

FROM BIRCH BARK TO DIGITAL DATA:
RECENT ADVANCES IN BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPT RESEARCH

Papers Presented at the Conference
Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field
Stanford, June 15–19 2009

Edited by Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN

PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE

DENKSCHRIFTEN, 460. BAND

Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens

Nr. 80

Herausgegeben von Helmut Krasser

Verlag der
Österreichischen Akademie
der Wissenschaften



Wien 2014

OAW

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE
DENKSCHRIFTEN, 460. BAND

From Birch Bark to Digital Data:
Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research

Papers Presented at the Conference
Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field
Stanford, June 15–19 2009

Edited by
Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann

Verlag der
Österreichischen Akademie
der Wissenschaften



Wien 2014

OAW

Vorgelegt von w. M. ERNST STEINKELLNER in der Sitzung am 18. Oktober 2013

Diese Publikation wurde einem anonymen, internationalen
Peer-Review-Verfahren unterzogen.

This publication has undergone the process of anonymous, international
peer review.

Die verwendeten Papiersorten sind aus chlorfrei gebleichtem Zellstoff hergestellt,
frei von säurebildenden Bestandteilen und alterungsbeständig.

Alle Rechte vorbehalten.

ISBN 978-3-7001-7581-0

Copyright © 2014 by

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Wien

Druck und Bindung: Druckerei Ferdinand Berger & Söhne GesmbH, Horn

Printed and bound in the EU

<http://hw.oeaw.ac.at/7581-0>

<http://verlag.oeaw.ac.at>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAUL HARRISON AND JENS-UWE HARTMANN, Introduction	vii
RICHARD SALOMON, Gāndhārī Manuscripts in the British Library, Schøyen and Other Collections	1
MARK ALLON, The Senior Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts	19
COLLETT COX, Gāndhārī Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts: Exegetical Texts	35
HARRY FALK AND INGO STRAUCH, The Bajaur and Split Collections of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts within the Context of Buddhist Gāndhārī Literature	51
OSKAR VON HINÜBER, The Gilgit Manuscripts: An Ancient Buddhist Library in Modern Research	79
JENS-UWE HARTMANN AND KLAUS WILLE, The Manuscript of the Dīrghāgama and the Private Collection in Virginia	137
JENS BRAARVIG, The Schøyen Collection	157
KAZUNOBU MATSUDA, Japanese Collections of Buddhist Manuscript Fragments from the Same Region as the Schøyen Collection	165
LORE SANDER, Dating and Localizing Undated Manuscripts	171
KLAUS WILLE, Survey of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Turfan Collection (Berlin)	187
JENS-UWE HARTMANN AND KLAUS WILLE, The Central Asian Sanskrit Fragments in the Pelliot Collection (Paris)	213
KLAUS WILLE, Survey of the Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Hoernle, Stein, and Skrine Collections of the British Library (London)	223
JENS-UWE HARTMANN AND KLAUS WILLE, Further Collections of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Central Asia	247
SHIN'ICHIRO HORI, From the Kathmandu Valley to the Tarim Basin	257
DUAN QING, Indic and Khotanese Manuscripts: Some New Finds and Findings from Xinjiang	269
PAUL HARRISON, Earlier Inventories of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet: A Synoptic List of Titles	279
SAERJI, Indic Buddhist Manuscripts in the People's Republic of China: The Peking University Project	291
HELMUT KRASSER, Indic Buddhist Manuscripts in Vienna: A Sino-Austrian Co-operative Project, with Methodological Remarks on Śāstric "Urtexs"	301
LUO HONG, Sanskrit Manuscript Projects in the China Tibetology Research Center	315
YOSHIYASU YONEZAWA AND JUNDŌ NAGASHIMA, The Sanskrit Manuscript Research Project at Taisho University	323
MICHAEL HAHN, Various Aspects of Dealing with Buddhist <i>codices unici</i>	333
PETER SKILLING, Reflections on the Pali Literature of Siam	347
BHIKKHU ÑĀNATUSITA, Pali Manuscripts of Sri Lanka	367

Participants in the conference
“Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field”
held at Stanford University, June 15–19, 2009



Front row (from left to right): DUAN Qing (Beijing), Richard Salomon (Seattle), Irene LIN (Stanford), Collett Cox (Seattle), Michael Hahn (Marburg), Helmut Krasser (Vienna), Harunaga Isaacson (Hamburg), Oskar von Hinüber (Freiburg), Kazunobu Matsuda (Kyoto), LUO Hong (Beijing), Saerji (Beijing).

Second row: Jundō Nagashima (Tokyo), Peter Skilling (Bangkok), Shin'ichiro Hori (Tokyo), Jens Braarvig (Oslo), Lore Sander (Berlin), Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Munich), Ingo Strauch (Berlin), Klaus Wille (Göttingen), Yoshiyasu Yonezawa (Tokyo).

Third row: Mark Allon (Sydney), Paul Harrison (Stanford). *In absentia:* Harry Falk (Berlin).

The Bajaur and Split Collections of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts within the Context of Buddhist Gāndhārī Literature

HARRY FALK (BERLIN) AND INGO STRAUCH (LAUSANNE)

1. Introduction

During the last decade the collections of Gāndhārī manuscripts being studied by the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project in Seattle have been supplemented by two new manuscript finds which are said to originate from the northwest of Pakistan, or — more precisely — from the Bajaur district in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (former Northwest Frontier Province). The Bajaur Collection is named after the find-spot on the northern edge of the region Bajaur on the border with Afghanistan, while the Split Collection has no attested place of origin. Since some more parts coming from the same source have surfaced in the antiquities market, pointing at a segmentation or split-up of the original lot, the term “Split Collection” is used to allow further acquisitions to find a home under the same roof. Both new collections contain important additions to the hitherto known corpus of Gāndhārī literature, among them two texts which clearly belong to the Mahāyāna branch of Buddhism. The Bajaur Collection houses what is to this date the largest manuscript of a Mahāyāna sūtra in the Gāndhārī language. Although it resembles in many regards various genres of early Mahāyāna — including Prajñāpāramitā texts and Pure Land Buddhist texts like the *Akṣobhyavyūha* — it is not identical with any known sūtra. The Split Collection contains the earliest known manuscript of a Prajñāpāramitā text. The contents of both collections can consequently be used to get some new data for one of the most controversially debated questions in the history of Buddhism, namely the doctrinal and institutional contexts in which early Mahāyāna arose. This question is of course closely connected with the problem of the specific character of Gandhāran Buddhism and its literary production.

It is only possible to evaluate the evidence of a given text or text collection by appropriately considering this extended background of Gāndhārī Buddhist literature and defining the position of the respective textual material therein. However, despite the enormous progress made in Gandhāran studies in the last decade — mainly thanks to the work done by the members of the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project under the guidance of Richard Salomon — such a survey of Gāndhārī literature which subsumes the main available data from the perspective of literary genres is still a desideratum.

Our paper will therefore introduce the new collections studied in Berlin — i.e. the Bajaur and Split Collections — by contrasting their inventory of texts with the currently available corpus of Gāndhārī literature. Thus it will also provide a base for further research by organizing the rather disparate information about this corpus according to the available publications in a concise and systematic form. Due to the ongoing or sometimes even not yet initiated research on many of the texts cited in this survey the information must be regarded as preliminary, to be superseded by a future comprehensive history of Gāndhārī literature which remains to be written.

Before coming to this overview of literary genres it is, however, necessary to give a short introduction to the main physical features of the Bajaur and Split Collections and the history of their discovery and research.

2. Gāndhārī Studies in Berlin

2.1 The Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts

The Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts was discovered in 1999 in the ruins of a Buddhist monastery near the village of Mian Kili in the Dir district. The monastery itself is

situated on the opposite bank of the river Rud which marks the boundary of the modern districts Dir and Bajaur. Hence it was decided to name the collection “Bajaur Collection.” The monastery has not been excavated nor is it described in secondary literature. Its position can be best explained by the existence of a trade route connecting the Swat valley via two passes towards the Kunar valley and thence towards Nangahar or Citral.

In the year of their discovery the manuscripts were handed over to M. Nasim Khan, at that time Assistant Professor in (now Professor and Head of) the Department of Archaeology of the University of Peshawar.

In March–April 2004 the authors of this article spent a couple of days at the Peshawar University for a series of lectures. During this period a large set of birch-bark fragments were shown to them by M. Nasim Khan who had secured them, unrolled them and put them into glass frames according to the method which had been described by Richard Salomon in his ground-breaking monograph on the British Library birch-bark scrolls (1999). Soon the idea came up to establish a special manuscript project under a more comprehensive umbrella named “Pak-German projects,” which were supposed to comprise also archaeological, ethnological and geographical components. As a first step towards cataloguing the manuscripts they were given preliminary signatures in April 2004 by Ingo Strauch, with a view to clarifying the number of manuscripts and scribes and the interrelationship of the fragments. After a preparatory phase of 18 months, the Bajaur Collection Project — financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) — started its work in October 2005 at the Freie Universität Berlin with Harry Falk as its supervisor, Ingo Strauch as Scientific Collaborator and Andrea Schlosser as Student Collaborator. On the Pakistani side, M. Nasim Khan and Sohail Khan received equipment and financial support and represented the project in Peshawar.

During the initial phase from October 2005 to May 2007 high-resolution digital images of the frames were prepared by the Pakistani partners which still serve as the basis for our reconstruction and editing work.

On this basis a first preliminary catalogue with sample extracts and translations was completed and published online on the homepage of our project, which went public in August 2007. This online article was revisited and slightly reworked in May 2008 according to a series of valuable comments, particularly from the side of our colleagues from Seattle, with whom a rather close cooperation developed (Strauch 2007/8). The main results of this preliminary survey were published in Strauch 2008.

Due to several reasons the intended collaboration with the Pakistani side failed. Since 2007 the Bajaur Collection Project has therefore been acting independently from the Department of Archaeology of the Peshawar University.

The focus of the project’s present work is directed towards the final edition of four manuscripts from a Śrāvākayāna canonical or paracanonical background (BajC 1, 3, 5, 13) and towards the first exploration of the contents and characteristics of the collection’s most important text, the Mahāyāna sūtra BajC 2 (Strauch 2010).

The Bajaur Collection comprises altogether fragments from about 19¹ different birch-bark scrolls, containing around 22 different texts written by at least 18 different scribes. They are now preserved in 35 frames. Their extent is rather different — ranging from a small manuscript measuring only 6 cm in length (BajC 5) up to a large scroll over 2 m long (BajC 2).

¹ It cannot be ruled out that further research will reveal that some of the fragments and scribes treated here separately are in fact identical. The numbers are therefore provisional.

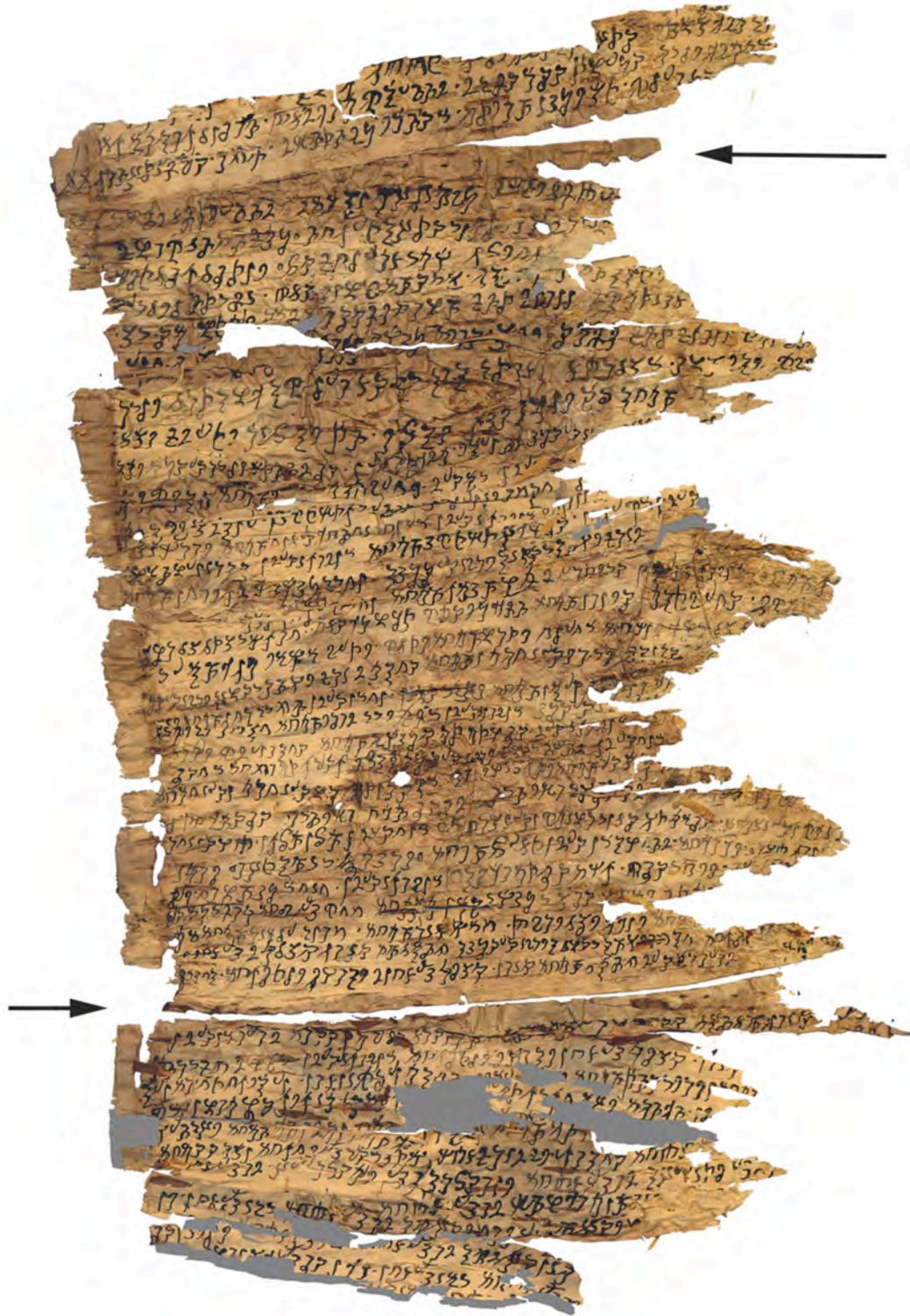


Figure 1: Part of the Bajaur birch-bark manuscript 2 containing an early Gāndhārī Mahāyāna sūtra with the junctures indicated, partially reconstructed. Courtesy: The Bajaur Collection Project, Freie Universität Berlin.

The formats represented in the Bajaur Collection correspond to the varieties known so far. Out of the 19 scrolls eleven belong to the so-called “long and narrow” type of scroll meas-

uring 11–18 cm in width. Their length can vary considerably. Up to 45 cm they are formed by a single sheet of birch bark. Scrolls exceeding this length are glued together forming thereby the so-called composite scrolls (see Figure 1 preceding page).

The remaining manuscripts belong to the “wide and short” format type, which is usually wider than 20 cm. Often they have been folded in the middle after having been rolled up, and consequently have been broken vertically. This damage has often resulted in the loss of considerable portions of one of the manuscript’s sides.

In most cases the scrolls are inscribed on both sides with a single text. There are, however, a few manuscripts where the reverse was originally left uninscribed. Some of these uninscribed reverses were later on used secondarily for other texts.

2.2 *The Split Collection*

In 2005 Harry Falk was shown a few rolls of birch bark by a collector in Pakistan. They had allegedly been inspected earlier by a manuscript dealer from Europe and pronounced fakes. Little was said about their provenance, with hints towards Mohmand or Bajaur. It soon turned out that the original find was much larger than the few rolls presented. Certainly, the writing visible on the rolls did not support the idea of a forgery. The proprietor consented to have the scrolls opened for a thorough inspection.

This revealed that the material contained parts of five different texts, consisting of four scrolls and one single flat sheet. The rolls were opened and the fragments put into double-sided glass frames. All the rolls are no wider than 14 cm. Rolls which were originally wider than this have lost the excess material. Their length ranges from 2 cm to 90 cm. None of them is joined to a second sheet.

The quality of the birch bark is not uniform. The single sheet is of the sort of well-aged and thick bark which is, comparatively, unusually well-preserved without flaws in its texture. The four scrolls, however, were made from rather young bark, which tends to delaminate.

The single sheet and all of the scrolls are inscribed at least partially on both sides.

All scrolls were inscribed in different hands. The handwriting is not uniform. Every hand has its own particularities in respect of forms of letters as well as modes of “orthography.”

Small fragments from two rolls were subjected to ¹⁴C tests. One result encompassed almost the whole range of the last two centuries BC, with a peak in ca. 84 BC (Two sigma range, cal., 184–46 BC with a probability of 95%).

The second test yielded 74 AD as the central date in a Two sigma range from 47 to 127 AD with a probability of 81%. While the first result does not concur with what we believe we know about the stages of Kharoṣṭhī and their chronology, the second is well in accord with present-day views on the development of this script.

3. *The Bajaur and Split Collections within the context of Gāndhārī literature*

3.1 *The corpus of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts*

The Bajaur and Split Collections continue a series of discoveries which were sparked off in 1994 by the large manuscript find which was later acquired by the British Library. It is now commonly known as the British Library Collection. The following years witnessed further discoveries, which can help us gain a comprehensive picture of the literature which was current in Gandhāra between the first century BC and the fourth century AD. By now the following manuscript collections and single manuscripts are available²:

² The following articles contain useful surveys of some of these collections: Glass 2004, Salomon

Name	Siglum	Manuscripts/ scribes	Date (c. AD)	Main source of information
Manuscript collections				
British Library Collection	BL	28/21	1	Salomon 1999
Senior Collection	RS	24/1	1–2	Salomon 2003, Allon 2007b
Bamiyan fragments of the Schøyen and other private collections	MS	> 50 / > 50	2–4	Allon and Salomon 2000, Allon <i>et al.</i> 2006
Central Asian fragments (Pelliot Collection, Oldenburg Collection)	PC, OC	5–8/5–8	2–4	Salomon 1998, Vorob'eva-Desiätovskaia 2006
Bajaur Collection	BajC	19/18	1–2	Strauch 2007/8, Strauch 2008
Split Collection	SplitC	5/5	-1–2	Falk 2011
Unpublished private collection	–	1+x/1+x	1–2	Allon and Salomon 2010: 11
Single Manuscripts				
Khotan <i>Dharmapada</i>	KhDhp	1/1	1–2	Brough 1962
Library of Congress Scroll	LC	1/2	1–2	Salomon and Baums 2007
University of Washington Scroll	UW	1/1	1–2	Glass 2004: 141f.

Beside these major collections and manuscripts there is small number of rather fragmentary remnants of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts (cf. Glass 2004: 142, Salomon 1999: 58–68). According to their provenance they can be divided into two groups.

The first of them comprises manuscripts from Central Asia, as e.g. a very small paper fragment discovered by Sven Hedin in Loulan which does not, however, allow for any meaningful reading (Conrady 1920: 113, 191, pl. 38, no. 36). The texts on two other paper fragments from the Otani Collection (Hasuike 2004: 95f., no. 6101) show a strong tendency towards Sanskritization and probably belong to the late phase of Kharoṣṭhī writing in the 3rd–4th c. AD.³

The second group is represented by Kharoṣṭhī fragments from Afghanistan like the fragment on palm-leaf discovered in 1834 by Charles Masson beside numerous other fragmentary pieces in one of the sites at Haḍḍa near Jalalabad (Wilson 1841: between pp. 53 and 54, pl. III, no. 11). The presence of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts in this region is also confirmed by the excavations of J. Barthoux in 1926–28 and Mustamandi in 1966–1973, which brought to light many small Kharoṣṭhī fragments which remained, however, unpublished (Salomon 1999: 63–65).

The other Afghanistan “center of Kharoṣṭhī writing” is Bamiyan, where the manuscripts of the Schøyen Collection are said to have their origin. From the same region are four small Kharoṣṭhī fragments on palm leaf discovered from Shahr-i Zuhak, twelve kilometres away from Bamiyan (Pauly 1967: pl. 4, nos. E–H). Another hitherto unpublished palm-leaf folio which was part of the collection of the Kabul Museum can probably be identified with the manuscript remains discovered by Joseph Hackin “in a cave thirty-five meters east of the great Buddha of Bamiyan” (Salomon 1999: 66). Thanks to a photograph made by Herbert Härtel in the 1970s (cf. Sander, *infra*) it is possible to determine the language of

2006b, Allon 2007b and 2008.

³ We will not consider here the few documents written in the later “Formal Kharoṣṭhī” from the Kuca and Turfan oases in Xinjiang which seems to have been in use till the 7th c. AD. For a preliminary survey of these documents see Sander 1999: 69–73. Two of them have been read and translated by LIN Meicun (2004).

3.2 The genres of Gāndhārī literature

The table below summarizes the evidence which will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent paragraphs. The figure in the respective field indicates the number of texts belonging to this genre.

Ms collection/single ms	BL	RS	MS	PC/ OC	BajC	SplitC	UC	KDhp	LC	UW	Total
Suggested date (c. AD)	1–2	1–2	2–4	2–4	1–2	-1–2	1–2	1–2	1–2	1–2	
Number of manuscripts	28	24	> 50	5–8	19	5	1+x	1	1	1	> 135
Śrāvakayāna Canonical Texts											
Vinaya											
Prātimokṣasūtra					2						2
Karmavācānā					2						2
Vinaya related narrative prose		*5									*5
Āgama sūtra/verse texts											
Dīrghāgama	1 ^{CM}	1	1								3
Madhyamāgama		4			1						5
Saṃyuktāgama		29									29
Ekottarikāgama	3										3
Kṣudrakāgama	3 ^{M+} 7 ^{CM}					2 ^M		1 ^M			13
Unidentified/unspecified	1	1 ^M									2
Abhidharma (see below)											
Paracanonical (Śrāvakayāna) texts											
Scholastic texts/commentaries											
Scholastic treatises	5				9						14
Commentaries	4									1	5
Unspecified texts			1	1							2
Rakṣā sūtras/Dhāraṇī					2						2
Avadāna/pūrvayoga (collections)	7			4		1					12
Buddha praises/stotra	1				2	1					4
Miscellaneous/undetermined texts											
Verse texts	1				2						3
Prose texts	6			1					1		8
Unspecified texts/fragments				3							3
Mahāyāna texts											
Sūtras			3		1	1	1				6
Scholastic texts					*3						*3
Non-Buddhist texts											
Nīti texts					1						1
Secular documents					1						1

Key to ms collections and single mss: **BL** = British Library; **RS** = Senior Collection; **MS** = Bamiyan fragments of the Schøyen and other collections; **PC/OC** = Central Asian fragments of the Pelliot and Oldenburg Collections; **BajC** = Bajaur Collection; **SplitC** = Split Collection; **UC** = Unpublished Collection; **KDhp** = Khotan *Dharmapada*; **LC** = Library of Congress; **UW** = University of Washington

Since some manuscripts contain more than one text — sometimes even texts belonging to different genres — the number of manuscripts is not identical with the number of texts. Many of these manuscripts are as yet unedited and unstudied — it is therefore not always possible to determine the exact number of texts contained in them with a sufficient degree of certainty. In these cases the figure refers to the number of manuscripts where the

respective textual genre is attested. The actual number of texts might consequently be somewhat higher.

Superscript “C” indicates that a certain text is attested as part of a commentary. Superscript “M” points to the metrical character of a text. Uncertain attributions are indicated by an asterisk *.

With regard to their inventories the collections show distinctive differences. The Senior Collection contains only sūtras or closely related narrative texts from an assumed Vinaya background, written by a single scribe. It is therefore possible to designate this collection as an intentional compilation of canonical texts, probably intended from the outset for ritual burial inside a *stūpa*. On the other hand, the British Library, Bajaur and Split Collections — and most probably also the less well-preserved collections from Bamiyan and Central Asia — are rather heterogeneous compilations which comprise a multitude of Buddhist literary genres. The manuscripts’ varying states of preservation as well as their arbitrary inventory seem to indicate other purposes. Although it is possible that the manuscripts as we got them had been ritually buried after use,⁷ their primary purpose was certainly different and seems to point to an active use, either as part of a monastery library or in the personal possession of an individual monk.

The data presented in the table above will now be expounded in more detail by concisely introducing the hitherto known texts according to their genre affiliation. Special attention is given here to the Bajaur and Split Collections, which are being studied by the authors of this article. More information about the other manuscripts and manuscript collections can be found in the articles by Mark Allon, Collett Cox and Richard Salomon in the present volume.

Each introductory paragraph is followed by a synoptic list containing all hitherto known texts or manuscripts of the respective genre. As indicated above, texts which are preserved only within a commentary are marked by superscript “C”. They actually belong to the category of “Scholastic texts and commentaries,” but, of course, provide positive evidence for the circulation of the texts which they are commenting on. Sometimes, however, texts appear as well as parts of a commentary as they do as uncommented independent units. For distinguishing between these two varieties, these texts (e.g. the *Dharmapada* and the *Arthapada*) are cited twice: once as parts of a commentary and once as independent texts.

The titles of the sūtras are generally indicated in the form of their Pāli (P.) or Sanskrit (Skt.) parallels. If no parallels are available, a hypothetical Skt. title is given (*), followed by its presumable Gāndhārī equivalent, if the editors or researchers of the text decided to introduce such a designation. All titles are listed in the order of the Latin alphabet. The sign ■ preceding a bibliographical reference means that the work in question contains a complete edition of the manuscript or text.

3.2.1 Canonical Śrāvakayāna literature

The term “canonical” is used here without any implication for the assumed shape of the Gāndhārī Buddhist canon. This category indicates that direct parallels of the respective texts are parts of canonical collections of other Buddhist traditions. Consequently, the table above as well as this annotated survey are not meant to suggest that the texts included here once formed such a coherent body of texts, which could be identified as a canon or proto-canon. Moreover, it cannot be taken for granted that all the texts can be attributed to a single and clearly identifiable Buddhist school (cf. Strauch 2008: 114f.). Although there is a certain amount of evidence which points to the Dharmaguptakas as originators of these texts, we can hardly exclude the participation of other schools. As far as the epigraphical

⁷ See the discussion in Salomon 2009, Strauch 2008: 104f., and Strauch, forthcoming, a.

evidence indicates, apart from the Dharmaguptakas there was a strong presence of Sarvāstivādins in “Greater Gandhāra,” including the region of Haḍḍa from where at least the British Library Collection is said to have come.⁸

3.2.1.1 *Vinaya texts*

Until very recently it has repeatedly been suggested that the writing down of this textual genre started in a much later period of Buddhist history, i.e. from the 4th c. AD onwards. Neither the first known collections of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts nor the Kuṣāṇa period manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan contained any texts from a Vinaya. Although it cannot be excluded that some of the narrative texts from the Senior Collection are reflective of a Vinaya background (cf. Allon 2007a: 22), the first indisputable evidence for written texts from a Vinaya could be identified among the manuscripts of the Bajaur Collection, which contains two different versions of a part of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* and two *Karmavācanā* formulae. Both texts are not transmitted as parts of a Vibhaṅga or Skandhaka, but as independent texts. They are not only the oldest Vinaya manuscripts known so far — their importance for the textual history of this genre is augmented by the fact that they are even older than the earliest Chinese translations of Vinaya literature, which go back to the 4th c. AD.

3.2.1.1.1 *Prātimokṣasūtra*

The Bajaur fragment 13 contains two different versions of the beginning of the Naihsargika Pācittiya section of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. Both versions are written by the same scribe on the obverse and reverse of the scroll. According to a comparative analysis conducted on the basis of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* texts preserved in Indian languages and in Chinese and Tibetan translations the Gāndhārī versions are not identical with any of these parallels. Nonetheless it is possible to attribute them to two clearly distinct branches in the transmission of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. The version on the obverse relates to the Dharmaguptaka/Kāśyapīya *Prātimokṣasūtras*, while the text on the reverse seems to be more closely affiliated with the Sarvāstivādin/Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition (Strauch 2008: 116f.). The differences between both versions and their canonical parallels allow us to characterize the Gāndhārī tradition as a witness to a formative state in the textual genesis of the various nikāya versions of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* which had not yet reached their fully developed and later canonized shape.

The reason for this side-by-side existence of two different versions is hard to explain, but points to the fact that within a monastic community more than one version of this basic text could be known. They could influence each other and thus result in the emergence of new and contaminated textual forms.⁹

3.2.1.1.2 *Karmavācanā*

The second Vinaya text of the Bajaur Collection is represented by a very small manuscript containing the *Karmavācanā* formulae for the appointment of the “distributor of lodging-places” (*śayanāsanagrāhaka*) on the obverse and that for the ceremony of “taking up the retreat of the rainy season” (*varṣopagamana*) on the reverse. Again the comparison of both Gāndhārī versions with their parallels in *Karmavācanā* collections and *Vinayavibhaṅgas* of various schools cannot help to establish a definite school identity. Combining this evidence

⁸ For the Dharmaguptakas see the evidence discussed by Salomon 1999: 167–171 and Strauch 2007 with a more recent reference to this school. The Sarvāstivādins are e.g. mentioned on a pot from Haḍḍa (Fussman 1969). See also the survey of epigraphical sources given by Lamotte (1988: 523–529).

⁹ The evidence of this manuscript is now more extensively discussed in Strauch forthcoming, a.

with the observations made on the *Prātimokṣasūtra* we have to assume that the composition of the Gāndhārī Vinaya texts attested in the Bajaur Collection is prior to the emergence of standardized canonical texts which became exclusively authoritative within the boundaries of a certain school (Strauch 2008: 117f.)

Prātimokṣasūtra

- Naiḥsargika Pācittiya 1–9 (BajC 13 recto, Strauch 2008: 116f. and Strauch, forthcoming, a)
- Naiḥsargika Pācittiya 1–8 (BajC 13 verso, Strauch 2008: 116f. and Strauch, forthcoming, a)

Karmavācanā

- *śayanāsanagrāhaka* formula (BajC 5 recto, Strauch 2008: 117f.)
- *varṣopagamana* formula (BajC 5 verso, Strauch 2008: 117f.)

Vinaya-related prose texts

- conversion of Sujātā and her family (RS 15 + 18, Allon 2007a: 13)
- Moggalāna tells the Buddha about Devadatta’s wish to lead the Saṅgha, enumeration of five kinds of teachers (RS 16 + 23A.1, Allon 2007a: 16–17)
- Anuruddha’s wish for ordination (RS 16 + 23A.2, Allon 2007a: 17)
- story of Nāla (Skt. Nālada/Nālaka) and Erakapatta (Skt. Elāpattra) (RS 24.1, Allon 2007a:17)
- story of Tapussa (Skt. Tripuṣa/Tripusa) and Bhallika and the Buddha’s bowl (RS 24.2, Allon 2007a: 17–18)

3.2.1.2 Canonical Āgama Texts

3.2.1.2.1 Verse texts and the Kṣudrakāgama

Verse texts like the *Dharmapada* — now found in three different Gāndhārī versions — (KhDhp: Brough 1962, BL: Lenz 2003, SplitC: Falk 2011), the Rhinoceros sūtra (BL: Salomon 2000) or the *Anavataptagāthā* — preserved in two versions — (BL, RS: Salomon 2009) represent a popular genre of Buddhist literature which is part of at least three major collections of Gāndhārī manuscripts (BL, RS, SplitC). Its popularity is also confirmed by the fact that some of the texts are found in more than one version while others formed the basis of an extensive commentarial literature.

In particular the different versions of the *Dharmapada* show the rather flexible nature of Buddhist Gāndhārī literature, which is far from being a static textual tradition. While Lenz (2003: 13) was tempted to regard the few fragments of the *Dharmapada* from the BL collection as “most likely being a second version of essentially the same [i.e. Khotan DhP] text,” the much more extensive remains of the *Dharmapada* in the Split collection (SplitC 3, Falk 2011) rather point to the opposite, being comparable with the Khotan Dharmapada in sequence and content only in rare cases. This new manuscript offers ample scope for comparison with the version from Khotan. It contains 87 stanzas from at least seven vargas. The “orthography” differs considerably from the one used at Khotan and where both versions are extant, the diction is often slightly different. With regard to the sequence of chapters and stanzas, the version from Subashi and the *Udānavarga* are closer than any other parallel, without being identical. The inclusion of several stanzas known otherwise only from the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, the *Samyuttanikāya* and particularly the *Majjhimanikāya* shows how freely the compilers worked.

Verses from the *Dharmapada* are also among the “root verses” of Gāndhārī commentaries.¹⁰ Other commented verse texts include the *Arthapada/Arthavarga* (P. *Aṭṭhaka-*

¹⁰ A survey of commented verses found in the BL commentaries is provided by Baums (2009: 50).

vagga),¹¹ the *Pārāyaṇavarga*, the *Udāna* and the *Itivṛttaka* (P. *Itivuttaka*) which are commented on in several of the commentaries of the British Library Collection (see below, survey). That these texts were not only used for commentarial purposes is shown by the independent manuscripts of this genre. Beside the *Dharmapada* manuscripts discussed above we now have at our disposal another independent text of this class, namely a verse collection among the fragments of the Split Collection which corresponds to a part of the *Arthapada* (P. *Aṭṭhakavagga*) (SplitC 1). This text is available presently in just one strip of birch bark. A recent offer in the manuscript market seems to have contained more fragments of this manuscript, thus raising the hope that some parts of the “Split” Collection will be reunited sooner or later. The fragment measures 1.8 × 11 cm, being almost completely preserved in its width. Both sides show the full content or traces of four lines, containing the full or partial text corresponding to stanzas 841–844 and 966–968 of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* division of the Pāli *Suttanipāta*. The “orthography” used is different from other hands, some letters have variant forms as if some older versions contributed to this mixture of shapes. This fragment appears to be the oldest in the collection. A ¹⁴C date is so far not yet available. The readings are given in Falk 2011.

The Āgama affiliation of some of these verse texts is a matter of continuous discussion. The majority of them, however, were subsumed under the category of the so-called “Minor Texts.” The status of this category within the canons of the different schools is not quite clear. Whereas in some traditions it is perceived as part of the Sūtraṭṭaka — called either *nikāya/āgama* or *piṭaka*¹² — other traditions classify it as a separate *piṭaka* beside the Sūtra- and Vinayaṭṭaka.¹³ Since the number and length of the texts which are found in the various lists of “Minor Texts” vary markedly, it can be suggested that many of the schools never completed an authoritative collection of this category (Lamotte 1988: 162f.). For the Dharmaguptakas, however — the most probable candidates for our canonical Gāndhārī literature — we surely know from their Vinaya (T. 1428, ch. 54, p. 968b) that they possessed a special collection of “Minor Texts,” called Kṣudrakapiṭaka and forming part of the Sūtraṭṭaka, which included *inter alia* the *Dharmapada*, the *Arthapada* and the *Pārāyaṇa*, “which do seem, in fact, to have formed the original core of the minor texts” (Lamotte 1988: 160f.).

The more complicated issue of the *Anavatapta-gāthā*, which is not listed in any of the known canonical Āgama or Nikāya collections, was extensively discussed by Richard Salomon, who concludes that “we find a preponderance of evidence, though no single conclusive proof, that in the Gandhāran tradition of the early centuries of the Christian era the A[navatapta]-G[āthā] was construed as a canonical sūtra in the Kṣudrakāgama class (2008: 18).”

Thus the presence of independent verse texts like the *Dharmapada*, the Rhinoceros sūtra and the *Arthapada* as well as the extensive commentaries on verses from this text type indicate the existence of a *Kṣudrakāgama*/Kṣudrakapiṭaka-like compilation in Buddhist Gandhāran literature (Salomon 1999: 159–161).

3.2.1.2.2 Āgama sūtras

By far the largest amount of canonical sūtras in Gāndhārī literature is found in the Senior Collection. All its manuscripts were written by a single scribe, probably according to a

¹¹ The authentic Gāndhārī term which is apparently also used by the Dharmaguptakas can now be established as *Arthapada*. Cf. the extensive discussion in Baums (2009: 38–44).

¹² According to Lamotte (1988: 151), the Mahāsāṃghikas, Haimavatas, Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas used the designation Kṣudrakapiṭaka, but included this collection in their Sūtraṭṭaka.

¹³ Such a division with a Sūtraṭṭaka consisting of four Āgamas and an additional Kṣudrakapiṭaka which is not part of the Sūtraṭṭaka is attested in various early traditions including that of the Sarvāstivādins which “never had more than four Āgamas” (Lamotte 1988: 151).

previously fixed plan (Allon 2007a: 3–25). Of the 41 surviving texts, 33 belong to the class of Āgama sūtras: 29 of them can be ascribed to the *Samyuktāgama*, four to the *Madhyamāgama* and only one to the *Dīrghāgama*. The character of the remaining eight texts is difficult to establish. Six of them are narrative texts with parallels in Vinaya literature, in one case in both Vinaya and Sūtra literature.¹⁴

Especially the arrangement of the sūtras which can be attributed to a *Samyuktāgama* indicates the existence of a text compilation which is partially parallel to the Pāli *Samyuttanikāya* and the Chinese *Samyuktāgama* (T 99) without being identical with any of them (Glass 2007: 26–50).

This collection of canonical sūtras in the Senior Collection is supplemented by some isolated examples in other collections. Thus the British Library Collection contains three sūtras from an *Ekottarikāgama* (Allon 2001) and a further non-identified sūtra text (BL 26+29, Salomon 1999: 24).

A piece of indirect evidence for a *Dīrghāgama* text is provided by a British Library commentary on the *Saṅgītisūtra*. Its attribution to a *Dīrghāgama* is indicated not only by the Pāli canon, but also by the Chinese (Dharmaguptaka) *Dīrghāgama* (T 1), the Sarvāstivāda (Oberlies 2003, n. 83 with references) and the newly discovered Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama* from Gilgit (Oberlies 2003: 66, Hartmann 2004). A further *Dīrghāgama* text is represented by the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* of the Schøyen Collection (Allon and Salomon 2000).

The evidence for *Madhyamāgama* texts is supplemented by fragment 1 of the Bajaur Collection. It contains the Gāndhārī version of a sūtra which is parallel to the Pāli *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅgasutta* given as No. 142 of its *Majjhimanikāya* (MN III 253–257). The Chinese translation of the *Madhyamāgama* (T 26) by Gautama Saṅghadeva (translated 397–398) lists this sūtra as No. 180 (p. 721c21) under the name *Qutanmi jing* 瞿曇彌經 = Skt. *Gautamīsūtra*. The comparison of this Gāndhārī version with its parallels, including two small fragments of Sanskrit versions in the Turfan and Schøyen Collections and Śamathadeva's quotations from a probably Mūlasarvāstivādin *Madhyamāgama*, cannot help to settle the question of the school affiliation of this text. Since no Dharmaguptaka *Madhyamāgama* is known, it is, however, possible that the Gāndhārī text represents an extract from a *Madhyamāgama* of this school (Strauch 2008: 118–119; see now also Strauch forthcoming, b).

Dīrghāgama

- Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (MS 2179, ■ Allon and Salomon 2000)
- P. *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* (RS 2, Allon 2007a: 8)
- Skt. *Saṅgīti-sūtra*^c (BL 15, Salomon 1999: 24, 138, 171–173)

Madhyamāgama

- P. *Cūḷagosiṅga-sutta* (RS 12, Allon 2007a: 11)
- P. *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* (BajC 1, Strauch 2008: 118f. and Strauch, forthcoming, b)
- P. *Dhammacetiya-sutta* (RS 1 +3, Allon 2007a: 7)
- P. *Saṅkhārupapatti-sutta* (RS 10, Allon 2007a: 11)
- Ch. *Shìzhě jīng* 侍者經, “Sūtra on an attendant,” T 1 no. 26 pp. 471c–475a (RS 4A, see Allon *supra*)

¹⁴ In the present survey we will not include the evidence of the so-called “index-scroll” of the collection (RS 7 + 8), which enumerates the titles of several sūtras, but does not completely correspond to the contents of the collection. It is extensively discussed in Allon (2007a: 18–21) and in his contribution to this volume.

Samyuktāgama

- P. *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta* (RS 22.2, Allon 2007a: 15)
- P. *Dārukkhandha-sutta* (RS 19, Lee 2009)
- P. *Dhanuggaha-sutta* (?) (RS 22.1, Allon 2007a: 15)
- P. *Dutiyaçchiggaḷayuga-sutta* (RS 22.3, Allon 2007a: 15–16)
- P. *Gaddula-sutta* (see *Nadīsutta*)
- P. *Kulaputtenadukkhā-sutta* alias *Nibbidābahula-sutta* (= G. *Ṣadha-sutra*, Skt. *Śraddhā-sūtra*, RS 5.3, ■ Glass 2007)
- P. *Mahāpariḷāha-sutta* (RS 20.2, Allon 2007a: 14)
- P. *Nadī-sutta cum Gaddula-sutta* (RS 17.1, Allon 2007a: 13)
- P. *Natumhāka-sutta* (G. *Ṣatuṣpahu-sutra*, RS 5.2, ■ Glass 2007)
- P. *Nibbidābahula-sutta* (see P. *Kulaputtenadukkhā-sutta*)
- P. *Puppha-sutta* (RS 22.6, Allon 2007a: 16)
- Skt. **Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta*, probably a sūtra thereof about the causes of happiness and suffering (RS 20.1, Allon 2007a: 14)
- G. *Ṣadha-sutra* (see *Kulaputtenadukkhā-sutta*)
- Skt. **Samjñā-sūtra* (G. *Ṣaṇḍa-sutra*, RS 5, ■ Glass 2007), perhaps from a *Samyuktāgama* like the other texts of this scroll
- P. *Tissa-sutta* (RS 17.2, Allon 2007a: 13)
- P. *Uppāda-sutta* (RS 22.4, Allon 2007a: 16)
- P. *Vana-samyutta* (14 suttas thereof, 9.1–14) (RS 11, Allon 2007a: 11)
- P. *Vāsiḷaṭṭa-sutta* (G. **Vasiḷaḍa-sutra*, RS 5.4, ■ Glass 2007)
- P. *Veḷudvāreyya-sutta* (RS 13, Allon 2007a: 12)

Ekottarikāgama

- G. **Buddhabayaṇa-sutra* (Skt. *Buddhavacana*°, BL 12 + 14, ■ Allon 2001)
- P. *Dona-sutta* (G. *Dhoṇasutra*, BL 12 + 14, ■ Allon 2001)
- P. *Samvara-sutta* (G. *Prasaṇasutra*, Skt. *Pradhāna*°, BL 12 + 14, ■ Allon 2001)

Kṣudrakāgama / Kṣudrakapiṭaka

- Skt. *Anavataptagāthā* (BL 1/1, RS 14, ■ Salomon 2008)
- Skt. *Arthapada* (P. *Aṭṭhakavagga*, SplitC 13, Falk 2011)
- Skt. *Arthapada*^c (P. *Aṭṭhavagga*): BL verse commentary 2 (BL 7, 9, 18, 13 → line 90, ■ Baums 2009)
- Skt. *Dharmapada* (Khotan: Brough 1962, BL 16 + 25/1, ■ Lenz 2003: 11–76, SplitC 31, Falk 2011)
- Skt. *Dharmapada*^c: BL verse commentary 1 (BL 4/1, Salomon 1999: 27), BL verse commentary 2 (BL 7, 9, 18, 13 → line 90, ■ Baums 2009), BL verse commentary 3 (BL 13, line 91 →, ■ Baums 2009: 606–608)
- P. *Itivuttaka*^c: BL verse commentary 2 (BL 7, 9, 18, 13 → line 90, ■ Baums 2009)
- P. *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta* (G. **Khargaviṣaṇa-sutra*, BL 5B, ■ Salomon 2000)
- P. *Pārāyaṇa*^c: BL verse commentary 2 (BL 7, 9, 18, 13 → line 90,) ■ Baums 2009)
- P. *Udāna*^c: BL verse commentary 1 (BL 4/1, Salomon 1999: 27), BL verse commentary 2 (BL 7, 9, 18, 13 → line 90, ■ Baums 2009)

Unidentified Āgama type texts

- “Sūtra text concerning the four stages of meditative trance” (BL 26 + 29: Salomon 1999: 24)

- verses (mixed with prose?) resembling *Jātaka* no. 480 (IV 240.1–2) (RS 22.5, Allon 2007a: 16)

Both the Āgama sūtra and verse texts and the Vinaya texts represent literary genres which were created and developed outside Gandhāra — east and south of it. They are supplemented by a large number of texts which seem to have been created in Gandhāra itself.

3.2.1.3 *Abhidharma literature*

One of these autochthonous literary genres is the scholastic and commentarial literature (see the contribution by Cox in this volume) which is represented by a large number of texts in the British Library and the Bajaur Collections. The canonical status of the scholastic and commentarial literature of this period is disputed. Due to the fact that the Abhidharmapiṭakas of the various schools are rather diverse and contain heterogeneous material — including commentarial texts like the *Saṅgītiparyāya* or the *Dharmaskandha* of the Sarvāstivādins — it cannot be excluded that texts of this type are indeed part of a (proto-)Abhidharmapiṭaka.¹⁵ On the other hand, the inclusion of these texts in the various Buddhist canons took place during a rather late phase in the history of Buddhist literature. There is strong evidence that the process of the formation of canonical Abhidharmapiṭakas was not yet completed at the time of our manuscripts.¹⁶

That this literary genre represents a quite recent development is also supported by the fact that the specimens of both collections display a distinctively different character. This clearly speaks in favour of considering them as products of local scholastic traditions which had not yet been subject to a process of harmonizing and standardization.

Due to this somehow transitional character which places these texts in between canonical and paracanonical literature we will subsume them under the category of “Paracanonical texts,” while bearing in mind the fact that some of them might have formed part of an early, possibly proto-canonical Abhidharmapiṭaka-type collection.

3.2.2 *Paracanonical texts*

3.2.2.1 *Scholastic texts and commentaries (Abhidharma)*

In the BL Collection this category comprises a significant part of the classified texts. In general terms it can be divided into two major groups: independent scholastic treatises of various characters and commentarial texts. The actual state of research and the main features of the BL texts are covered by Collett Cox (*supra*).

These BL specimens of scholastic texts and commentaries are supplemented by altogether nine manuscripts from the Bajaur Collection which display, however, a distinctly different character, being mostly independent scholastic treatises rather than commentarial texts. Most of them are very fragmentary and short and hardly allow any far-reaching conclusions about their contents.

One of these manuscripts, however, is very well preserved (BajC 9 verso). It is composed in the style of a polemical scholastic treatise citing different authorities, who are introduced by phrases like *keci(d) aho* / *keyi aho* (Skt. *kecid āhuḥ*) “some say” or *apare aho* (Skt. *apara āhuḥ*) “others say” (Strauch 2008: 119).

The remaining scholastic texts of the Bajaur Collection are in a much worse state of preservation. According to some shared phrases and terminological expressions six of them

¹⁵ Cf. the detailed discussion of the *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary in the contribution by Cox, pp. 36–39.

¹⁶ A similar conclusion is also possible with regard to the Kuṣāṇa period Abhidharma-type texts from Turfan which can hardly be attributed to any of the Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivādins known from later manuscripts or translations (Dietz 2007: 67, referring to Sander 1991: 133–134).

can be attributed to two different text groups. Group A consists of three fragments (BajC 4, 6, 11), of which two (BajC 4, 11) are possibly part of the same scroll. The text is mainly concerned with the discussion of different kinds of happiness (Gāndhārī *suha*, Skt. *sukha*). Expressions like *bodhimāṇḍa*, *gagaṇadivaliṣama(o)ḡadhadu* = Skt. *gaṅgānadīvālukasama-lokadhātu* and references to *prañāparamida* (4,2,v) (Skt. *prañāpāramitā*) and the six *pāramitās* (*edeṣa ṣahi paramidehi*) (11,2,r) might indicate the Mahāyāna character of this text group (Strauch 2008: 119).

The second group B (BajC 14, 16, 18) is even less well-preserved. Here only single phrases like *yadi jive bhavedi* “if he is meditating upon life” and *yadi dhama bhavedi* “if he is meditating upon the *dharmā*” and few terminological parallels indicate their association with the same text or text tradition.

Due to their briefness and bad state of preservation it is at present difficult to give any reliable information about the contents of Bajaur fragments 12 and 19, which seem, however, to belong to the same genre of scholastic treatises.

Commentaries

- verse commentary 1 (BL 4/1, Salomon 1999: 27)
- verse commentary 2 (BL 7, 9, 18, 13 → line 90, ■ Baums 2009)
- verse commentary 3 (BL 13, line 91→, ■ Baums 2009: 606–608)
- *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary (BL 15, Salomon 1999: 24)
- “commentary on a text similar to the *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* (MN III 237–47)” (UW, Glass 2004: 141f.)

Independent scholastic treatises

- Scholastic treatise (BL 10, Salomon 1999: 47)
- Scholastic treatise (BL 17, Salomon 1999: 49f.)
- Scholastic treatise (BL 20+23, Salomon 1999: 50f.)
- Scholastic treatise (BL 28, Salomon 1999: 30)
- Bajaur scholastic text 1 (BajC 9 verso, Strauch 2008: 119)
- Bajaur scholastic text 2 (BajC 12, Strauch 2008: 119)
- Bajaur scholastic text 3 (BajC 19, Strauch 2008: 119)
- Bajaur scholastic texts group A (BajC 4, 6, 11, Strauch 2008: 119)
- Bajaur scholastic texts group B (BajC 14, 16, 18, Strauch 2008: 119)

Unspecified scholastic texts

- text “from some more technical genre, whether Sūtra, Abhidharma, or commentary” (PC 8, ■ Salomon 1998: 147–150)
- “commentary on a sūtra or an abhidharma text that utilizes canonical quotes” (MS 2179/42 = MS 42, Allon *et al.* 2006: 288)

3.2.2.2 Avadāna/Pūrvayoga texts

Avadānas and Pūrvayogas seem to form another class of popular contemporary texts composed in Gāndhārī — in opposition to the canonical texts which must have been translated from a Middle Indian original. They are represented as well in the British Library as they are in the Split Collection, but are surprisingly absent from the otherwise rather comprehensive Bajaur Collection. In many cases the stories reported in these short texts are based on local traditions — containing local toponyms and personal names — with occasional parallels to Avadāna traditions from other parts of India. Timothy Lenz,

who recently published the second volume of his editions of the British Library Collection Avadāna texts, provides an excellent survey of Gāndhārī Avadāna literature which can be referred to here (2010: 3–17, especially tables 1+2, pp. 8–12). In describing the general features of this genre Lenz says:

The Gāndhārī avadānas contain only a single story, either one concerning past actions (self-styled as *pūrvayogas*) or one about present actions (self-styled as *avadānas*). On the other hand, the avadāna texts are summaries, each giving the outline of a story that its author or compiler assumed would be recognized by the reader and would be expanded quite easily into a narrative by that same person (Lenz 2010: 6).

Lenz plausibly argues for the existence of a group of specialists — “avadānists” — who were responsible for the composition of these texts which differ considerably from what we know from later Avadāna traditions.

A Gandhāran avadānist’s palette was varied, including not only avadānas concerned with karmic inevitability (...) and giving (...), as one would expect, but also with impermanence (...), the Buddha’s power beyond nirvāṇa (...), women in dharma (...), and the history of the First Council (...) that were presented in various forms, including but not limited to a standard avadāna format comprising a tale of the present, a tale of the past, and a conclusion identifying story characters (Lenz 2010: 14).

The evidence evaluated by Lenz — based on the texts of a single scribe (2010: 6) — can now be supplemented by an Avadāna compilation from the Split Collection which can therefore help to provide a more representative picture of this particular literary genre of Gandhāran literature.

The text (SplitC 4) consists of about 300 fragments, few of them larger than 6 cm, most of them much smaller. The genre is clearly discernible through phrases like “NN *avadano japati*.” In short sentences several stories are outlined, covering just a few lines, ending in a glyph resembling a wheel. The writing is remarkably archaic, with preconsonantal *r* represented by a hook, not a backward loop. Despite this archaism it is difficult to fully accept the outcome of a ¹⁴C check, which yielded a possible range from 184 to 46 BC, with a peak of about 70 BC.

With regard to the contents, it is interesting to read about Buddhist schools; the Dharmaguptakas and the Mahāsāṃghikas are no surprise in Gandhāra, but the Seriyaputras are, as are the Ājīvikas, who exercise a strong and negative influence in one story on one king. The topic of another story is the well-known thief Aṅgulimāla.

The phrases *avadano evo śuyadi* or *evo pariśravo* found in other Avadāna or Pūrvayoga texts (Lenz 2003: 83) are completely absent, pointing to a different branch of story developers, if there is not simply a break in time, with the BL pieces mentioning kings and dynasties active in the middle of the first century AD, and our collection being possibly somewhat older.

It is possible that three of the presumably narrative texts on some of the badly preserved fragments of the Pelliot Collection also belong to this genre (Salomon 1998, fragments PC 1, 2, 3+6).

The majority of the Buddhist “Mainstream” traditions include Avadānas in the list of *aṅgas*, or “constituents of the Buddha’s words,” and thus accord canonical status to them (Lamotte 1988: 143–147). Due to their explicit local character and the absence of direct parallels in other canonical traditions we nevertheless decided to group the preserved Gāndhārī examples under the category of paracanonical texts, again being aware — as in the case of the Abhidharma texts — that they might have enjoyed canonical status in a given community.

- Avadāna collection (BL 1/2, ■ Lenz 2010)
- Avadāna collection (BL 2, ■ Lenz 2010)
- Avadāna collection (BL 3A/2, ■ Lenz 2010)
- Avadāna collection (BL 4/2, Salomon 1999: 35f.)
- Avadāna collection (BL 12+14/2, Salomon 1999: 36f.)
- Pūrvayoga collection (BL 16+25/2, ■ Lenz 2003)
- Avadāna collection (BL 21/2, ■ Lenz 2010)
- Avadāna collection (SplitC 4, Falk 2011)
- 3 unspecified texts of Avadāna/Jātaka character (PC 1, 2, 3+6, ■ Salomon 1998: 124–145).

3.2.2.3 *Rakṣāsūtras / Dhāraṇī*

This literary genre, which gained quite a prominent status in the first centuries of our era, is represented by only two manuscripts from the Bajaur Collection. One of them (BajC 1v) is poorly preserved. It is written in large and carelessly outlined letters on the back side of fragment 1 which contains the Gāndhārī version of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* on its obverse (see above). Only some characteristic words and phrases — like *migili* ° *pitili* — and references to *yakṣas* and *nāgas* allow this preliminary attribution.

More telling and much better preserved is the text of Bajaur fragment 3. It is composed in the conventional sūtra style and refers to the *nāgarāja* Manasvin, who is exclusively known from northern Buddhist sources. The mantra which this *nāga* king presents to the Buddha is called *maṇasvi-nagaraya-vija* (Skt. *manasvi-nāgarāja-vidyā*) and contains names of poisons. Nearly all of them are also part of a comprehensive list preserved in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (ed. Takubo 1972: 55, cf. ed. Oldenburg 1899: 257–258). Another close parallel to the mantra is provided by the short Tibetan text *'Phags pa klu'i rgyal po gzi can gyis žus pa žes bya ba'i gzuṅs* whose original Skt. title has to be restored as *Ārya-Manasvināgarāja-paripṛcchā-nāma-dhāraṇī*.¹⁷ According to its literary style and structure the Gāndhārī text displays significant parallels with other post-canonical works of this genre, like the Pañcarakṣā texts *Mahāmāyūrī* and *Mahāsāhasrapramardinī* or the appendix (*vyākaraṇa*) of the Central Asian versions of the *Nagaropamasūtra* (cf. ed. Bongard-Levin *et al.* 1996: 30–37). Summing up this evidence, the Gāndhārī **Manasvināgarāja-sūtra* can therefore be related to the post-canonical Pañcarakṣā collections, which according to Peter Skilling's classification form one of the four major groups of *rakṣā* literature (1992: 113). At the same time it is the oldest manuscript of any *rakṣā* text.

- Skt. **Manasvināgarāja-sūtra* (G. **Maṇasviṅagaraya-sutra*, BajC 3, Strauch 2008: 120f.; Strauch, forthcoming, c)
- unspecified *dhāraṇī*-like text (BajC 1verso, Strauch 2008: 120)

3.2.2.4 *Buddha praises*

One of the British Library fragments (BL 5C) contains verses praising the Buddha which resemble the *stotras* known from the Niya documents 510 and 511 (Boyer *et al.*, 2: 184–187). It is composed in various “poetic meters such as Vasantatilakā, describing him [the Buddha] with such epithets as *gunehi guna-parami-prataṃ*, ‘who has attained through his virtues the perfection of virtue’; *soma-sadiśa-[va]dana*, ‘whose face is like the moon’, and *sarvasatvutamam*, ‘supreme among all beings’” (Salomon 1999: 39).

Other representatives of this genre are part of the Bajaur Collection: fragment 8 contains four structurally parallel verses composed in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

¹⁷ For further details and references cf. Strauch 2008: 120f.

Bajaur fragment 10 is a non-metrical text about the “praiseworthy things” (Gāndhārī *praśaśaḥhana*, Skt. *prāśamsyasthāna*, P. *pāśamsaḥhāna*) of a Buddha (Strauch 2008: 121). The Buddha is praised here by conventional attributes like *nilīnakileśa* (Skt. *nilīnakleśa*) “whose passions are destroyed,” *viśudhiprato* (Skt. *viśuddhiprāpta*) “who has attained purity,” or *svadīaśivadeasabuda* (Skt. *smṛtyādhipateyasamvṛta*) “controlled through the power of mindfulness.”

The Split Collection preserves one more text of this genre (SplitC 2). It is still 16 cm wide, having lost about 5 cm on the right side where most stanzas started. It seems that the text deals with particular prominent events in the life of the Buddha. Conspicuous is the metre, being predominantly Vegavatī, a subvariety of the Vaitāliya well-known from Pāli texts, but found here for the first time in Gandhāra.

- *stotra* in different metres (BL 5C, Salomon 1999: 39, 46)
- *stotra* of four verses in Śārdūlavikrīḍita (BajC 8, Strauch 2008: 121)
- non-metrical text praising the Buddha (BajC 10, Strauch 2008: 121)
- praise of the Buddha in Vegavatī verses (SplitC 2, Falk 2011)

3.2.2.5 Miscellaneous/not determined texts

There is a small number of texts which cannot be safely put in any of the abovementioned categories. British Library fragments BL 8, 11, 21/1, 22, 24, 27¹⁸ as well as some of the very tiny Pelliot fragments resist identification or at least characterization, mainly due to their bad state of preservation or insufficient extent.

Other texts can be characterized but do not match any of the known or accepted literary categories. Four of them are paracanonical verse texts of different types. The short metrical text on BL 5A consists of “possibly didactic verses” (Salomon 1999: 45, ed. Salomon 2000: 218–222). Unclear is the character of the very poorly preserved verses of Bajaur fragment 17. This heavily damaged manuscript, which consists of only a few partially preserved lines of text, does not allow any reliable conclusions.

A much better preserved and particularly interesting and important text of this class is represented by Bajaur fragment 5, which contains a collection of Buddhist verses arranged according to the Arapacana alphabet. The right side of this scroll is almost completely preserved and thus allows for the first time the reconstruction of the entire inventory of the alphabet from its 2nd letter *ra* up to its last letter *ḍha* on the basis of a contemporary Kharoṣṭhī manuscript.¹⁹

Other texts of this category are composed in prose. The Library of Congress Scroll “appears to consist of formulaic accounts of the lives of fifteen Buddhas, from Dīpaṅkara to Maitreya, enumerating for each Buddha the *kalpa* in which he lived, his life-span, his class (*brāhmaṇa* or *kṣatriya*) the size of his assembly (*saṃnipāta*), the duration of his *dharma*, etc.” (Salomon and Baums 2007: 202). According to Salomon and Baums, the text is particularly closely related to some portions of the *Bahubuddha-sūtra*, which is part of the *Mahāvastu* (2007: 202).

A further hitherto unidentified prose text is found on a single palm-leaf fragment collected by Sergey Oldenburg on his 1909–10 expedition to Eastern Turkestan and kept today in the collection of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences under the siglum SI O/10. Although it has been identified by Vorob’eva-Desiatovskaia (2006: 148) as part of the

¹⁸ Of these manuscript fragments 11, 21 and 24 are possibly written by the same hand and contain the same text which is cautiously characterized by Salomon as “possibly a verse text” (1999: 47). Similarly, fragments 22 and 27 are perhaps part of the same scroll (Salomon 1999: 51f.). Its contents as well as that of fragment 8 are, however, undetermined.

¹⁹ For further details and other sources for the sequence and contents of the Arapacana alphabet see Strauch 2008: 121–123 and particularly Strauch 2011.

Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, from the very same version as the text from the Schøyen Collection (Allon and Salomon 2000), there is no incontrovertible evidence to support this identification.²⁰ We would therefore suggest that this text be tentatively considered as another, as yet unidentified paracanonical Buddhist text.

Verse texts

- verse text arranged according to the Arapacana alphabet (Strauch 2008: 121–123, Strauch 2011)
- unidentified probably metrical text (BL 5A, ■ Salomon 2000: 218–222)
- unidentified possibly metrical text (BajC 17)

Prose texts

- unidentified text related to the *Bahubuddha-sūtra* of the *Mahāvastu* (LC, cf. Salomon and Baums 2007: 202)
- unidentified text (Oldenburg Collection fragment, ■ Vorob’eva-Desiatovskaia 2006)

Unspecified fragments

- undetermined texts (BL 8, 11, 21/1, 22, 24, 27, Salomon 1999: 39, 46–52)
- remnants of small portions of text or letters (PC 4, 5, 7, Salomon 1998: 145f.)

3.2.3 Mahāyāna literature

Only recently could a growing number of Mahāyāna texts be identified among the Gāndhārī manuscripts. Three of them belong to the Bamiyan fragments and can consequently be ascribed to a slightly later period than the birch-bark manuscripts contained in the British Library, Senior, Bajaur and Split Collections. Radiocarbon dating as well as the rather advanced stage of the Sanskritization of language and script suggest a date in the 3rd, perhaps even early 4th c. AD (Allon *et al.* 2006: 289f.). The Mahāyāna texts identified so far among the Bamiyan fragments can be attributed to Gāndhārī versions of the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*, the *Sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhi-sūtra* and the *Bodhisattvapīṭaka-sūtra* (Allon and Salomon 2010: 6–9).

While these manuscripts indicate the presence of Mahāyāna literature in the later phase of Gāndhārī, there is now clear evidence for the earlier period as well. Two of these “old” Mahāyāna texts are parts of the collections studied in Berlin.

The text easiest to evaluate calls itself *Prajñāpāramitā* in the colophon and has proved to be a version on which the classical *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (ASPP) is based. The manuscript is part of the Split Collection (SplitC 5, Falk 2011). It is preserved to a length of about 90 cm, both sides have suffered from wear to an equal extent (Figure 3).



Figure 3: Fragment from the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of the Split Collection (Photograph: Harry Falk)

²⁰ We would like to thank Klaus Wille, who took the trouble to search his database of Buddhist texts for possible parallels of this text and the unidentified new Kharoṣṭhī fragment from Peshawar presented above (p. 56).

The obverse contains the beginning and large parts of what is the first chapter of the ASPP, while the verso contains the parallels to the fifth chapter of the ASPP. The script is large and simple; the scribe mostly abstained from using footmarks. A ¹⁴C test led to a central date around 74 AD, which is quite in line with the palaeography. This date antedates the first Chinese translation by Lokakṣema by about a century. A first comparison with Lokakṣema's text was presented at the Atlanta IABS conference in 2008. It was easy to demonstrate that the translator was working on a text which was slightly enlarged in comparison to the Gāndhārī text, but not yet as elaborate as the following Chinese translation of Kumārajīva or the classical Sanskrit version. This assessment derived from selected evidence was fully confirmed when in early 2010 the reassembly of the fragments was completed and a comparison of the fully transcribed text with Lokakṣema's Chinese version was made possible by a collaboration with S. Karashima at the IRIAB in Hachioji. The text of *parivartas* 1 and 5 has been published by Falk and Karashima (2012 and 2013) in a synoptical arrangement together with the Sanskrit version and an English rendering of Lokakṣema's Chinese translation.

The second early Mahāyāna text is part of the Bajaur Collection. It is the most extensive of these newly discovered texts and comprises about 600 lines written on the obverse and reverse of a large composite scroll more than 2 metres in length (see above fig. 1). Despite the joint efforts of several colleagues — including Paul Harrison, Matsuda Kazunobu, and Jan Nattier — it has not been possible to identify a parallel to this text among the extant Mahāyāna literature in Sanskrit or in translation. It is therefore highly probable that this Gāndhārī text represents a hitherto unknown sūtra which was not translated into Sanskrit, Chinese or Tibetan — or at least not further transmitted in manuscript or canonical traditions.

The preliminary research done so far — including a complete transliteration and a partial digital reconstruction of the manuscript and the reconstruction of the main structure and contents of the text — showed that the central part of the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra is arranged according to the basic elements of a bodhisattva career including the “initial thought of awakening” (*bodhicittotpāda*), the “endurance towards the (non-originating) factors of existence” (*dharmakṣānti*), the “stage of non-retrogression” (*avaivartya*) and the prophecy of future buddhahood (*vyākaraṇa*). Especially this last feature is closely related to the Buddha Akṣobhya and his buddhaland Abhirati, which is conceived in this text as the paradigmatic *buddhakṣetra*. It serves not only as the model for the future buddhaland of the relevant bodhisattva, but is also the realm in which the adept is promised rebirth on his long way to buddhahood. This function of Abhirati recalls the position of Sukhāvātī in later Mahāyāna as described by Schopen in his important article on Sukhāvātī as a generalized religious goal (1977). Moreover, the prominent role of both Akṣobhya and Abhirati and the simultaneous silence about Amitābha and Sukhāvātī as found in the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra support Jan Nattier's assumption that the cult of Akṣobhya and his buddhaland represents a transitional stage in the development of Pure Land Buddhism and precedes the later prevailing Amitābha-Sukhāvātī cult (Nattier 2000, 2003). The Bajaur text would consequently illuminate a phase in the development of Mahāyāna literature which is only weakly represented in the preserved texts. Whether this phase is identical with what Paul Harrison would call “Early Mahāyāna” or already belongs to the “Early Middle Mahāyāna” cannot be decided here, but the importance of this newly discovered text for the history of early Mahāyāna can hardly be overestimated.²¹

The most recent discovery in the sphere of Gāndhārī Mahāyāna texts seems to represent a comparable case of a work which did not gain any particular prominence in the subse-

²¹ A preliminary study of some of the features of this sūtra and its relation to Abhirati descriptions in other Mahāyāna texts is now available in Strauch 2010.

quent development of Mahāyāna. According to Mark Allon and Richard Salomon (2010: 11), this “very fragmentary Gāndhārī scroll in a private collection, as yet unpublished, contains fragments of a text corresponding to a Mahayana sutra preserved in three Chinese translations which describes the encounter between the Buddha and the young son of the famous layman Vimalakīrti.” In the text this son is called *suciti* (Skt. *Sucitti*) which corresponds to the Chinese name Shansi which is found in the title of T 479 (Allon and Salomon 2010: 11). I will therefore tentatively refer to this text in the subsequent survey as **Sucitti-sūtra*. Despite certain coincidences the Gāndhārī text does not correspond to any of the Chinese translations (T 477, T 478, T 479) and seems to represent an independent version of this sūtra.

The assumed Mahāyāna character of the scholastic treatise(s) of Bajaur fragments 4, 6, and 11 remains to be investigated (see above).

- “Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra” (BajC 2, Strauch 2010)
- Skt. *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* (25 fragments, MS 116, Allon and Salomon 2010: 6f.)
- Skt. *Bodhisattvapīṭaka-sūtra* (MS 17, Allon and Salomon 2010: 8)
- Skt. *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (G. *prañāparamida*, SplitC 5, Falk 2011)
- Skt. *Sarvaṇyāsamuccayasamādhi-sūtra* (MS 89, Allon and Salomon 2010: 7f.)
- Skt. **Sucitti-sūtra* (unpublished private collection, Allon and Salomon 2010: 11)

3.2.4 Non-Buddhist texts

Only one of the Kharoṣṭhī collections — i.e. the Bajaur Collection — contains textual material which is not directly linked with Buddhism, but provides important data for the contexts of Gandhāran Buddhist literature and the intellectual and social environment of Gandhāran Buddhism. This non-Buddhist material is represented by one legal document written in Gāndhārī (BajC 15) and a metrical *Rājanīti/Arthaśāstra* text (BajC 9 recto) composed in Sanskrit.

Despite their unique character among the Gandhāran literature it is possible to connect both texts with parallel phenomena from Central Asia. While the legal text can be compared to the numerous documents on wood or leather discovered at the beginning of the 20th century along the southern branch of the East Turkestan Silk Road (Boyer *et al.* 1920–29), the *Rājanīti* text finds an interesting parallel in some passages of the so-called “Spitzer manuscript.” Moreover, the later Mīmāṃsā text from the Schøyen Collection, which according to its palaeographical features was written in the 6th c. AD, indicates that the Buddhists continued to deal actively with non-Buddhist literary genres and to include such texts in their libraries (Franco 2002).

3.2.4.1 A Rājanīti/Arthaśāstra text

The text written on the obverse of Bajaur fragment 9 occupies an outstanding position from several points of view. First, it belongs to a literary genre which indicates the special interest of Buddhists in affairs of state. Examples for such an interest are particularly prominent in later Southeast Asian traditions, where Sanskrit *nīti* texts were translated into Pāli, and in Ceylon where such texts were adapted in their original Sanskrit form.²² That this Buddhist attitude towards legal and political texts has much older roots and is not confined to these later Southern traditions can be shown by the famous “Spitzer manuscript” which not only refers to the *Mahābhārata*, but also to the *Arthaśāstra* and the

²² For references for Pāli works see von Hinüber 1996: 195–96, §§420–23. A short survey of Sanskrit texts from Sri Lanka is given by Sternbach (1972). More comprehensive is Bechert 2005: 122–135.

juridical chapters of the *Mānavadharmasāstra*.²³ A similar interest seems to underly some of Nāgārjuna's works, like e.g. the *Ratnāvalī* which is clearly based on topics from Artha- and Dharma-sāstra literature (Scherrer-Schaub 2007).

The second peculiarity of the text lies in its language. It belongs to the few instances of Sanskrit texts written in Kharoṣṭhī (Salomon 1998, 2001). The hitherto known examples demonstrate the process of Sanskritization of the formerly Middle Indian idiom of Buddhist texts and the introduction of graphical solutions which are based on the Brāhmī writing system. Generally they are to be dated into the late phase of Kharoṣṭhī, i.e. into the 3rd or even 4th c. AD, when Kharoṣṭhī was gradually replaced by Brāhmī and adapted new orthographical features which can only be explained by the growing influence of Sanskrit phonology and Brāhmī orthography.

The present text, however, clearly belongs to the mature phase of Kharoṣṭhī not yet influenced by the Brāhmī script. Instead, the scribe tried to use the orthographical capacities of the Kharoṣṭhī script to reproduce the phonological features of the Sanskrit text.²⁴

The preserved text is a compilation of about 40 Āryā verses about diverse topics characteristic of the genre of *Rājanīti/Arthasāstra* literature, such as the components of the state, the sources of income, the parts of the royal treasury, etc. (Strauch 2008: 125f.).

3.2.4.2 A legal document

The second non-Buddhist text from the Bajaur Collection (BajC 15) is a loan contract in Gāndhārī fixing the conditions of a transaction between a man called Bhudamitra (Skt. Bhūtamitra), son of Kaṭhea (Skt. Kāṣṭhaka) from Mitrasthāna, and another person named Saṃghaśrava. Due to its fragmentary state it is presently not possible to report the exact conditions of this loan business. However, characteristic technical terms like *hastalekha* “handwritten document,” *samūlaka* “together with the capital” and *savṛddhika* (Skt. *savṛddhika*) “together with the interest” indicate that it followed the pattern of typical legal documents as described in the Indian Dharmasāstras (cf. Strauch 2002: 19–52).

- Rājanīti/Arthasāstra verse collection in Āryā metre (BajC 9 recto, Strauch 2008: 125f., Strauch 2011)
- loan contract (BajC 15, Strauch 2008: 127)

²³ These passages are dealt with by Schlingloff (1969a, 1969b). Cf. also the complete edition of this manuscript by Eli Franco (2004), and especially the introduction referring to Schlingloff's studies (8–10) where the current numbers of the respective manuscript fragments are given.

²⁴ This method can be called “internal Sanskritization” — the opposite of the later “external Sanskritization” on the basis of Brāhmī orthography. The particular features of this method as witnessed by Bajaur fragment 9 are described and evaluated in Strauch 2011.

4. Lists of the manuscripts of the Bajaur and Split Collections

4.1 The Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts

The size is estimated on the basis of the reconstructed scroll. Bold figures indicate a completely preserved width. The numbers of lines are still subject to change due to ongoing reconstruction.

Fragment	Frame	Size	Format		Side	Content	Script		
			Scroll type	Margin			Lines	Akṣaras per line	Scribe
1	1 16 12	17.5 × 70.5	long com- posite	sewn	r	G. * <i>Dakṣiṇavibhaṅga-sūtra</i> (Skt. <i>Dakṣiṇā-vibhaṅgasūtra</i>) (Sūtra from the <i>Madhyamāgama</i>)	80 +1v	42	1
					v	Dhāraṇī-type text	26	20	2
2	2–8 31 34 35	18 × 224	long com- posite	sewn	r	“Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra”	342	49	3
					v	=	246	39	3
3	17 9	17 × 39	long com- posite	drawn	r	G. * <i>Manasviṅgaraya-sūtra</i> (Skt. * <i>Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra</i>) (<i>raṅgā</i> text)	39	30	4
					v	=	12	30	4
4	10 18	*(25 × 36)	*wide single- sheet	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text (Mahāyāna ?) (related to fragments 6 and 11)	*43	*60	5
					v	=	*22	*60	5
5	11	11 × 37	long single- sheet	drawn	r	Buddhist verse collection arranged according to the Arapacana syllabary	40	20	6
					v	=	41	20	6
6	29 30	30.5 × 9.5	wide single- sheet middle fold	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text (Mahāyāna ?) (related to fragments 4 and 11)	11	64	14
					v	=	9	64	14
7	13	13 × 6	wide single- sheet middle fold	not sewn	r	<i>Karmavācanā</i> formula (<i>śayanāsanagrāhaka</i> appoint- ment)	7	37	7
					v	<i>Karmavācanā</i> formula (<i>varṣopagamana</i>)	5	37	7
8	14	21.5 × 19	wide single- sheet middle fold	not sewn	r	Buddhastotra (metrical)	4	41	8
					v	∅	∅	∅	∅

9	15 24	16 × 55	long com- posite	sewn	r	Nīti text (Sanskrit)	53	29	9
					v	Unidentified scholastic text	47	27	10
10	19	16 × 23	long single- sheet	not sewn	r	Buddha praise (non-metrical)	17	32	11
					v	∅	∅	∅	∅
11	20 21	15.5 × 37.5	long single- sheet?	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text (Mahāyāna ?) (related to fragments 4 and 6)	61	40	5
					v	=	37	40	5
12	22	15.5 × 14	long single- sheet	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text	16	29	12
					v	=	14	29	12
13	23	16 × 23	long single- sheet	not sewn	r	<i>Prātimokṣasūtra</i> Naiḥsargika Pācittiya 1-9	25	34	13
					v	<i>Prātimokṣasūtra</i> Naiḥsargika Pācittiya 1-8	23	31	13
14	33	10 × 7	*wide single- sheet	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text (related to fragments 16 and 18)	10	28	18
					v	=	6	22	18
15	25 26	21 × 25	wide single- sheet	not sewn	r	Legal document (loan contract)	15	60	15
					v	∅	∅	∅	∅
16	27 28	24 × 10	wide single- sheet middle fold	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text (related to fragments 14 and 18)	11	30	18
					v	=	11	30	18
17	25 26	23 × 6	wide single- sheet middle fold	not sewn	r	Buddhist verses (?)	8	36	16
					v	Buddhist verses (?)	5	?	17
18	32	17 × 19	long single sheet	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text (re- lated to fragments 14 and 16)	20	40	5
					v	=	19	40	5
19	32	16.5 × 9.5	*wide single- sheet	not sewn	r	Unidentified text	8	38	14
					v	=	4	38	14

4.2 The Split Collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts

Fragment	Frame	Size	Format		Side	Content	Script		
			Scroll type	Margin			Lines	Akṣaras per line	Scribe
1	1	1.8 × 11	long	not sewn	r	<i>Arthapada</i>	4	45	1
					v	<i>Arthapada</i>	4	33	1
2	2	26 × 16	wide	drawn	r	Metrical praise of the Buddha	33	32	2
					v	=	34	32	2
3	3–4	54 × 14	long	not sewn	r	<i>Dharmapada</i>	73	38	3
					v	∅			∅
4	5–7	25+x × 15	long	not sewn	r	Avadāna collection	30	36	4
					v	=	29	36	4
5	8–12	90 × 15	long	not sewn	r	Prajñāpāramitā sūtra	80	30	5
		1.8 × 11	long	not sewn	v	=	40	30	5+6
					r	<i>Aṭṭhakavagga</i>	4	45	1

Bibliography

- Allon, Mark. 2001. *Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-Type Sūtras: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 12 and 14*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, Volume 2. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- 2007a. “The Senior Manuscripts.” In Andrew Glass, *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras: Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, Volume 4. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 3–25.
- 2007b. “Recent Discoveries of Buddhist Manuscripts from Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Heritage of the Greeks in the North-West.” In Himanshu Prabha Ray and Daniel T. Potts, eds., *Memory as History: The Legacy of Alexander in Asia*. New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 131–141.
2008. “Recent Discoveries of Buddhist Manuscripts from Afghanistan and Pakistan and Their Significance.” In Ken Parry, ed., *Art, Architecture and Religion along the Silk Roads*. Silk Road Studies, XII. Turnhout: Brepols, 153–178.
- Allon, Mark and Richard Salomon. 2000. “Kharoṣṭhī Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra.” In Jens Braarvig *et al.*, eds., *Buddhist Manuscripts, Volume I*. Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, I. Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing, 243–273.
2010. “New Evidence for Mahayana in Early Gandhāra.” *The Eastern Buddhist* 41: 1–22.
- Allon, Mark, R. Salomon, G. Jacobsen, and U. Zoppi. 2006. “Radiocarbon Dating of Kharoṣṭhī Fragments from the Schøyen and Senior Manuscript Collections.” In Jens Braarvig *et al.*, eds., *Buddhist Manuscripts, Volume III*. Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection. Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing, 279–291.
- Baums, Stefan. 2009. “A Gāndhārī Commentary on Early Buddhist Verses: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 7, 9, 13 and 18.” PhD Dissertation. University of Washington.

- Bechert, Heinz. 2005. *Eine regionale hochsprachliche Tradition in Südasien: Sanskrit-Literatur bei den buddhistischen Singhalesen*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte. 718. Band. Wien.
- Bongard-Levin, G., D. Boucher, F. Takamichi and K. Wille, eds. 1996. "The Nagaropamasūtra: An apotropaic text from the Saṃyuktāgama. A transliteration, reconstruction, and translation of the Central Asian Sanskrit Manuscripts." *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen. Dritte Folge* (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 6). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 7–131.
- Boyer, A. M., E. J. Rapson, E. Senart, and J. Noble. 1920–29. *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*. Parts 1–3. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Brough, John. 1962. *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*. London Oriental Series, Volume 7. London: Oxford University Press.
- Conrady, August. 1920. *Die chinesischen Handschriften und sonstigen Kleinfunde Sven Hedins in Lou-lan*. Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalt.
- Dietz, Siglinde. 2007. "Buddhism in Gandhāra." In *The Spread of Buddhism*. Handbook of Oriental Studies, 16: 49–74.
- Falk, Harry 2011. "The 'Split' collection of Kharoṣṭhī Texts." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 14: 13–23.
- Falk, Harry and Seishi Karashima. 2012. "A first century Prajñāpāramitā manuscript from Gandhāra — parivarta 1 (Texts from the Split Collection 1)." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 15: 19–61.
2013. "A first century Prajñāpāramitā manuscript from Gandhāra — parivarta 5 (Texts from the Split Collection 2)." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 16: 97–169.
- Franco, Eli. 2002. "A Mīmāṃsaka among the Buddhists: Three Fragments on the Relationship between Words and Objects." In Jens Braarvig *et al.*, eds., *Buddhist Manuscripts, Volume II*. Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, III. Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing, 269–285.
2004. *The Spitzer Manuscript. The Oldest Philosophical Manuscript in Sanskrit*. Volumes 1 and 2. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften, 323. Band. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Nr. 43). Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Fussman, Gérard. 1969. "Une inscription kharoṣṭhī à Haḍḍa." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 56: 5–9.
- Glass, Andrew. 2004. "Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts: A Window on Gandhāran Buddhism." *Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism: Saṃbhāṣā* 24: 129–52.
2007. *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras: Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, Volume 4. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Hartmann, Jens-Uwe. 2004. "Contents and Structure of the Dīrghāgama of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 7: 119–137.
- Hasuike, Toshitaka (蓮池 利隆). 2004. "Seiiki nandō to seiiki hokudō no karōshutī moji shiryō no hikaku 西域南道と西域北道のカロシュテイー文字資料の比較." In 森安孝夫 (Moriyasu Takao), ed., *Chūō ajia shutsudo bunbutsu ronsō 中央アジア出土文物論叢*, pp. 93–109. Kyōto 京都: Hōyū shoten 朋友書店.
- Hinüber, Oskar von. 1996. *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 2). Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Lamotte, Étienne. 1988. *History of Indian Buddhism from the Origins to the Śaka Era*. Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain, 36. Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut orientaliste.
- LEE, Mei-huang. 2009. "A Study of the Gāndhārī Dārukkhandhopamasutta ("Discourse on the Simile of the Log")." PhD Dissertation. University of Washington.

- Lenz, Timothy. 2003. *A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-Birth Stories: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 16 + 25*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, Volume 3. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
2010. *Gandhāran Avadānas: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 1–3 and 21 and Supplementary Fragments A–C*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, Volume 6. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Lín, Méicūn (林梅村). 2004. “Two Tokharo-Gāndhārī Bilingual Documents from Kizil in the Le Coq Collection.” 榮新江 (Róng Xīnjiāng) and 李孝聰 (Lǐ Xiàocōng), eds., *Zhōngwài guānxì shǐ: xīn shìliào yǔ xīn wèntí* 中外关系史: 新史料与新问题. Běijīng 北京: Kēxué chūbǎnshè 科学出版社, 79–97.
- Nattier, Jan. 2000. “The Realm of Akṣobhya: A Missing Piece in the History of Pure Land Buddhism.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 23: 71–102.
2003. “The Indian Roots of Pure Land Buddhism: Insights from the Oldest Chinese Versions of the *Larger Sukhāvāṭīvyūha*.” *Pacific World*, 3rd ser., 5: 179–201.
- Oberlies, Thomas. 2003. “Ein bibliographischer Überblick über die kanonischen Texte der Śrāvakayāna-Schulen des Buddhismus (ausgenommen der des Mahāvihāra-Theravāda).” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 47: 37–84.
- Ol’denburg, S. 1899. (ed.) Otryvki kashgarskikh i sanskritskikh rukopisei iz sobrania N.F. Petrovskago. *Zapiski Vostochnago otdeleniā Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva*. 11 (1897–1898). St. Petersburg: 207–264.
- Pauly, Bernard. 1967. “Fragments sanskrits d’Afghanistan (Fouilles de la D.A.F.A).” *Journal asiatique* 255: 273–83.
- Salomon, Richard. 1998. “Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript Fragments in the Pelliot Collection, Bibliothèque nationale de France.” *Bulletin d’études indiennes* 16: 123–160.
1999. *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
2000. *A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5B*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, Volume 1. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
2001. “‘Gāndhārī Hybrid Sanskrit’: New Sources for the Study of the Sanskritization of Buddhist Literature.” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 44: 241–252.
2003. “The Senior Manuscripts: Another Collection of Gandhāran Buddhist Scrolls.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123: 73–92.
2008. *Two Gāndhārī Manuscripts of the Songs of Lake Anavatapta (Anavatapta-gāthā): British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 1 and Senior Scroll 14*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, Volume 5. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
2009. “Why Did the Gandhāran Buddhists Bury Their Manuscripts?” In Stephen C. Berkwitz, Juliane Schober and Claudia Brown, eds., *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*. Routledge Critical Studies in Buddhism. London: Routledge, 19–34.
- Salomon, Richard and Stefan Baums. 2007. “Sanskrit *Ikṣvāku*, Pali *Okkāka*, and Gāndhārī *Iṣmaho*.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 29: 201–227.
- Sander, Lore. 1991. “The earliest manuscripts from Central Asia and the Sarvāstivāda mission.” In Ronald E. Emmerick and Dieter Weber, eds., *Corolla Iranica. Papers in honour of Prof. Dr. David Neil MacKenzie on the occasion of his 65th birthday on April 8th, 1991*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 133–50.
1999. “Early Prakrit and Sanskrit Manuscripts from Xinjiang (Second to Fifth / Sixth Centuries C. E.): Paleography, Literary Evidence, and Their Relation to Buddhist Schools.” In Jan Nattier and John R. McRae, eds., *Collection of Essays 1993: Buddhism across Boundaries: Chinese Buddhism and the Western Regions*. Sanchung: Fo Guang Shan Foundation for Buddhist & Culture Education, 61–106.
- Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina. 2007. “Immortality extolled with reason: Philosophy and politics in Nāgārjuna.” In Birgit Kellner, Helmut Krasser, Horst Lasic, Michael Torsten Much and

- Helmut Tauscher, eds., *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ. Papers dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the occasion of his 70th birthday*. Part 2. (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 70.2). Wien: 757–793.
- Schlingloff, Dieter. 1969a. “Fragmente einer Palmblatthandschrift philosophischen Inhalts aus Ostturkistan (Ms. Spitzer).” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 12/13: 323–328.
- 1969b. “The Oldest Extant Parvan-List of the Mahābhārata.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89: 334–338.
- Schopen, Gregory. 1977. “Sukhāvati as a Generalized Religious Goal in Sanskrit Mahāyāna Sūtra Literature.” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 19: 177–210 (repr. Schopen, Gregory. *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India. More Collected Papers*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press 2005: 154–189).
- Skilling, Peter. 1992. “The Rakṣā literature of the Śrāvakayāna.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 16: 109–182.
- Sternbach, Ludvik. 1972. “Sur la littérature didactique et gnomique laïque d’origine sanscrite à Ceylan.” *Journal asiatique* 260: 79–87.
- Strauch, Ingo. 2002. *Die Lekhapaddhati-Lekhapañcāśikā. Briefe und Urkunden im mittelalterlichen Gujarat. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Glossar*. Monographien zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 1. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
2007. “Two Inscribed Pots from Afghanistan.” *Gandhāran Studies* 1: 77–88.
- 2007/08. *The Bajaur collection: A new collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. A preliminary catalogue and survey* (in progress). Online version 1.1 (http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/indologie/bajaur/publication/strauch_2008_1_1.pdf).
2008. “The Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts – A Preliminary Survey.” *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 25: 103–136.
2010. “More missing pieces of Early Pure Land Buddhism: New evidence for Akṣobhya and Abhirati in an Early Mahayana Sutra from Gandhāra.” *The Eastern Buddhist* 41: 23–66.
2011. “The character of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī script and the ‘Sanskrit revolution’: a writing system between identity and assimilation.” In Alex de Voogt and Joachim Quack, eds., *The Idea of Writing. Writing Across Borders*. Leiden: Brill, 131–168.
- forthcoming a. “Looking into water-pots and over a Buddhist scribe’s shoulder — On the deposition and the use of manuscripts in early Buddhism.” In Nalini Balbir and Maria Szuppe, eds., *Proceedings of the Conference “Lecteurs et copistes dans les traditions manuscrites iraniennes, indiennes et centrasiatiques,” June 15–17, 2010. Paris*.
- forthcoming b. “Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the Order of Nuns in a Gandhāran version of the Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅgasūtra.” In Collett, Alice, ed., *Women in Early Indian Buddhism: Comparative Textual Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- forthcoming c. “The evolution of the Buddhist rakṣā genre in the light of new evidence from Gandhāra: The *Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra from the Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.
- Takubo, S. 1972. (ed.) *Ārya-Mahā-Māyūrī Vidyā-Rājñī*. Tokyo.
- Vorob’eva-Desiatovskaia, M. I. (М. И. Воробьева-Десятовская). 2006 “Fragment pis’mom kkharoṣhtkhi iz kollektcii S. F. Ol’denburga Фрагмент письмам кхароштхи из коллекции С. Ф. Ольденбурга.” *Pis’mennye pamiatniki Vostoka Письменные памятники Востока* 4: 145–149.
- Wilson, H. H. 1841. *Ariana antiqua: A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan: With a Memoir on the Buildings Called Topes, by C. Masson, Esq.* London: The Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.