).<sup>66</sup> Both versions substantially agree with each other, although Dantinne suggests that both were done from different Indian recensions. With regard to Lokakṣema's version he even proposes a Gāndhārī original (Dantinne 1983: 1). According to him the same original was the basis of the Tibetan translation from about 800 (Dantinne 1983: 38). No Indian original of either of these versions survived.

The first extracted passage contains a description of the buddha-field (*buddhakṣetra*) of Akṣobhya mentioned by its name Abhirati. Like in the Akṣobh this passage is part of a prophecy, where the Buddha is describing this paradise to his disciple Śāriputra.

Extract 11 (Fragment 2, part 5, recto, lines 16-21, 26-27)

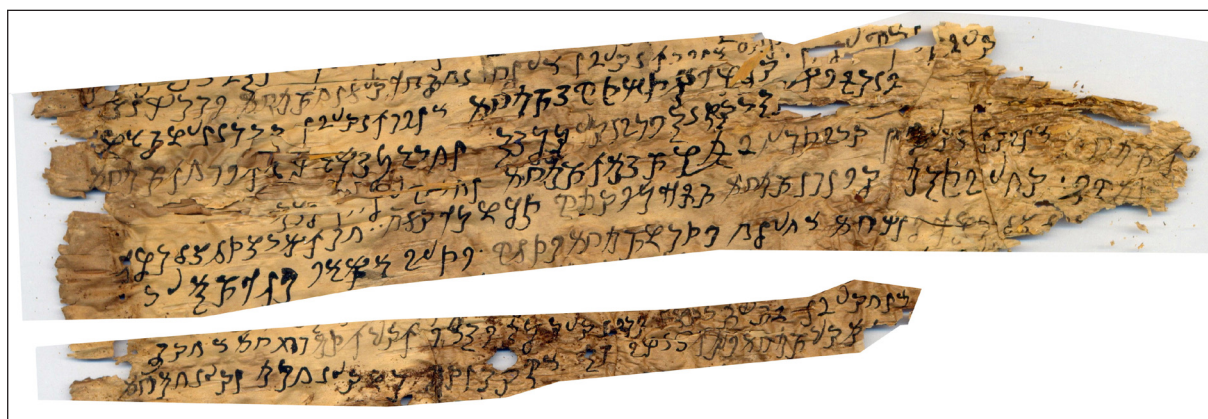


Fig. 36

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Nattier 2000: 77-80. A more detailed survey about Akṣobhya and his paradise in early Mahāyāna sūtras is given by Kwan 1985: 185-207, for its role in the Prajñāpāramitā sūtra see *ibid.*: 131-150. Whether some of these passages are interpolations is a matter of dispute. Thus Conze's suggestion about the interpolated character of certain references to Akṣobhya in the Aṣṭa is criticized by Nattier (2003: 49-50). For a translation of the Vikn chapter about Akṣobhya cf. Lamotte 1976: 238-251.

<sup>65</sup> For the Akṣobhyavyūha we use the following sources: Dantinne 1983 (annotated translation of chapters 1-3 of Lokakṣema's and Bodhiruci's translations) and the exhaustive study by Kwan 1985. For a first orientation see Nattier 2000.

<sup>66</sup> Bodhiruci's text is the basis of the English translation of the Akṣobh in Chang 1983: 315-338.



16 ... teṇa [ho] [va]ṇida samaeṇa te maṇuṣa daśakuśala samadīṇa ya bhaviṣati avaramida ca  
17 /// teṣa maṇu[śa]ṇa ° sarvag[e]laṅo paḍipraśadha bhaviṣati teṇa ho vaṇida samaeṇa  
[sa]taradaṇamaḡa kuḍaḡa  
18 /// edarahi akṣo[bha]ṣa tasaḡadaṣa arahada samasabudhaṣa ṇa ya tatra  
budhakṣetrami [tri]ṇi avayaṇi bhaviṣati  
19 /// [ṇa]ṇi bhaviṣati teṇa ho vaṇida samaeṇa satahaparamo istri ḡabhadhariṇi bhaviṣati ṇa  
ya [te]ṣa maṇu[ṣaṇa] [ucaro]  
20 p(u)riṣao ° sa ya mahapraṣavi suaṇavaṇa bhaviṣati kaḷibiasaphaṣa paṃḍuḡabala sadiṣa °  
yava ṇikṣita ca pado caduragulo  
21 /// (pa)do caduragulo uṇamiṣati te ya maṇuṣa aparaga bhaviṣati apadoṣa ° apamoha tikṣitria  
aṇolabhaṣimuta  
...  
26 ... teṇa ya samaeṇa ekameke tasaḡad[e] arahada samasabudhe aṣakheaṇi satvaṇi parivayiṣati  
te ya sarva  
27 /// [bo]sisatva bhaviṣati avhiṇikhada gaha[va]ṣa

„At this time the people will assume<sup>67</sup> the ten virtues, and the ... of these people will be unlimited. All sickness will be finished. At that time houses will be made of the seven kinds of jewels. Now in this buddha-field of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya, the Venerable, the Perfectly Enlightened, there won't be the three evil states. /// will be. At that time a woman will be pregnant not more than seven days. And the people won't have excrements.<sup>68</sup> And this big earth will be of golden colour, of a (pleasant) touch (like) *kācilindika*-cloth, and looking like *pāṇḍukambala*-cloth.<sup>69</sup> As long as the foot is down it (, i.e. the earth, will sink down) four fingers, (if the foot is taken up, it) will come up four fingers. And the people will have little lust, little hatred, little delusion, sharp senses, and be devoted to inconceivability.

...  
In that time this single Tathāgata, Arhant, Perfectly Enlightened will bring to maturation innumerable beings, and all of them (\*will get arhatship). . . There will be (many) Bodhisattvas, who left their home.“

The above passage is paralleled by the description of Abhirati in the second chapter of the Akṣobh and some other early texts which were obviously influenced by closely related conceptions. For illustrating the degree of coincidence we will compare the Gāndhārī text with the respective paragraphs according to the French and English translations of the Chinese versions of the Akṣobh. If useful we will also refer to the respective portions of the Aṣṭa and the Karuṇapūṇḍarīkasūtra (KP)<sup>70</sup> describing the Abhirati paradise. In some cases parallels from the large (Sukh (l)) and short version (Sukh (s)) of the Sukhāvativyūha describing the Buddha Amitābha's paradise will complete the picture.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> samadīṇa: P./BHS *samādinna*.

<sup>68</sup> puriṣao N.Pl. < Skt. *purīṣa*, or N. Sg. with ka-suffix (Baums).

<sup>69</sup> Cf. BHS *kācilindika-sukha-saṃsparśa* (BHSD s.v. *kācilindika* „some kind of very soft textile stuff“), *pāṇḍukambala*, P *paṇḍukambala* „a light red blanket, orange-coloured cloth ... kind of ornamental stone“ (PTSD s.v.), cf. also BHSD s.v. °*śilā*. This attribute does not contradict the characterization as gold-coloured.

<sup>70</sup> According to Yamada the portion of the Karuṇapūṇḍarīka (KP) dealing with Akṣobhya (161,1-174,17) is „based on the AV. The KP chooses and rearranges suitable vows in the AV, sometimes abbreviating them and at other times enlarging them“ (Yamada 1968,1: 236).

<sup>71</sup> For the relationship of both texts see Kwan 1985: 151-184, Nattier 2000: 92-102. Much more has been written about Amitābha and his paradise due to their large popularity in East Asian Buddhism. This even led to the identification of Pure-land and Sukhāvati ignoring the fact that in early Buddhism Akṣobhya and Abhirati were equally prominent – if not even more – before being replaced by their counterparts Amitābha and Sukhāvati. For a good survey about Sukhāvati and its role in Mahāyāna Buddhism with numerous references see Schopen 2005c:

We will cite the text according to the Gāndhārī version. It will become obvious that the sequence of the elements of the description is different in the respective versions.

**teṇa [ho] [va]ṇida samaeṇa te maṇuśa daśakuśala samadīṇa ya bhaviśati avaramida ca 17 /// teṣa maṇu[śa]ṇa**

„At this time the people will assume the ten virtues, and the ... of these people will be unlimited.“

Akṣobh 2, 11

Tous les êtres assument les dix bons façons d’agir (*sarve sattvā daśakuśalakarmapathān samādāya vartante*) (Dantinne 1983: 189, cf. for *daśakuśala*<sup>o</sup> ibid.: 218-220 note n).

All sentient beings in that Buddha-land have accomplished the ten good deeds (Chang 1983: 322).

◦ **sarvag[e]lāṇo paḍipraśadha bhaviśati**

“All sickness will be finished.“

Akṣobh 2, 13

(Bodhiruci) Śāriputra, dans ce champ de Buddha, les trois maladies n’existent pas ... (*tasmin buddhakṣetre Śāriputra trividho vyādhir na bhavati*) (Dantinne 1983: 191).

Śāriputra, that Buddha-land is free of three kinds of sickness (Chang 1983: 322).

(Lokakṣema) Ce champ de Buddha est dépourvu des trois maladies ... (*na ca tatra buddhakṣetre trayo vyādhayo bhavanti*) (Dantinne 1983: 191).

**teṇa ho vaṇida samaeṇa [sa]taradaṇamaḡa kuḍaḡa(ra)**

“At that time houses will be made of the seven kinds of jewels.”

Akṣobh 2,17

Śāriputra, les habitations, les palais et les belvédères de ce champ de Buddha sont tous ornés des sept joyaux (*tasmin buddhakṣetre Śāriputra bhavanāni prāsādās ca kūṭāgārās ca sarve saptaratnair alamkṛtāḥ*) (Dantinne 1983: 193-194).

Śāriputra, the palaces and towers of that land are all decorated with the seven treasures (Chang 1983: 322).

*Aṣṭa: tena khalu punaḥ samayena dharmodgatena bodhisattvena ... saptaratnamayaṃ kūṭāgāraṃ kāritam abhūt* (ed. Vaidya 1960: 249.30-31).

KP: *tatra ca sattvānāṃ saptaratnamayāḥ kūṭāgārā bhaveyuḥ* (ed. Yamada: 167).

**edarahi akṣo[bha]śa tasaḡadaśa arahada samasabudhaśa ṇa ya tatra budhakṣetrami [tri]ṇi avayaṇi bhaviśati**

“Now in this buddha-field of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya, the Venerable, the perfectly Enlightened, there won’t be the three evil states.”

Akṣobh 2,11

Et encore, Śāriputra, dans ce champ de Buddha, les trois mauvaises destineés n’existent pas (*punar aparaṃ Śāriputra tasmin buddhakṣetre tisro durgatayo na bhavanti*)<sup>72</sup> (Dantinne 1983: 189).

Furthermore, Śāriputra, the Buddha-land does not have the three miserable states of existence (Chang 1983: 322).

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154-189 (for its relationship to Abhirati 158) and Fussman 1999.

<sup>72</sup> The G. text has avayani = BHS *apāya*, which is used as synonym to *durgati* for designating the three evil states, i.e. in hells, as an animal or as a ghost (cf. BHSD s.v.). The neutral form is irregular.

**teṇa ho vaṇida samaeṇa satahaparamo istri ḡabhadhariṇi bhaviṣati**

“At that time a woman will be pregnant not more than seven days. “

Akṣobh 2,18 (incomplete text)<sup>73</sup>

KP: *evaṃrūpaś ca tatra buddhakṣetre garbhavāsā dāradārikāḥ saptarātriṃdivasāni sukhaṃ saṃvedayeyuḥ / tāś ca striyo garbhīṇyaḥ evaṃrūpaṃ sukhaṃ pratisaṃvedayeyuḥ*<sup>74</sup> (ed. Yamada: 169).

**ṇa ya [te]ṣa maṇu[ṣaṇa] [ucaro] 20 p(u)riṣao °**

“And the people won’t have excrements.”

Akṣobh 2,16

(Bodhiruci) Il n’y a pas d’excréments, pas de saletés, pas d’impuretés (*noccārā na kaluṣyāṇi nāsubhāni bhavanti*) (Dantinne 1983: 193).

... they do not discharge excrement, filth, or anything impure (Chang 1983: 322).

(Tib.) Dans le champ de Buddha, il n’y a ches les êtres, ni excréments (*uccāra*), ni urine (*prasrāva*), ni flegme (*kheṭa*), ni morve (*siṅghāṇaka*) (Dantinne 1983: 193).

KP: *na coccāraprasrāvakheṭasiṅghāṇam aśru vā kāye svedo vā bhavet* (ed. Yamada: 166).  
Sukh (l): *nāsty uccāraprasrāvam* (ed. Vaidya 1961: 250.2-3).

**sa ya mahaprasavi suaṇavaṇa bhaviṣati kaīlibiasaphaṣa paṃḍuḡabala sadiṣā ° yava ṇikṣita ca pado caduragulo /// (pa)do caduragulo uṇamiṣati**

“And this big earth will be of golden colour, of a (pleasant) touch (like) *kācilindika*-cloth, and looking like *pāṇḍukambala*-cloth. As long as the foot is down it (, i.e. the earth, will sink down) four fingers, (if the foot is taken up, it) will come up four fingers.”

Akṣobh 2, 12

La surface du sol est unie comme la paume de la main, a le contact plaisant du *kācalindika* (190) et prend une couleur or. Il n’y a ni fossés, ni ronces, ni gravier, ni cailloux (*prthivītaṃ samaṃ pāṇitalopamaṃ kācalindikasaṃsparśaṃ suvarṇavarṇabhūtaṃ apagataśvabhraṇakakakathallaśārkaram*). Le sol y est doux comme une boule de coton; à l’endroit où l’on pose le pied, le sol aussitôt cède; quand on lève le pied, de lui-même, il reprend son premier aspect (*bhūmis tūlapicusukhasaṃsparśā nikṣipte pādātale bhūmir avanamaty utkṣipte pādātale punaḥ svayam unnamati*) (Dantinne 1983: 189-190).

The ground is as flat as a palm and the color of gold, with no gullies, brambles, or gravel; it is as soft as cotton, sinking as soon as one’s foot steps on it and returning to its original state as soon as the foot is lifted (Chang 1983: 322).

Sukh (s): *punar aparaṃ Śāriputra tatra Buddhakṣetre ... suvarṇavarṇā ca mahāprthivī ramaṇīyā* (ed. Vaidya 1961: 255.4-5).

<sup>73</sup> The paragraph about the women is incompletely preserved in the Chinese versions. Only the Tibetan translation contains a detailed version which is stressing the fact that males and females are growing together as embryos in one uterus and are born without any suffering. The birth is caused not by sexual intercourse but by desire which leads on the man’s part to a state of *samādhi*, on the woman’s part to a painless pregnancy (cf. also Nattier 2000: 82).

<sup>74</sup> Although the text of the KP is mentioning the seven-day period of pregnancy, the Tibetan translation of the Akṣobh is omitting this time limit. This concept is, however, already part of one of the earliest Chinese Buddhist descriptions of the legendary Northern country (*uttarakuru*), found in the Ta lou t’an ching (T 23), translated between 290 and 307 (cf. Kwan 1983: 72-76 <74>).

Sukh (1): *tāni ca puṣpajātāni mṛdūni kācilindikasukhasaṃsparśāni aupamyamātreṇa, yāni nikṣipte pāde caturaṅgulam avanamanti, utkṣipte pāde caturaṅgulam evonnamanti* (ed. Vaidya 1961: 239.19-21).

KP: *Akṣobhya āha / tādrśam ahaṃ bhadanta bhagavan buddhakṣetraguṇavyūham ākāṅkṣāmi yathā sarvalokasvarṇabhūr bhavet, samāpāṇitalopamā divyamaṇiratnavyavakīrṇā apagataśarkaraṭhallā apagataśilāstambhapāṣāṅaparvatā mṛdukā kācalindikasukhasaṃsparśā, nikṣipte pādātale ‘vanamed utkṣipte pādātale punar unnamet* (ed. Yamada: 165).

### te ya maṇuṣa aparāga bhaviṣati apadoṣa ° apamoha tikṣitria aṇolabhaṣimuta

“And the people will have little lust, little hatred, little delusion, sharp senses, and be devoted to inconceivability<sup>75</sup>.”

Akṣobh 2,14

... tous éprouvent peu de convoitise, peu de haine et peu d’égarement (...sarve ’lparāgās ca tatra bhavanti alpadveṣā alpamohāḥ) (Dantinne 1983: 191).

They have little desire, hatred, and ignorance (Chang 1983: 322).

KP: *alparāgās ca tatra sattvā bhavayur alpadveṣā alpamohāḥ* (ed. Yamada: 166).

### 26 ... teṇa ya samaeṇa ekameke tsaḡad[e] arahada samasabudhe aṣakheṇi satvaṇi parivayīṣati te ya sarva [ca. 15 akṣaras missing] [bo]sisatva bhaviṣati avhiṇikhada gaha[va]ṣa

“In that time this single Tathāgata, Arhant, Perfectly Enlightened will bring to maturation innumerable beings, and all of them (\*will get arhatship). . . There will be (many) Bodhisattvas, who left their home.”

Akṣobh 3,1

Et encore, Śāriputra, lorsque le Tathāgata Akṣobhya prêchait la Loi, il dompta d’innombrables êtres et leur faisant le fruit de ... (arhat, saint) (Dantinne 1983: 231).

Furthermore, Śāriputra, when Tathāgata Akṣobhya expounds the Dharma, he can skillfully subdue countless sentient beings, making them all attain arhatship (Chang 1983: 325).

Akṣobh 4,1

...In that Buddhaland, innumerable hundreds of thousands of [millions of] billions of Bodhisattvas attend the assembly, and by the divine power of the Buddha, all the Bodhisattvas who have left the household life can understand, accept ... what they have heard (Chang 1983: 327).

This statement is connecting the descriptive part where Akṣobhya’s Buddha land is characterized with the next section which is giving the qualities and consequences of the *dharma* teaching in that Buddha land. Although the passage is partly damaged, it is obvious that its contents are in general correspondence to the Akṣobh, which introduces its third chapter with a similar passage about the expected arhatship of the listeners of Akṣobhya’s preaching. The sentence immediately following and dealing with the Bodhisattvas has to be connected to the beginning of the fourth chapter of the Akṣobh. It seems therefore that our Gāndhārī text covered both topics in only one chapter which is introduced by the above cited sentence. The instruction containing further details of the *arhattva* concept is part of this chapter.

<sup>75</sup> The addition of tikṣitria: Skt. *tikṣṇendriya/P. tikkhindriya* and aṇolabhaṣimuta: Skt. *anupalambha-adhimukta* are peculiar to our text. But a comparable connection is found in the Arthaviniścayasūtra (11), where a small amount of these three basic evils (*rāga, dveṣa, moha*) is said to lead to a sharpness of senses (ed. Vaidya 1960: 317.17-318.19). The term *anupalambha* is referring to a Bodhisattva practice mentioned in several early Mahāyāna sūtras (cf. Pagel 1995: Index s.v., see also Nattier 2003: 310-311, Pagel 2006: 80).



Fig. 37

34 ... yo kuṣido bhoti sodavaṇo so caduḥhae dharmadeśa[ṇae]  
35 /// evameva tasvi samae yo ku[sido] bhaviṣati sodavaṇa ° so cauḥhadharmadeśaṇae aṣavakṣao  
aṇuprauṇiṣati ° sayasavi ṇ[i]  
36 /// ?? + sodavaṇo bhoti kuṣido so sa[takuḥhora]mo bhoti [satakuḥhoramo] [bha]va sasaradi  
[ta]dutvaro [ṇa] sasarati evameva teṇa samaeṇa  
37 /// (s)o[davaṇa] ° so cauḥhadharmadeśaṇa aṣavakṣao aṇuprauṇiṣati

„The slothful person who becomes a stream-enterer, (will obtain) in the fourth dharma teaching (\*the status of an arhat (*arhattva*)... ). At the same time the slothful person who will become a stream-enterer will obtain the perishing of evil influences in the fourth dharma teaching, for instance (he will) ...

(In our time) the slothful person who becomes a stream-enterer becomes a *saptakṛdbhava-parama*, (i.e.) he will be reborn into at most seven existences. More than that he will not be reborn. So at that time ... the stream-enterer will obtain in the fourth dharma teaching the perishing of evil influences.“

The passage is illustrating the difference between our present Buddha-land and that of Akṣobhya. The same is expressed in the Akṣobh, § 3:

Akṣobh, § 3, 5-6: 5

Śāriputra, prenons le cas de l'entré dans le courant paresseux, qui doit renaître sept fois au maximum; dés qu'on lui prêche la Loi, il saisit le fruit supérieur, c'est lui que j'appelle celui qui doit renaître sept fois au maximum.

6. Śāriputra, s'il en est qui, lors de la première prédication de la Loi par le Tathāgata Akṣobhya, saisissent le fruit de celui qui est entré dans le courant, lors de la deuxième prédication, réalisent la condition de celui qui ne revient qu'une fois (chez les hommes), lors de la troisième prédication, réalisent la condition de celui qui ne revient plus (dans le monde du désir) et lors de la quatrième prédication, réalisent l'état de saint, ces gens qui n'obtiennent pas, une fois pour tous, la destruction des impuretés, je les appelle des paresseux.

Śāriputra, dans ce champ de Buddha-là, celui qui est entré dans le courant, obtient, en la percevant corporellement, la destruction des impuretés. Il n'est pas pareil à celui de ce monde-ci qui renaît sept fois au maximum.

5. *kuṣīdaḥ srotaāpannaḥ Śāriputra saptakṛdbhavaparamo* yo yāvad eva dharme deṣite tāvad agraphalaṃ pariḡrḥnāti tasyāhaṃ saptakṛdbhavaparama iti nāma karomi

6. *ye sattvāḥ Śāriputra tathāgatasyākṣobhyasya prathamāyāṃ dharmadeśanāyāṃ srotaāpannaphalaṃ pariḡrḥnanti, dvitīyāyāṃ dharmadeśanāyāṃ ca sakṛdāgāmināṃ sākṣātkurvanti, tṛtīyāyāṃ dharmadeśanāyāṃ cānāgāmināṃ sākṣātkurvanti caturthāyāṃ dharmadeśanāyāṃ arhattvaṃ sākṣātkurvanti, ya āsravakṣayaṃ sakṛdñiṣaṇṇaṃ nopasampadyate teṣāṃ kuṣīdā* iti nāma karomi

*yo'muṣmiṃ buddhakṣetre Śāriputra srotaāpannaḥ kāyena sākṣātkṛtvāsravakṣayaṃ upasampadyete sa neha loke saptakṛdbhavaparamasya samaḥ* (Dantinne 1983: 232-234).

Śāriputra, [in my land] indolent people can attain the fruit of a Stream-enterer. They will be born as humans seven more times and be further taught the Dharma before they can attain the superior fruit [of an Arhat]; therefore, I call them 'people of seven rebirths.' Śāriputra, [in the land of Tathāgata Akṣobhya,] indolent people can attain the fruit of a Stream-enterer at Tathāgata Akṣobhya's first discourse on the Dharma, the fruit of a Once-returner at the second discourse, the fruit of a Nonreturner at the third discourse, and the fruit of an Arhat at the fourth discourse. They are said to be indolent because they fail to end all their defilements at one sitting. Śāriputra, in that Buddha-land, those who have attained the fruit of a Stream-enterer will be cleansed of all defilements in one lifetime, unlike the Stream-enterers of this world, who have to go through seven more births (Chang 1983: 325).

It is obvious that both texts, i.e. the Gāndhārī sūtra and the Akṣobhyavyūha, describe the same concept, although the Gāndhārī text does not refer to the first three dharma instructions which correspond to the other spiritual levels on the way to arhatship.

This whole instruction of the Buddha Akṣobhya to the 84,000 gods is introduced by the following description laying down its circumstances and addressees:

Extract 13 (Fragment 2, part 2, recto, lines 27-31 + part 7, recto, lines 10-13, partially reconstructed)

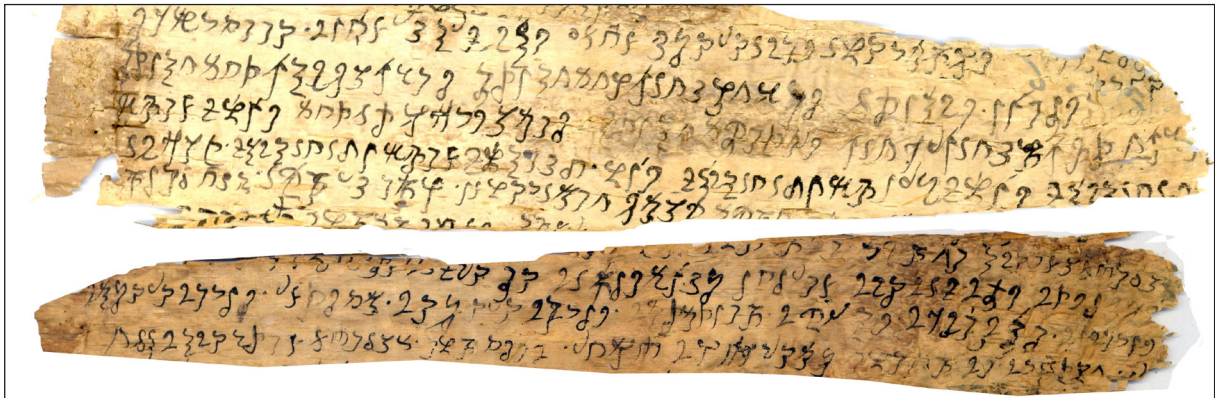


Fig. 38

- 27 /// akṣobho vi tasaḡada arahada samasabudho deṣadi ° aṣaho imaṣa dharmadeś<e>ṇae ° savavato ta gri ja u
- 28 /// + + rva[do] suarṇavaṇeṇa ° ohaṣeṇa phudo uraḡo ya gaṃdhayadaṇi gayati yaṣa ṇa purva uraḡaṇi ca oh<o>ṣaṇi paṣati yaṣa ṇa purve
- 29 /// [ura]ḡaṇi ya puṣpaṇi ghadhayadaṇi malayadaṇi avhipravarṣati yaṣa ṇa pu[rve] ° uvari ca atalikṣo phudo paṣati aṇeḡehi devakoḡi
- 30 /// (ṇa)y(u)[da śadaṣahaṣehi] aṇeḡehi bramaṇa koḡiṇayudaśadaṣahaṣehi aṇeḡa ° śudhavaṣaḡehi devakoḡiṇayudaśadaṣahaṣehi ° prajalihoda
- 31 (\*caduraśidi ca devasaḡaṣa va)ya bhaṣati aḡario yavacida tasaḡadaṇa ° gabhira dhama bhaṣida ° trodaṣa duraṇubho[ṣa]
- 10 /// caduraśidi ca devasaḡaṣa vava bhaṣati vae [bhate bhaḡava] (some partially preserved akṣaras)///
- 11 /// [e loṇu]apae arthae hidae suhae devamaṇuṣaṇa budhanetri aṇuchedae sarvasatva[hidae] [sarvasatva]
- 12 /// aṇatara[ha]ṇae ° vurdhie vehulae ° aṣamoṣae ° bhavaṇa paripurie ° aṇutarae samasabosae ° cito upadema ° aṇutarae samasabusie
- 13 ///(\*cito upade)ma ° ya sapraṇatae ° vae bhate bhaḡava bosisatvaśikṣae śikṣiṣama ° eva vuto bhaḡava ° te caduraśidi devaputra saḡaṣa edadoya

“The Tathāgata Akṣobhya, the Arhat, the Perfectly Enlightened is teaching. And because of his *dharma* teaching the whole<sup>76</sup> *ta gri ja u* ? (\**buddhakṣetra*?) is filled<sup>77</sup> with a golden-coloured shine, and noble perfumes<sup>78</sup> are smelling like never before. And one (can) see noble lights<sup>79</sup> like never before ...

And noble flowers, smelling and bound into garlands, are raining down like never before.

And high up one (will) see the heaven filled with many hundred thousands of millions and billions<sup>80</sup> of gods, with many hundred thousands of millions and billions of Brahmans, with many hundred thousands of millions and billions of *śuddhāvāsa* gods. They hold up their hands in the *añjali* [greeting].<sup>81</sup>

... and (\*the 84,000 gods) are saying: ‘It is a miracle that<sup>82</sup> such a deep *dharma* is told by the Tathāgatas, difficult to see, difficult to understand.’ ...

And the 84,000 gods are saying: ‘We, Venerable, ..., (we) are directing our mind<sup>83</sup> to the compassion with the world<sup>84</sup>, to the benefit, the good and the happiness of gods and men, to the not cutting off of the Buddha’s eye<sup>85</sup>, to the benefit of all beings, to the non-disappearance, the increase<sup>86</sup>, the non-confusion (\*of the Good Law) for all the people, to the completion of meditation, to the highest perfect enlightenment.<sup>87</sup> To the highest perfect enlightenment (we are directing our mind) and to accurate knowledge.<sup>88</sup>

We, Venerable, want to be trained in the Bodhisattvaśikṣā.<sup>89</sup> Thus addressed, the Bhagava said to the 84,000 gods: ...’ “

The passage lists stereotypical phrases which can be compared to numerous instances in canonical and post-canonical literature where the circumstances and purpose of a teaching are described. Some of them are referred to in the accompanying footnotes.

The beginning portion of the following instruction (Bodhisattvaśikṣā) is devoted to the term *saṃjñā*. The Bodhisattvas are supposed to have no *ātmasaṃjñā*, *sattvasaṃjñā*, *bhavasamjñā* and *jīvasamjñā*. This concept is in accordance with that of the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra where *ātmasaṃjñā*, *sattva*<sup>o</sup>, *jīva*<sup>o</sup> and *pudgala*<sup>o</sup> are repeatedly said to be avoided by Bo-

<sup>76</sup> savavato Akk.: P. *sabbāvanta*, S. *sarvāvanta*.

<sup>77</sup> ohaṣeṇa phudo: cf. GDict (< MS 89) : obhasena phudo, S. *avabhāsenā sphuṭa/spharitvā/sphuritvā*. Cf. BHSD s.v. *spharati*, *sphuṭa*, *sphurati*.

<sup>78</sup> uraḍo ya gaṃdhayadaṇi for uraḍaṇi<sup>o</sup>?

<sup>79</sup> uraḍaṇi ohaṣaṇi: cf. AV §2, 8: „une grande lueur emplit le trichiliocosme (*ayaṃ trisāhasralokadhātur udāreṇāvabhāsenā sphuṭaḥ*)“ (Dantinne 1983: 186), G. uraḍa: S. *udāra*, cf. GDict s.v. *uraḍa*, *uraḍe*, *uraḍo*.

<sup>80</sup> nayuta: S. *niyuta*, BHS *nayuta* (cf. BHSD s.v.)

<sup>81</sup> prajalihoda: S. *prāñjalībhūta*.

<sup>82</sup> aḥario yavacida: cf. PTSD s.v. *yāva*: *yāvañ c’idaṃ*.

<sup>83</sup> cito upadema: Skt. *cittam utpādayāmaḥ*. Cf. BHSD s.v. *cittotpāda* „production of intention, resolution“.

<sup>84</sup> loṇuapae: P. *lokānukampā* (PTSD s.v.). This and the following terms are part of a conventional stereotypical phrase of canonical literature. Cf. e.g. AN I 22: *lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānam*.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Aṣṭa *buddhanetrīsamucchēdo*, Sukh (I) *buddhanetryānupacchedāya* (variant *buddhakṣetrā*<sup>o</sup>) (ed. Vaidya 1961: 225.12). Within the Aṣṭa, however, the phrase is found repeatedly in a comparable context, e.g. *mā buddhanetrīsamucchēdo bhūt*, *mā saddharmāntardhānam* (ed. Vaidya 1960: 33.26).

<sup>86</sup> vurdhie vehulae: *vṛddhi*, *vaipulyā*. Cf. Arthaviniścaya: *vṛddhivipulatāyai* (ed. Vaidya 1960: 321.18).

<sup>87</sup> The last half of this passage finds a canonical parallel in the formula: *uppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ ṭhitiyā asammosāya bhīyyobhāvāya vepullāya bhāvanāya pāriṇipūriyā*, attested frequently in the Pāli canon (cited here after AN II 256). The Arthaviniścaya reproduces it as *utpannānaṃ ca kuśalānaṃ dharmānaṃ sthitaye (bhāvanāyai) asaṃmoṣāya aprahāṇāya (apari<sup>o</sup>) bhūyobhāvāya (vṛddhivi<sup>o</sup>) vaipulatāyai pariṇipūriyai (pāri<sup>o</sup>)* (ed. Samtani 1971: 29, in brackets ed. Vaidya 1960: 321.17-18).

<sup>88</sup> saprañatae: S. \**saṃprajñātā*. Cf. BHS *saṃprajñā* “knowledge, intelligence”, related to P. *sampajāñña* / BHS *saṃprajanya*.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. for this phrase Aṣṭa *ayaṃ bodhisattvo mahāsattva evaṃ śikṣamāno bodhisattvaśikṣāyāṃ śikṣate, na śrāvakaśikṣāyāṃ śikṣate, na pratyekabuddhaśikṣāyāṃ śikṣate* (ed. Vaidya 1960: 204.30-32).

dhisattvas (ed. Vaidya 1961: 76.27-29, 81.10-12 etc.). Interestingly, the Vajracchedikā is connecting this requirement with the *kṣāntipāramitā* „the Perfection of Composure“.<sup>90</sup> *Kṣānti* is also the main goal of the instruction given by Akṣobhya in the first part of the Gāndhārī *sūtra* (cf. below).

The passage in the Gāndhārī *sūtra* is followed by a general refusal of any perceptions, expressed *inter alia* by pairs like: *ṇa triṭhi triṭhisañña. ṇa ṣudo ṣudasañña. ṇa mudo mudasañña. ṇa viñada viñadasañña.* „The seen is not the notion of the seen, the heard is not the notion of the heard, the thought is not the notion of the thought, the apperceived is not the notion of the apperceived.“<sup>91</sup> Also this attitude of the text can be compared with the statement of the Vajracchedikā Sūtra:

*tasmāt tarhi subhūte bodhisattvena mahāsattvena sarvasaṃjñā vivarjayitvā anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau cittam utpādayitavyam* (ed. Vaidya 1961: 81.11-12).

„Therefore then, Subhuti, the Bodhi-being, the great being, after he has got rid of all perceptions, should produce a thought of utmost, right and perfect enlightenment“ (tr. Conze 1957: 77-58).

Like in other Mahāyāna sūtras a large part of the instruction given by the Buddha Akṣobhya to the 84,000 devaputras is devoted to the reward (*puṇya*) which can be expected from it. In many cases this is done by comparing the propagated *puṇya* to that of other kinds of actions known to be rewardable. In our case two such actions are referred to: giving donations and *stūpa* worship. There is no parallel to this passage found in the Akṣobh. It is true that this text is among the few early Mahāyāna sūtras which are mentioning *stūpa* worship, but the two rather short references occur in a completely different context.<sup>92</sup> Only one of them that describes the events following Akṣobhya's *parinirvāṇa* is contained in both the Chinese and Tibetan versions. It is evaluated by Schopen as

„probably the most elaborate description of the worship of relics and the *stūpa* worship in an early Mahāyāna *sūtra*.... it is purely narrative, never exhortatory. It simply says that individuals filled the worlds with *stūpas* made of the seven precious substances in order to honor and worship the relics ... Bodhisattvas are never said to be in any way engaged in the *stūpa*/relic cult, nor are they encouraged to be“ (Schopen 2005b: 112).

On the other hand the Gāndhārī text shows strong parallels with those early Mahāyāna sūtras which take the *stūpa* worship as a means of comparison to other *puṇya* generating actions. Among them are works like the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra - particularly its third chapter -, the Kāśyapaparivarta and the Maitreyasimhanāda (cf. Schopen 2005b: 110-111). For giving an impression of this literary device in early Mahāyāna Skt. texts we will cite some representative passages from selected texts. One of the most elaborated versions is found in the 3rd chapter of the Aṣṭa where the worship of a *stūpa* is compared to that of the Prajñāpāramitā in its different forms.

<sup>90</sup> See ed. Vaidya 1961: 81.4-17. This translation of *kṣānti* was proposed by Schopen (1989: 139, n.20). For an extensive discussion of this term translated here as „Patient Acceptance“ see Pagel 1995: 182-201. Cf. also Nattier 2003: 244 n. 240.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. e.g. AN II 25: *diṭṭha-suta-muta-viññātabesu dhammesu.*

<sup>92</sup> The reference in § 2 is only preserved in the Tibetan version: §2, 25 (tr. Dantinne 1983: 201f., cf. Schopen 2005b: 118-119). The second reference (§ 5) seems to be contained in both the Chinese and the Tibetan versions. Bodhiruci's text is partly translated by Chang (1983: 331, § 5), the Tibetan text is paraphrased by Schopen (2005: 112). Cf. also Yamada 1968,1: 238.



1. Aṣṭa (ed. Vaidya: 28.29-29.4)

*evam ukte śakro devānām indro bhagavantam etad avocato  
yo bhagavan kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā imāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ likhitvā pustakagatāṃ kṛtvā  
sthāpayet, enāṃ ca divyābhiḥ puṣpadhūpagandhamālyavilepanacūrṇacīvaracchatradhvaja-  
ghaṇṭāpatākābhiḥ samantāc ca dīpamālābhiḥ, bahuvīdhābhiḥ ca pūjābhiḥ satkuryāt  
gurukuryāt mānayet pūjayet arcayet apacāyēt,  
yaś ca tathāgatasyārhatāḥ samyaksambuddhasya parinirvṛtasya śarīrāṇi stūpeṣu pratiṣṭhāpayet  
parigrhṇīyāt dhārayed vā, tāṃś ca tathāiva divyābhiḥ puṣpadhūpagandhamālyavilepana-  
cūrṇacīvaracchatradhvajaghaṇṭāpatākābhiḥ, samantāc ca dīpamālābhiḥ, bahuvīdhābhiḥ ca  
pūjābhiḥ satkuryād gurukuryān mānayet pūjayed arcayed apacāyēt, kataras tayoḥ kulaputrayoḥ  
kuladuhitror vā bahutarāṃ puṇyāṃ prasavet?*

The explanation is finished with the following statement:

2. Aṣṭa 3 (ed. Vaidya: 36.9-15)

*tāṃ caināṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ satkuryād gurukuryān mānayet pūjayed arcayed apacāyēt  
puṣpair dhūpair gandhair mālyair vilepanaiś cūrṇaiś cīvaraiś chatrair dhvajair ghaṇṭābhiḥ  
patākābhiḥ samantāc ca dīpamālābhiḥ, bahuvīdhābhiḥ ca pūjābhiḥ pūjayet, asya kauśika  
puṇyābhisamskārasya asau pūrvakas tathāgatadhātugarbhaḥ saptaratnamayaḥ stūpasamskāra-  
japuṇyābhisamskāraḥ śatatamīm api kalām nopaiti, sahasratamīm api, śatasahasratamīm api,  
koṭītamīm api, koṭīśatatamīm api, koṭīśahasratamīm api, koṭīśatasahasratamīm api, koṭīniyu-  
taśatasahasratamīm api kalām nopaiti. saṃkhyām api kalām api gaṇanām api upamām api  
aupamyam api upanisām api upaniśadam api na kṣamate.*

This kind of comparison is just one version of a frequently used literary device where conventional ritual practices are compared to the newly established Mahāyāna concepts which are, of course, considered as much more valuable with regard to the merit they are supposed to generate. Thus we find very similar statements referring to the erection of abodes (*vihāra*) or giving donations - sometimes even combined with those about *stūpa* worship.

E.g., the Kāśyapaparivarta is listing various such actions – among them giving to (living) Buddhas and the worship of *stūpas* devoted to deceased Buddhas – within such a phrase. It is using for that the following expressions:

*tān sarvaṃ lokadhātuḥ saptaratnaparipūrṇaṃ kṛtvā dānaṃ dadyād buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ  
yāvajjīvaṃ ..... satkuryād gurukuryān mānayet pūjayet teṣāṃ ca parinirvṛtānāṃ stūpā kārāpayet  
....(ed. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2002: 56, fol. 80 r)*

Quite similar phrases with regard to giving and *stūpa* worship are found in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra (Saddharma) and the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra (Vajra). The Saddharma is differentiating the act of giving mentioning gifts to all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas:

Saddhp: .. *imāṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasrīm lokadhātuṃ saptaratnaparipūrṇaṃ kṛtvā sarvabud-  
dha-bodhisattva-śrāvaka-pratyekabuddhebhyo dānaṃ dadyāt ...* (ed. Vaidya 1960: 240.23-24)  
Vajra: ... *imāṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasraṃ lokadhātuṃ saptaratnaparipūrṇaṃ kṛtvā  
tathāgatebhyo ‘rhadbhyaḥ samyaksambuddhebhyo dānaṃ dadyāt* (ed. Vaidya 1961: 77.11-13)

Our Gāndhārī text belongs to those texts where both types of meritorious actions - i.e. giving donations and *stūpa* worship - are compared to the main goal of the given instruction which is

characterized as *dharme(hi)/dharma-kṣati* “composure/patient acceptance towards conditions of being”.<sup>93</sup> This term can be associated to the *kṣānti-pāramitā*, one of the perfections owed by a Bodhisattva. As was argued by Pagel,

„in the earliest strand of Mahāyāna literature, the rôle of *kṣānti* was at first limited to patient endurance of outright physical hostility and to the conviction of the non-arising of the factors of existence (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*)...

Although not clearly differentiated as separate aspects of *kṣānti* in this incipient phase, most early texts already distinguish what later treatises describe as patient acceptance with regard to beings (*sattvakṣānti*) and patient acceptance with regard to the factors of existence (*dharmakṣānti*). This distinction is found in the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prājñāpāramitā* and recurs as the most fundamental one in many other discussions of patient acceptance” (1995: 184-185).

Although the Gāndhārī text widely uses the above cited stereotypical formulas it adds in this context rather rare types of comparison like that between the space occupied by a bird and the space of the heaven and another one comparing a mustard seed and a heap of mustard.

Extract 14 (Fr. 2, part 7, recto, lines 53-58, part 4, recto, lines 1-5, partially reconstructed)<sup>94</sup>

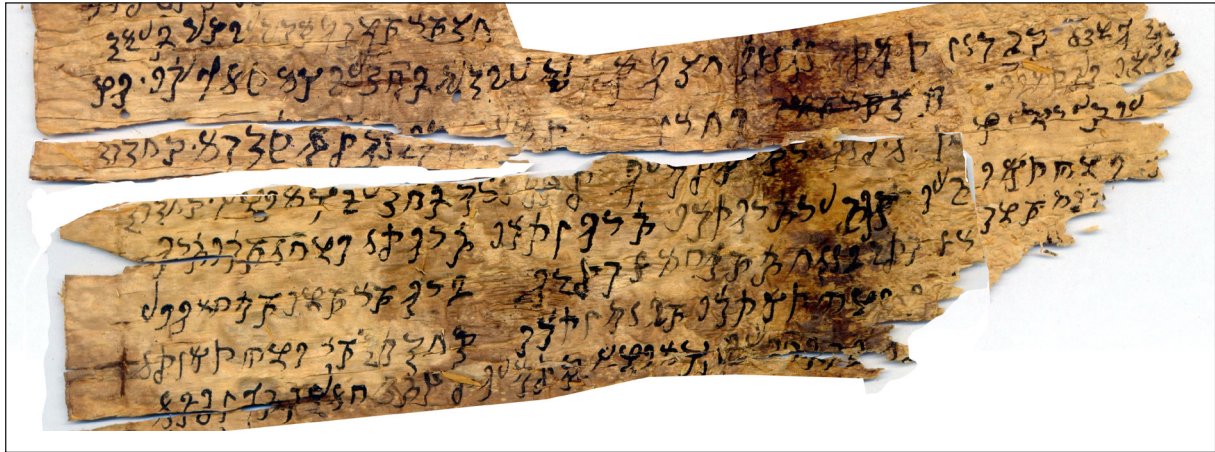


Fig. 39

53 ... ya ca bhate bhāgava bośiatva mahasatva ima triṣa

54 (\*haśamahaśaha)ṣa loḡadhada sarvaradaṇa pariṣuro daṇo dadea ° ya ca bośiatvo mahasatvo iṣa dharmehi kṣati pradilavhea ° oga

55 (hea) /// (a)[si]mucea avhapatiea ° ya ca bhate bhāgava aya teṇa purima(e)ṇa bahadaro puṇo praṣavati sayasava ṣa

56/1 mahasamud(r)āḡamago p<o>do udao ° ta simasi purimao puṇavisamkharo iṣa dha(r)m(e)hi kṣati aḡamo ° sayasava ṣa

57/2 aḡaśo pakṣi akramea sa akramata ketao pharea ketao ṇa pharea ketao phudo aḡaśado bhavaea ketao

58/3 (\*aphudo bhavaea) (e)va vuto bhāgava te devaputra edadoya ki bhaviṣati devaputrao edao bhate bhāgava bhaviṣati oama

4 /// [a]ḡaśo pakṣi pharea bhahodaro ṇa pharea sayasavi ṣa bhate aḡaśo pakṣiṇa phudo

5 /// [phudo] [e]va iṣa [dharmehi] kṣati aḡamo so purimao puṇakadho śadima v(i) kala ṇa uedi

<sup>93</sup> For the different opinions regarding the correct translation of this term cf. above fn. 88.

<sup>94</sup> The additions are made according to other related passages of the text.

„Venerable Bhagavant, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who is filling this *trisāhasra-mahāsāhasra* world with all jewels and is giving it as a gift or the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who is getting, is pervading, is devoted to and ? (*avhapatiea?*) the composure towards the conditions of being, (of these two), venerable Bhagavant, this (last mentioned) gets more merit than the former one. Like a ship sailing in the ocean<sup>95</sup> (and) the water: to the same extent the former amount of merit (relates) to the ‚composure towards the conditions of being’ here. (Or another) example: a bird would enter the heaven. If it has entered it, to what degree<sup>96</sup> would it occupy<sup>97</sup>, to what degree would it not occupy it? How much of the heaven would be filled, how much (would not be filled?) Thus addressed the Bhagavant said to the *devaputras*. How will this be, *devaputras?*- Venerable Bhagavant, the comparison<sup>98</sup> will be thus: (a little part) of the heaven the bird is occupying, the bigger part it is not occupying. Like the (part of the) heaven occupied by a bird (relates to the part) not-occupied, thus this former amount of merit does not even reach the hundredst part with regard<sup>99</sup> to the ‚composure towards the conditions of being’ here.“

After this comparison with regard to giving the text continues its discussion with the above mentioned passage related to *stūpa* worship for Buddha/Tathāgatas and Pratyekabuddhas. Since the right side of the scroll is damaged, the missing parts of the text of this passage have to be reconstructed.

Extract 15 (fragment 2, part 4, recto, lines 17-20)

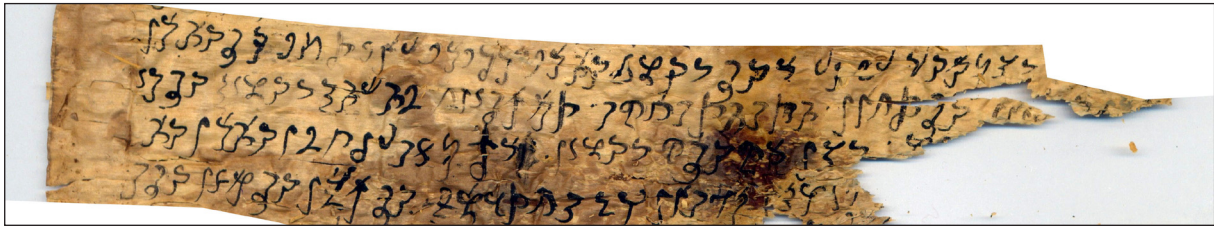


Fig. 40

17 ... ta ca bosisatva mahasama te sarva tasaḡada saḡarea garuarea maṇea puyea sarva saḡareṇa  
 18 (\*sarva garua)[reṇa sa](rva)[maṇaṇeṇa] sarva puyaṇeṇa ° kapo va kapavaṣeṣa va ° pariṇivudaṇa  
 ya ekamekaṣa tasaḡadaṣa sarvarada  
 19 (\*ṇamao thubo karea yava bhava)[ḡa] ° ta ca ṇa teṣa sarveṣa tasaḡadaṇa ° te thubo  
 divamaṇuṣaṇeṇa saḡareṇa sake  
 20 (\*rea garuarea maṇea puyea sarva)?? gadheṇa vilevaṇeṇa kṣatradhayapaḡaḡeḡhi sarvaṇiṭeṇa  
 sarvagideṇa sarvava(daṇeṇa) ...

„And this Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva should honour, respect and venerate all Tathāgatas by all (kinds of) honour, by all (kinds of) respect, by all (kinds of) veneration, as long as a *kalpa* and the rest of a *kalpa* last. And for the deceased ones he should (erect) for each single Tathāgata a *stūpa* made of all kinds of gems (and reaching) to the peak of the universe. And this *stūpa* he should honour, respect, worship and venerate with all (kinds of) divine and human worship, i.e. with all perfumes, unguents, parasols, emblems and flags, all (kind of) dance, all (kinds of) singing, all (kinds of) reciting ...“<sup>100</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Daśabhūmikasūtra (ed. : 69): *mahāsamudragāmī potako*.

<sup>96</sup> ketao: P. *kittaka*.

<sup>97</sup> pharea/ppp phudo: cf. P. *pharati* /ppp *phuṭa*, BHS *spharati* / *sphuṭa* „full, filled“ (BHSD s.v.). Cf. above fn. 77.

<sup>98</sup> oama: P. *opamma*, Skt. *aupamya*.

<sup>99</sup> aḡamo: Skt. *āgama* „with regard to“.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. e.g. Aṣṭa. ch. 3, where similar passages repeatedly occur, one of them being *saptaratnamayaṃ tathāgatadhātugarbhaṃ stūpaṃ kārayet .... kalpaṃ vā kalpavaṣeṣaṃ vā sarvavādyaiḡ sarvagītaiḡ sarvanṛtyaiḡ...*

A similar statement is made with regard to Pratyekabuddhas who are equally to be honoured in lifetime and in form of *stūpas* after their death.

The whole discussion about *puṇya* is finished with the above mentioned simile of the mustard seed:

Extract 16 (fragment 2, part 4, recto, lines 38-39)

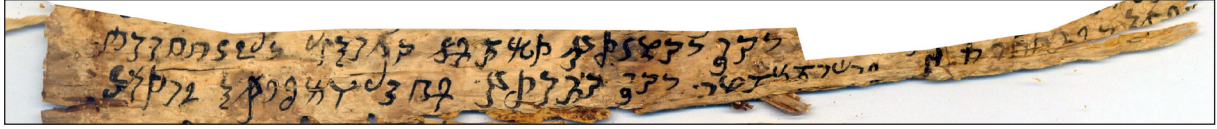


Fig. 41

38 ... ta sarva tsaḡada puṇo paḍibhaidi sayavaṣa ṇama ta mahada-śaśava-raśi  
39 [ua]ṇiṣa ta [eka]-śaśava-phala evameva bhate bhagava ta sarva saḡarapuṇa iśa dhama-kṣati-  
uaṇiṣa eva parita

„All this (i.e. the merit resulting from worship of a Pratyekabuddha) resembles the merit (resulting from the veneration) of a Tathāgata like<sup>101</sup> a single mustard seed compared to a big heap of mustard<sup>102</sup>. Exactly so small, Venerable Bhagavant, is this merit resulting from all the worship when compared to the composure to the states of beings here.“

To sum up, fragment 2 is representing a relatively large text which according to its contents and style can be ascribed to the class of early Mahāyāna sūtras. Although it shows clear parallels to some of the known texts it does not seem to be identical with any of them. Further research will hopefully enable us to give more details about its teaching and peculiarities.

#### 4.6 A text belonging to a Nīti-/Arthaśāstra tradition: Fragment 9, recto

The text preserved on the obverse of fragment 9 shows no Buddhist traces at all and must be considered as the first non-Buddhist manuscript in Kharoṣṭhī discovered so far outside Central Asia. Besides this, it is also one of the rare cases of a pure Sanskrit text written in Kharoṣṭhī script (cf. Salomon 1998, 2001). This peculiarity can be best explained by the genre of the text, which can clearly be attributed to the early Nīti/Arthaśāstra literature of India. In ca. 40 conventional verses it describes the parts of the state, the importance of alliances, the character of ministers and allies, the meaning of the royal treasure and so on. All these matters are favourite topics of the contemporary Arthaśāstra literature and were partially also dealt with in the related Nīti compositions, particularly in texts belonging to the early Cāṇakya Nīti text tradition, which was predominantly devoted to *rājanīti*, polity, before it incorporated much material from other fields of gnomic literature (cf. Sternbach 1963: 5-7<sup>103</sup>). In its terminology, however, our Gāndhārī text is much more related to the early Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra traditions than to any of the compiled verse collections.

It has been acknowledged for a long time that Buddhists in South East Asia, i.e. Burma and Thailand, adapted some of the Hindu Nīti compilations – predominantly of the Cāṇakya tradi-

*sarvapuṣpaiḥ sarvadhūpai sarvagandhai sarvamālaiḥ sarvavilepanaiḥ sarvacūrṇaiḥ sarvavastrair sarvadvīyābhiḥ s arvacchatradhvajaghaṇṭāpatākābhiḥ... bahuvidhābhiś ca divyamānuṣikībhiḥ sarvapuḡābhiḥ satkuryād gurukuryān mānayet pūjayed arcayed...* (ed. Vaidya 1961: 34.20-24).

<sup>101</sup> sayavaṣa ṇama: read sayāṣava nāma (< \**saṃyathāpi nāma*), BHS *sayyathā, sayyathāpi, sayyathīdam, sayyathāpi nāma* (cf. BHSD s.v. *yathāpi*), cf. P. *seyyathā, seyayathīdam* etc.

<sup>102</sup> ta mahada-śaśava-raśi-uaṇiṣa: S. *tan mahā-sarṣaparāśi-aupamyam*. Cf. BHSD s.v. *upaniṣad*.

<sup>103</sup> A comprehensive survey of the Cāṇakya Nīti text tradition with verse indices to the works is Sternbach 1963-1970.

tion – and created thereby a new genre of Buddhist Pāli literature (cf. von Hinüber 1996: 194-196, §§ 420-423, Bechert & Braun 1981: xxxvii-lxvii). The same is to a certain degree true for the Buddhists of Śrī Lankā. But contrary to their Theravādin brethren in South East Asia they did it without translating the texts from Sanskrit into Pāli (Sternbach 1967-68, 1969, 1971, 1972, Bechert 1980 a,b).

Many of these adapted texts bear the character of a *lokanīti* “(treatise about) the right behaviour of the people”, giving maxims on ethic principles, but some of them are also particularly devoted to political science and the king’s behaviour and his duties, i.e. *rājanīti*. What is true for all of them, however, is, that they are exclusively late and extensively influenced by Hindu texts, especially those of the Cāṇakya Nīti text tradition, but also by standard treatises like the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra.

Presently it is not possible to state any direct or indirect link between these late and geographically remote traditions and our text.<sup>104</sup> All we can say is that already in the beginning of the 1st millenium AD similar processes took place: Buddhists in North-Western India were engaged in composing or adapting texts about *rājanīti* similar to their much later fellows in belief in South (East) Asia. Whether this can be attributed to comparable functions the Buddhist communities fulfilled in the given social orders has to remain an object of further research.

As was mentioned, another peculiarity of the text can be seen in its language. Throughout the text its Sanskrit source shines clearly through. Although no attempts are made to mark the vowel quantities, most words were simply transferred into Kharoṣṭhī script without adjusting their spelling to the Gāndhārī phonology. Even the Sandhi of the source is preserved in most cases. These features are shared by the only other comparable manuscript of Kharoṣṭhī Sanskrit. It is part of the Pelliot collection and probably originates from “Subashi and Khitai Bazar, near Kucha on the northern rim of the Takla Makan desert in the Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region of China” (Salomon 1998: 124).

In most cases it is easily possible to “retranslate” the verses into the Sanskrit original and to define their metre, which seems to be Āryā throughout. As an example for the character of the text we will present three stanzas from different portions.

In the beginning the text is introducing the constituent parts of a kingdom calling them *nripatisarira*: Skt. *nṛpatiśarīra* “body of the king”. This well known and popular concept is also part of the Arthaśāstra as represented by KA<sup>105</sup> 6.1.1 (and 6.2.25, 8.1.5) and the Dharmaśāstras of Manu and Viṣṇu. In contrast to the Gāndhārī text these works use the term *prakṛti*.

Extract 17 (Fragment 9, recto, lines 5-6)

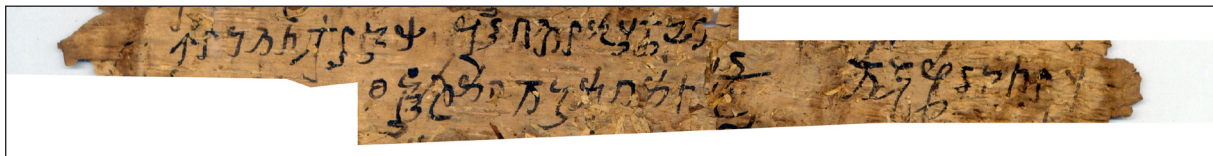


Fig. 42

4. atmartha maṃtriṇa kośa daṃḍa  
mitraṃnyathopakaraṇaṇi  
jaṇapatadurge cobhe  
nripatiśariraṃ bhavati kritsnaṃ

<sup>104</sup> For more detailed information cf. the introduction of Bechert & Braun 1981: xxxvii-lxvii and the numerous studies by Ludwik Sternbach listed in their bibliography xvii-xviii.

<sup>105</sup> Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra, cited after the edition of Kangle.

“The ruler, the ministers, the treasure, the army, and the allies, and the instruments, the countryside and the fortress, these both, form the complete body of the king.”

KA 6.1.1	<i>svāmy-amātya-janapada-durga-kośa-daṇḍa-mitrāṇi prakṛtayah.</i>
Manu 9.294	<i>svāmy-amātyau puraṃ rāṣṭraṃ kośa-daṇḍau suhṛt tathā sapta prakṛtayo hy etāḥ saptāṅgaṃ rājyam ucyate</i>
Viṣṇu 3.33	<i>svāmy-amātya-durga-kośa-daṇḍa-rāṣṭra-mitrāṇi prakṛtayah</i>

It is obvious that the Gāndhārī text despite its general correspondence is witness of another tradition of this concept:

Fragment 9, recto	KA	Manu	Viṣṇu
atmartha: Skt. <i>ātmārtha</i>	<i>svāmin</i>	<i>svāmin</i>	<i>svāmin</i>
mantriṇa: Skt. <i>mantriṇaḥ</i>	<i>amātya</i>	<i>amātya</i>	<i>amātya</i>
kośa: = Skt.	<i>kośa</i>	<i>kośa</i>	<i>kośa</i>
daṇḍa: = Skt.	<i>daṇḍa</i>	<i>daṇḍa</i>	<i>daṇḍa</i>
mitraṃṇy: Skt. <i>mitrāṇi</i>	<i>mitrāṇi</i>	<i>suhṛt</i>	<i>mitrāṇi</i>
janapata: Skt. <i>janapada</i>	<i>janapada</i>	<i>rāṣṭra</i>	<i>rāṣṭra</i>
durge: Skt. <i>durga</i>	<i>durga</i>	<i>pura</i>	<i>durga</i>
upakaraṇaṇi: Skt. <i>upakaraṇāni</i>	--	--	--

The strange term *upakaraṇāni* in this context can be compared to the verse in the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra 48.1 containing the adjective *parasparopakāri*.

Similar expressions in the Matsyapurāṇa and the (late) Burmese Rājanīti go back to a related version of this verse.<sup>106</sup>

*svāmyamātyāś ca rāṣṭraṃ ca durgaṃ kośo balaṃ suhṛt  
parasparopakārīdaṃ saptāṅgaṃ rājyam ucyate*<sup>107</sup>

“King, ministers, kingdom, castle, treasury, army and allies are known to form the seven constituents of a government. They contribute to one another’s weal...” (tr. Dutt 1979: 30, = iv,1-2).

Although it is possible that both renderings go back to a common source, it seems that our verse used this term in its usual meaning “instruments” – as one can see from the following verse 8 – extending thereby the traditional number of limbs of the state from seven to eight. This and the replacement of *svāmin* by *ātmārtha* “having the self as his purpose” are remarkable from the terminological point of view. For the preservation of the Sandhi note *mitraṃṇyathopakaraṇaṇ[i]*: Skt. *mitrāṇy athopakaraṇāni*, *cobhe*: Skt. *cobhe* (*ca + ubhe*).

<sup>106</sup> A detailed study about the spread of the concept of the seven constituents of the state in South-East Asia is Sternbach 1973.

<sup>107</sup> v.l.: Rājanīti 26 (Bechert & Braun 1981: 133) b: *balaṃ mita*, c: *aññamaññopakārīdaṃ*.

Further on the text is defining the parts of the treasure (*kośa*).

Extract 18 (Fragment 9, recto, lines 11-12)

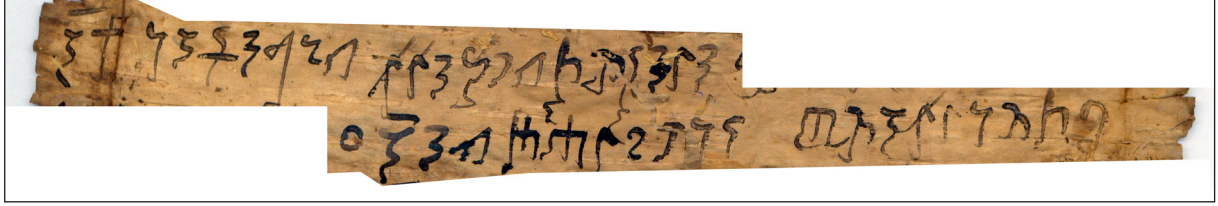


Fig. 43

8. **dhana dhanya kupya yavasamdhaneni  
yatrayudhani ca ratha ca  
upakaraṇani ca kośo  
naravahana śipi yodha ca ○**

“The treasure (are) money, grain, metal, grass, firewood, machines and weapons and chariots and instruments, men, riding animals, craftsmen and soldiers.”

The definition of royal income as contained in the very detailed description of KA 2.6 differs largely from that given in our Gāndhārī verse. The most reliable parallel to KA can be observed in KA 2.5 where the activity of the director of stores is described:

*samnidhātā kośagrhaṃ paṇyagrhaṃ koṣṭhāgāraṃ kupyagrhaṃ āyudhāgāraṃ bandhanāgāraṃ ca kārayet* (KA 2.5.1).

“The Director of stores should cause to be built a treasury, a ware-house, a magazine, a store for forest produce, an armoury and a prison-house” (tr. Kangle 1972: 72).

Some of the items mentioned in the verse of fragment 9 are enclosed in that list. In the KA they were considered as closely related to the royal income. Moreover these institutions are said to be located within a town (*durga*). Accordingly, a similar list is contained in the chapter devoted to town-planning (KA 2.4). Here the following institutions connected with the royal treasury and comparable to our text are mentioned: *koṣṭhāgāra* “magazine”, *hastīśālā* “elephant stables”(8), *bhāṇḍāgāra* “store-house for goods”, *kupyagrha* “storehouse for metals”, *āyudhāgāra* “armoury”(10), *kharoṣṭraguptīsthāna* “stables for donkeys and camels”, *yānarathaśālā* “stables for carriages and chariots” (12), *kośa* “treasury”, *gavāśva* “cattle and horses” (14) (tr. Kangle 1972: 68-69). Several craftsmen, soldiers etc. are also included.

Although this second list covers almost all the items enclosed in the Gāndhārī verse, the different terminology is striking. A terminologically closer related parallel can be found in the town-building chapter of the Mānava Dharmaśāstra. It has long been known that the *rājadharmā* chapters of the Dharmaśāstras are shaped along an Arthaśāstra source which is not identical with but related to the KA. In the context of town-planning Manu gives the following stanza enumerating seven of the thirteen components of the Gāndhārī text in an almost identical terminology:

*tat syād āyudhasaṃpannaṃ dhanadhānyena vāhanaiḥ  
brāhmaṇaiḥ śilpibhir yantrair yavasenodakena ca* (Manu 7.75).

“Let that (fort) be well supplied with weapons, money, grain and beasts of burden, with Brahmanas, with artisans, with engines, with fodder and with water“ (tr. Bühler).

Thus it seems that the terminology of the source of our stanza is comparable to that of Manu's *rājadharmā* source. But contrary to the cited examples the Gāndhārī text preserved this enumeration not in connection with the topic of town-planning but as part of the definition of the royal income (*kośa*) in an independent, probably more archaic context.

The text continues with enumerating the reasons for the growth or loss of the treasure (*vivurdhi-haṇimulani*). The first category is dealt with in the following verse:

Extract 19 (Fragment 9, recto, lines 14-15)

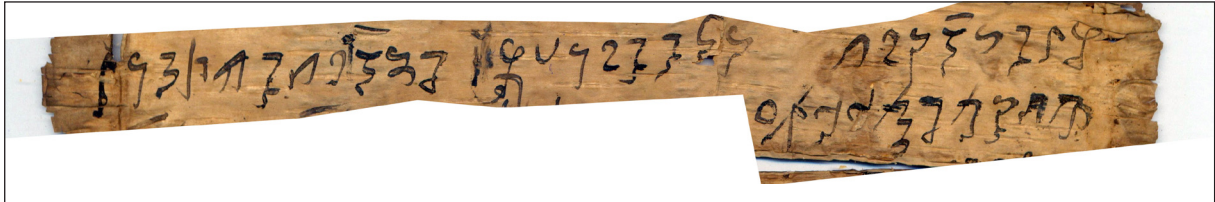


Fig. 44

10. **guṇavaṃta cā sahaya  
sakha vyavyaharamarga <ñā> vūrta cā  
ayavyayopadharāṇ(e)  
kośasya vivurdhimulani**

“Virtuous companions, a friend who behaves according to the way of conduct in considering<sup>108</sup> incomes and expenses are the roots of the treasure’s increase.”

A similar idea is expressed by the the *rājadharmā* passages of the Dharmaśāstra literature, dealing with the qualities of royal officials like a minister or judge:

Yājñ. 1.322 *atra tatra ca niṣṇātān adhyakṣān kuśalān śucīn  
prakuryād āyakarmāntavyayakarmasu codyatān*

Manu 8.419 *ahany ahany avekṣeta karmāntān vāhanāni ca  
āyavyayau ca niyatāv ākarān kośam eva ca  
evaṃ sarvān imān rājā vyavahārān samāpayan  
vyapohya kilbiṣaṃ sarvaṃ prāpnoti paramāṃ gatim*

Bṛhaspati 1.10.122 *yaḥ svāminā niyuktas tu dhanāyavyayapālāne  
kusīda-kṛṣi-vāñijye nisrṣṭārthas tu sa smṛtaḥ*

In slightly different words, but without mentioning expenses and income, the same is said by the Gautama Dharmasūtra with regard to the king: *śucir jitendriyo guṇavat-sahāya upāya-sampannaḥ* (11.4) (cf. Viṣṇu 3,71).

All these examples show the association of the ideas expressed in the Gāndhārī text with contemporary concepts of Brahmanical political science. But it is remarkable that nowhere in the Gāndhārī text a Brahmanical functionary like a priest or even a *purohita* is mentioned. In the same way there is no reference to the *varṇa* system. On the other hand our text is equally free from Buddhist ideas. Thus we find a sentence like this : *atma vardhayitavyo jaya yevatmavivurdhir api* “The self is to be promoted. Also the promotion of the self is a victory.” This perception

<sup>108</sup> *upadharāṇe*: Skt. *upadhāraṇa*, cf. with the same meaning KA 1.1.11, 9.4: *kṣaya-vyaya-lābha-viparimarśaḥ*



of *ātman* is hardly in accordance with the Buddhist view but should rather be associated with contemporary Hindu concepts. A quite similar action - *karmātmavivṛddhi* “the promotion of the self by ritual actions”- is referred to by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (104.59, ed. Kern 1865: 498).

Possibly, the Gāndhārī Rājanīti text is representing a kind of a “neutral, non-religious” and hence purely pragmatical political science, which was shaped for an environment where explicit Brahmanical or Buddhist values had to be avoided in political practice.

#### 4.7 A private document

Fragment 15 represents another unique piece among the texts of the Bajaur collection. It is a fragment of a single sheet of birch bark measuring now ca. 19 x 21 cm. Its obverse contains the text of a private document (*hastalekha*) reporting a loan given by one Bhudamitra (Skt. Bhūtamitra), son of Kaṭhea (Skt. *kāṣṭhaka/kāṣṭhika?*), inhabitant of Mitrasthāna. Thus this fragment represents the only purely judicial document written in Kharoṣṭhī outside Central Asia. The exact conditions of this transaction as well as the relationship of the document to Indian and Central Asian parallels are still a matter of research, since portions of the letter are destroyed and have to be reconstructed. The remaining text, however, makes clear that a certain amount of money was lent by Bhūtamitra to Saṅghaśrava and has to be paid back by the latter along with interest (*samulaka*: Skt. *samūla(ka)*, *savaḍhika*: Skt. *savṛddhi(ka)*). The transaction was witnessed by a number of persons (*sakṣi*: Skt. *sākṣin*) who signed the text personally with their full or abbreviated names.

Similar to the letters of Central Asia the closed letter was inscribed with the adress expressed here with following words:

Extract 20 (Fragment 15, v)



Fig. 45

midra[tha]ṇavastavaṣa bhudamitraṣa ka[ṭhe]aputraṣa gamaṇa.

„Going to Bhūtamitra, son of Kaṭhea, inhabitant of Mitrasthāna.“

## 5. Final remarks about the character and contents of the collection

It is certainly too early to draw final conclusions about the purpose of the collection and the character of the community it belonged to. Probably, the wide range of texts from Buddhist basics like the *Prātimokṣasūtra* via “modern” Mahāyāna texts up to a Rājanīti influenced non-religious works indicates rather a (part of a) monastic library than an intentional collection of texts. Since, practically, all of the manuscripts are more or less fragmentary, the comparison to a Jewish *genizah* brought forward by Salomon with regard to the British Library fragments (1999: 81-84) could be equally valid for the new Bajaur collection. It seems that old and worn-out manuscripts were sorted out and stored in one place, outside the regular library (for which a stone casket would be rather uncomfortable) but still in reach of the monks in case of urgent need. Probably, not all of the texts were partially destroyed. Some of them might have been sorted out for other reasons.

The storing side by side of Mahāyāna sūtras and Śrāvākayāna/Hīnayāna sūtra and disciplinary texts could be explained in different ways. It is known that at least in the days of Xuanzang (7th century AD) monks of both „vehicles“, i.e. of a Śrāvākayāna school and of Mahāyāna, could live together in the same monastic community (cf. Ruegg 2004: 50 n. 81 for references).<sup>109</sup> The same is certainly true for earlier times, when even the assignment of many texts to either of the directions is highly problematic due to the great diversity of conceptions which arose already among Śrāvākayāna schools and became later on subsumed under the term Mahāyāna. The more difficult it is to classify a community of sometimes hundreds of monks following different religious practices.<sup>110</sup> And indeed, early Mahāyāna texts like the *Ugraparipṛcchā* clearly show that monks following the newly introduced Bodhisattvayāna lived together with those adherent to the traditional Śrāvākayāna (Nattier 2003: 81-89). Similar is the situation which can be deduced from the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra*, which „suggests that in some monasteries adherents of different movements lived together, avoiding discussing their differences (between mainstream and Mahāyāna, and within Mahāyāna itself) openly“ (Vetter 1994: 1265). Thus we might suppose that our monastery near Miān Kili was one of those Buddhist establishments where the practices of both „vehicles“ were observed.

On the other hand we cannot completely exclude that our monastery was a purely Mahāyāna one. It should at least be remembered that the Arapacana alphabet and the genre of *dhāraṇī* literature both of which are represented in the Bajaur collection are two of the most prominent features of Mahāyāna Buddhism which had originated, however, already in Śrāvākayāna circles.

Further on it is known that Mahāyāna monks used for disciplinary matters the Vinaya of at least one of the traditional Śrāvākayāna schools (cf. Dutt 1988: 174-176). Thus Faxian who was in search of manuscripts of the various Vinayas and was rather disappointed after his long travels through Indian monasteries, wrote quite relieved after having reached the Mahāyāna monastery at Pāṭaliputra:

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<sup>109</sup> Although there can be no doubt about the validity of this statement I hesitate to interpret the references in Faxian’s travel account in this sense. Faxian is speaking usually about a certain region or town when mentioning the side by side of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. This does not imply that monks of both vehicles were also living in the same monastery. It is therefore somewhat speedy to deduce this fact from the tables prepared by Lamotte according to Faxian’s and Xuanzang’s accounts (Lamotte 1954: 392-395; 1988: 540-543). The only incidences of the factual community of both directions are referred to by Xuanzang under the term Mahāyāna-Sthavira (Beal 1884, 2: 133, 208).

<sup>110</sup> The question about a doubtless identification of an early Mahāyāna text as such, and accordingly of a community as followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism, is one of the most debated problems in modern Buddhist studies. Cf. e.g. Nattier 2003: 171-197, Ruegg 2004, Pagel 2006 with further references. See above all Schopen 2005a: 3-24 who is even suggesting the Mahāyāna to be a rather marginalized phenomenon in India at that time, i.e. in the first centuries AD.

„In the various kingdoms of North India, however, he had found one master transmitting orally (the rules) to another, but no written copies which he could transcribe.... Here, **in the Mahāyāna monastery**, he found a copy of the Vinaya, containing the Mahāsāṅghika rules ... He further got a transcript of the rules in six or seven thousand gāthās, being the Sarvāstivādaḥ rules, ..., which also have all been handed down from master to master without being committed to writing“ (Legge 1991: 98-99).

Similarly, Xuanzang is reporting about the Mahāyāna monks in Udyāna (Swāt) who are dwelling on both sites of the Swāt river:

„The schools of the Vinaya traditions traditionally known among them are the Sarvāstivādins, the Dharmaguptas, the Mahīśāsakas, the Kāśyapīyas, and the Mahāsāṅghikas: these five“ (Beal 1884,1: 120-121).

Taking together this evidence, we must conclude that Mahāyāna communities preserved different Vinaya traditions, according to Faxian even within one monastic order, and started to write down these texts at a quite early period. Both these features could be associated with our Prātimokṣasūtra fragment (fr. 13), which indeed contains different versions of a portion of this text.

Anyway, as stated above it is too early to make definite conclusions about the link between the repertoire of our collection and the character of the monastic community which compiled it. But definitely any progress in this regard will also help us to learn more about the circles among which early Mahāyāna arose. Only further research on the texts of this exceptional manuscript collection will enable us to approach this aim.

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Appendix 1: Survey of the manuscripts of the Bajaur collection

Fragment	Frame	Size (maximal) (h x w)		Akṣ. per line	Lines	Size Akṣar as (mm)	Contents	Scribe	
1	Part 1	1	16,5 x 23	re	42	27	6	Dakṣiṇavibhaṅga- /Gautamīsūtra (MĀ)	1
				ve	20	10	10	Dhāraṇī (?)	2
	Part 2	16	17,5 x 20,5	re		21		Dakṣiṇavibhaṅga- /Gautamīsūtra (MĀ)	1
				ve		12		Dhāraṇī (?)	2
	Part 3	12	17,5 x 27	re		27		Dakṣiṇavibhaṅga- /Gautamīsūtra (MĀ)	1
ve					1		Dakṣiṇavibhaṅga- /Gautamīsūtra (MĀ)	1	
2	Part 1	2	18 x 22	re	49	41	4-5	Mahāyānasūtra, with parallels to the Akṣobhyavyūha	3
				ve	39	28	5-6	=	3
	Part 2	3	18 x 26	re		45		=	3
				ve		29		=	3
	Part 3	4	17,5 x 28	re		45		=	3
				ve		35		=	3
	Part 4	5	17 x 31	re		49		=	3
				ve		39		=	3
	Part 5	6	18 x 28,5	re		47		=	3
				ve		33		=	3
	Part 6	7	17 x 26	re		40		=	3
				ve		40		=	3
	Part 7	8	18 x 33	re		58		=	3
				ve		39		=	3
	Part 8	31	17,5 x 8,5	re		14		=	3
				ve		6		=	3
	Part 9	34	17 x 13,5	re		8		=	3
				ve		11		=	3
	Part 10	35	17 x 7,5	re		10		=	3
				ve		blank		=	blank
3	Part 1	17	16 x 18	re	30	18	5-7	Rakṣā text containing a spell called Manasvi-Nāgarāja- Vidyā	4
				ve		blank			blank
	Part 2	9	17 x 21	re		21		Rakṣā text containing a spell called Manasvi-Nāgarāja- Vidyā	4
				ve		12		=	4
4	Part 1	10	25 (?) x 19	re	60 (?)	ca. 22	5	Scholastic text, undetermined (similar to 6,11)	5
				ve		ca. 18	5	=	5
	Part 2	18	25 (?) x 17	re		ca. 21		=	5
				ve		ca. 4		=	5
5		11	11 x 37	re	20	40	6	Buddhist verses in Arapacana order	6
				ve		41		=	6
6	Part 1	29	15,5 x 7,5	re	32	ca. 7	5-6	Scholastic text, undetermined (similar to 4,11)	19
				ve	32	ca. 8		=	19
	Part 2	30	15 x 9,5	re		11	5-6		19
				ve		9		=	19
	Part 3	32	16,5 x 9,5	re		ca. 8		=	19
				ve		ca. 4		=	19

7		13	16 x 6	re	ca. 40	ca. 7	6-7	Karmavācanā ( <i>śāyyāsanagrāhaka</i> )	7
				ve		ca. 5		Karmavācanā ( <i>varṣopagamana</i> )	7
8		14	21,5 x 19	re	41	4	5-6	Buddhastotra (?), metrical	8
				ve		blank			
9	Part 1	15	16 x 39	re	29	39	5-6	Nīti text in Kharoṣṭhī-Sanskrit	9
				ve	27	33	7-10	Scholastic text, undetermined	10
	Part 2	24	16 x 16	re		14		Nīti text in Kharoṣṭhī-Sanskrit	9
				ve		14		Scholastic text, undetermined	10
10		19	16 x 23	re	32	17	5-7	Buddha praise, non-metrical	11
				ve		blank			blank
11	Part 1	20	15,5 x 15,5	re	40	26	5-6	Scholastic text, undetermined (similar to 4, 6)	5
				ve	40	19		=	5
	Part 2	21	15,5 x 22	re		35		=	5
				ve		18		=	5
12		22	15,5 x 14	re	29	16	6-9	Scholastic text, undetermined	12
				ve	29	14		=	12
13		23	16 x 23	re	34	25		Prātimokṣasūtra, Naiḥsargika pācittiya 1-9	13
				ve	31	22		Prātimokṣasūtra, Naiḥsargika pācittiya 1-8	14
14		33	10 x 7	re	28	10	5-6	Scholastic text, undetermined (similar to 16, 18)	18
				ve	22	7		=	18
15		25	21 x 19	re	60	15	3-5	Letter/document	15
				ve		blank		blank	blank
16	Part 1	27	12 x 10	re	15	10-11	5-6	Scholastic text, undetermined (similar to 14, 18)	18
				ve	15	10-11		=	18
	Part 2	28	12 x 10	re	15	10-11		=	18
				ve	15	10-11		=	18
17	Part 1	26	23 x 13	re	36	ca. 5	5	Buddhist verses (?)	16
				ve	?	ca. 3	7	=	17
	Part 2	25	10,5 x 2	re		ca. 3		=	16
				ve		ca. 2		=	17
18		32	17 x 19	re	40	20	5-6	Scholastic text, undetermined (similar to 14, 16)	5
				ve	40	19		=	5

Appendix 2: Survey of the scribal hands of the Bajaur collection

scr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19		
fr	Ir	IV	2	3	4, 11, 18	5	7	8	9r	9v	10	12	13r	13v	15r	17r	17v	14, 16	6		
a					  	 			 								 	 			
va		 		 	    				 		 	 	 					 			

scr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
fi	1r	iv	2	3	4	5	6	8	9r	9v	10	12	13r	13v	15r	17r	17v	14, 16	6
ka	子	𠂔*	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔 <sup>4</sup> 𠂔 <sup>11</sup> 𠂔 <sup>18</sup>	𠂔 𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔 <sup>14</sup> 𠂔 <sup>16</sup>	𠂔
ca	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔 <sup>4</sup> 𠂔 <sup>11</sup> 𠂔 <sup>18</sup>	𠂔	-	𠂔	𠂔 𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	-	-	𠂔 <sup>14</sup> 𠂔 <sup>14</sup> 𠂔 <sup>16</sup>	𠂔
cha	𠂔	-	𠂔*	-	𠂔 <sup>11</sup>	𠂔	𠂔	-	-	𠂔*	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔*	-	-	-	-
bha	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔 <sup>4</sup> 𠂔 <sup>11</sup> 𠂔 <sup>18</sup>	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	-	𠂔	𠂔 <sup>14</sup> 𠂔 <sup>16</sup>	-

scr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19		
fr	1r	iv	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9r	9v	10	10	11	12	13r	13v	15r	17r	18	19
ya	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>11</sup> sa <sup>18</sup>	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa <sup>*</sup> sa <sup>*</sup>	sa <sup>14</sup> sa <sup>16</sup> sa <sup>16</sup>	sa	sa	
sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>11</sup> sa <sup>18</sup>	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa <sup>14</sup> sa <sup>14</sup> sa <sup>16</sup>	sa	sa	
sa	sa	-	sa	sa	sa <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>11</sup> sa <sup>18</sup>	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	-	sa <sup>14</sup> sa <sup>16</sup>	sa	sa	
sa	sa	-	sa	sa	sa <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>11</sup> sa <sup>18</sup>	sa	sa	sa <sup>*</sup>	sa	-	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	-	sa <sup>14</sup> sa <sup>16</sup>	sa	sa	