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Editorial

Thirty-four years in the history of a journal is not a very long time, but it is long enough to introduce some inevitable changes and adjustments – a sign of its continuous growth. In the case of the *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia* these changes have been evolutionary rather than revolutionary in character and have been partly influenced by the spirit of the times.

Since its foundation in 1988 by Professor Roman Sławiński, the *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia* has been dedicated mainly to the Asian and Middle Eastern region with all its facets: cultural, historical, political and sociological. Initially, the journal was aimed at Polish readers, but from 2000 onwards it has accepted articles in English (and occasionally in German and French), thus opening up to an international audience. Even though tradition and history have been present in the *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia* from the beginning, the journal has been primarily concerned with the current situation in the region in question. Now we want to look more to the past and focus on the culture of the Asian continent, devoting more space to genuine Asian material. This does not necessarily mean losing sight of the present, but rather trying to understand the present through tradition and past developments, which is basically a return to the original idea of the journal.

Accordingly, this issue of the *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia* offers a wide range of topics on various aspects of Asia's culture (religion, science, philosophy, literature, etc.) covering a large geographical area (India, China to North Korea) and more than two thousand years of history. The entire Editorial Board hopes that all those interested in and working in the relevant fields will find something valuable and inspiring in the following pages. At the same time, we would like to invite you not only to accompany us into the future, but also to actively shape it and contribute to the next issues of the journal.

Małgorzata Wielińska-Soltwedel
Editor-in-Chief of the *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia*

The Androgynous Form of Viṣṇu and the Yet Unpublished *Vāsudevakalpa*[1]

Diwakar Acharya

Abstract: Although the androgynous form of Viṣṇu is little known, some stone and metal sculptures as well as painted scrolls of the deity have been discovered in Nepal, Kashmir, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. This paper discusses literary and epigraphical references to this deity starting from the ninth century CE. It then presents additional materials from Nepal which suggest that this deity has been continuously worshipped in Nepal from at least the eleventh century down to modern times. It also gathers information to show that this composite form of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu is still worshiped in Bengal, Odisha, and Rajasthan. Even more importantly, it reports on a Tantric text surviving in a palm-leaf manuscript dated to Nepal Saṃvat 372 (equivalent 1252 CE) that focusses exclusively on the eight-armed androgynous form of Viṣṇu, and narrates some selected themes from this text.

Keywords: Hinduism, Nepal, Indian art-history, androgynous Viṣṇu, Vaiṣṇavism

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1. Androgynous Form of Viṣṇu

Ardhanārīśvara, the androgynous form of Śiva, is better known and widely depicted but only a few people are aware of its Vaiṣṇava equivalent, an androgynous form of Viṣṇu. When Pratapaditya Pal reported in 1963 the

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[1] I would like to thank Prof. Godabarish Mishra and other organisers of the Rāmānuja Millenium Conference 2017, held in Madras University, Chennai, where I learnt much about Rāmānuja and Srivaiṣṇavism. Rāmānuja championed the view of the non-duality of the qualified whole, asserting the unity of multiple realities and thus acknowledging the reality of individual entities of ontological, epistemological, and moral significance. He accepted the authority of the Pañcarātra Āgamas and defended the theology they taught. He lived in the world of Pañcarātras where his philosophy was alive in the form of the unity of Śrī/Lakṣmī and Vāsudeva/Nārāyaṇa, where the entire world existed as Viṣṇu/Nārāyaṇa who pervaded all *cid* and *acid*, sentient and insentient, entities. The text I am describing in this paper depicts Nārāyaṇa/Vāsudeva such a way that this Vaiṣṇava ideology is vividly visualised.

androgynous form of Lakṣmī and Vāsudeva, it was thought that depiction and veneration of such form of Viṣṇu was limited to Nepal.[2] He had found a Nepalese bronze kept in a Museum in Basel and a painted scroll bearing a 13th-century dedicatory inscription kept in a cultural centre in Calcutta. In the following years, more images of the same kind were reported from not only Nepal but also other parts of the Indian subcontinent: Kashmir, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh.[3] Scholars also traced this androgynous form of Viṣṇu in Tantric compendiums like the 12th-century[4] *Śāradātilaka* and the 17th-century *Bṛhat-tantrasāra*, and also in the *Śilparatna*, a 16th-century Keralan work of iconology and architecture. Furthermore, D. C. Sircar's analysis[5] of the Gaya Sitala Temple inscription of Yakṣapāla (c. 1075–85) provided evidence for the presence of the androgynous form of Viṣṇu in North India in the 11th century.[6]

2. Antiquity and Popularity

The cult of such a composite form of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu, in fact, can be traced back more than two centuries before the time of Yakṣapāla, in the *Netratantra,* which should be dated at the latest in the first-half of the ninth century CE.[7] The first-half of the 13th section of this text recommends that a *sādhaka* initiated in the system of Amṛteśa, the Lord of Immortality, may see him in different representations of Viṣṇu, and mentioned among them is 'the form of Viṣṇu

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[2] It is evident from his 1970 book, *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal*, that Pal did not continue thinking in this line for very long but soon changed his mind after locating and publishing an 11th-century Kashmiri bronze image of the deity (see PAL 1973).

[3] For a summary of early research on this topic and discussion of the androgynous images of Viṣṇu from Kashmir, see MALLA 1996: 45–47.

[4] On the date of the *Śāradātilaka,* see SANDERSON 2007: 230–233; 2009: 252.

[5] SIRCAR 1970: 92, 1983: 102.

[6] This inscription makes only a mention of the deity as *Kamalā-rdhāṅgīṇa-nārāyaṇa* when it enumerates the deities installed by Yakṣapāla, without any further description or visualisation. KIELHORN 1887: 66, who published this inscription for the first time, had completely missed the point. SIRCAR 1970 got it right, though initially he was not aware of any sculpture of this composite form of Nārāyaṇa and so sounded uncertain. As he wrote (SIRCAR 1970: 92), 'The passage *Kamal-Ārdhāṅgīṇa Nārāyaṇa*, has been taken in Kielhorn's translation as two deities, viz. Kamalā and Ardhāṅgīṇa, Nārāyaṇa being omitted apparently through oversight. It is difficult to say whether the poet intended the expression *Kamal-ārdhāṅgīṇa* to be an adjective of Nārāyaṇa in the sense of "one half of whose body is Kamalā". Although such a conception is possible on the analogy of the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva in which the right half represents Śiva and the left half Pārvatī, a similar combined form of Nārāyaṇa and Kamalā is not known from sculptures.' However, he is sure about the androgynous nature of the deity in his work published in 1971 and labels the form as Ardhanārī Nārāyaṇa (SIRCAR 1971: 221–228). See also SIRCAR 1983.

[7] SANDERSON 2004: 242–243.

that incorporates Lakṣmī as the half of his self' (*ardhalakṣmīyuta*).[8] As the text does not provide visualisation of many of these forms, we may assume that all these forms were well-known to people at that time.

The androgynous form of Viṣṇu is not confined to the North of the Indian subcontinent, either. Inclusion of a visualisation of the deity in the *Śilparatna* (23.23 and 25.75) proves the presence of the deity in the 16th-century Kerala.[9] In addition, I have found the common eight-armed form of the deity mentioned and an otherwise unknown four-armed form described (see below, Visualisation) in the *Pādmasaṃhitā,* a pre-13th century text compiled most probably in South India.[10] This means that more than one representation of the androgynous form of Viṣṇu was in circulation and that they were present in many cultural centres of India for many centuries.

It appears that the deity gradually disappeared from many areas, but in some specific areas the deity is still worshipped. For example, the *Bronzes of India* website states that at the famous Puri Jagannath temple, Odisha, the androgynous image of Viṣṇu is worshipped as the temple is closed and the deity is put to bed. The website claims that the information comes from a Pandit Siddharth associated with the temple and publishes a photo of the bronze image, as claimed, that worshipped there.[11] The same website publishes another bronze image worshipped at the Neelmahadev temple, Odisha, and, citing the same Pandit, states that it represents *parabrahman*.[12] In Nepal the deity is still worshipped in both private and public shrines, and we have evidence that this has been happening since the 11/12th century at the latest. Schroeder 2019: 706–717 has collected and described 22 stone sculptures of the deity spanning from the 11/12th century to the 17th century.[13] Some excellent Nepalese metal specimens are kept in a number of museums and some of them have been published, for example, in Pal 1963 and Gail 2011. Painted scrolls (*paṭa*s), which are locally called *paubhās*, too, are available from the 13th century onwards.

As Deo 1968 and Gail 1984, 2011 have reported, a temple located in Svatha Tol of Patan, Nepal, has twelve variations of the androgynous form of Viṣṇu depicted on the wooden struts of its lower floor, although the temple

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8   Cf. *Netratantra* 13.14.
9   For the date and provenance of the text, see the editors' preface to the both volumes of the *Śilparatna*.
10   For the date of this text, see Schwarz Linder 2014: 30–31.
11   https://bronzesofindia.com/vasudeva-kamalaja-orissa/. Retrieved on 21 November 2021.
12   https://bronzesofindia.com/vaikunta-kamalaja/. Retrieved on 21 November 2021.
13   Dallas Museum has recently returned one of the most beautiful and one of the oldest images of this deity which was stolen from a temple in Patko Tol, Patan (see Figure 1).

enshrines a common four-armed form of Viṣṇu in a standing position. These twelve variations produced by combining the twelve *vyūhāntara* forms of Viṣṇu (Keśava and others) and their consorts are barely known from other sources,[14] but the first of these variations, Lakṣmīkeśava, is visualised and praised in a dedicatory inscription of a mutilated image from Bhaktapur, Nepal.[15]

At this point, I would like to present more information from some datable manuscript materials related to the deity and his cult from the 13th to the 20th centuries. First of all, I have located in Kaiser Library, Kathmandu, a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Vāsudevakalpa*[16] dated in Nepal Saṃvat 372 (equivalent 1252 CE), together with an incomplete manuscript of a ritual manual (*paddhati*) based on this text and written in the same hand.[17] The text is exclusively concerned with the cult of the androgynous form of Viṣṇu, and the deity is named here most of the time as Lakṣmīvāsudeva, and alternatively as Lakṣmīvāsa,[18]

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[14] GAIL 2011: 122 and BHATTACHARYYA 1980: 30 give the names of male and female deities in pairs, as found incised under the images, but the names of these combined forms following the rule of Sanskrit grammar (shorter first, feminine first) should be as follows: Lakṣmīkeśava, Sarasvatīnārāyaṇa, Dāntimādhava, Kāntigovinda, Dāntiviṣṇu, Vidhṛtimadhusūdana, Atīcchātrivikrama, Atiprītivāmana (Atipātīvāmana, according to Bhattacharyya), Dhṛtiśrīdhara, Mohitāhṛṣīkeśa (Mohinīhṛṣīkeśa, according to Bhattacharyya), Mahimādāmodara (Matimādāmodara, according to Bhattacharyya), and Dharmadāpadmanābha.

[15] PAL 1970: 139. Pal rightly identifies this deity as a composite form of Viṣṇu, but unaware of the *vyūhāntara* forms, he describes the deity as a slightly different form of 'Vāsudeva-Kamalajā'.

[16] As I discussed in an earlier publication (ACHARYA 2015: xiv–xv), the *Vāsudevakalpa* is one of the early Vaiṣṇava texts preserved in Nepal, all of which belong to the early ninth century at the latest.

[17] There is one more item in the same bundle that is not so closely related with our text. It consists of eight folios of a manuscript of the *Jayākhya Saṃhitā*, numbered three to ten. All these three items are bundled together and treated as one manuscript in the library record.

[18] The *Pādmasaṃhitā* passage cited under 'Visualisation' below calls the deity Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. This text uses the same name also to describe the pair of the Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa on one throne ideally at the scene of their marriage (*vivāhastha*) – the two seated together or Lakṣmī on the lap of Nārāyaṇa. The *Vāsudevakalpa* avoids the term Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. In fact, the name Lakṣmīvāsudeva itself does not suggest the androgynous or otherwise nature of the deity named; the same applies to the other name Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. Thus, it is arbitrary to reserve the name Lakṣmīvāsudeva for the androgynous form and Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa for the pair on one throne. From this point of view, Lakṣmīvāsa, the other name included in the Gāyatrī mantra, sounds better, because as a *bahuvrīhi* it can be interpreted as the form of Viṣṇu that serves as the abode of Lakṣmī. But we should not forget that according to Vaiṣṇava theology Viṣṇu/ Nārāyaṇa always carries Śrī/Lakṣmī in his heart and therefore in any form he can be called Śrīnivāsa or Lakṣmīvāsa.

Let me incidentally mention that in Pañcarātra Vaiṣṇavism and some Krishnite traditions Vāsudeva is the Supreme divine figure distinguished from Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, and the opposite is true in some other traditions. In our text, however, Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa are interchangeable. For a discussion on the distinction or identity of Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa in the Pañcarātras, see SCHWARZ LINDER 2014: 88–89.

only in the Gāyatrī mantra of the deity not to go beyond the 24 syllables limit of the metre (*Vāsudevakalpa*, verses 67cd–69; *Paddhati*, verse 124f).[19]

Next, all the mantras of this cult are found copied, in a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript dated in Nepal Saṃvat 515 (1395 CE), between the text of the *Jayākhya Saṃhitā* and the appended additional material[20], which has been incorporated into the *Jayākhya Saṃhitā* in the Baroda edition of the text. Although the *Jayākhya Saṃhitā* is a Vaiṣṇava text, it has nothing to do with any type of androgynous form of Vāsudeva; instead, the deity of this text is the four-faced Vaikuṇṭha.

I have also found a 15th-century record included in a manuscript of a text on the significance of the *ekādaśī* and other *vrata*s which first invokes the androgynous Lakṣmīkeśava[21] and then states that King Yakṣamalla's priest Yaśadeva and his two brothers, Rājadeva and Śubhadeva, built a wonderful statue (*vicitrapratimā*) of Viṣṇu and consecrated it in a temple in Nepal Saṃvat 591 (1471 CE).[22] It further records that they donated two more items, a statue made of gold and a manuscript of the *Vratopākhyāna*, and closes with a blessing to all those who would protect all these three: the manuscript, the golden statue, and the image in the temple.

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[19] Art-historians have coined their own terms to refer to this androgynous form of Viṣṇu, for example, Pal has picked up Vāsudeva-Lakṣmī (PAL 1963) or Vāsudeva-Kamalajā (1970) and BHATTACHARYYA 1980 has Vāsudeva-Kamalajā. GAIL 2011 sticks to Ardha-Lakṣmī-Hari found in the *Śāradātilaka*, though he acknowledges 'the diverging names of the half-female Viṣṇu' as a problem (p. 123). One can imagine that probably they did so for the practical purpose of avoiding confusion of the androgynous images of Viṣṇu with non-composite ones that showed Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa together on a panel. As for Sanskrit texts, they are constrained by the metre they have chosen. The *Netratantra* simply mentions this form of the deity as one of the forms of Nārāyaṇa, the one sharing the half of his body to Lakṣmī (*ardhalakṣmiyuta*). The Gayā inscription describes it as Nārāyaṇa having Kamalā for one half of his body (*kamalārdhāṅgīṇanārāyaṇa*; This expression is obviously coined to fit the metre of the verse.). Similarly, each of the three texts mentioned before uses a different expression to refer to this deity: The *Śāradātilaka* calls this form *Ardhalakṣmīhari* and describes it as the unified body of Puṇḍarīkākṣa and Lakṣmī (*puṇḍarīkākṣalakṣmyor ekībhūtaṃ vapuḥ*). The *Śilparatna* borrows the description of the *Śāradātilaka*, when the *Bṛhattantrasāra* defines it in similar terms as the body of Kamalajā and Vaikuṇṭha have attained unity (*kamalajāvaikuṇṭhayor ekatāṃ prāptaṃ vapuḥ*). The *Pādmasaṃhitā* (see below) calls the deity Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, and the Upaniṣad mentioned below calls him ArdhāṅgiLakṣmīNārāyaṇa.

[20] *Jayākhya Saṃhitā* Manuscript, fol. 112 verso, line 6–113 recto, line 1.

[21] This invocation is the same as the one REGMI 1966: III, 92–93 partially reads from the pedestal of a mutilated statue from Bhaktapur. Regmi had misidentified the statue as Vāsudeva but PAL 1970: 139 has rightly identified it as a slightly different form of the half-female Viṣṇu on the basis of his analysis of the reading Regmi provided. It is probable that this is the statue the three brothers of the note consecrated.

[22] Kaiser Library Manuscript C 55/5, the folio is not numbered and has the back side blank. I intend to publish a photo of the folio with a transcript and translation in my edition of the VK.

There are drawings of Lakṣmīvāsudeva with eight arms in the centre of the upper and with four arms on the lower book-covers of a manuscript of the *Vaiṣṇvāmṛtasāroddhāra* dated in Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat 412 (equivalent to c. 1530 CE), each flanked by three *vyūhāntara* variations from one and three from the other side.[23] Thus, all twelve variations depicted on the struts of the Svatha Narayana temple mentioned above are attested here, though I am unable to trace a textual basis for the depiction of these variations. I have also seen a manuscript of the *Lakṣmīvāsudevapūjāvidhi*, a very brief manual for the worship of this deity copied in Nepal Saṃvat 843 (1723 CE), and also an undated manuscript which appears to be an early 20th-century copy of an otherwise unknown *Ardhāṅgi-Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇopaniṣad*.[24] All this proves that the cult of Lakṣmivāsudeva has survived until today in Nepal whereas it has disappeared from other parts of the Indian subcontinent.

The most important among all these materials mentioned above is the *Vāsudevakalpa.* It sheds light on the cult of the deity, rites and rituals, Yogic practices, and also the iconological symbolism and the underlying doctrinal foundation. Therefore, I am going to present an overview of the text in the following.

3. The *Vāsudevakalpa*

The *Vāsudevakalpa* (VK hereafter), as mentioned earlier, survives in a 13th-century palm-leaf manuscript written in Newari script. Compared to other early Tantric texts, the language of this text is much better; there are fewer linguistic irregularities. As I described in an earlier publication (ACHARYA 2015: xv), this text contains some sort of Kaula influence and can be compared, as far as its nature and time is concerned, to the early Yoginī Tantras and Krama Texts. The text is ascribed to some otherwise unknown *Mahālakṣmī Saṃhitā,* and is exclusively concerned with the cult of the androgynous form of Lakṣmī and Vāsudeva. This text indeed falls in the category of *kalpa,* which provides mantras and visualisations of the deity and his retinue and discusses all necessary details of the cult in 478 verses but is not divided into chapters.

According to this text, the deity symbolises the unity of the combined whole that incorporates in unity all dual aspects of reality: the pacific and the sublime, the word and the meaning, the power and its possessor, and the god

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[23] This text is a *smārta* Purāṇic type of text, spending pages on the things to be done in the month of Kārtika, and the depiction of these deities on the book-cover of this text suggests that the cult of the half-female Viṣṇu was not limited just within a narrow cult-boundary. Its inclusion in a *smārta*-oriented compendium like the *Śāradātilaka* suggests the same thing.

[24] See References for the details of all manuscripts mentioned here.

and goddess. It begins with a brief explanation of doctrinal foundation on which the androgynous form of the deity is based (verses 1–35). Verses 36–51 are lost as one folio of the manuscript is missing and, as a consequence, we have no idea how the doctrinal preamble ended and mantric teaching commenced. What follows in the next folio is the raising of the mantras from the matrix of syllables (52–80) and the way the hand gestures (*mudrā*) used during the ritual worship of the deity are formed (81–94). This is followed by the visualisation of Lakṣmīvāsudeva and other deities in the retinue (95–125). The text then catalogues desirable characteristics of the teacher as well as the disciple (126–137). It teaches further the procedure of the ritual bath and the Yogic breath exercise (*prāṇāyāma*) needed for external and internal purity (138–157) followed by a scheme for deposition of mantras (*nyāsa*) in the fingers and other parts of the *sādhaka's* body (158–164). Then comes a procedure for a mantric bath and libation (165–184), which is followed by internal worship of the deity in the heart of the worshipper (185–195). The text addresses further the issues of external worship beginning with an instruction for the drawing of the Lakṣmīgarbha Maṇḍala on the ground (196–264). Then follows a short account of a mental mode of initiation named as *bodhadīkṣā* and *vijñānadīkṣā* (265–278), a procedure for sacral transformation of the ritual fire and oblation in it (279–317), and also a procedure for a regular ritual of initiation as well (318–336). The text then dwells on the themes of consecration of the images of the deity made of different materials (337–367), the procedure for the *japa* sacrifice (368–377) and mantric cultivation (378–395), yogic meditation (396–405), reflections on creation and dissolution (406–413), rewards of mantric cultivation (414–415), and the preparation of the protective amulet (416–430). Before it concludes (476–478), the text discusses the Yogic understanding of body-mechanism and then elaborates on the grounds, conditions and procedure for yogic suicide (431–475).

4. Philosophy and Symbolism

The VK briefly explains, mainly in its prologue, the philosophical and theological background behind the formation of the androgynous divine body of the deity and its mantric counterpart, looking at the reality from mythical cum esoteric point of view. As the text teaches, there are gross, subtle, and ultimate forms of reality, and also the bodily and bodiless forms of the godhead. The gross is all that which has some shape, each and every entity in the world and the same is with the bodily form. The subtle is the entity rising from mantras and that is proclaimed here as the bodiless. The ultimate form is designated as supreme bliss; it is the abode of both forms of *ātman* (*ubhayātmālaya*): the bodiless supreme self (*paramātman*), and the embodied self characterised by

karma (*karmātman*).[25] Everything gets manifested in this unity, existent as well as non-existent, and so, it appears as if it has difference.[26]

In non-difference of all beings the supreme lord is located, merged into the interior of all entities, and furnished with all-knowledge. This knowledge means the course of scriptures and the object of knowledge is defined as reality of consciousness.[27] That is proclaimed as the supreme self, as void, and to have the form of bliss. The scripture consists of true knowledge (*vidyā*) that indicates the true being of the *brahman* (*sadbrahma*) and false knowledge (*avidyā*) that conceptualises all different forms of individual things.[28]

At this point, obviously a question arises, which the text puts it in the mouth of the goddess: 'if always the reality of *brahman* is explained empathetically through non-difference, how can difference be allowed into the ultimate supreme self?'[29]

The godhead answers: 'transformation of the ultimate that by nature lies beyond transformation is considered to be "difference", and produced from difference is time that has three courses. One and the same time stands in three ways, as that which has come into existence, that which is coming now, and that which has still to come: past, present, and future. Thanks to this nature of time, the world is threefold: That already arranged in a certain order and set into the mosaic of the world, that being arranged/set now in that way and that which remains there (*śiṣṭa*) yet to be created. For time itself is the lord who sets in motion entire creation.

At the primordial time, the ultimate is twofold in pacific and sublime forms. The pacific bestows wellbeing and is characterised as consciousness. The sublime is that which arises from the union of the word and the meaning, the god and the goddess. The power of the word, namely, the meaning, is the goddess; and the Lord is the soul of the word. Thus, in the form of "power"

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[25] Every individual self, situated in the midst of these entities, is named as 'the self characterised by karma' (*karmātman*). He is born, dies, and is happy or angry. He also strives for 'accomplishments', always desires enjoyments, is hooked on the feeling of 'mine', is overwhelmed by thirst and burning sorrow, is tormented by avarice, delusion and fear; and regards the world as permanent, being himself hooked to its affection and overpowered by the host of entities (Cf. VK, verses 32–34).

[26] Cf. VK, verses 15–17.

[27] I feel that the term *dharma* is used here very much in Buddhist lines. So, I take *ciddharma* as the phenomenon of consciousness, not just the property of consciousness but consciousness itself.

[28] Cf. VK, verses 19–21.

[29] Cf. VK, verse 18.

and "the possessor of power", always the same unitary entity is framed. The possessor of power is the all-pervading god, and the power comes in the form of bliss. The creation sets in motion as the two are conjoined and a union is formed. Therefore, god creates the world assuming an unified form comprised of fire and the moon.'[30]

As the VK teaches, from the 'god', the entity of *puruṣa* is created, and from *puruṣa* the entity of *prakṛti*. Then the 'intellect' comes into existence from *prakṛti*, and from intellect the 'I-awareness', from which in turn the 'mind' springs up. From the 'mind' then come into being 'sense faculties', the 'sense organs', the 'subtle elements'; and then the 'gross elements'.[31] Thus, from 'the source' all entities spring up, one after the other in a row, and again in the course of destruction, each entity merges into the entity lying higher and thus finally all are merged into the ultimate entity.

5. Visualisation

According to the VK, Lakṣmīvāsudeva has eight arms, is attended by Garuḍa, and is flanked by two male attendants on the right-hand side and by two female companions on the left-hand side. The male attendants are named Sarvaiśvaryaprada and Sarvaśaktiprada, while the companions, two young ladies, are called Nalinī and Padminī. In one rare Nepalese image placed by art-historians in the 13th century (Schroeder 2019, Plate 220B) all these four are depicted, but instead of Garuḍa, Nāgarāja Ananta is depicted standing beneath the lotus Lakṣmīvāsudeva. In another image placed around the 16th century (Schroeder 2019, Plate 223E), all these four are depicted with folded hands seated below the feet on two sides. This image also shows the normal (non-androgynous) miniature images of the twelve *vyūhāntara* forms of Viṣṇu around the main image,[32] something not mentioned in the VK. In the 13th century image from Patko Tol (Schroeder 2019, Plate 220C), only the two male attendants are depicted on two sides of the deity. In another image from the 16th century (Schroeder 2019, Plate 223F) only the female attendants are depicted on two sides, with additional *vyūhāntara* deities around. So, it appears that most of the time these were mentally visualised. According to the VK, Lakṣmīvāsudeva is encircled by his ancillary mantras in personified forms

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[30] Cf. VK, verses 25–28.

[31] Here the classical Sāṃkhya ontology is naively simplified, and of course, the 'god' is superimposed at the top. In the classical Sāṃkhya system, *puruṣa* is not the cause of *prakṛti*, but it is so described here.

[32] Except for the two I mention above, there are two more images, which depict the twelve *vyūhāntara* forms of Viṣṇu, and one depicts four-armed female counterparts of the twelve deities. All these five images are placed by art-historians around the 16th century.

which is very usual for a Tantric deity of early times. They can be conceived either sharing the same seat with the deity or standing separately. The VK gives higher importance to this retinue of the *aṅgamantras*, and presents it before the attendants and companions are presented, when Garuḍa appears the last. Most of Nepalese images show Lakṣmīvāsudeva standing on a lotus, in some of them two-armed Garuḍa is shown in *namaskāramudrā* on the right side and rarely also a turtle on the left side. All other images except the Nepalese ones depict the deity mounted on Garuḍa, with four or eight arms. However, the VK shows him with eight-arms.

The visualisation from the VK describes only the eight-armed form of the deity in different poses: seated or standing or mounted on Garuḍa. Here is the visualisation with a translation:

> *ekavaktraṃ viśālākṣam aṣṭabāhuṃ janārdanam |*
> *ardhe ca pauruṣaṃ dhatte devīrūpaṃ tathāpare ||*
> *dravatpīyūṣasaṃkāśaṃ śaśāṅkaśatatejasam |*
> *ambujaṃ ca gadāṃ śaṃkhaṃ cakraṃ caiva jvalatprabham ||*
> *dakṣiṇe bhujavṛnde tu vāme caivāparaṃ śṛṇu |*
> *darpaṇaṃ kalaśaṃ nālaṃ pustakaṃ cāstram uttamam ||* (VK 96–99)

[One should visualise] Janārdana [in this system] single-faced, wide-eyed, and eight-armed. He bears the male-form in the one half and the form of goddess in the other. A lotus equal to one hundred moons in lustre and appearing like fluxing nectar, a mace, a conch, and a discus with burning flames: these are in his right hands, and in his left hands are a water-jar, a mirror, a lotus-stalk or plant (*nāla*),[33] and a manuscript.[34]

All Nepalese images and paintings depict the deity with eight arms as described in our text, and with one exception[35] (SCHROEDER 2019, Plate 222D)

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[33] All later texts have replaced the lotus-plant (*nāla*/*nalinī*) with a second lotus or water-lily (*padma*/*utpala*), and apparently, they had no idea what these attributes represented. It is interesting that as an art-historian SCHROEDER 2019: 707 has this to say about two different flowers in the right and left hands of the deity: 'the lotus held in Viṣṇu's lower right hand clearly represents a lotus flower (*padma*) with few broad petals, while Lakṣmī holds in the third hand what looks like a blue water-lily (*nīlotpala*) with narrow pointed petals'. After checking all available images, I find that the artists knew one of the two flowers they should have depicted with a longer stalk but they, too, had no clear idea and have placed it in the hand of Viṣṇu.

[34] Obviously, the attributes in the right hands are the attributes of the most common four-armed form of Viṣṇu, but those in the left hands are not usual attributes of a four-armed form of Lakṣmī.

[35] I am also aware of one painted scroll (https://www.philamuseum.org/collection/object/88525/ Retrieved on 1 November 2021) and one metal specimen (https://arjuna-vallabha.tumblr.com/

all known stone sculptures show the deity standing. There is one four-armed variation of the deity painted on the book-cover of the *Vaiṣṇavāmṛtasāroddhāra*, as mentioned above, and B. L. Malla has published an image of this deity from Bijbehara, Kashmir, which has four arms only (Malla 1996: figures 42 and 43). In this image the deity appears with a mace(?) and a lotus in his right hands and a mirror and a manuscript in his left hands. I have come across a Rajasthani fresco/mural painting of a standing four-armed Lakṣmīvāsudeva depicted on the wall of the Dr. Ramnath A. Podar Haveli Museum at Nawalgarh in the Shekhawati region of Rajasthan, and once again, the attributes are different: a discus, a mace, a lotus and a waterpot.[36] I have not found these visualisations in any text, but have found the following visualisation in which the same type of androgynous form of Viṣṇu, but named as Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, has four arms and has some other attributes in his hands. This visualisation, at the same time a prescription for the sculptor, comes from the *Pādmasaṃhitā*, a South Indian Vaiṣṇava Āgama, and reads as follows:

lakṣmīnārāyaṇaṃ kuryād bhujāṣṭakasamanvitam |
yad vā caturbhujaṃ śaṅkhacakrādyāyudhabhūṣitam ||
vāmabhāge tu hastābhyāṃ varadaṃ paṅkajaṃ tu vā |
itarābhyāṃ ca hastābhyām abhayaṃ cakram eva vā ||
vapuṣo dakṣiṇe bhāge viṣṇur vāme saroruhā |
pīnastanataṭo vāmaḥ śrīvatsāṅkas tathetaraḥ ||
vāme hemanibhaḥ śyāmo dakṣiṇo bhāga iṣyate |
āsīnaṃ vā śayānaṃ vā garuḍārūḍham eva vā ||
sthitaṃ vā kalpayed devaṃ   (Kriyāpāda 18.50–54a)

One should make the image of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa[37] eight-armed, or else, four-armed. It should be made adorned with a conch, a discus and other emblems. In two hands on the left side of the deity, the [gesture of] boon and a lotus [should be placed], and in other two hands the [gesture of] safety and a discus. On the right side of the body Viṣṇu is depicted and on the left Saroruhā, namely, Lakṣmī. The left side [should have] the slope of a full breast, and the right side the mark of *śrīvatsa*. The image should have golden hue on the left side and the right side should be black. One may depict the deity seated, or lying, or mounted on Garuḍa, or standing.

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post/633238228788527105/ Retrieved on 21 November 2021) of eight-armed Lakṣmīvāsudeva seated in lotus posture.

[36] https://sudhagee.com/2017/01/02/museum-treasure-vaikuntha-kamalaja/. Retrieved on 21 November 2021.

[37] This text uses the same name Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa to refer to both composite and non-composite forms of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa. See above, footnote 18, for a discussion.

Lakṣmīvāsudeva in his androgynous form symbolises the combination and complementarity of dual aspects of reality: the pacific and sublime, the word and meaning, power and its possessor and god and goddess. As for the principles the emblems placed in the hands of the deity represent, the VK (verses 100–101) states:

> *padmaṃ sṛṣṭiḥ samākhyātaṃ śaṃkhaṃ śabdākhya ucyate |*
> *gadā ca paramā vidyā cakraṃ kālākhyarūpi ca ||*
> *kalaśaṃ ṛtuṣaṭkaṃ ca nalinī viśvasantatiḥ |*
> *darpaṇo bhāvasadbhāvaḥ śabdabrahma ca pustakam ||*

The lotus is interpreted as the creation, the conch is said to be [a representation of] the word. The mace [represents] the highest esoteric knowledge and the discus the entity of time. The water jar [represents] the set of six seasons, and the lotus-plant (*nalinī*) the continual existence of the world. The mirror stands for the actual being of all beings (*bhāva-sadbhāva*),[38] and the manuscript stands for the essential reality of the word (*śabdabrahman*).

The godhead thus endowed with these symbolic attributes is adorned with a crown, a girdle, bracelets, anklets and necklaces. He is bearing the mark of *śrīvatsa*, and the *kaustubha* jewel, and shines beautifully with jewel necklaces. The godhead of gods, who can bestow both the worldly pleasure as well as liberation, whose heart is filled with compassion, who is full of the nectar of love, and who is ready to rescue the world, should be visualised according to the *sādhaka*'s choice in three forms, either standing, or seated, or ready for flying in the sky on the *brahmayāna*. He should be shown in a tightly fastened lotus posture when he is seated and excessively filled with the nectar-like sweetness of affection.[39]

6. *Prāṇāyāma* and Other Yogic Elements

The VK insists that the breathing exercise (*prāṇāyāma*) is essential for internal purity. It teaches that one should perform it in order to get rid of internal impurities, after taking a simple bath for the sake of cleaning. Uttering the *praṇava* with its twelve units, one should inhale and fill the air inside (*pūraka*) without releasing the air thus filled. By retaining the air inside in this way, *kumbhaka* is formed and the body-fire (*jāṭharāgni*) is kindled. One should then

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[38]   This equation most probably implies that the actual being of all phenomenal beings is nothing more than that of the reflection in the mirror. The reflection in the mirror does not exist in real time nor space, nor does it have a real form, dimension, connection, density, etc. but appears to have all of these. Neither is it a non-entity nor has it anything for its own essence.

[39]   Cf. VK, verses 102–105.

channel that fire mixed with vital air through the nerves. Due to this blending of fire and wind, perspiration of water occurs. This will become *kumbhaka* as long as the *sādhaka* remains in that situation filled like a pot. With three rounds of this process, he should cleanse all the filth of the channels of veins, and then gradually exhale the air. The level of purity attained through hundreds of rounds of the tough *kṛcchra-cāndrāyaṇa* vow and other auspicious vows of self-restraint is attained through the restraint of vital air (*prāṇanirodhana*).[40]

The text recommends that one should afterwards cleanse those internal impurities with the retention of mind in various levels (*dhāraṇā*). The physical body, how excellent, has arisen from the material elements, and has six sheaths but no essence. It can be described as an assemblage of illusive concepts (*avidyānicayopama*). Purification of such a body is possible only by means of mental retention at five levels: dissolve the earth element in the water, the water in the fire, the fire in the wind, and the wind in the ether, and finally, dissolve the ether in consciousness flowing everywhere equally. After attaining to that state of enlightened cognition, one would feel his self being intermingled into the entity of ultimate bliss, as if a small amount of milk had spilled into an ocean of milk, and this equanimity with the ultimate at this state renders him 'purified'.[41]

A *sādhaka* who is thus purified by coming into contact of the ultimate self should then carry out the symbolic burning of the body. He should think that a burning spark from the fireball of consciousness has fallen on his head and his body has burst into flames. He should then think that the flames have been extinguished leaving his body as a heap of fire embers as the ashes are brought in ten directions by the wind of cognition. He should imagine further that from the ocean of *brahman*, an ocean without waves, the immortal water representing all knowable objects (*jñeya*) has oozed out through the channel of creation, and with that water he is invigorated and so is his body, the cage of material elements. Through this process of pure creation, he should settle back into the purified material body. Having thus attained internal purity, for the sake of external purification one should have a ritual bath uttering mantras, and then perform the twilight prayer before entering the place of worship.[42]

7. Internal and External Worship

At the place of worship, he should assume a seat, install mantras all around, and begin with the veneration of god in one's own heart (*hārdayāga*). One should discover the ultimate self in one's own self configured as the excellent

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[40] Cf. VK, verses 143–148ab.
[41] Cf. VK, verses 148cd–152.
[42] Cf. VK, verses 153–157.

paśyantī form that is free from both gross and subtle forms, situated in the cavity of the heart-lotus, and recognise that as the supreme that abides in the supreme state, the imperishable supreme self that is devoid of all flaws of fancy (*vikalpamala*), is burning with his own power of cognition, is free from the calculation of elements, and is devoid of both pure and impure latent impressions (*vāsanādvaya*). This is 'god' defined by the property of consciousness and is delighted with the delightful experience of his own bliss. After one discovers the supreme god thus in his own self, covered with the rays of consciousness like a Kadamba flower, all his sins are destroyed.[43]

A *sādhaka* who does not find the difference of the worshipper, worship, and the object of worship, his worship is simply the thought of such unity felt in meditative cultivation (*bhāvanābhāvya*). Whoever has this understanding is a knower of *brahman*. Such a person can liberate anybody who comes into his contact, simply by seeing, touching, or speaking, and also his ancestors together with his kinsmen and acquaintances instantly. The gifts he gave, the oblations he offered, and the things he consumed would be ten million times superior, and whatsoever he has said, either real or unreal, all that as such would be sanctified, and anything impure purified. This is the veneration that yields accomplishment of the desire of one's heart.[44]

Also, in the process of external worship the worshipper is supposed to first worship his own soul as Lakṣmīvāsudeva following the mental course of veneration and with nice ingredients produced from his thought. He should conceive his self in the excellent heart-lotus covered with the rays of consciousness as if a Kadamba flower, luminous as myriads of suns and vibrating with his own bliss. By worshipping his self in this way, understanding worship in this way and abiding by his own nature of the supreme bliss, one is capable of worshipping the entire creation of fourteen realms: both heaven and earth, and all divine, non-divine, and human beings. Who worships his own self this way is the best and foremost of all worshippers and he would be successful in everything and have everything he desired. He should thereafter resort to duality so that he would be divided into worshipped and worshipper. Once the altar is constructed, he should emit the deity in the form of fire through the channel of breathing into the pericarp of the lotus of the *maṇḍala* and worship the deity there with all possible means.[45]

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[43] Cf. VK, verses 187–191.
[44] Cf. VK, verses 192–195.
[45] Cf. VK, verses 243cd–249.

8. Modes of Initiation

The VK gives two accounts of initiation. The first is the initiation that has to do with the esoteric knowledge and is capable of bestowing immediate success and the reward of the final release. It does not need the sacred fire, ghee and sesame seeds.[46] The other is meant for those disciples with cultivated mind, who are devoted to the god, the sacred fire, and the teacher. This is performed with all rituals, a fire sacrifice, and the cutting and oblation of 'the thread of bondage' (*pāśasūtra*). Both procedures of initiation, however, will have the same result. As the text states, anyone who goes through these procedures and receives initiation will have his vices and virtues eliminated and will realise the nature of the ultimate *brahman*. He will be settled in truth, defined by the property of pure consciousness, characterised by the light of the supreme bliss and filled with it. He will be located within the ultimate space in the state of union, like butter is inherent in milk and oil in sesame seeds, and fire hidden in each piece of wood.[47]

Because of its special nature, let me give here an account of the first, the procedure of the enlightening initiation (*bodhadīkṣā*). As the text instructs, first the teacher should gradually gather up the host of *tattva*s from his body, and through the course of vital breath enter the disciple's body in the form of the enlightening esoteric knowledge that furnishes the essence of the ultimate reality one must know. After gathering all the *tattva*s, he should separate and put aside the seed of consciousness. Then following the left current of the vital breath, he should reach and pour all the *tattva*s into the heart of that disciple. After this, the disciple is liberated from all his *karman*: liberated from the *karma*-related impurities and the conditions of nescience. As purification leads one to union with the ultimate entity, the teacher should engage further himself in the body of the disciple, and following the course of creation, install all of the purified *tattva*s in his self. Thus, the disciple's initiation is completed and both of his vices and virtues eliminated. This initiation can also be performed following the opposite course: the teacher could move along the right track through the current of resonance. He should enter into the disciple's self and should not exit. With this, the disciple will understand his true self lying inside the cavity of the heart-lotus and also the body made of elements. He should then be able to recreate all the *tattva*s in purified form and cast them outside.[48]

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[46] Cf. VK, verses 274.

[47] Cf. VK, verses 330–331.

[48] Cf. VK, verses 265–273.

9. Knowledge of the Body and the Departure

One important component of the VK is its section on the yogic method of 'departure' (*utkrānti*) of the soul from the body. This section is important in the sense that it provides a good description of the yogic body with a network of vein-channels (*nāḍī*) and circles (*cakra*). It highlights the fact that it is necessary to understand the yogic body to understand the non-corporeal nature of the self. According to the text, one is called Kaula when he realises himself as the Kula in his body. Even a man engaged in all kinds of gnostic endeavours, purified and engaged in all forms of gift-giving, is unable to achieve the same level of bliss achieved by a man who has understood the material body.

One should know that the pleasures of sound, touch, sight, taste, and smell make in the body a five-spoke *cakra* where the nectar of bliss permeates. Situated there, the individual self knows everything as it is.[49] One experiences the ultimate pleasure of equanimity that brings a halt to all undertakings as one drinks water after being extremely thirsty or eats food after being extremely hungry, as one feels the blowing wind in hot summer, as one goes near a fire in cold winter, as one savours tasty flavours, as one sees light in the dark, as one is united with one's lover after separation, as one is engaged in sexual play. The same pleasure one experiences when one restrains all operations of one's mind, discards the filth of mental fancy and fabrication (*vikalpamala*), and turns to equanimity in the meditative state of mind. The same pleasure is experiences in the state of liberation.[50]

Pleasure or bliss (*ānanda*) is the nature of *brahman*, therefore people venerate it. Through the experience of bliss, union with *brahman* is undoubtedly achieved when obstacles are removed. The body of every embodied being is the domain of enjoyment. One is called Kaula when he realises himself as the Kula in his body. Even a man engaged in all kinds of gnostic endeavours, purified and engaged in all forms of gift-giving, cannot attain the same level of bliss that is attained by a man who has understood the material body. On the other hand, if one finally realises the non-corporeal form of the self in one's body, he is a worthy man even if he had been engaged in all kinds of evils and had failed in all duties in his lifetime. Such a man is freed from all Karma and enters the flawless state after death.[51]

One should make up his mind for the departure of the soul, only if one's body is completely worn out after reaching old age and one is incapable of

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[49]   Cf. VK, verses 455–456.
[50]   Cf. VK, verses 457–459.
[51]   Cf. VK, verses 460–463.

performing one's duties and enjoying any pleasures, does not sense the objects of senses, and trembles and stumbles in every step.[52] First of all, he should completely abandon the feeling of embodiment in all states of mind. He must know the 26 steps in the course of departure, the established hierarchy of the *tattva*s, so that he smoothly moves upward. He should first utter the *praṇava*, the syllable *Oṃ*, then gather the inhaled breath in the body (*apāna*),[53] and release it through the nostrils and then fill up the heart (*hṛdaya*). Now he should not release the filled air but direct it upwards leading the soul, awakened in this way and situated in the heart, through the channel of veins and after reaching the passage of the palate he should break open the aperture of *brahman*, i.e., the cranium.[54]

With the help of three protracted blows of the breath through the nostrils he should break the knot located in the vein-channel of Piṅgalā. With the bow of mind and the power of cognition as the penetrating arrow, he should awaken his soul inhabited in the cave of the *brahman*-crevice (*brahmaguhā*). Then having his thought firmly resolved to his aim, he will enter the eternal abode. Having thus penetrated and departed from his body, he unites with the best of mantras (*mantravara*) that has the lustre of thousands of crores of Suns and the rays of hundreds of Moons.[55] This is the true form of *brahman*, this is the supreme abode of Viṣṇu. Once he enters it, his self is without semblance (*nirābhāsa*) but can only be characterised as a body of pure consciousness. Like a thing reached in the state of emptiness is merged in emptiness or milk poured in milk is just milk, one's individual self reached there attains unity (*ekībhāva*) with the Supreme Self and is in the state of the supreme bliss. Thus, he is in company (*sāyujya*) with the Lord and the danger of rebirth is eliminated.[56]

As I am preparing a critical edition of this text with a detailed introduction and a summary, I have simply narrated a few of the themes of the text, without entering into a critical or comparative appraisal. This I hope has provided a good glimpse of subject matter of the text and fuel a desire in the reader to read the original text itself when published.

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[52] Cf. VK, verses 464–465.
[53] Cf. VK, verses 466–467.
[54] Cf. VK, verses 468–469.
[55] Cf. VK, verses 470–472.
[56] Cf. VK, verses 473–475.

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Fig. 1. A masterpiece stone Sculpture of Lakṣmīvāsudeva, variously dated from 10th to 15th century CE, in the Dallas Museum of Art in 2017, now returned to Nepal. © Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain File.

Fig. 2. Lakṣmīvāsudeva in Gilded copper and inlaid. 14th century, Nepal. Guimet Museum in Paris. © Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain File.

Elements of Animate and Inanimate Nature in the Practice of *Avadhāna*

Hermina Cielas

Abstract: This paper focuses on the practice of *avadhāna*, which is based on highly developed cognitive skills (ability to concentrate, memory) and showcasing of manifold strengths and knowledge during partially improvised spectacles. Various challenges to be met involve the elements of animate and inanimate nature. The main purpose of the article is to investigate the occurrence of these components and their role in the *avadhāna*, as well as to examine the possible sources of specialised knowledge in equinology (*aśvaśāstra*), elephant lore (*gajaśāstra*) and visual poetry (*citrakāvya*) required from the *avadhāna* performers.

Keywords: *avadhāna*, nature, performance, *citrakāvya*, attention

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1. Introduction

The *avadhāna*, or – as it can be referred to – the art of attentiveness, is still understudied and relatively mysterious.[1] Even though the origin of the practice is not the main focus of the present paper, it is relevant to refer,

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[1] Even though the *avadhāna* can be dated at least to the 12th–13th century and is still practiced today, it has remained outside of academic interest for a long time. The most comprehensive work on the topic appears to be the *Kannaḍadalli Avadhānakale* [*The Art of Avadhāna in Kannada*] by R. Ganesh, a contemporary practitioner of the art. Recently, the revised version of the *Kannaḍadalli Avadhānakale*, authored by Ganesh and Kiran 2020, has been published in English as *The Art and Science of Avadhānam in Sanskrit*. The work is an important source on the practice of *avadhāna*. Nevertheless, it focuses on the literary form of the art of attentiveness, mentioning the other types only briefly. It studies the *avadhāna* from the point of view of a performer, offering a valuable insight into practical aspects of the practice. A reader interested in the general description of *avadhāna* and the features of the art beyond the scope of the present study (including the origin of *avadhāna*, epigraphic evidences or the study of *avadhāna* in the context of categories of ritual and performance) may refer to the recent articles devoted to the subject, such as Sudyka and Galewicz 2012; Cielas 2017, 2020.

at least briefly, to its beginnings. The *avadhāna* originated probably as a literary performative art influenced by several pre-existing practices. The art of attentiveness understood as showcasing poetic talents and cognitive capacities in the form of fulfilling manifold tasks during partially improvised performances flourished the most probably at the Indian courts. The poets who sought for the royal approval and recognition went through the examination inspired by the tradition of composing extemporised poetry, solving literary puzzles, and competing during the *kavigoṣṭhī*s, 'the assemblies of poets'. The idea of organising the meeting of poets at the court is not the only one behind the origin of *avadhāna*. Solving riddles or puzzles played an important role also in the so-called *brahmodya*s ('*brahman* utterance') long before it became a component of the art of attentiveness. The *brahmodya* can be characterised as '(…) a ritualised verbal contest involving a formulaic interrogation sequence posed by one priest and an equally formulaic response on the part of a rival' (Thompson 1997: 13). An exchange of questions and answers with a strong competitive component is a principal incorporated also in the *avadhāna*. The most similar to the tradition of *brahmodya* appears to be the *vedāvadhāna*, where scholars recite the Vedas from memory in accordance with various modes of recitation, collectively known as the *vikṛtipāṭha*s, and exhibit other skills. The *pāṭha*s were developed for the sake of memorising the Vedas, independently from the *avadhāna* and much earlier than the art of attentiveness originated. Even though the Vedic scholars are often addressed reverentially as the *vedāvadhānī*s,[2] a proper Vedic *avadhāna* performance consists of not only the recitation of *vikṛtipāṭha*s but includes other elements.[3]

The art of attentiveness did not originate at once, it is a result of many practices combined. Through the centuries it incorporated various elements of Indian culture. The well-known symbols, the everyday objects or traditions characteristic for the Indian subcontinent became tools in the process of examining skills displayed by the *avadhānī*s. The art of attentiveness is far from being homogenous. It is practised all over India, in many languages, like Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil, Hindi, etc. In some places, for example in Karnataka or Andhra Pradesh, it became more popular than in the others, but it has never been limited to one area only. During performances, in front of the audience, the practitioners fulfil their tasks involving many fields of science or

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[2]   The *avadhānī*, 'the one who possesses concentration' is a practitioner of the *avadhāna*. A female practitioner is called *avadhāninī*. Analogically, an exponent of the *vedāvadhāna* is known as the *vedāvadhānī*, etc.

[3]   Among them one can find, for example, specifying a number of phonemes, syllables, words or the accents in a given hymn or the whole Veda, reciting a hymn with the addition of the syllable *ūṃ* before each word, and alike.

artistic skills, at times engaging exceptionally developed senses and specialised knowledge. The tasks are set by the questioners (*pṛcchaka*s). In the course of the trial, the performers are not allowed to take notes. The key prerequisite of the *avadhānī* is an extraordinary ability to concentrate – the factor joining all of the types of the art.

The abilities showcased by the *avadhānī*s and the types of the art can be divided into three categories: mnemonic, technical, and artistic. In the first one, the pivotal component is memorisation. The difficulty lies in the number of elements to remember. The mnemonic formula of *avadhāna* is characteristic especially for the Jain tradition. The second group of attentive skills includes technical abilities. Here, the *avadhānī*s complete the tasks that require certain erudition, knowledge of codes and the above-average development of senses gained through the extraordinary concentration and *dhairya* – steadiness, self-control and intellectual vigour. The notable kinds of the technical *avadhāna* are the *tṛṇāvadhāna*, 'the blade of grass *avadhāna*', the *netrāvadhāna*, 'the ocular *avadhāna*', and the *aṅguṣṭhāvadhāna* 'the thumb *avadhāna*', to be described in the following part of the present study. In the third category of the practice*,* artistic expression is a clue component. The *avadhānī*s have to be characterised not only by all the qualities enumerated before but also by the *pratibhā*, imagination, the spark of talent and creativity. The paradigmatic artistic kind of *avadhāna* is the *sāhityāvadhāna*, 'the literary *avadhāna*'. To this group belong also the theatrical *nāṭyāvadhāna* and the *citrāvadhāna* focusing on painting. Throughout the artistic *avadhāna,* the *avadhānī* gradually creates pieces of art (depending on the type it can be poems, theatrical etudes, paintings, etc.) by the questioners' stipulations. In the *sāhityāvadhāna*, at the end of the performance, the practitioner additionally recalls from memory all the stanzas composed previously.

The borders between the mnemonic, technical and artistic *avadhāna*s are fluid. Some practitioners present their skills only within the scope of one kind while the others specialise in one but incorporate the elements of other types as well. For instance, to show versatility, the practitioner of the artistic *avadhāna* may include in the performance some purely mnemonic or technical tasks. Also, unrelated challenges examining various skills, usually from the domain of technical *avadhāna*s, can be performed within a single spectacle. Then, we speak of the *nānāvadhāna*, 'the manifold art of attentiveness', popular especially among Jains and in Tamil Nadu.

The literary sources attest to the performances in which the *avadhānī*s fulfilled manifold tasks in a single session. An enumeration of challenges can be found for instance in the Tamil works of the *viṟaliviṭutūtu* genre, 'message borne

by *viṟali* singer' (Peterson 2016: 64), e.g. in Kavirāyar's *Kūlappaṉāyakkaṉ Viṟaliviṭutūtu* composed in the 18th century in the honour of the author's patron, Nāgama Kūlappa Nāyakkaṉ, and in the *Naṉṉāvūr Caṅkamēcuvaracuvāmi Vētaṉāyaki Ammaṉ Pēril Viṟaliviṭutūtu* (NCVNAVVT) from the 17th century. The works describe the humiliation of *avadhānī*s (referred to as the *avatāṉi*s in Tamil) by the courtesans and their mother-bawds and contain parts with the *résumé*s of Aṭṭāvatāṉi and Cōṭacāvatāṉi (Peterson 2016: 72–74).[4] Similar enumerations of activities as well as other congruous tasks can be found also in later sources, e.g. in the 19th-century and the early 20th-century testimonies of the art mentioned in the present article or the memoirs of the practitioners (see, e.g. Mitchell 2009: 146–154). Once compared to the contemporary forms of *avadhāna*, these accounts attest to the transformations, inclusions and exclusions within the art. Most of the *nānāvadhāna* tasks do not occur in the contemporary *avadhāna*s at all, even as an element of the specialised art of attentiveness, and the exact character of some of them is not very clear. Additionally, the available sources usually limit the information to a short enumeration of the challenges, devoid of further elaboration. Yet, the data confirm a more universal character of certain endeavours while the others appear to be related to a particular area only.

In both groups – the pan-Indian and regional – the challenges connected to nature occupy a meaningful position and set the frame of performance or supplement and coalesce other tasks. Nevertheless, the present paper is the first attempt of specifying such components in the art of attentiveness and analysing their role.

The elements of nature can be exploited in the *avadhāna* in two manners. The first one is related to the artistic types of the practice. Every time the *avadhānī* creates a piece of art nature can be present in the form of a primary or secondary motif. The second manner, which is the focal point of the present article, is strictly connected to the technical types of *avadhāna*. In some of them, the described components serve as a basis for particular challenges or even for the individual types of the art related to specific animals, plants, or natural objects.

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[4] Aṭṭāvatāṉi and Cōṭacāvatāṉi, the names of the main characters, correspond to the Sanskrit terms *aṣṭāvadhānī* and *ṣoḍaśāvadhānī*, the performers of the eightfold and the sixteen-fold *avadhāna*. The numbers refer to one more division within the practice. The distinction depends on the number of challenges given by the questioners during a single performance. The *aṣṭāvadhāna*, 'the eightfold attention' with eight tasks, is the most popular variety. Analogically, the performance consisting of sixteen challenges is called the *ṣoḍaśāvadhāna*, of one hundred the *śatāvadhāna*, and the like.

2. Plants, performers' bodies and the elements of inanimate nature

Particular types within the *avadhāna* tradition depend entirely on the objects of the living world. The *tṛṇāvadhāna* is a practice of conveying the message by various movements of a blade of grass (*tṛṇa*), which becomes a means of communication. A few facts should be noted concerning the choice of medium in the practice of *tṛṇāvadhāna*. Various kinds of grass play an important role in Indian culture. They occur in Vedic rituals, where the usage of certain Gramineae is not coincidental.[5] The blade of grass can be also interpreted as *brahman*, the first cause and the source of everything. It is the focal point of a mythological tale known from the *Kena Upaniṣad*,[6] in which *brahman* challenges god Agni to burn a blade of grass. The god of fire is not able to fulfil the task because his powers stem from *brahman*. Two given examples represent a vast number of connotations of grass in Indian culture. Nevertheless, a minute analysis of the meaning of *tṛṇa* appears to be rather irrelevant for the study of *avadhāna*. The choice of medium in the *tṛṇāvadhāna* is not coincidental – the art of attentiveness exploits the elements significant for Indian culture – but it seems that its denotation does not have a direct influence on the course of performance. A blade of grass serves as a means of communication, but the intended meaning of a conveyed message does not depend on meaning carried by *tṛṇa* itself. Unfortunately, the exact origin of the *tṛṇāvadhāna* code is not clear. It is not practised anymore and no sources describe the course of performance or specify the roots of the practitioners' knowledge. Therefore, it is impossible to state whether the system of movements has been adopted for usage in the *avadhāna* or if it has been created exclusively for the art.

As a form of the art of attentiveness the *tṛṇāvadhāna* is analogous to the variations of *avadhāna* in which particular parts of the body play the role of a medium of communication. In the *netrāvadhāna,* the performer uses his eyeballs, eyelids and eyebrows, and in the *aṅguṣṭhāvadhāna,* the message is conveyed through the movements of a thumb. The *avadhānī*s perform in a couple: one of them has to express the message while the other has to decipher it. Each motion and particular position of eyes, thumb or blade of grass corresponds to one syllable, a phoneme or a short phrase. It is a universal code that can be used to convey a message in any language. The performer who does not know the language of the ordered message passed orally can always code it phonetically. In the case of messages written down and handed

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5 Interested reader may refer to the work by Jan GONDA 1985 devoted entirely to the study of ritual functions and significance of grasses in Vedic religion. One of the chapters of the book is focused on *tṛṇa*.

6 The story is narrated in the prose part of the *Kena Upaniṣad* (third and fourth *khaṇḍa*s).

for transmitting, as far as the text is written in the script known to the *avadhānī* and does not contain any unfamiliar phonemes, the language does not play any role. The silent spectacle runs in full focus because every single mistake, both on the account of a person conveying the information and on the side of its recipient, results in the distortion of a message and the failure of *avadhāna*. It can be compared to a public performance of transmitting a text *via* Morse code. A skilled and attentive observer can decode and understand it without a pen and piece of paper or any special equipment.

The *netrāvadhāna* and the *aṅguṣṭhāvadhāna* can be classified as the *abhinayāvadhāna*, 'the gesticulation / dramatic movement *avadhāna*'. Such categorization may also suggest the source of codes used by the *avadhānī*s. As noticed by Kṛṣṇamūrti:

> Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjāvūru has published in Two Volumes 'Nāṭya Śāstra Samgraha' in 1953. (…) This work, besides dealing with the origin of Nāṭya and the actions of limbs etc. and their uses, gives specific handposes equated to various Rāgas, Rāginis. (…) Several types of handmoves are also indicated for general application. (…) After reading and practicing all the actions of the several limbs prescribed in this text, one can begin to communicate through gesture any idea. Semantic attitudinisation can be standardised and the art of abhinaya-avadhāna can be developed, like netra avadhāna or extempore (oral) avadhāna (Kṛṣṇamūrti 1975: 38–39).

Kṛṣṇamūrti suggests that the basis of the art of attentiveness involving body parts movements is the dramatic art and works devoted to the *nāṭyaśāstra*. According to this assumption, the code used by the *netrāvadhānī*s and the *aṅguṣṭhāvadhānī*s is neither their creation nor it was developed for the *avadhāna*. It appears that the art of attentiveness incorporated, and possibly modified, a well-known repertoire of certain body movements. The inspiration for *avadhānī*s specialising in these types of *avadhāna* might be, therefore, treatises on performing arts, in particular on dancing, which enumerate the movements of body parts and elaborate on their execution. One of them is a 13th-century work by Śārṅgadeva titled *Saṅgītaratnākara*, 'The Ocean of Music and Dance'. In the chapter devoted to dance, the author who was patronised by Siṃhaṇa II from the Yādava dynasty describes among *aṅga*s the hand gestures. Some of them involve particular positions of a thumb. The gesture called *muṣṭi*, 'fist', for instance, is characterised in the following way:

When the finger-tips rest compactly in the middle of the palm, not covered [by the fingers], and the thumb remains pressed against the middle finger, that is called Muṣṭi. It is employed to indicate the holding of a spear, a sword or a stick and fighting of various kinds; and with the thumb turned forward, [this pose indicates] running (…) (KUNJUNNI RAJA and BURNIER 1976: 17).

The *muṣṭi* pose mirrors particular position of a hand used by the *aṅguṣṭhāvadhānī*s. However, similarly to other *aṅga*s of a hand described by Śārṅgadeva, it does not indicate phonemes or syllables but words, actions and ideas. The *aṅguṣṭhāvadhānī*s employ sequences of thumb poses while the rest of the hand remains static. An analogous situation is in the case of eye, pupil, and eyebrow movements presented by Śārṅgadeva in *Saṅgītaratnākara* and elaborated on in the chapter on *upāṅga*s. The author characterises many of them and determines their use. Nonetheless, the referred poses are supposed to express sentiments, emotional states, and general ideas, while in the *netrāvadhāna* each movement represents certain syllables, letters or phonemes. For this reason, it cannot be concluded that treatises on dance are a direct source of knowledge for the *avadhānī*s specialising in the technical forms of the art of attentiveness implementing the body movements. Many of the poses characterised by the theoreticians were incorporated in the *avadhāna*, but their meaning was the most probably modified and adapted for the purpose of the art of attentiveness.

The *netrāvadhāna* and the *aṅguṣṭhāvadhāna* are still practised. Two teenage girls, sisters from Machavaram in Andhra Pradesh, S.V. Sirisha and K. Sirisha, mastered both arts and perform all over the country showcasing their skills in transferring messages in Telugu, Hindi and English using their eyes and thumbs.[7] They have learned the *avadhāna* skills from their school headmaster, Adinarayana Swamy, who admitted that 'they have been practising since grade 6' (RAJITHA S 2017). Another famous duo is Lalitha Kameswari and K. Rama Kumari.[8] They perform the *netrāvadhāna*, also outside India, for example during the TANA (Telugu Association of North America) Conference

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[7]   The sisters performed during the World Telugu Conference in Hyderabad on 17 Dec. 2017. Mahaa News, a 24 hours Telugu News Broadcaster, registered their *avadhāna* completed in front of Nara Chandrababu Naidu, a former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and leader of the opposition in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly (see MAHAA NEWS 2018). S.V. Sirisha and K. Sirisha also performed on television, see 10TV NEWS TELUGU 2016; HMTV NEWS 2016 or ETV TELANGANA 2016.

[8]   The duo showcased their skills, for instance, on the occasion of Tanikella Bharani's (an Indian actor, screenwriter, poet, playwright and director) birthday celebrations organised by the Kala Foundation in Hyderabad. The video is available online (SRI T 2013).

2009, in Chicago. The couples are only two of the most famous examples of contemporary practitioners of the ocular art of attentiveness; it appears that at the beginning of the 21st century the ocular form of the art has become more and more popular.

The other instances in which plants or the elements of inanimate nature occur in the *avadhāna* are limited to single tasks. The most popular are different varieties of tossing items on the practitioner's back in the course of other challenges. The most common things to be thrown are pebbles or small or medium size flowers – big enough to be felt but also small enough not to hurt the *avadhānī*. Pebbles or flowers can be thrown singly or few at a time, at irregular intervals. The *avadhānī* has to count them and specify their total number at the end of the performance. One of the accounts mentioning the practice seems to be unreliable. Ramalakshmi claims that a certain '(…) Gurudanti Narisimhulu, a blind man[9] from Chicacole Sarkar[10] used to do Ashtavadhanam in 18th century. He was able to play chess and to count rice thrown on him amidst literary gathering' (RAMALAKSHMI 1977: 80). Taking into consideration the size of the rice seeds it is difficult to believe it could be used in this particular task. The information may be a single testimony describing highly developed skills, surprising even in the context of the *avadhānī*s' exceptional abilities or, more likely, an example of the exaggerated depiction of the practitioner's remarkable talent.

The account of the tossing task performed by Narisimhulu is the only attestation known to me that features rice. Nevertheless, the same practice involving the usage of flowers and pebbles is very popular in various types of *avadhāna*. Besides being the canonical component of the *nānāvadhāna*s, the tossing task is often included as one of the challenges supplementing the *sāhityāvadhāna* or the mnemonic *avadhāna*. It is denoted as the *puṣpatāḍana*, 'the striking with flowers'. The role of the challenge is manifold. It verifies a degree of sharpening the sense of touch obtained due to concentration.[11]

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9   The incapacity of the blind practitioners was limiting the set of tasks they could perform. But in some of the challenges, especially those requiring a highly developed sense of touch or hearing, they were particularly skilful. Another notable blind *avadhānī* was Govardhan Sharma Gattulalji, a man living in Bombay in the 19th century (TELANG 1944: 158–160) (ref. HC).

10   Chicacole Sarkar was one of the five Northern Circars – the districts according to the division of British India's Madras Presidency (ref. HC).

11   Other challenges connected to the development of senses are guessing 'the places where flowers were hidden from sight', or 'naming a person by the sounds he made', both quoted in the NCVNAVVT (PETERSON 2016: 73). In the first one, the *avadhānī* uses olfaction. The second one depends on the performer's hearing, like in the *ghaṇṭāvadhāna*, the *avadhāna* of bells. In this type of the art, the practitioner specifies the number and type (including the size or material) of bells that rang behind a screen throughout the performance and gives the

Being fulfilled along with the other tasks, interrupting them, it also examines the *avadhānī*'s ability to multitask.

3. Horses, tigers and elephants

In the vast repertoire of the *avadhāna* animals also found their place. Particularly interesting are three tasks: playing 'the game of tiger', taming a rutting elephant, and recognising horses by the hoofbeats, all attested in the *viṟaliviṭutūtu*s (PETERSON 2016: 73−74). Each of them is different. They feature various animals and require from the practitioner different prerequisites. Among the requirements are not only particular skills or mastering the senses. The challenges cannot be completed without specialised knowledge.

Less complicated – also because it does not involve the presence of a living creature – seems to be playing 'the game of tiger'. Even though the character of the challenge is not specified, it refers probably to the *āṭu puli āṭṭam*, 'the game of goats and tigers', in Telugu known as *pulijūdam*. The NCVNAVVT mentioning the task is in Tamil and, naturally, it describes the form of *avadhāna* popular in Tamil Nadu. The *āṭu puli āṭṭam* is a south-Indian, strategic, two-player hunt game. The game's origin is not clear beyond any doubt. As noticed by Agrawal and Iida, 'Some sources say that the game originated in the Himalayas, and others that it came from further south in India (…)' (AGRAWAL and IIDA 2018: 2).

The *nānāvadhāna* often exploited various games; the most common were chess and cards but local games were performed as well. The rules of *āṭu puli āṭṭam* are not very complicated. In this asymmetric game (one player controls three 'tigers' and the other player controls up to fifteen 'goats') the players move the pieces representing animals on the lined board with twenty-three intersections of lines. 'The tigers' try to kill 'the goats' while 'the goats' try to corner the opponents.[12] The *āṭu puli āṭṭam* requires concentration and planning, even more difficult to keep in the *avadhāna*, since the games are usually played simultaneously to the execution of other challenges. By completing them (not only playing but also winning) at the same time as the other tasks the *avadhānī*s

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final number of the strokes. Some peculiar tasks involving somatosensation and olfaction were performed also by Śrīmad Rājacandra. This 19th-century Jain layman from Gujarat included in his *avadhāna*s such elements as recognising books by smell and touch or using olfaction to determine the amount of salt in food. In the first case, twelve books of different sizes were given to Rājacandra. After a brief examination, he was able to recognize them being blindfolded. Using primarily the sense of touch and his mnemonic skills he was able to give, without seeing, the titles and authors of books presented to him previously.

[12] More information on *āṭu puli āṭṭam*, its origin, rules, and strategies, can be found, for example, in AGRAWAL and IIDA 2018 or JIN and NIEVERGELT 2009.

prove their ability to multitask.

The second challenge, taming a rutting elephant, appears to be more dangerous. The *avadhānī* has to deal with a living creature and elephants in rut are well-known for their erratic and aggressive behaviour. According to Evans

> Male elephants, and very rarely females, on obtaining maturity, are subject to peculiar paroxysms of excitement, which seem to have some connotation with the sexual functions (…). The behaviour changes, shown by disobedience to commands, trying to break away, or showing violence to man or destructive tendencies and being altogether out of sorts (Evans 1910: 175–176).

Calming the great and agitated animal is not an easy task, even if performed independently from the other challenges. In India, elephant lore (*gajaśāstra*) is an important branch of science. The *avadhānī*s were not trained mahouts, specialising in catching, tending, and taming elephants on daily basis. Without prior preparation, they would not be able to fulfil the challenge of pacifying a rutting animal. Their knowledge of the matter was probably based on various texts on elephantology, like the *Hastyāyurveda*, according to the tradition composed by the mythical founder of scientific elephantology, sage Pālakāpya. It focuses primarily on the medical treatment of elephants. Some passages containing the information on *gajaśāstra* can be found also in the 67th chapter of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsamhitā* or in the 31st and 32nd chapter of Kauṭilīya's *Arthaśāstra*.

One work on elephant lore seems to be particularly popular in South India. The *Mātaṅgalīlā* by Nīlakaṇṭha (17th–18th century) was well-spread in Kerala and its author might have been a native of Malabar (Ganapati Sastri 1910: Preface). The work contains a separate chapter devoted to the problem of must or musth – the condition of rutting elephants known in Sanskrit as *mada*. The opening stanza includes only basic information on tending elephants:

> *atimadhurarasānāṃ sevayā patrabhaṅgaiḥ kabalakubalaśaṣpair annapānair yathoktaiḥ |*
> *śrutisubhagavacobhiḥ pāṃsupaṅkāmbudānair bhavati muditacetāḥ kāmacārena nāgaḥ || ML 9.1*

> By the service of very sweet liquids; thanks to shattered leaves, young grass, *kabala* fodder,[13] food and drink as prescribed; by the words pleasant to the ears; by the gift of sand, mud and water; in consequence

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[13] Both terms mentioned in the stanza, *kabala* and *kubala*, denote a natural fodder for elephants consisting of branches and leaves of certain plants.

of moving freely – an elephant is of delighted soul.[14]

At this point, the text does not specify the ways to calm an animal, although some of the remarks may be useful for that purpose. *Patrabhaṅga*, for example, 'the shattered leaves', means also 'the leaves of hemp' that due to their calmative and tranquillising properties could pacify a maddened elephant. Subsequently, stanzas 9.20–22 contain the list of substances that can be used to produce the calmative pill. The next verses contain the recipe enabling the production of a special unguent:

> *mātuluṅgasuvahāsahākaṇāsaptaparṇavijayeṅgudīmadhu-* |
> *dugdhapiṣṭam idam aṅgalepitaṃ mattavāraṇavaraṃ vaśaṃ nayet* ||
> ML 9.23

> Citron, *suvahā* plant, aloe, long pepper, the flowers of *Alstonia Scholaris*, *vijayā* plant, the nut of *Terminalia Catappa*, honey, and milk rubbed altogether – this smeared on limbs should reduce to subjection a chosen ruttish elephant.

The instructions and recommendations from the *gajaśāstra* for sure were a great source of knowledge for the *avadhānī*s who wanted to tame an elephant in rut. Unfortunately, the records of the challenge do not include any description. It is not clear whether the *avadhānī*s had a limited time to perform the task and if it was acceptable to use auxiliary substances or tools.

The Sanskrit literature contains references to numerous stories of taming elephants by the means of spiritual powers or artistic skills. In the *Vatsarājacarita* and Bhāsa's four-act *nāṭikā* ('play', a short or light comedy, or drama of the second order) titled the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, the authors described how Vatsarāja went to the forest to tame an elephant with the help of his *vīṇā*, the Indian lute (KRISHNAMACHARIAR 1989: 562, 579). The dramatist Hastimalla ('the elephant wrestler') allegedly earned his name when one of the Pāṇḍya kings decided to test his *samyaktva*, the firmness of faith in Jainism, and let loose a maddened elephant on him. By all accounts, Hastimalla encountered and tamed the animal with his spiritual power or subdued it by a spontaneously composed stanza (PATWARDHAN 1950: 7–8).[15] It is rather unlikely that the *avadhānī*s approached enraged elephants in the same way, lacking scientific knowledge. No matter what was the course of the elephant challenge, the performers had to stay focused, multitask and – most importantly – needed to have a working knowledge of elephant lore.

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[14] All the translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

[15] I thank David Pierdominici Leão for drawing my attention to Hastimalla.

From the point of general prerequisites, the challenge of recognising horses galloping in a herd by the hoof-beat was quite similar. The *avadhānī* had to concentrate, be able to perform the task while solving other puzzles and tests, and have specialised knowledge. The challenge also required well-developed hearing. The Indian sources on equinology (*aśvaśāstra*) contain detailed systematisations of horses. For the challenge in question, the most useful data appear to be divisions based on the trot. To the best of my knowledge, the *aśvaśāstra*s do not classify the animals by the criterium of their gait or pace, even though they mention five types of *aśvadhārā*, 'the horse pace'. Nakula summed them up in the *Aśvaśāstra*:

> *dhārāḥ pañca pravakṣyāmi munibhir yāḥ prakīrtitāḥ |*
> *prathamā vikramā dhārā dvitīyā pulakā smṛtā ||*
> *tṛtīyā pūrṇakaṇṭhī tu caturthī tvaritā smṛtā |*
> *pañcamī caiva yā dhārā nirālambā prakīrtitā ||*
> *ṣaṣṭhī caiva tu yā dhārā śruyate na tu dṛśyate |* AŚ 25.1–3ab

I will explain the five paces of a horse which are named by the sages.
The first pace is *vikramā* ('proceeding', 'step'), the second is known as *pulakā* ('extended', 'broad'),
The third one is *pūrṇakaṇṭhī* ('up to the neck') and the fourth is known as *tvaritā* ('swift', 'hasty').
The fifth one, moreover, is the one named the *nirālambā* ('devoid of support') pace.
The sixth one, however, is a pace that has been heard about but has never been observed.

As reported by Nakula, *vikramā* is a normal, regular pace, *pulakā* is the gait on four legs, *pūrṇakaṇṭhī* involves the movement of legs and neck, *tvaritā* is a spontaneous, swift pace and *nirālambā* is the gait provoked by beating a horse (AŚ 25.3cd–6). Recognising them from hearing is beyond any doubt possible but it does not say anything about the kind of horse since each animal can move in all of the ways depending on circumstances. The author of the NCVNAVVT claimed the *avadhānī* was able to identify the horses, not their pace. Conceivably, it refers to the division of *kula*s, 'the families' of horses. In one more work titled *Aśvaśāstra*, its author (traditionally Śālihotra, considered to be the founder of veterinary sciences in India) enlists fifty-four families, 'blood stocks' of horses. The same division can be found in Nakula's *Aśvaśāstra*, in the *kulalakṣaṇādhyāya*, 'the lesson on the features of blood stocks', where twenty-six best types are described in detail. Among the features are the remarks concerning the hooves and how the animals of particular types move. For instance, the best Cambodian horses (*kāmboja*

type) are characterised by tough hooves (AŚ 18.1) and steady legs (AŚ 18.19), while *vāhlīka* horses are described as unsteady, moving at a high speed (AŚ 18.21–22). Presumably, a thorough knowledge of the features mentioned by the experts in equinology, careful observation of living animals, and mastering the sound perception allowed the *avadhānī*s to distinguish the horses and name their types by the hoof-beat.

4. The elements of nature in the *citrakavitva* of the *sāhityāvadhāna*

In some sources mentioning and describing the *avadhāna*, occurs a specific type of literary composition called *citra* or *citrakāvya*, 'the pictorial/figurative poetry'.[16] The term *citrakāvya* encompasses manifold kinds of ornate poems. It includes verses filled with intriguing and ingenious embellishments of sound and meaning, complex alliterations, and visual *bandha*s – the stanzas governed by intricate arrangements, to be re-written in the shape of well-known objects or patterns. The NCVNAVVT refers to nine kinds of *cittiram* (Tamil equivalent for Sanskrit *citra*) (Peterson 2016: 74). None of the Sanskrit theoretical works known to me divides *citra* into nine types. The number may have its source in a regional tradition of the figurative poetry or denote the sum of *cittiram*s mastered by a particular *avadhānī*.

Other records of employing *citrakāvya* in the *avadhāna* are less obscure. Madhuravāṇī, a poetess and *protégé* of Raghunātha Nāyaka active at the 17th-century court in Tanjore, mentioned *citra* in the *Śrīrāmāyaṇasāratilaka* (RST). The text is a Sanskrit translation of the Telugu rendition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* composed by Raghunātha and the only available work by Madhuravāṇī. In the RST 1.93, the poetess described herself as being proficient in various forms of the *avadhāna*. In the RST 12.82, she emphasised her prowess in the composition of *citra*s. At the end of the 19th century, in the village of Mettupalayam in Karoor district close to Coimbatore, during a spontaneous private *avadhāna, śatāvadhānī* Rangacharya Shastri composed a visual stanza (Telang 1944: 157). One of the questioners requested the *liṅgabandha*. 'The *liṅga* pattern' denotes a stanza which thanks to a certain arrangement of syllables can be rewritten in the visual form resembling *liṅga*, a column symbolising the male organ, usually assigned to Śiva and his iconography. In its pictorial form, the *liṅgabandha* looks more like a rhombus. As an additional treat, the questioner asked to place in the middle of the stanza's visual form the phrase *śrīraṅgakavaye namaḥ*, 'hail to the honourable poet

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[16] The description of *citrakāvya* and systematization within this kind of poetry lie beyond the scope of the present article. For more information on the figurative compositions in Sanskrit literature, please consult e.g. Balasubramanyan 2010, Cielas 2016, Jha 1975 and Lienhard 1996.

Rangacharya!' (TELANG 1944: 157). Rangacharya Shastri was not the only
19th-century *avadhānī* composing *citra*s. Cēllapilla Vēṅkaṭa Śāstri, half
of the acclaimed duo known as the Tirupati Vēṅkaṭa Kavulu, was profiting
from his ability to compose *citrakāvya*s and using them to impress wealthy
citizens of Rajahmundry ('lawyers and rich merchants') to get money for his
performances (KRISHNAMURTHI 1985: 17).

The aforementioned testimonies confirm the usage of pictorial poetry in the
avadhāna of the past. It seems though that the first *sāhityāvadhāna* with the
citrakavitva or 'the pictorial poetic skill' as a fixed task took place in 1986, during
the *aṣṭāvadhāna* of R. Ganesh, a *śatāvadhānī* from Bangalore. Ever since then,
visual stanzas occur in the art of attentiveness more and more often. Frequently
exploited visual patterns are the *paśupādapabandha*s, 'the patterns of animals
and plants'. Among the most common *citra*s ordered by the questioners are
various *padmabandha*s ('the lotus flower patterns'), *puṣpagucchakabandha*s
('the flower cluster patterns') and manifold *nāgabandha*s or *sarpabandha*s
('the snake patterns'). The *paśupādapabandha*s created during the *avadhāna*
performances are usually built upon a complex system of alliterations. The
*avadhānī*s facing the challenge have to master the knowledge in the field of *citra*
composition. The Sanskrit theoreticians described various *bandha* formations.
They often supplemented the explanations with the instances of visual stanzas of
their creation or quoted from the literary works. Comprehensive enumerations
and descriptions of *citrabanadha*s can be found in the *alaṃkāra* section of
Agnipurāṇa (ca. 8th–9th century), the fifth chapter of Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*
(9th century) or the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* by Bhoja (the second *pariccheda*,
11th century) and Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* (the ninth chapter, 11th century).
These works (and some others, although to a smaller degree) provide the
information allowing a flawless composition of visual stanzas, including the
*paśupādapabandha*s. Thanks to the rules established by the theoreticians the
contemporary poets, also the *avadhānī*s, create visual stanzas and continue
the tradition, additionally enriching it with novelties.

The images of animals and plants are often exploited in *citrakāvya* poetry
because of the conveyed symbolism. The poets who want to create ideal
*bandha*s (ideal both from the point of formal requirements and artistic value)
reach for the prolific images helping to create a complex picture in which
sonic, semantic and visual layer complement each other. Such motives like
the lotus flower or the snake bring about connotations important for Indian
culture. *Padma* is a universal symbol closely related to religion (as a symbol

of purity, the object often attributed to various divinities, an element of the *devapūjā*, the adoration of the god, etc.).[17] The *padmabandha*s, typical for the laudatory poetry constituting an entire type within the *citrakāvya* production, are one of the most common visual figures in Sanskrit literature. Therefore, their presence in the *avadhāna* is not surprising.

Similarly, the snake patterns occur repeatedly in art, architecture, and folk production. Like the lotus flower, in the iconography, the serpent motif is ubiquitous, whether it represents Śeṣa on which Viṣṇu reclines, the gate guardians, or the Nāgas, the semi-divine half-human half-serpent beings, to give only a few examples. Snakes in India are auspicious and apotropaic. They symbolise pious devotion, keeping the life energy.[18]

The vast meaning of *padma*s and *nāga*s in Indian culture can be shown in the present article only cursorily. Especially, since it does not have a direct influence on the performance. The choice of *bandha*s is not dictated by the religious meaning of symbols hidden in the visual forms. The *pṛcchaka*s order the composition of particular *citra*s because of their level of difficulty, own familiarity with creation of certain forms, and alike. While requesting a *bandha* a questioner may have in mind certain cultural or religious connotations of the pattern but it is not a necessary condition. The same way, an *avadhānī* may refer in his composition to the symbolic sense of the visual layer of the text or omit it entirely.

Combining the creation of visual stanzas with the *avadhāna*'s arduousness is considered to be the ultimate challenge of the *sāhityāvadhāna*, especially from the point of poetic quality. The *citrakāvya* was perceived by the Sanskrit theoreticians as an aberration and violation of rules governing the composition of the ideal poetry. Their composition requires a lot of effort from the author who wants to fuse the features assigned by critics to *kāvya*'s paragon with the stipulations of visual stanzas. Sanskrit theoreticians did not formulate their accusations against the *citrakāvya* elaborately and clearly. They classified it as an inferior kind of poetry (e.g. Mammaṭa in the *Kāvyaprakāśa* 1.5cd or Jagannātha, the 17th century, in the *Rasagaṅgādhara* 19) or they assumed it should be excluded from the domain of poetry completely (like Ānandavardhana, the 9th century, in the *Dhvanyāloka* 3.41–42, *vṛtti*) without specifying the allegations or grounds for such an opinion. One can only assume what exactly was the basis of their judgment. From the analysis of the

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[17] For more information on the significance of lotus flower in Indian culture, especially in the contexts of Sanskrit visual poetry, see Cielas 2013.

[18] For more on the meaning of snakes in Indian culture see Zimmer 1990: 59–69. The subject, especially in the context of religion, was studied carefully by Oldham 1905.

theoretical discourse on figurative poetry and from the study of examples of
visual stanzas it can be concluded that the main reason lies in a comprehensive
approach to the *citrakāvya* represented by the authors of the normative texts.
The theorists referred to *citra* as a coherent literary phenomenon understood
as overfilling the work (or its fragment) with the complicated, unnatural and
blurring the clarity rhetorical figures. Such a simplified understanding of the
visual poetry negated its value from the point of view of qualities that should
characterise the *kāvya* production. The Sanskrit figurative poetry, in general,
did not give the predominant significance to such principles as the *rasa* ('the
taste' of a work, prevailing sentiment) and the *guṇa*s ('the merits', positive
properties of composition; here in particular to the *prasāda* – 'clarity'). It
influenced the negative judgment of the theoreticians; in their eyes, the lack
of clarity was deciding, discrediting attribute of the *citrakāvya*. Nevertheless,
the study of visual poems shows the heterogeneity of tradition. For some
categories of the *citra,* the negative opinion is fully justified but in the rich
corpus of the figurative poetry, one can find also refined works composed by
eminent poets, like Bhāravi or Māgha.

Composing visual poems means facing the allegations of the theoreticians
and connoisseurs of poetry. Adding the circumstances of the *avadhāna*
performance – time limitation, the necessity of meeting the questioners'
demands and depending exclusively on mnemonic potency without the use
of pen and paper – completing the *citrakavitva* seems almost impossible.
Nevertheless, R. Ganesh is not the only *avadhānī* successfully facing the
challenge of combining *citrakāvya* with the art of attentiveness. Another
contemporary poet specialising in the task is Shankar Rajaraman, a psychiatrist
from Bangalore. The *citrabandha*s created by them during performances
are not devoid of literary quality and are not limited to elementary patterns
exploiting basic alliterations occurring in the stanza in small number.

5. Conclusion

The examples of *avadhāna* challenges described in the present paper show
the richness and the polymorphous character of the art. The elements of nature
can be found in every type of *avadhāna*. Many of the presented tasks appear
not to be practiced anymore, like recognising horses by the hoof-beats or
taming rutting elephants. Moreover, even though certain texts refer to them, it
does not seem that they were very popular, although it is difficult to state how
often they were practiced. On the other hand, there are the technical forms
of *avadhāna*, like the *netrāvadhāna*, *tṛṇāvadhāna* and *aṅguṣṭhāvadhāna* –
practiced in the past, completely forgotten at some point, to be finally revived

in last two decades, at least in the case of ocular and thumb *avadhāna*. It cannot be excluded that in the nearest future also other forms of the art of attentiveness which are not practiced anymore will flourish once again. Among the tasks described in the present essay there are also challenges which never ceased to be included in the *avadhāna* performances. One of them is the tossing challenge, which, as noted earlier, was and still is practiced in nearly every kind of art of attentiveness. Naturally, the motives connected to nature have always been a part of the *sāhityāvadhāna*. The descriptions of seasons, landscapes, places, animals, and people, to mention only few examples, are omnipresent in the Indian literatures, and improvised verses created in the course of literary *avadhāna*s are no exception. Only recently, the elements of nature were included in the *sāhityāvadhāna* in the form of visual stanzas. Before the 1986, *citrabandha*s occurred in the art of attentiveness only sporadically. The *citrakavitva* is not a canonical component of the *sāhityāvadhāna* because of the difficulty of the task but it is important to emphasise the growing popularity of the challenge.

The elements of nature incorporated into the *avadhāna* are not coincidental. All of them belong to the domain of imagery closely connected to Indian culture. They constitute the set of components mirroring various aspects of Indian beliefs, literature, practices, and performative arts. The semiotic value of the elements of animate and inanimate nature in the *avadhāna* makes the performance more vivid and multi-levelled, brings to mind myriads of connotations. Described tasks show the resourcefulness of the art of attentiveness and the ingenuity of its practitioners. Almost everything can become the foundation of a challenge. The elements of nature, similarly to the constituents of other tasks, are matched to examine particular skills and fortes. Knowledge in nearly every branch of science can be tested in the *avadhāna*. As the given examples show, even elephantology and equinology can be the source of inspiration. The fundament of the art of attentiveness is the focus. The subject of challenges is not crucial; for verifying the ability to concentrate the essential factor is the formal frame of the performance – the order of tasks, the timespan, the simultaneity of challenges, etc. Of course, specialised knowledge or artistic skills required for the completion of particular endeavours are also important, but they are of secondary relevance for the general concept of the *avadhāna*. By diversifying challenges the *avadhānī*s make performances more appealing and entertaining for the audience. Personal predispositions of the practitioners also play a salient role. After all, the *avadhānī*s showcase the skills in which they are proficient. But generally, the elements of nature frequently occur in the *avadhāna* because they mirror Indian culture – the repository from which draw the practitioners of the art. In this way, all of the

references, allusions, tasks, and other elements of performances rely on general cultural and poetic tradition. Certain challenges, like most of the components of the *sāhityāvadhāna*, are modified versions of well-known literary puzzles, adapted for the art of attentiveness but not created for its purpose.[19] It is true also in the case of other *avadhāna*s; *netrāvadhāna* and *aṅguṣṭhāvadhāna* draw from the repertoire of body movements described in the normative texts; the parts of *nānāvadhāna*s are based on well-known practices (as games existing independently from the art of attentiveness, solving mathematical formulas, and alike). Even tasks which seem to be unique for the *avadhāna*, like for example the tossing challenge or others, connected to senses, are referring in one way or another to the symbols and traditions important for Indian culture (for instance by the usage of marigold flowers or alluding to various *śāstra*s). What is entirely unique for the art of attentiveness is its form and the abilities of performers examined in a peculiar way. The challenges respond to the public demand. The images, symbols, objects and living creatures belonging to the world of nature, among other things, help to create an encapsulated version of Indian tradition in the form of the *avadhāna* performance.

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Abbreviations

AŚ = *Aśvaśāstra* of Nakula – see Gopalan 1952 and Joshi 2008.

ML = *Mātaṅgalīlā* of Nīlakaṇṭha – see Ganapati Sastri 1910.

NCVNAVVT = *Naṇṇāvūr Caṅkamēcuvaracuvāmi Vētanāyaki Ammaṉ Pēril Viṟaliviṭutūtu.*

RST = *Śrīrāmāyaṇasāratilaka* of Madhuravāṇī – see Ramaraju 1972.

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Arthaśāstra = see Rangarajan 1992.

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[19] For more on the adaptation of literary devices for the *sāhityāvadhāna* see Cielas 2020.

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Indian Regional *nāga* Cults and Individual *nāga* Stories in Chinese Buddhist Travelogues

Max Deeg[1]

Abstract: This paper attempts to link the archaeological and epigraphic evidence of *nāga* veneration in South Asia (Mathurā, Ajaṇṭā) with the textual sources about *nāga*s and their veneration from the Chinese Buddhist travelogues (Faxian, Xuanzang). As a specific case study, the information about the *nāga* Dadhikarṇa attested in Mathurā is compared with Faxian's description of the cult of the *nāga* 'White-Ear' in Sāṅkāśya and other texts referring to rituals or festivals dedicated to *nāga*s.

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1. Introduction

For some time now, I have been working with and on Buddhist and, to a lesser degree, Hindu narratives where *nāga*s – i.e., serpentine semi-divine beings – play an important role.[2] The treatment of *nāga*s by scholars of South Asia shows the, at times, odd discrepancy between art historical representation and textual evidence for certain religious phenomena in the same region in South Asia; it also reflects the problems arising from hierarchising the sources and material which we have at hand, textual versus art historical or

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[1]   This article is a revised version of a paper given at the workshop 'Mathurā: The Archaeology of Inter-religious Encounters in Ancient India', held at the Centre for Religious Studies (CERES), Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Germany, from 25 to 26 July 2019. I thank the organisers, Patrick Krüger and Jessie Pons, for inviting me to give a paper, and the participants for their comments which – hopefully – helped to improve the paper. I also have to thank the two anonymous Reviewers for their valuable comments, corrections and suggestions which helped to improve the article, and in particular my Cardiff colleague Simon Brodbeck for polishing the English and having his eagle eyes on some details which would have slipped through.

[2]   See Deeg 2009, 2016. For general discussions of snake/*nāga* veneration in South Asia throughout history see Cozad 2004 and Jones 2010.

archaeological, and vice versa.[3] While there are, for instance, many examples of art historical representation of *nāga*s across India, textual references to concrete *nāga* stories, or to ritual practices[4] in relation to them, are not plentiful and not that old.[5] In the Buddhist context one could argue, based on early art historical evidence (Sanchi, Bharhut), that in the wider framework of the enlightenment narrative the story of the *nāga* Mucilinda protecting the newly enlightened Buddha from a thunderstorm with his coils wrapped around him and his hood spread above him[6] is the oldest example of such a *nāga*-related narrative motif, although as such it stays remarkably stagnant and vague until later, narratively more elaborate versions.[7]

2. Two kinds of *nāga*s

Following up on this observation, the point I want to make is that in the sources from South Asia we have evidence of two kinds of *nāga*s: anonymous *nāga*s and individualised *nāga*s.[8] My claim is that *nāga*s of these two 'groups' are too often and too easily put into the same category of regional *nāga* cults without looking at their contextual, structural and functional differences. In a way, I am challenging the methodological implication of the wide-spread notion of general local *nāga* cults when religious monuments at the respective sites display representations of *nāga*s; free-standing and huge *nāga* sculptures as possible objects of veneration and ritual practice are, of course, a different matter, but even they have to stay anonymous to us as long there is no additional information in the form of an inscription or a text that undoubtedly refers to and thereby individualises them. To be clear, I am not challenging the existence of this seemingly ubiquitous cult of *nāga*s as such, and there are, as will be discussed below, examples of *nāga* veneration directly set in local Buddhist monastic contexts. Although the comparison may seem a little

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[3] DeCaroli 2004: 4.

[4] Such records of ritual practice have been kept more or less divorced from the archaeological evidence, which has led to the problem which Saxena 2021: 239 formulates clearly in the context of the apsidal *nāga*-temple at Sonkh, Mathurā: 'It might be difficult to comprehend how Nāgas were worshipped in so sophisticated a temple'. But this is, of course, applicable to all *nāga* images which may claim worship by size, inscriptional evidence, etc.

[5] Old in the sense of being contemporary with the assumed older/oldest strata of texts – whatever that is supposed to mean in individual cases, e.g., the canonical *sūtra* texts.

[6] Vogel 1926: 102–105.

[7] For a discussion of different textual versions of the Mucalinda narrative see Deeg 2005: 451–454.

[8] The problem has been addressed, for instance, by Zin 2018: 105 in her discussion of the Mucalinda episode at Kanaganahalli: 'The wonderful representations of mighty *nāga*s which were placed on the *stūpa*s – … – are depictions of (specific?) *nāga*s and not episodes from the Buddha's life.'

bit overstretched, to infer a regional *nāga* cult on the basis of a depiction of *nāga*s without any other evidence would be a bit like inferring a cult of demons in specific churches and monasteries and their environment in the Middle Ages on the basis of sculptures of demonic creatures like dwarfs, gargoyles, and griffins at exposed positions on the outside of Gothic cathedrals[9] or in the initials of medieval manuscripts.[10] I also find it somewhat problematic to take the occurrence of the element *nāga* in onomastic material as an indication of *nāga* veneration.[11] The Buddhist philosophers Dignāga and Nāgārjuna, to name just the most prominent examples, certainly had nothing to do with a *nāga*-cult as, for instance, Fergusson in one of the earliest treatments of the subject assumed;[12] the narrative of Nāgārjuna being given Buddhist texts (*sūtra*s) by the *nāga*s in the netherworld[13] is more likely an etiological *post-ex-nomine* means of making sense of the name in a hagiographical context than the reason for the 'individual' having been given the name in the first place. I would therefore claim that it requires careful contextualisation of different strands of material to understand, more generally, the role and function of *nāga*s in particular artistic and textual sources and, more specifically, the role and function of particular individualised *nāga*s.

When speaking of individualised *nāga*s, I do not just mean *nāga*s who bear names (like Karkoṭaka, Takṣaka, etc.) but rather *nāga*s with a relatively clear and individual 'narrative' and/or 'ritual' identity, i.e., those who have a religious practice of veneration and/or a story attached to them. This makes them local in the first place – the narrative has to happen or be localised somewhere – although they can easily become trans-local, i.e., become referred to or venerated at different places, as Robert DeCaroli has rightly emphasised with reference to the (non-*nāga*) deity Harīti (DeCaroli 2004: 16, 183).

3. The idea of the *nāga*

Before discussing some examples of *nāga* narratives, I would like to briefly trace the idea of the *nāga*, or more generally of serpentine spirits, in Indian sources. The word *nāga* is a relative 'latecomer' as a term for a snake or serpentine being in Old Indo-Aryan. There are – apart from descriptive names like *bhujaṃga(ma)*, 'arm-walker', *uraga*, 'breastwalker', *dvijihva*,

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[9]   See Camille 1992.

[10]   See Bovey 2002 and Nishimura 2009.

[11]   Shaw 2004; see also DeCaroli's rather critical remarks (DeCaroli 2009: 98f. & 112f., note 1).

[12]   Fergusson 1873: 64f.; for an overview of the connection between Nāgārjuna and *nāga*s see Walser 2005: 73–75.

[13]   Walleser 1924.

'two-tongued', *dīrghajihva*, 'long-tongued', etc. – older words like *sarpa* (an Indo-European inheritance; primary derivation from √*sṛp*, 'to creep', see Lat. *serpens*)[14] and (Vedic) *áhi*[15]. Although the exact etymology of *nāga* is unclear, the word is semantically related to *nagna*, 'naked'[16]. In Brahminical/Hindu sources, *nāga*s do not appear earlier than in the epics, which means that, in combination with early art historical material and the epigraphic evidence, the Buddhist textual sources contain the earliest references to the term *nāga*, even though they are not necessarily older as texts than the Brahminical ones.

In the sources, *nāga*s have specific characteristics which differentiate them from other sentient beings.[17] They have the ability to change into human form; they are linked with the aquatic netherworld and therefore have control of water in a more general way; and they are more or less ambivalent creatures in the sense that they are potentially dangerous through their physical capacity to kill using poison (see the snake words *viṣadhara*, 'poison-bearer', *viṣānana*, *viṣāsya*, 'poison-mouthed', *viṣāyudha*, 'fighting with poison') and also through their command over nature, particularly over the element water (causing rain, flooding or droughts). The link with water and the withholding thereof is best expressed in the Vedic Vṛtra myth: the serpent (*ahi*) Vṛtra withholds water, and the god Indra has to release it with physical force.[18] In this myth, Vṛtra quite appropriately carries the name 'concealer, withholder' (√*vṛ*-, 'to cover'),[19] while the later *nāga* concept clearly draws on and refers to real poisonous creatures best represented in India by the cobra, the 'hooded one' (*paṇin*), which is, of course, how *nāga*s are depicted in visual representations from the earliest time.

4. *Nāga*s in Chinese Buddhist literature

There is considerable information about *nāga*s as a category of beings in Buddhist literature in Chinese, confirming the features and aspects discussed above and adding some more. The ambiguity of *nāga*s is striking: they are both potentially dangerous and benevolent.[20] This ambiguity is clearly expressed in the **Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra / Zhengfa-nianchu-jing* 正法念處

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[14]   MAYRHOFER 1976: 445f., s.v. *sárpati*.

[15]   For the rather uncertain etymology of this word see MAYRHOFER 1992: 156, s.v.

[16]   MAYRHOFER 1963: 150f., s.v. *nāgáh*.

[17]   See BLOSS 1973.

[18]   See WATKINS 1995; DEEG 2016: 88–91.

[19]   DEEG 1995: 141, 290.

[20]   SCHMITHAUSEN 1997 and DEEG 2009: 93f. Ritually this ambivalence seems to be reflected in the Nepalese *sarpabali* when one snake is sacrificed into the fire while another is set free: VAN DEN HOEK and SHRESTHA 1992: 59.

經, translated by Gautama Prajñāruci / Qutan Banruoliuzhi 瞿曇般若流支 (fl. 538–543) (T.721.105b.17–21):[21]

> There are two kinds of *nāga* king: one practises the *dharma*, [while] the second one does not practise the *dharma*; one protects the world, the second destroys the world; in the cities [of the two kinds of *nāga*] it does not rain hot sand where the *nāga*s practising the *dharma* reside, but it constantly rains hot sand where the *nāga*s not practising the *dharma* reside: when the hot sand hits their heads it is as hot as fire, burns down [their] palaces and their retinue, all of them being smashed, and after having been destroyed [they] are reborn.[22]

The usual Buddhist way of dealing with these creatures was to have them converted to the *dharma* by the Buddha or another eminent Buddhist saint and made protectors of a specific site or the local environment, as demonstrated by the two most well-known *nāga* stories of Apalāla and Gopāla in the Northwest of India (Nagarahāra, Swāt). If the *nāga*s are only driven from their former place, they can still be dangerous and inflict damage: in the foundation story of Kaśmīr, after the conversion of the *nāga*s of the valley through the Buddhist saint Madhyantika the human population has to stay outside the valley for half a year, during which the *nāga*s who had previously resided there can still exert control over the country.[23] In Nepal, the *nāga*s have to be propitiated by the Buddhist saint Śāntikāra because, even after the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśri has driven them to and contained them in a small lake in the valley, they still cause a drought.[24] It is interesting that, at least according to the stories known from extant literature, it is only the Buddha who can tame and pacify *nāga*s completely, while even very powerful Buddhist saints like Madhyantika in Kaśmīr only succeed in taking land from them.

If, more specifically, we turn to Buddhist *nāga* narratives in the biography of the Buddha,[25] the oldest and most prominent seems to be the narrative of Mucilinda, where the *nāga*'s protection of the Buddha from the forces of nature exemplified through a fierce thunderstorm and rainfall may be linked to the

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[21] All Chinese texts are quoted according to the Taishō edition (Taishō-shinshū-daizōkyō: abbreviated as T. + number, page and column of the printed text) of the Chinese Buddhist canon in the electronic version of the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (CBETA), with slightly modified punctuation.

[22] 有二種龍王：一者法行；二者非法行。一護世界；二壞世間。於其城中法行龍王所住之處，不雨熱沙；非法龍王所住之處，常雨熱沙。若熱沙著頂，熱如熾火，焚燒宮殿及其眷屬，皆悉磨滅，滅已復生。 See also Deeg 2009: 93, note 5.

[23] Deeg 2016: 144–156.

[24] Deeg 2016: 167–173, 194–196.

[25] On *nāga*s in the biography of the Buddha see Vogel 1926: 93–131 and Deeg 2008: 92.

*nāga*s' power to control water. I exclude the story of the Buddha's fight against the fire-*nāga* of Kāśyapa as an exceptional case because of its prominent connection with fire and not with the usual element of water.[26]

Rain magic and/or control of or over water is a motif often connected with *nāga*s.[27] In this context, stories of the conversion of *nāga*s by the Buddha are well known, the best documented and researched probably being the story of the conversion of the aforementioned *nāga*s Apalāla (in Swāt) and Gopāla (in Nagarahāra) in the Indian Northwest. One could add the stories of *nāga-sādhana*, 'overcoming of *nāga*s', in the foundation stories of Nepal and Kaśmīr.[28] Although the means and methods of taming are different, there is always a powerful person involved, either a religious figure (Buddha, Madhyantika) or a king.

5. Case study: Mathurā

The region of Mathurā provides a good example of a discrepancy between the archaeological and art historical situation and the textual sources in relation to *nāga*s.[29] While there is plenty of visual and some epigraphic evidence for *nāga*s, none of the known Buddhist texts or the Chinese travelogues contains a single narrative about *nāga*s or a *nāga* in the region. For the latter type of source this does not really come as a surprise, since the oldest extant report (by Faxian; see below) has not much to say about the region, and a large proportion of Xuanzang's longer 'description' of Mathurā is based, as I have shown elsewhere,[30] on a misreading of Faxian's general report on India, and therefore does not deal with Mathurā at all.

As stated above, Mathurā itself offers considerable evidence of *nāga* veneration:[31] according to Upinder Singh, 46 of the sculptures from Mathurā from the period between roughly 200 BC and 200 AD are *nāga*s (or their female equivalents, *nāginī*s or *nāgī*s), which thereby rank in second place

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[26] See Zin 2006: 138–141.

[27] See the many examples discussed in Deeg 2016.

[28] See Brinkhaus 2001 and Deeg 2016; the extreme form of 'pacification' seems to be the sacrifice of snakes (*sarpabali* or *sarpahūti*) with its narrative precedent in Janamejaya's *sarpasatra* in the *Mahābhārata*: see Van den Hoek and Shrestha 1992, and Minkowski 1989.

[29] See Saxena 2021: 225–224.

[30] Deeg 2007.

[31] Vogel 1912. In the most recent study of Mathurā *nāga* cults Saxena 2021: 229 rightly concludes that they were 'an established religious tradition at Mathura, drawing considerable patronage from the community.'

after *yakṣa* images (57).[32] The most striking and individual example is the archaeological and inscriptional evidence for a *nāga*-king Dadhikarṇa, 'Milk-Eared', previously discussed by Bühler, Vogel, and Lüders.[33] As pointed out by these scholars, the name occurs in a list of *nāga*s in Hemacandra's (12th cent.) commentary to his *Abhidhanacintāmaṇi* 4.366[34], which includes two other *nāga*-names formed with the initial membrum *dadhi*- (Dadhipūraṇa and Dadhimukha). Another reference to the *nāga* is found in a list of *nāga*-kings (*bhujageśvara*) in the appendix to the *Harivaṃśa*, in which the *nāga*s are invoked for their protection (*pāntu māṃ bhujageśvarāḥ*, '… may the lords of the snakes protect me.').[35] This list reflects some similarity with Hemacandra's list.[36] All this shows that a *nāga* called Dadhikarṇa was known as a *nāgarāja* in the three major religious traditions of India.

The three 'Dadhikarṇa inscriptions'[37] from Mathurā were found or originally located at the Jamālpur Mound where the remains of a Buddhist monastery were identified side by side with a non-Buddhist sanctuary interpreted as the shrine of the *nāga*-king[38]. The two sites seem to have had a close relationship, as Lüders notices: '… there seem to have been friendly relations between the Buddhist monks and the worshippers of the shrine …' (Lüders 1961: 59).

While the individualised *nāga* Dadhikarṇa is clearly attested by an inscription on the pedestal of a headless *nāga* statue (*Dadhika[r]ṇṇ[o]*)[39], an almost complete Sanskrit inscription referring to Dadhikarṇa gives more interesting information (translation Lüders 1961: 62f.):

Success! In the year 26, in the third (month) of the rainy season, on the fifth day, on this date, the stone slab was set up at the shrine of the holy lord of Nāgas Dadhikarṇṇa by the boys, chief of whom is Nandibala, the sons of the actors of Mathurā, who are known as the Cāndaka brothers. May it be for the sharing of the principal lot by their parents. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

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[32] Singh 2004: 388. An example for a rather large *nāga* image from Mathurā is the one from Chargaon (see Fig.1); the accompanying inscription refers to a tank or pond and thereby describes the typical 'setup' of a *nāga* cult; see Saxena 2021: 231.

[33] Bühler 1892: 390, Vogel 1926: 41f., 282, and Lüders 1961: 62f., §27 & 70, §34.

[34] Hargovindas and Behechardas 1914: 526.

[35] I am happy to acknowledge that I owe the details of this reference to my colleague Simon Brodbeck, Cardiff.

[36] The list also contains a *nāga* Dadhimukha.

[37] See also Saxena 2021: 230f.

[38] Lüders 1961: 59.

[39] Lüders 1961: 126f.

There are several interesting details in the inscription which we should keep in mind for the subsequent discussion: 1. The stone was erected during the rainy season. The date given in the inscription coincides astonishingly well with the date of the modern *nāga-pañcamī* ritual (the 5th day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, i.e. July/August). 2. The *nāga* is called *bhagavat*, a title/epithet which is also given to another *nāga* at Mathurā called Bhuma (or Bhumo[40]) and to an anonymous, but, according to the size of its statue, important *nāga* from Chargaon (Fig.1)[41]. 3. The merit generated by the erection of the stone is, in clear and typical Buddhist fashion, transferred (*puṇyapariṇāma*) to the parents and all living beings.[42]

Another shorter inscription found at the same place, which was, according to Lüders, part of a Buddhist *vihāra*,[43] refers to a shrine priest (*devakulika*) of the *nāga*, who made a donation to the *vihāra* (translation Lüders 1961: 70, §34):

The gift of Devila, the priest (*devakulika*) at the shrine of Dadhikarṇṇa, in the year 77, in the 4th (month) of summer, on the 29th day.[44]

From the archaeological remains we cannot draw any direct conclusions about what the *nāga* shrine may have looked like or about its relationship to the Buddhist *vihāra*, but from other evidence it is likely that there was a body of water in the vicinity, which usually would be linked with the presence of a *nāga*. A Mathurā inscription dedicated to the *nāga* Bhuma from year 8 of the Kaniṣka era mentions the donation of a pond (*pukṣiriṇi*) and a garden (*arama*),[45] and another inscription from the 40th year of Huviṣka (at Chargaon, Fig.1) additionally mentions the *nāga*'s 'own pond' (*puṣkaraṇiyya svakā[yyāṃ]*)[46]. Furthermore, the so-called 'Apsidial Temple no. 2' at Sonkh, excavated and described by Härtel and his team, clearly indicates that quite elaborate shrines or temples for the veneration of *nāga*s did indeed exist in Mathurā (Härtel 1993: 425).

As in most other cases of relatively short inscriptional material, no specific details are given about the function and cult of this *nāga* Dadhikarṇa – or, as

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[40] Härtel 1993: 426b gives Bhūmo.

[41] Lüders 1961: 148f., §102 & 173f., §137.

[42] The formula 'for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings' (*sa(rv)[va]satahida[s] (ukha)*) is also found in the inscription of the *nāga* Bhuma: Lüders 1961: 149, §102; see also Damsteegt 1989: 299b.

[43] Lüders 1961: 59; see also Damsteegt 1989: 299b.

[44] *dānaṃ Devilasya Dadhikarṇṇa-devakulikasya saṃ 70 7 gṛ 4 divase 20 [9]*.

[45] Lüders 1961: 148.

[46] Lüders 1961: 174.

it were, of other *nāga*s – and the conclusions that can be drawn based on the archaeological evidence alone are quite weak.[47] Despite their having individual names, this type of *nāga* often stays oddly anonymous if they cannot be contextualised further from other sources.

6. Milk-Eared and White-Eared: parallels in Chinese travelogues

Although the Chinese travelogues say nothing about *nāga*s in Mathurā, there is a curious parallel in Faxian's report where, in my opinion, there is a direct link with the *nāga* Dadhikarṇa in Mathurā. In the context of Sāṅkāśya (Sengjiashi 僧迦施), the place of the Buddha's spectacular descent from Trayastriṃśa Heaven after having preached the *dharma* to his deceased mother Māyā, Faxian 法顯 (travelled 399–412) describes in quite some detail the cult of a local *nāga* housed in a monastery (Gaoseng-Faxian-zhuan 高僧法顯傳, T.2085.860a.4–14):

> There (i.e., in Sāṅkāśya) there are about a thousand monks and nuns who take their meal together [although] some of them study the Hīnayāna [and some of them] the Mahāyāna. At the place where they live, there is a white-eared *nāga* who is the *dānapati* of the monks' community and who causes rich harvest and timely rainfall without damage in the kingdom. He provides security for the *saṅgha*. The monks are grateful for his benevolence, and therefore they built a house for the *nāga* in which they established a sitting place for him. Furthermore, they have established [the distribution] of food [for the sake of] merit: every day, the monks choose three from their community to go to the house of the *nāga* and eat [inside]. After each summer retreat, the *nāga* transforms into a small white-eared snake, [and] the monks recognise him in [this form]. They put the [transformed] *nāga* in a copper pot with ghee in it and all [monks], from the eldest [in ordination] down to the lowest, pass [the *nāga*] and bow in greeting. When they have [all] greeted him, [the *nāga*] transforms [again] and disappears. This happens once a year.[48]

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[47] See HÄRTEL 1993: 426 and COHEN 1998: 379.

[48] 天帝釋、梵天王從佛下處。亦起塔。此處僧及尼可有千人，皆同眾食，雜大、小乘學。住處有一白耳龍，與此眾僧作檀越，令國內豐熟，雨澤以時無諸災害，使眾僧得安。眾僧感其惠，故為作龍舍，敷置坐處，又為龍設福食供養。眾僧日日眾中別差三人，到龍舍中食。每至夏坐訖，龍輒化形作一小蛇，兩耳邊白。眾僧識之，銅盂盛酪，以龍置中，從上座至下座行之，伏若問訊，遍便化去，每年一出。其國豐饒，人民熾盛，最樂無比。諸國人來，無不經理，供給所須。 See DEEG 2016: 76. A similar but shorter description is also found in Faxian's biography in Huijiao's 慧皎 Gaoseng-zhuan 高僧傳 (T.2059.338a.11–16) and in Sengyou's 僧祐 Chu-sanzang-jiji 出三藏記集 (T.2145.112a.13–18), but also in Daoshi's 道世 Fayuan-zhulin 法苑珠林 (T.2122.475b.3–8).

None of the sources about the Buddha's descent from the Trayastriṃśa heaven reflects any direct connection between this event and a *nāga*. The only indirect link is the fact that some sources (Faxian, Xuanzang) report that the Buddha took a bath immediately after having descended.[49] That Faxian does not mention a *nāga* in this connection seems to imply that the cult of the local *nāga* developed independently of the famous event in the biography of the Buddha.[50]

Chinese sources contain some additional textual evidence for a *nāga* cult in Sāṅkāśya; although in these sources the *nāga* remains anonymous, we can assume a continuity from Faxian's time. In the biography of Narendrayaśas (490–589), a monk born in Udyāna[51], it is recorded that he visited a *stūpa* dedicated to the *nāga* of Sāṅkāśya – the 'heavenly ladder' (*tianti* 天梯) clearly refers to the descent of the Buddha from the Trayastrimśa – on his way from the Northwest (Nagarahāra), the place of the skull bone and tooth relics of the Buddha, to Rājagṛha (Bamboo Grove monastery) in Magadha (T.2060.432a.29–b.6):

At the age of twenty-one [Narendrayaśas] received full ordination (*upasampadā*), and [when he] listened to the elder [monks who were] full of admiration for the trace of the Buddha's shadow, some said that in a certain kingdom there was the alms bowl [of the Buddha], in certain kingdoms there were the robes, the skull bone, the tooth, and that there were multiple miraculous phenomena, [and] as a consequence [he] made up his mind and made a vow to see and to venerate [all these traces of the Buddha]. Because [he] had just received the precepts [he] had to know the specifics of the *vinaya*, [but] after five summer [retreats he] departed on [his] journey to [these] places, and as a result [visited] the traces of the stone platform of the heavenly ladder [and the] site of the bejewelled *stūpa* of the *nāga*-shrine, [and thus] travelled widely through [different] kingdoms and personally worshipped [sites] where the traces were already gone. [He] stayed alone for ten years in what used to be the Bamboo Grove monastery (Veṇuvana-vihāra).[52]

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[49]   See Deeg 2005: 278f. where references to the famous fragrant water of Sāṅkāśya can be found as well.

[50]   No *nāga*s are found in the visual depictions of the descent and the Buddha's sermon – see Schlingloff 2011: 476–487 and Zin 2018: 54f. – except in one peripheral scene at Ajanta in which, according to Schlingloff 2011: 485, centre right, 'A Garuda comes flying through the gateway to Heaven, promising two Nāgas invulnerfaculty [mistake for invulnerability, MD] for the duration of the sermon.' Unfortunately, Schlingloff does not give any sources for this reading, but the scene at least represents the presence of *nāga*s at the sermon of the Buddha.

[51]   Modern Swāt (Pakistan).

[52]   二十有一得受具篇，聞諸宿老歎佛景迹，或言：某國有鉢，某國有衣。頂骨牙齒，神

In his report on Sāṅkāśya in the *Datang-Xiyu-ji* 大唐西域記, Xuanzang 玄奘 (travelled 629–645) does not record the cult of the *nāga* but only refers to a *nāga* in a lake who protects the sacred place (T.2087.893b.26f.):

> Southeast of the great *stūpa* is a *nāga* in a lake [who] constantly protects the sacred traces. Miraculously guarded in that way, it is difficult even to cause small damage [to it]. In many years it may fall into ruins by itself, but no man is able to destroy it.[53]

A lake or pond (*Sengjiashi-guo-dachishui* 僧迦尸國大池水) near the famous bejewelled heavenly staircase was already mentioned in the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* (T.125.707a.11f.)[54], but without mention of a *nāga*. All this is enough to show that Faxian's description of *nāga* veneration is not the pure invention of a pious mind but is based on a *longue durée* tradition. It also fits the historical framework which Saxena worked out for the history of *nāga* worship in Mathurā (Saxena 2021: 240): while these cults were still dominant in the Gupta era at the time of Faxian's visit, they may not have been as 'recognisable' as in the earlier period, and this is why the later visitors to Sāṅkāśya (Narendrayaśas and Xuanzang) only mention an anonymous *nāga* in a pond.

I have discussed Faxian's record elsewhere[55], but I have not previously pointed out the seemingly evident parallel with the Mathurā *nāga* Dadhikarṇa. As far as I know, no one else has yet made the connection.[56] The reference to a yearly festival in honour of a *nāga* – or rather a festival to appease him and to have him grant good harvest – is known from other sources[57] and places.[58]

The most striking parallel between Dadhikarṇa in Mathurā and Faxian's *nāga* in Sāṅkāśya is the name: as far as I can see, the element 'ear' (Skt. *karṇa*,

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變非一，遂即起心，願得瞻奉。以戒初受，須知律相，既滿五夏，發足遊方，所以天梯石臺之迹，龍廟寶塔之方，廣周諸國，並親頂禮，僅無遺逸。曾竹園寺一住十年。 See Deeg 2005: 273, note 1348. Kuwayama 1988: 13f. could not identify this place, as he did not recognise the link with Sāṅkāśya.

[53] 其大窣堵波東南有一池龍，恒護聖迹。既有冥衛，難以輕犯，歲久自壞，人莫能毀。

[54] See Deeg 2005: 272, note 1346.

[55] Deeg 2005: 281–283, Deeg 2009: 95f., and Deeg 2016: 75f.

[56] Even Vogel 1926: 283, making a reference to Faxian's story, overlooked the parallel. DeCaroli 2004: 40 and 76f. briefly discusses the passage – wrongly calling the *nāga* 'converted' (p. 40). Cohen 1998: 377–380 uses Faxian's story to argue that the *nāga* cave 16 at Ajaṇṭā was used for a similar ritual.

[57] The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* refers to *nāga* festivals several times: see Deeg 2009: 97. In the story of the two *nāga*s in Rājagṛha (see below), a play about the life of the Buddha should be performed on the occasion of the *nāga* festival: see Panglung 1981: 143.

[58] According to the *Svayaṃbhupurāṇa*, a cloth on which the banned *nāga*s are painted is brought out of the shrine when there is the danger of a drought: Deeg 2016: 196.

Chin. *er* 耳) is not attested in any *nāga* name except those of Dadhikarṇa
and Faxian's Baier(-long) 白耳(龍),[59] and Śuktikarṇa in the aforementioned
list of *nāga*s in the *Harivaṃśa*.[60] *Dadhi* '(sour) milk' is metaphorically used
for 'white', as, for instance, in the name of a jackal in the *Pañcatantra*,
Dadhipuccha, 'Milk-Tailed', or the name of the plant Dadhipuṣpī, 'Milk-(or
White-)Flowered'[61]. Although it is difficult to decide what the Indic name for
Baier was – the most obvious reconstruction would be *Śvetakarṇa (attested in
the *Harivaṃśa* and the Purāṇas) or *Śuklakarṇa (attested in the examples in the
Kāśikā to Pāṇini 6.2.112) – the semantic identity of the two names Dadhikarṇa
and Baier-long makes it more than likely that the same *nāga* is referred to.[62] We
would then have evidence of a *nāga* cult being practised in or around Buddhist
monasteries at more places than the *nāga*'s region of origin, although it is
difficult to decide whether this was Sāṅkāśya or Mathurā.

In both cases, Dadhikarṇa in Mathurā and 'White-Ear' in Sāṅkāśya, the
nāga is venerated in a Buddhist monastic context and is housed in a shrine or
temple (**devakula*: *devakulika*, *longshe* 龍舍, *nāgagṛha*?, or Narendrayaśas's
longmiao 龍廟). As has been emphasised by various scholars from Vogel to
DeCaroli, it is striking that the whole process of *nāga* veneration is in the
hands of the monastic community. Such a symbiosis not only has a parallel
in the retraceable remains of the Dadhikarṇa shrine in Mathurā but also in the
set-up and inscriptional evidence of cave 16 at Ajanta (Ajaṇṭā), where there is
a *nāga* figure in the vicinity of the entrance (Fig.2) and the inscription refers
to a *nāga* shrine.[63] Robert DeCaroli has gone a step further and argued that the
artistic programme at Ajanta was a means to control superhuman local beings
like *nāga*s.[64]

59   While it is clear that Dadhikarṇa is to be taken as the proper name of the *nāga* in Mathurā, this
     cannot be fully decided in the case of the *nāga* in Sāṅkāśya: *baier* can be taken as an attribute
     ('white-eared') or as a personal name ('White-Ear'). For my purposes, an attributive meaning
     of *baier* would make an identification or equation of both *nāga*s even more plausible.

60   'Clam-Eared'; one may wonder whether Faxian had misunderstood a *śuktikarṇa* as *śukrakarṇa*
     (or *śuklakarṇa*), 'white-eared', or whether *śuktikarṇa* is a corrupted *śuktakarṇa*: see the
     example given in PW 7, 242, s.v. *śukla*.

61   See PW 3, 504, s.vv.

62   One (speculative) possibility is that Faxian was explained that the *nāga* had 'white ears' (**eṣo
     nāgaḥ śvetakarṇo 'sti*) and took this for the name (see above).

63   See Mirashi 1963: 109–111. The respective, very mutilated verses are 23 and 25:
     *23. [sajalāmbuda]vṛndalambitāgre bhujagendrādhyuṣite mahīdharendre ... 25. ...
     prakrāmbumahānidhānaṃ nāgendraveśmādibhir ...* ('23. On the best of mountains, on which
     hang multitudes of water-laden clouds (and) which is inhabited by the lords of serpents … 25.
     … which is provided with a large reservoir of abundant water situated and is also ornamented
     with a shrine of the lord of the Nāgas and the like.' Translation Mirashi 1963: 111).

64   DeCaroli 2011.

In cave 16 at Ajanta it seems clear that although no name is given, the inscription and the image refer to an individual *nāgarāja* who occupied the location before the Buddhist *saṅgha*. Although this may also have been the idea in other cases, there seems to be another concept at play here: as in the narrative of the *nāga* Gopāla in Nagarahāra – and perhaps originally in that of Sāṅkāśya as well – the *nāga* should, after his conversion, be 'banished' to his site (a water body?) to guarantee his continuing benevolent power over his element, the water, and to control his potential harmful behaviour. This becomes even more plausible if we consider the role that *nāga*s seem to have played in ensuring the provision of water in general,[65] but also more particularly in the monastic context. As Robert DeCaroli has pointed out, in Pitalkhorā and other monastic centres *nāga*s were closely related with water and its supply in the context of the monastery (DECAROLI 2004: 77–79). This is endorsed by an instruction attributed to the Buddha in the *Kṣudrakavastu* (*Zashi* 雜事; not extant in Sanskrit) of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, given in the context of the construction of the Jetavana-vihāra in Śrāvastī, the exemplary Buddhist monastery, where only the water storage building is to be decorated with paintings of *nāga*s, while all the other buildings are to be embellished with paintings of *yakṣa*s or other motifs:

> … in the water storage hall[66] [one should] paint *nāga*s carrying water containers and wearing delicate necklaces; …[67]

7. The story about two *nāga*s and *nāga*-festivals

As pointed out above, part of the Buddhist way of dealing with individual *nāga*s was that they had not only to be tamed but also to be kept at the place to guarantee the continuous efficacy of their water-providing and water-regulating power.

The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* contains a long story about two *nāga*s who leave a certain region, and water provision and the harvest are in danger there until the *nāga*s are called back successfully (T.1442.842c.27–844a.14):

> The Buddha resided in the Bamboo Grove Garden (Veṇuvana) in the city of Rājagṛha. At that time there were two *nāga* kings in that city,

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[65] On the link between early Buddhist monasteries and the hydrological infrastructure of the regions, which also included *nāga*s, see SHAW 2004.

[66] *anshui-tang* 安水堂: Skt. **udakasthāna-śālā*? This term is a *hapax legomenon* in the Chinese canon and does, to my knowledge, not correspond to any known Skt. word. I did not, however, check the Tibetan version of the *Kṣudrakavastu* which may help to provide a better basis for the reconstruction of the Sanskrit.

[67] T.1451.283b.6f. … 安水堂處畫龍，持水瓶，著妙瓔珞，…

one called Qili[68], and another called Baju[69]. Because of the miraculous power of the two *nāga*s, there were five hundred hot springs in Rājagṛha, and the ponds always had a constant flow [of water], seasonal rain fell on time and the five [kinds of] crops ripened [on time]. Now after the World-Honoured One had subdued the two *nāga* kings Nanda and Upananda, those two *nāga* kings, every month on the eighth day, fifteenth day, twenty-third day, and on the final day of the month, rose from the ocean to the miraculous high mountain peak, and came to the place where the Buddha dwelt, because [they] wanted to make offerings and hear the *dharma*. When the two *nāga* kings Qili and Baju saw Nanda and Upananda coming to the place where the Buddha dwelt and extending [their] offerings, [they] said to each other: 'Every month on the four fasting days these two *nāga* kings come to this city from other places afar, service the World-Honoured One, and at the same time listen to the wonderful *dharma*. Why do we [who live] in this city not extend [our] veneration? We should now go and make offerings to the World-Honoured One.'

When the two *nāga* kings [Qili and Baju] came to the place where the Buddha was [they] greeted [him by touching his] two feet [with their forehead and] sat at one side. Thereupon the Buddha expounded the essence of the *dharma* to these two *nāga*s and let [them] take refuge in the Three Jewels and receive the five precepts (*śikṣāpada*), and after that [their] bodies and [their] assets all increased. And now that [they] had increased, [they] discussed with each other: 'We now should reside in the ocean, should stay and live in an extensive place according [to our size].'

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[68] Qili 祇利 / EMC *gji-liʰ*: Skt. Giri, explained or rendered semantically later as 'Mountain' (*shan* 山); in the Tibetan version the name is Ri bo, Skt. Giri(ka): see PANGLUNG 1981: 20.

[69] Baju 跋窶 / EMC *bat-guə'* (variant for *ju* 窶 is *lou*: *ləw'*); in the Tibetan version the name is Grog mkhar, Skt. Valmīka, 'ant hill' (PANGLUNG 1981: 20), maybe because ant hills are a favourite place of residency of snakes. VOGEL 1926: 118 paraphrases the same story given in SCHIEFNER 1848: 272 and accepts the latter's reconstruction of the name as Vidyujjvāla, obviously without noticing that this is based on an emendation of Grog mkhar to Glog 'bar: SCHIEFNER 1848: 322, note 45. The Tibetan translation does not help to identify the underlying Skt. name of Chin. Baju. It is very likely that this transliterates Skt. *valgu*, 'nice, pretty, beautiful, handsome' (see PW, s.v.). The two names of the *nāga*s are later translated as 'Mountain' and 'Excellent' (Sheng 勝); in another story about these two *nāga*s the Tibetan version gives the translation Rab mdzes which here very probably is not Skt. Sundara, as PANGLUNG 1981: 143 reconstructs, but again Skt. Valgu. Support also comes from the transliteration of the river name Phalgumatī (Aciravatī, Revatī, modern Rapti) which Yijing transliterates as Bajumodi 跋窶末底 / *bat-guə'-mat-tɛj'* (T.1453.491c.25, 1458.539a.29); for the mix-up of *valgu* and *phalgu* see PW, s.v. *valgu*, PETECH 1950: 24, and the Pāli form Vaggumudā.

After [this] discussion [they] went to the Buddha, and after having paid respect to him they sat at the side and spoke to the Buddha: 'Oh [you of] great virtue! After we received the refuges and precepts from the World-Honoured One our bodies and [our] assets all have increased. May the merciful World-Honoured One in [his] compassion allow [us]: we now want to go to the ocean and dwell [there] in accordance with [our enormous] size.'

When the Buddha was [thus] asked [he] told the two *nāga*s: 'The great king Bimbisāra is the ruler of the kingdom; [if] you want to leave [you] should let [him] know.'

Thereupon the two *nāga*s took leave of the Buddha and said to each other: 'From what the Buddha said it looks as if [we] are not permitted [to leave].' Then [they] stayed where [they] were before.

The two *nāga* kings, when they came to see the Buddha at night, would have their original appearance [as *nāga*s], but [when they came] during the day [they] would assume the form of guild masters. When later the *nāga*s were with the World-Honoured One to hear the Buddha expound the *dharma*, the great king Bimbisāra then also came to the Bamboo Grove Garden, and when [he] came to the entrance [he] gave order to [his] entourage: 'You [should] go the Buddha and see who is there.'

The entourage followed the instruction and went, and when [they] came to the Buddha [and] had greeted the Buddha [by touching his] feet [with their foreheads, they] saw the two guild masters where the World-Honoured One was; thereupon [they] returned to the king and said: 'Oh great king! There are two guild masters with the Buddha.'

The king thought: 'These two guild masters are my subjects – [will they] dare not to rise when [they] see me arriving?'

Then king Bimbisāra wanted to go to the Buddha, [and when] these two *nāga*s saw the great king arriving [they] said to the World-Honoured One: 'Oh [you of] great virtue! [Should] we now for the time being first venerate the *dharma*? [Or] are [we] to venerate the king?'

The World-Honoured One told [them]: 'All Buddhas, World-Honoured Ones and *arhat*s venerate the *dharma*.' Thereupon, on this occasion, [he] pronounced three *gāthā*s: 'Since the Buddhas of the past and of the future, the World-Honoured Ones of the present, [who] can do away with all sorrow, all venerate the *dharma*, expound [and] steadily practice [it], and always and at all times pay respect to the true *dharma*, those who seek benefit and expect abundant joy should venerate the *dharma*, [should] always think of the teaching of the Buddhas.'

When the two *nāga*s heard what the Buddha had explained about venerating the *dharma*, [they] did not venerate the king, although [they] saw him coming. When the king saw this [he] thought: 'These two guild masters are my subjects, [and even though they] see me coming [they] do not venerate me.'

[He] then became angry. When [he] went to the World-Honoured One, [he] greeted [him by touching] both his feet [with his forehead] and sat on one side. The Buddha knew the king's mind and that [he] was angry, [but he] talked [to him] about other things and did not explain the *dharma* to him. Thereupon, king Bimbisāra asked the Buddha: 'May the great teacher explain the *dharma* to me!'

Thereupon, on this occasion, the World-Honoured One pronounced the *gāthā*s: 'If [one] has no clear mind, harbours hateful intentions, [one] cannot understand the subtle *dharma* explained by the Buddhas; [if one] subdues [one's] troubled mind, has no impure intentions and can eradicate the harm of anger, only then [will one] understand the subtle *dharma*.'

After king Bimbisāra had heard the *gāthā*s [he] thought: 'It is the work of the two guild masters that the World-Honoured One at present does not explain the essence of the *dharma* to me.'

[He] then rose from [his] seat, greeted the Buddha, went away and gave an order to [his] entourage: 'You ought to wait until these guild masters at the side of the Buddha go away and then you should tell [them]: "The great king gives order that you two have to go away quickly and must not reside in his kingdom [anymore]."'

The servants received the order and went away.

After these two *nāga* kings had heard [this they] thought: 'For a relatively long time we were happy, [but] now [we] should not take favours anymore and can do as [we] wish.'

Thereupon [they] raised dense clouds that poured down flooding rain, they followed the water ditches and entered the river, followed its course, and arrived in the ocean [where their] bodies and assets increased even more.

After the *nāga*s had left, the five hundred hot springs around the city of Rājagṛha all dried up, the seasonal rain did not fall at the proper time, the five [kinds of] crop did not grow, and the people became anxious and worried. When king Bimbisāra saw this matter, [he] thought: 'There are two *nāga* kings in the city of Rājagṛha, one called "Mountain", and

the other called "Excellent"[70], who have always lived in this city. With their miraculous power [they] cause the five hundred hot springs in Rājagrha and the ponds always to have a constant and uninterrupted flow [of water, they] cause seasonal rain to fall on time and make the five [kinds of] crops ripen on time, [so that there is] no shortage. Now suddenly the hot springs and the ponds all have dried up, and for a long time there was no rain, and the five [kinds of] crops have not grown. Could it be that the two *nāga* kings have died? Or have [they] escaped to another region or kingdom, or been seized by a *nāga* charmer? [Or have they] been eaten by the gold-winged king of the birds (Garuda)? But the Buddha, the World-Honoured One, is omniscient and there is nothing [he] does not observe. I now should go and ask [him] about the reason [for all this].'

Thereupon, king Bimbisāra went to the Bamboo Grove, greeted the Buddha [by touching his] feet [with his forehead], sat at one side and said to the Buddha: 'Oh [you of] great virtue! There are two *nāga* kings who live in this city. [Their] power is said to be the reason of prosperity or decline. Do [you] not know where [they] reside now?'

At that time, the World-Honoured One told king Bimbisāra: 'The great king should know [that] these two *nāga*s have not died or lost [their] lives, and also have not been eaten by the gold-winged [one], but it was the great king himself [who] expelled [them].'

The king said: 'I do not remember that [I] have met them. How could [I] then have expelled [them]?'

The World-Honoured One told [him]: 'I [would like to] remind the great king of the circumstances of the expulsion. Does the king not remember when once [you] came to me and saw two guild masters sitting next to me? What did the great king say publicly at that time?'

Bimbisāra said to the Buddha: 'Oh World-Honoured One! I did not say [anything] publicly, [but only] sent messengers to tell the two guild masters: "[You] are not to stay in my kingdom!"'

The Buddha said: 'These two guild masters in fact were the two *nāga* kings [who] had transformed into human shape and come to listen to the essence of the *dharma*.'

The king said: 'Where have these two *nāga* kings now gone?'

The Buddha said: '[They] have gone into the ocean.'

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[70] The context and the preceding name Shan 山, 'Mountain', for Giri(ka) shows that Sheng 勝 here is a translation of the name Baju (see above).

When the king heard [this he] looked worried and said to the Buddha: 'Oh [you of] great virtue! Will my kingdom fall into decline?'

The Buddha said: 'The king's kingdom has not yet fallen into decline, so [you] should apologise to the two *nāga* kings.'

The king said: 'These are in the ocean, [and] I reside in the city; since [we] do not meet each other there is no way to try and make an apology.'

The Buddha said: 'On each of the four fasting days [they] come to me and extend their veneration; on these days the king may come in person, I will show them [to you, and you] should repent and apologise.'

The king said: 'When I repent and apologise, do [I have to] greet [them by touching their] feet [with my forehead]?'

The Buddha said: '[You] do not need to greet [them by touching their] feet [with your forehead]; [you] should stretch out [your] right hand and tell the *nāga* kings: "Forgive me! Do not be angry about [my] previous words!" The two *nāga* kings [then] will pardon [you].'

At another time, when the *poṣadha*[71] day had come, the two *nāga* kings came to the Buddha, greeted the Buddha [by touching his] feet [with their foreheads and] sat on one side. On that day, the king Bimbisāra came as well, greeted the Buddha [by touching his] feet [with his foreheads and] sat on one side. Then, although [they] had [already] seen each other, the World-Honoured One pointed out their whereabout [and that] these were the two *nāga* kings. Thereupon king Bimbisāra stretched out [his] right hand and told the two *nāga*s: 'Oh *nāga* kings! May I be forgiven!'

The *nāga* kings responded: '[You] are forgiven, great king!'

The king said: 'If [you] forgive [me], [I] beg [you] to return and to reside in my kingdom.'

The two *nāga*s told [him]: 'Since we went to the ocean from this place [our] bodies and assets have [become] extremely huge, [so] if [we] come here, there is no space to accommodate us.'

The king said: 'If this is the case, my kingdom is lost.'

The *nāga*s said: 'The great king need not worry about losing [his] kingdom; [he] may built two shrines outside the city, one called "Shrine of the Nāga Qili", and the other called "Shrine of the Nāga Baju". We will let relatives of ours reside in these shrines, and once every six months [you should] organise a lavishly great assembly, [and] we will come and look after the king's land and make sure that there is no lack [of provision].'

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[71]   *baosatuo* 褒灑陀 / **paw-ṣɛ:-da*.

The king said: 'Good! [I] will do as [you say].'

Thereupon, king Bimbisāra built two shrines outside the city at places with forest and springs, and twice every year, at the days of the festival, people from all the six great cities flocked together.[72]

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[72] 佛在王舍城住竹林園。時此城中有二龍王，一名祇利，一名跋窶。由此二龍威神力故，於王舍城有五百溫泉及諸池沼常流不絕，時降甘雨五穀熟成。爾時世尊調伏難陀、鄔波難陀二龍王已，此二龍王每於月八日、十五日、二十三日、月盡日，從大海出昇如高峯，來詣佛所為欲供養及聽法故。時祇利、跋窶二龍王，見難陀、鄔波難陀來至佛所而申供養，自相謂曰："此二龍王每月於四齋日，遠從餘處來至此城，承事世尊并聞妙法。我等云何在此城中不申禮敬？ 我今宜往供養世尊。" 是時二龍王來詣佛所，禮雙足已在一面坐。爾時世尊為彼二龍宣說法要，令歸三寶受五學處，從此已後身及貲財並皆增盛。既增盛已即共議曰："我等宜可往大海中，隨廣博處而為居止。"作是議已往詣佛所，致敬既畢在一面坐，白佛言："大德！我從世尊受歸戒已，身及資財並皆增盛。若大悲世尊哀憐許者，我等今欲往大海中隨寬而住。"佛見請已告二龍曰："影勝大王是國之主，汝等欲去，宜可白知。"時二龍王辭佛而去，便相謂曰："如佛所言似不容許。"便依舊住。然二龍王若於夜中來見佛者，依本形狀，若於晝日作長者形。後異時中龍於晝日在世尊所聽佛說法，影勝大王亦於彼時往竹林園，既至門所命左右曰："汝往佛所觀有何人？" 時彼左右奉教而去，既至佛所禮佛足已，見二長者在世尊處，即還王所，白言："大王[with other editions instead of T. 天]！有二長者在世尊處。"王作是念："彼二長者是我國人，見我來至敢不起耶？"時影勝王欲至佛所，彼二龍王見大王來，白世尊曰："大德！我今先且敬佛？為敬王耶？"世尊告曰："諸佛世尊及阿羅漢等咸敬於法。"以此因緣說三伽他曰："若過去諸佛， 及以未來者； 現在諸世尊， 能斷一切憂。 皆共尊敬法，言說及行住； 常於一切時， 尊重於正法。 是故求益者， 欲希富盛樂；應當尊敬法， 常思諸佛教。"時彼二龍聞佛世尊說敬法事，雖見王來而不修敬。王既見已便作是念："此二長者是我國人，見我來至不相敬重。"便生瞋恨。至世尊所禮雙足已在一面坐，佛知王意有瞋恚心，別作餘言不為說法。時影勝王請世尊曰："唯願大師為我說法。"爾時世尊以此因緣說伽他曰："若無清淨心， 而懷瞋恨意， 不能解諸佛， 所說微妙法。 降伏鬪諍心， 及無不淨意， 能除於忿害， 方解微妙法。"時影勝王聞伽陀已作如是念："由二長者遂令世尊不為我演說法要。"便從座起禮佛而去，命左右曰："汝可伺彼佛邊長者辭佛去時，應告之曰：'大王有教，爾等二人宜當速去，勿居我國。'"于時使人奉命而往。彼二龍王既聞妙法，禮佛而去將出竹園。使人報曰："大王有教，爾等二人宜當速去，勿居我國。"二龍聞已便作是念："我比長夜情所樂者，今不為勞而能遂願。"即起密雲降注洪雨，從諸渠澗次入江河，展轉隨流至于大海，身及資財轉更增盛。龍去之後，王舍城側五百溫泉並皆枯涸，於時時中不降甘雨，五穀不成人懷憂感。時影勝王見此事已便作是念："王舍城內有二龍王，一名山，二名勝，常居此城。由彼威力能令五百溫泉及諸池沼常流不絕，於時時中每降甘澤，五穀熟成無所乏少。忽於今時溫泉池沼並皆乾竭，多時無雨五穀不成，豈二龍王而命過耶？ 或復逃竄向餘方國，或呪龍者之所攝持？ 成金翅鳥王之所噉食？然佛世尊具一切智無不觀察，我今宜往問彼所由。"時影勝王往竹林中，禮佛足已在一面坐，白佛言："大德！有二龍王在此城住，具述威力盛衰所由，不委今時居止何處？"爾時世尊告影勝王："大王當知！非彼二龍身死命過，乃至亦無金翅所食，然是大王自為驅擯。"王曰："我曾不憶與彼相見，況驅擯乎？"世尊告曰："我為大王憶驅擯事。王豈不憶，曾於一時來至我所，見二長者在我邊坐，大王于時共作何語？"影勝白佛言："世尊！我不共語，遣使留言報二龍者：'勿居我國。'"佛言："彼二長者即是龍王，化作人身來聽法要。"王曰："彼二龍王今向何處？"佛言："往大海中。"王聞語已便帶憂色而白佛言："大德！我之國界將衰損耶？"佛言："王之國界未至衰損，然可愧謝彼二龍王。"王曰："彼在海中我住城邑，既不相見，求謝無由。"佛言："每於四齋日來至我所而申禮敬，王至此日

8. Coordinating the *nāga*s from Mathurā and Sāṅkāśya

There are references to this story in the Tibetan *Vinayavibhaṅga*, and in the Chinese *Bhikṣuṇīvinaya* and *Vinayasaṃgraha*, which refer to the regular festivals in honour of the two *nāga*s[73]. But more importantly they refer to the involvement of the *saṅgha* in the festivals, which has to be regulated by the Buddha or through the respective monastic rules. In the *Vinayavibhaṅga*, the Buddha himself issues a rule against the performance of events from his life by members of the *saṅgha*, and in the two other examples rules are issued against the wearing of laypeople's clothes by *bhikṣuṇī*s and *bhikṣu*s.

The narrative in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* underlines the importance of binding the *nāga* to the place to guarantee the continuity of the water supply and a successful harvest. It inverts, in a way, the regular veneration of the Buddha by the *nāga*s Nanda and Upananda on the four fasting days (*zhairi* 齋 日) of the month at the beginning of the story into a veneration of the *nāga*s Giri(ka) and Valgu (Qili and Baju) who were dedicated their own festival in which the *saṅgha* eventually got involved as well. As in Faxian's record about the veneration of the *nāga* 'White-Ear' in Sāṅkāśya, the text refers to the shrines (*shentang* 神堂) in which the *nāga*s were housed. Since the story of the two *nāga*s is only found in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, we may conclude that this Vinaya came up with the legend of the two *nāga*s (including the references to their festival as an event to venerate and to keep them happy) as a reaction to actual local *nāga* cults administrated by Buddhist monasteries as reported by Faxian. The story would reflect the Buddha's contribution and consent to the establishment of the first of these activities, binding the *nāga*s to a place, through Bimbisāra. The narrative would have served *post-ex-facto* to rubber-stamp a practice which was quite common in certain local monastic environments.

Another interesting common feature of the examples from Mathurā and from Faxian's *Foguo-ji* is the reference to milk: *dadhi* in Dadhikarṇa's name

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宜可自來，我指示之當申懺謝。”王曰：“我懺謝時為禮彼足耶?”佛言：“不應禮足，宜申右手告龍王曰：‘願容恕我，勿恨前言。’彼二龍王自當容忍。”後於異時至褒灑陀日，彼二龍王來至佛所，禮佛足已在一面坐；其影勝王，亦於是日來禮佛足一面而坐。爾時世尊即便現相示其處所，此是二大龍王。時影勝王便舒右手告二龍曰：“龍王！於我願見懺摩。”龍王報曰：“懺摩，大王！”王曰：“若容恕者，願還來此住我國中。”二龍告曰：“我從此處至大海已，身及資財非常廣大，若來此者無處相容。”王曰：“若如是者當失我國。”龍曰：“唯願大王勿憂失國，可於城外造二神堂，一名祇利龍神堂，二名跋窶龍神堂。我令眷屬住此堂中，六月一時盛興大會，我等自來觀王國土不令闕乏。”王曰：“善！當如是作。”時影勝王即於城外林泉之所造二神堂，每年二時至節會日，遍六大城所有諸人並皆雲集。; for the Tibetan version see PANGLUNG 1981: 20.

[73] PANGLUNG 1981: 143, who mistakenly renders the name of the second *nāga* as Sundara instead of Valgu (see above). See also T.1443.988a.1–4, T.1458.593a.5f.

and the milk (*lao* 酪) into which the *nāga*-snake is placed. Alexander Cunningham (Cunningham 1871: 273f.) reported that still in his days the locals of Sankisa (Śāṅkāśya) venerated a *nāga* called Kārewar[74] in a tank by donating milk to him for delivering rain. If Cunningham's observation is correct, Sāṅkāśya would reflect a high degree of continuity in *nāga* veneration. The change from a *nāga* (Chin. *long*) into a snake (Chin. *she* 蛇) is quite plausible and pragmatic: concrete and public veneration of the *nāga* – if this was not just done in the form of an icon – could only be directed to a real snake, as contemporary snake veneration in India still shows. There was obviously a clear awareness that in a ritual context *nāga* and snake can be identical and just different embodiments of the same creature, a fact that may also be reflected in the inscription at cave 16 in Ajanta, which refers to the original inhabitant of the spot as *bhujagendra*, 'Lord of the Snakes', and *nāgendra*, 'Lord of the Nāgas'[75].

The use of milk for the veneration of *nāga*s is well known from modern Indian *nāga* rituals, being used in daily worship as well as in the *nāga-pañcamī* ritual,[76] thus showing an astonishing continuity with Faxian's description of the ritual veneration of the *nāga* at Sāṅkāśya. The *Varāhapurāṇa* ends the 24th chapter on the *nāga*s with the following *śloka* (33):

> If one remains austere at that day (i.e., the *pañcamī tithi*), gives up all that is sour in food and bathes the Nāgas[77] in milk, they become friendly towards one.[78]

The symbolic value of milk in the context of snake veneration is multiple: it represents purification, it is supposed to attract and appease the snakes,[79] and in our specific case it has a clear link with the physical appearance of the *nāga*, obviously wearing white spots on both sides of the head. A less prominent continuity and parallel with Faxian's record in modern *nāga* veneration is the use of metal plates or vessels in the rituals around snakes or *nāga*s.[80]

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[74] Is this going back to Kṣīreśvara, 'Lord of Milk'?

[75] I do not agree with Mirashi's 1963: 111 translation of *bhujagendra* in the compound as plural. It makes more sense that the same *nāga*, the one originally occupying the site, is addressed.

[76] See e.g., Vogel 1926: 275–277; Jones 2010: 102f., 105f.; Van den Hoek and Shrestha 1992: 58.

[77] I am not convinced that Iyer's 1985: 88 addition '(images of)' is needed here: obviously – and certainly in the case of Faxian's example – real snakes could be venerated as *nāga*s.

[78] *etasyāṃ saṃyato yas tv ambalan tu parivarjayet, kṣīreṇa snāpayen nāgāṃs tasya yāsyanti mitratāṃ*; edition Śāstrī 1893: 60, translation Iyer 1985: 88, slightly modified. See also *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* 1.32., Upādhyāy 2012: 190–196.

[79] For the affinity of *nāga*s with milk see Zoller 2019: 100, 103.

[80] For examples of vessels used in the case of Tantric rain magic preserved in Chinese Tantric texts: see Deeg 2009: 104–109; in all these cases the vessel is not made of metal and the element of milk is missing.

9. Conclusion

If my tentative identification of Dadhikarṇa with Faxian's *nāga* Baier is correct, we would gain two insights from this identification. 1. Without going as far as to suggest that one of these two *nāga*s represents the original location of the veneration, I would at least conclude that we can trace the change from an individual *nāga* being venerated at one place to a trans-local cult. 2. We can further assume that the *nāga* in Mathurā and the one in Ajanta (and probably elsewhere) were venerated in a similar way to the one in Sāṅkāśya. It is in light of these possible parallels that the frequent depictions of *nāga*s in Mathurā and Ajanta may assume an individuality of their own.

Abbreviations

Chin. = Chinese

EMC = Early Middle Chinese

Skt. = Sanskrit

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Fig.1. *nāga*, Mathurā (Chargaon), dated 20th year of Huviṣka. Photo by Robert DeCaroli, Courtesy of Robert DeCaroli.

Fig.2.   *nāga*, Ajanta (cave 16). Photo by John C. Huntington, Courtesy of The John C. and Susan L. Huntington Photographic Archive of Buddhist and Asian Art.

Fig.3.   Descent of the Buddha from Trayastriṃśa Heaven (Sanchi, Stupa 1,
            Northern Gate). Photo by Gudrun Melzer, Courtesy of Gudrun Melzer.

Buddha under Control. Buddhism's Legacy in North Korea

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Abstract: This paper explores the significance of the legacy of Buddhism in North Korea. Our primary concerns in the North Korean context are twofold: the presence of Buddhism in North Korean culture and the role of Buddhism in North Korea cultural and propaganda policy. We argue that the religious revival in North Korea seen from the 1970s onwards was part of a project created by the Workers' Party of Korea and had certain political goals. Fieldwork and analysis of sources revealed that the North Korean state has used Buddhism to repair the country's international image by creating a facade of religious freedom to promote tourism and as a part of policies towards unification. While seemingly peripheral, Buddhism still has relevance at state and social levels in North Korea.

Keywords: religion in North Korea, Buddhism, North Korean Buddhism, religion and politics, Chobulyeon, Pohyon Temple

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1. Introduction

The stance of the North Korean[1] state towards Christianity has attracted much attention from scholars (Himmelfarb 1992; Keum 2002; Kim 2018; Ryu 2019), but the relationship between the North Korean state and Buddhism has barely been studied.[2] However, it deserves special attention as Buddhism,

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[1]   The official name of North Korea is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).

[2]   A number of scientific monographs on the subject of this research have been published in South Korea, including two books written by Shin Beob Ta entitled *Bughan bulgyo yeongu* (Shin 2000) and *Bughan bulgyo baekseo* (Shin 2020). This author, together with Cheong

although constrained, still has a presence in the DPRK. Buddhism clearly has much deeper roots than Christianity in North Korea, which makes it nigh impossible for the North Korean authorities to eradicate it.

Buddhism was deeply undermined by the Korean War (1950–53), and the subsequent anti-religious policy of the North Korean state. In spite of these facts, Buddhism still holds a specific place in North Korea. This study aims to fill the scholarly gap by providing some brief characteristics of Buddhism in North Korea and assessing its relevance in North Korean cultural and propaganda policy.

This research paper not only consists of a review of the available contemporary literature, it adds value by utilising North Korean sources and several field work trips to North Korea by both authors. The authors shed light on North Korean religious policy towards Buddhism as a complex and dynamic issue, in which the North Korean is still seeking a place for Buddhism in its general social framework.

The paper is divided into four substantive chapters. The first briefly introduces the reader to the place of Buddhism on the Korean Peninsula. The second is related to the religious policy of the North Korean state. The third deals with the role of Buddhism in the culture of North Korea. The final part is a typology of the Buddhist legacy in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula.

2. An introduction to Buddhism on the Korean Peninsula

Buddhism was introduced to the Korean Peninsula in 372 AD. The Korean Peninsula was at the time divided into three kingdoms: Gokoryo in the north, Baekje in the southwest, and Silla in the southeast part.[3] Buddhism gained particular importance during the Koryo dynasty (918–1392), in cultural, social and political life. However, the rise of Neo-Confucianism in the 14th century, and a series of anti-Buddhist edicts during the Joseon Kingdom (1392–1897), led to the decline of Buddhism in Korea. The first clearly anti-Buddhist policies were inaugurated by King Taejong at the beginning of the

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Thae Gyeog, also wrote *Bughan-ui jjol gwa bulgyo* (Cheong 1999). Buddhism was briefly covered by Ha Jong Pil (Ha 2003) in a monograph about North Korean religions (entitled *Bughan-ui jonggyo munhwa*). To the authors' modest knowledge, there are no other recent publications worldwide that focus exclusively on Buddhism in North Korea. We would like to thank the Reviewers for drawing our attention to some of the above books and for their valuable comments and fruitful remarks.

[3]   The Korean words used in this article are Latinised according to the Revised Romanisation of the Korean language dated from July 2000. Furthermore, Koreans variously spell two-syllable given names separated by a hyphen (South Korean version) or a space (North Korean version).

15th century. Meanwhile, Buddhism lost much of his wealth, the clergy was subjugated and monks lost their political influence at the expense of Confucian scholars. Nevertheless, Buddhism continued to be important for the next two-hundred years and King Sejo (1417–1468) even tried to restore some Buddhist privileges. However, from the 16th century, Buddhism found itself on the margins of social life. It survived in distant mountain communities and in the hearts of the common people, and particularly among women.

Religious dynamics on the peninsular were changed fundamentally by the arrival of Christian missionaries at the end of 19th century. Up until 1895, monks had been prohibited by law from entering most Korean cities and had little societal legitimacy. But some of the monks who did re-enter the cities started propagation (*pogyo*) of Buddhist teachings, aiming to 'reunite' believers. Such efforts created a foundation of socially engaged monks and lay people devoted to urbanising and popularising Buddhism. The monks copied the tactics of Christian missionaries, organising public teachings, setting up organisations and institutions and publishing translations of Buddhist classics. As a result, Buddhism stopped being considered an anti-social and isolated religion from mountain areas.[4]

The Japanese colonial period (1910–45) also turned out to be beneficial for Buddhism's growth as it was considered useful by the new colonial power. During the colonial period, Korean Buddhism underwent a set of reforms inspired by the Japanese, who wanted to model it in accordance to the 'correct' Japanese Buddhism of the Sōtō and Nichiren schools. This coincided with attempts to revive Korean Buddhist practice within the tradition itself. Probably the most characteristic result of the Japanisation of Korean Buddhism was the break with celibacy by most monks. Like other religions, Buddhism did not escape politicisation, especially in the colonial-funded Buddhist press, and during the last, most oppressive period of colonisation, 1937–1945. Despite the financial and state support that had been gained, Korean Buddhists manifested a spectrum of attitudes towards the coloniser, from support to hostility. Some monks did not accept Japan resolutions and returned to the mountains, continuing Buddhist activities far from the centres of colonial life (Sørensen and Harris 1999: 128–137). Nevertheless, during the colonial period Buddhism began to thrive. According to Japanese colonial authorities' statistics, there were 63,571 Korean Buddhists in 1916 (Baker 2016: 8). By late 1940s that number had increased to 375,438 believers in North Korea alone (Senécal 2013: 13). Furthermore, some Buddhist movements, like Won Buddhism, were created during that dynamic period (Pye 2002).

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[4]   More information related to *pogyo*: Nathan 2010.

Before the division of the Korean Peninsula, the Northern part was more religious than the South (Baker 2013: 33). Christianity was the most active among the organised religions. Pyongyang was even called the 'Jerusalem of the East'. The Sungsil College in Pyongyang was the best seminary in the whole of Korea (Tudor 2017: 192). Just before the liberation, Korea was an extremely religiously vibrant country where the world views of Shamanism, Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity intertwined and competed. The effect of these meetings of ideas was especially vivid in Korea's new religious movements, many of which emerged at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, especially Cheondogyo (the term may be translated as the Religion of the Heavenly Way) (Young 2013: 63). This religion, which unified elements of Buddhism, Christianity and Confucianism, was especially active in both religious and political spheres during the Japanese colonial period between 1910 and 1945, and even as the Chondoist Chongu Party, which became a political party in the DPRK connected to WPK (the Workers' Party of Korea). However, after the end of the Korean War, this religion faced severe persecution, and became 'a shadow of its former self' (Young 2013: 64).

3. Buddhism and religious policies in North Korea

In religion–state typologies, North Korea is often described as a 'Anti-religious State', characterised by an officially hostile attitude toward religions and state policies which oppose any important public role for religion (Kuru 2007: 584). Despite the content of the North Korean Constitution of 1948, which stated that the 'Citizens of the DPRK have freedom of religious belief and of conducting religious services' (Lankov 2014: 6), the Period of the Soviet occupation and formative years of the new political system in the Northern Part of the Korean Peninsula was disastrous for traditional religious life. The Korean communists followed Leninist doctrine, which saw religion as an 'opium of the people' (*inmin-ui apyeon*), which should be eradicated from society. The fiercest target was Christianity, which was considered an imperialist force, although other religions were not excluded from persecution.

Among the best-known victims of the repression are Francis Hong Yong Ho, a Catholic bishop of Pyongyang, imprisoned in 1949 and missing since then, as well as the Protestant Reverend Moon, arrested and tortured for the first time on 11 August 1946, and arrested for a second time in February 1948, and finally sentenced to forced labour in Hungnam camp. Buddhist temples, Confucian schools and shrines related to folk beliefs also suffered greatly (Sørensen and Harris 1999: 138). As a consequence of the 1946 Land Reform, many temples were confiscated by the North Korean state. Buddhism was attacked in communist propaganda as 'premodern' and 'superstitious'.

Monks were not provided with enough food, and many had no choice but to abandon monastic life (SENÉCAL 2013: 13–15).

However, Buddhism was still present in the minds of many North Koreans, though mostly older generations. Ho Guk Bon, the North Korean ambassador to Poland (1954–1958), noted that:

> Our villages strictly profess Buddhism. However, only elderly people are sincerely religious. The Catholic population prevails among the urban population, while the war destroyed all Catholic temples. The Japanese occupation […] introduced a third religion to the country, which was used as an instrument of their politics. The war against Japan was also a war against their religion. Our youth, however, is already completely progressive, and Buddha statues are found only in distant and less accessible mountains. (Quoted after BURZYŃSKI 1957: 3, translated by the authors).

Following the liberation, there were many Buddhist reformers and activists interested in spreading their teachings and participating in social life. According to official North Korean statistics, there were 518 temples in North Korea and 732 monks before the Korean War (SENÉCAL 2013: 13). In 1945, three Buddhist organisations were created: the North Joseon General Buddhist Federation (*bugjoseon bulgyodo jeongyeonmaeng*), the North Joseon Alliance of Buddhist Associations (*bugjoseon bulgyo yeonhabhoe*) and the North Joseon Buddhist General Federation (*bugjoseon bulgyo jeongyeonmaeng*). Only the third one survived after the establishment of the North Korean state in September 1948 and began to be subordinated to the United Democratic Patriotic Front, the major North Korean political structure (ARCHIVE OF THE ROMANIAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS 1954: 10).

Anti-religious policies became more ruthless with the outbreak of the Korean War. Meanwhile communist forces damaged many Buddhist temples in the Southern part of the Korean Peninsula, and targeted Buddhist monks and nuns as class enemies (SØRENSEN and HARRIS 1999: 138).

The reason for the increased persecution toward Buddhist practitioners was suspicion of anti-communism sympathies among Buddhists. Remote Buddhist temples in the mountains also provided shelter for anti-government forces and were considered a potential threat to the power of the WPK (SENÉCAL 2013: 16). Therefore, Buddhists started to come under heavy state control with the implementation in 1957 of the North Korean social stratification system called *songbun*. North Korean citizens were divided into three distinct loyalty

groups based on their background ('stable', 'neutral', and 'enemy') forces, which were divided into fifty-one *categories*. Buddhists were classified in category 37 (between Protestants and Catholics), as people who could not be trusted (Collins 2012: 79–82). The remaining monks were either forced to enroll in the army, or were killed in prison camps. A major anti-religious campaign was also launched in 1958, in order to eradicate North Korean believers (Keum 2003: 206).

Kim Il Sung, although brought up a Christian, serving as an organist in his family's church, when he became leader of North Korea adopted a hostile attitude toward religion. In 1964, Kim Il Sung announced that: 'In the course of the Fatherland Liberation War (Korean War), religion disappeared from our country' (White Paper on Human Rights in North Korea 2008: 233). However, in the late 1960s, the political framework of North Korean changed, with increased interest in preserving national heritage, as a form of national pride. Abandoned and destroyed temples started to be reconstructed.

In 1972, two important elements contributed to give a new impetus to religious organisations in North Korea. Firstly, the new North Korean Constitution of 1972 elaborated a longer definition of freedom of religious belief than the previous Constitution of 1948.

> Citizens have freedom of religious belief. This right is granted through the approval of the construction of religious buildings and the holding of religious ceremonies. Religion must not be used as a pretext for drawing in foreign forces or for harming the State or social order (Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea: chapter five, article sixty-eight).

In 1972, remaining Buddhist organisations were merged under the Korea Buddhist Federation (*Joseon bulgyodo ryeonmaeng*, abbr. Chobulyeon). However, the Chobulyeon was subordinated to the North Korean Juche Ideology (an ideology promoting and defending the self-reliance policy of North Korea), but also to North Korean political organisations.

The apparent opening of the North Korean state toward religions was visible during several events. In 1986, the Chobulyeon joined the World Fellowship of Buddhists. It was also during that period that some 'catholic'[5] and two protestant churches were built, and many Buddhist temples were restored in Pyongyang (Thae 2020b: 127). In 1989, Tripiṭaka Koreana (*Palman Daejanggyeong*) was

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[5]　The North Korean church has no connection with Roman Catholic Church, and its mass looks more like a prayer meeting e.g. participants do not receive Eucharist.

translated into modern North Korean. The same year North Korean Buddhist monks also participated in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in Pyongyang. North Korea wanted to present itself as an open and global place for multicultural visitors (THAE 2020a). Representatives from 177 countries took part in the festival, the biggest international event North Korea has ever held. Meanwhile, the relative openness of the North Korean state toward religions may also be seen through the presence of North Korean state religious organisations at international religious conferences (FORD 2008: 106). The subordination of religion to the state was openly stated by some North Korean sources. The Great Encyclopedia of Joseon (*Joseondaebaeggwasa*) published in 1995 states that the basic mission of religious people is to promote the national interest (YU 2008: 126).

Within the framework of the 1998 South Korean policy of reconciliation (the Sunshine Policy), the Chobulyeon took part in dialogue with South Korean Buddhist organisations and was responsible for Buddhist temples in the Mount Kumgang, a region especially popular for Koreans of both sides of the Korean Peninsula. Except for promoting tourism, the Chobulyeon focuses also on receiving humanitarian aid and funds from a well-known Buddhist organisation called Good Friends, led by the Venerable Pomnyun, a South Korean Buddhist monk, who has been working inside North Korea for over 25 years. From a different perspective, it has been estimated that between 1995 and 2006, the South Korean Catholic community sent USD 38 mln in aid to North Korea (HASSIG and OH 2009: 190).

This improvement in relations between Buddhists from the Northern and Southern part of the Peninsula can also be underlined by the presence of several hundred Buddhist religious representatives from Seoul and Pyongyang, at a ceremony to celebrate the reopening of the Shingye temple in November 2016. This event was considered highly symbolic, as this temple has a historical value. It is a Buddhist temple, founded in 519 AD during the Silla Dynasty, located on territory now in North Korea that was destroyed during the Korean War. The institution is one of the most revered places of worship of Korean Buddhism.

The Chobulyeon was also involved in some architectural projects with South Korean Buddhist organisations. The South Korean Ministry of Unification and a South Korean Buddhist Order named Cheontae financed the rebuilding of the Youngtong temple, located close to the city of Kaesong in North Korea. In the same period in North Korea, the pre-revolutionary past was offcially recognised through certain sites that had long been stigmatised as reactionary, such as Christian churches and Buddhist temples, including

the Kwangbop Temple that was 'renovated' in 1990, the Kumgang Temple in 1998, and the Chilgol Church in 1992. Such changes in North Korean policy were an effect of pressure from foreign religious groups, particularly South Korean, which were also bringing investments to the North (JOINEAU 2014: 8). On the other side, article 68 of the 1992 Constitution underlined not only the freedom of religious belief but also the right to construct buildings for religious use and ceremonies (FORD 2008: 106). Interestingly also, the first South Korean civilian invited to North Korean during the Moon Jae In era (Moon Jae In has been the president of South Korea since May 2017), was a Buddhist monk named Pomnyun, known especially for his humanitarian work towards reconciliation of the two Koreas (SHI 2018).

From a different perspective, monks from the Southern side have expressed difficulties when talking to monks from North Korea:

> The religious rituals are not organized. We [= Buddhist monks from South Korea] taught them how to beat the wooden gong. The language difference in Buddhism was another difficulty; they don't understand our terms and we don't understand their terms (CHOI 2015).

This opinion was confirmed by the former North Korean Juche chief ideologist Hwang Jang-yop, who said that 'the monks living in the Buddhist temples are of course fake monks' (MARTIN 2004: 351).

4. The presence of Buddhism in North Korean culture

The marginalisation of Buddhism in North Korea can be demonstrated by the almost total absence of Buddhism in its literature and cinema. There are, however, some minor samples of Buddhism in the North Korean leisure industry. In 1966, the uncredited movie, *The 60-year-old youth* (*60 cheongchun*) has one scene where an old man is practicing meditation. He explains to another farmer that he has suffered enough and wants simply to enjoy life. He also thinks that it is his breathing technique that will give him longevity. When the real hero of the movie, a senior Seonbong, notices this he scolds the two men for playing instead of working hard. In the movie he will prove his dedication by taking part in a marathon and winning it. The message of the film is clear, even the old cannot stop their struggle. Also, there is no reference to Buddhism per se in the movie and the meditation scene might be understood in a broader sense, as a representation of practices present in Eastern traditions (so not only Buddhism, but also Taoism, and Korea's new religious movements).

Fig. 1. Meditation as a waste of time in the movie *The 60-year-old youth*, Mokran TV (accessed 1 July 2021).

Even in historical and fantasy movies, Buddhism appears only as an ornament. Usually, a temple functions as an attractive shooting location, as in the success movie *Hong Kil Dong* (1986, Kim Kil In) or *Order 027* (1986, Jung Ki Mo, Kim Eung Suk). North Korean productions have also used – though to a lesser extent – Buddhist temples. For instance, the Pohyong Temple in Myohyang Mountains served as an oriental location in the movie *Ten Zan* directed by Ferdinando Baldi and released in 1988 (Schönherr 2012: 182– 184). Buddhism has also figurative role in internal affairs. Buddhist historical temples are considered as propaganda museums rather than as active places of worship. Visitors to temples learn there about the cruelty of Americans, and the greatness of Kim Il Sung. Many temples suffered during American bombing raids, and at least nine Buddhist temples of great historical value and located around Pyongyang, were destroyed during the Korean War (Archive of the Romanian Ministry Of Foreign Affairs 1954: 30). It is, however, not always clear the extent to which the temples were destroyed during the war or during the anti-religious campaigns that came after. The tragedy of the Korean War is used to antagonise the enemy and to propagate the official liberation story.[6] Buddhist temples lost their original meaning. Rather as religious places, they are considered as a form of 'cultural heritage' (*munhwajae*), or a sign of the greatness of Korean culture. Some defectors have seen them only as

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[6]　Interview of Nicolas Levi with a monk at the Pohyon Temple. The interview was realised on 20 August 2007.

'sightseeing spots' (Wʜɪᴛᴇ Pᴀᴘᴇʀ ᴏɴ Hᴜᴍᴀɴ Rɪɢʜᴛs ɪɴ Nᴏʀᴛʜ Kᴏʀᴇᴀ 2008: 240). Furthermore, monks cannot teach Buddhism lectures to visitors, nor meditation, and there are no activities of worshiping Buddha (Tʜᴀᴇ 2020b: 126). They cannot proselytise, and unless a person belongs to a monk family, or lives near the temple, it is almost impossible to become a Buddhist (Sᴇɴᴇ́ᴄᴀʟ 2013: 13). Also in North Korea, there are practically no statues of Buddha in public space.[7]

Fig. 2. Buddhist temple as a film location in *Order 027*, Korean Central Television (accessed 1 July 2021).

In order to become a Buddhist monk, a candidate not only has to finish a programme of Buddhist studies of the Religion Department of the Kim Il Sung University, but also to be a member of the WPK (Tʜᴀᴇ 2020b: 126). Monks usually do not live inside temple facilities and their function is more similar to museum guides than religious teachers. According to Sᴇɴᴇ́ᴄᴀʟ (2013: 21), they are characterised by 'administrative work' and have families and lead a very secular life. Unless there is an official visit, they usually do not wear official clothes. The characteristic red robes they wear have been received as a gift from South Korean Buddhists, and they are reminiscent of the style of Northern monks from the colonial period (Sᴇɴᴇ́ᴄᴀʟ 2013: 20–30). According to the North Korean senior defector Thae Yong Ho (Tʜᴀᴇ 2020b: 125–127), they perform prayers (*bulgong*) only during those visits. In some cases, this

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[7]　The exceptions are Buddhist stone sculptures carved in the mountains, like the Myogilsang Buddhist statue, which is the largest Buddhist stone image in North Korea.

attitude might be changing. A person involved in the Youngtong rebuilding project mentioned that:

> In the past, the monks in Youngtong temple had long hair, unlike monks from South, and they were not staying at the temple. However, these days, there are monks with tonsured heads wearing garb, and now there are two–three monks residing at the temple (cited according to Cʜᴏɪ 2015).

Regarding Buddhism festivities, the Buddha's birthday (*Bucheonim osin nal*) is a public holiday only in South Korea. In North Korea this event is unknown by the population (Tʜᴀᴇ 2020b: 125). Nevertheless, *Chobulyeon* organises ceremonies to mark the occasion, for instance at the Pohyon Temple in May 1988. Since then, the country has held three major Buddhist events each year. Only a limited number of practitioners selected by the regime can participate. They aim to show the world that freedom of religion is guaranteed, and are also designed to facilitate exchanges with foreign Buddhist communities.

There is also an open question of the extent to which Buddhist ideas have plated a role in constructing Kim Il-sung's and Kim Jong Il's cults of personality. The religious elements in North Korean ideology have already been subject of multiple studies. Some scholars argue that through appropriation of religious symbols the North Korean system has become a religion itself (Bᴇʟᴋᴇ 1998; Bᴀᴋᴇʀ 2013; Sʜɪɴ 2018; Hᴜsᴀʀsᴋɪ 2020). Official propaganda sometimes uses the Buddhist language to describe leaders e.g. openly describing Kim Il Sung as a god – the 'Sun of Love' – 'superior to Christ in love, superior to Buddha in benevolence, superior to Confucius in virtue and superior to Mohamed in justice' (Bᴇᴄᴋᴇʀ 2005: 77). A similarity between Buddhism and the Juche ideology was noted by Benjamin Joineau. According to French researcher, the location and shape of Juche Tower is reminiscent of the Buddhist semantics of enlightenment (Jᴏɪɴᴇᴀᴜ 2014: 81). Moreover, Kim Jong Il was often presented as a benevolent leader chosen by some mysterious external force for his role, and that seems to be similar to the justification for power in classical Buddhist political thought (Lᴇᴠɪ 2015: 128).

5. A typology of the Buddhist legacy in North Korea

Buddhism's legacies are considered in the list of national treasures of North Korea. A national treasure is a cultural property that has been evaluated as a cultural relic by the Cabinet of North Korea according to its historical significance and formative artistic value and registered by the Central

Cultural Relics Conservation Guidance Agency of North Korea. The list of national treasures is based on 193 monuments and includes 62 assets related to Buddhism. Other assets are mainly related to the history of the Korean Peninsula and to a lesser extent explicitly to Confucianism.

Among these 62 Buddhists assets, thirty-three elements are named as being temples. Regarding the remaining 29 religious assets, we may classify them in several categories: pagodas (eleven), hermitages (two), and other elements (sixteen), such as sculptures, guest houses, halls, sculptures, etc. Below, we provide some brief descriptions of the most important Buddhist legacies in North Korea:

On this list, number seven is the Tabo Pagoda of the Pohyon Buddhist temple, the most important Buddhist legacy in North Korea. The Pohyon Temple is located in the Myohyang Mountains in North Pyongan Province. It was designated as the number 40 National Treasure of North Korea.

Founded under the Koryo dynasty in 1024, it became one of the largest centres of Buddhism in North Korea and is an important place of pilgrimage. It is named in honour of the deity Samantabhadra, a Bodhisattva in Mahayana Buddhism associated with practice and meditation. Like many other temples in the country, it was heavily damaged by American bombing during the Korean War. The Tabo Pagoda of the Pohyon Buddhist temple, which is also known as the 'Pagoda of many treasures', is two-stories in height.

The number thirteen of this list is the Pobun Hermitage of the Yongmyong Buddhist temple, located in the district of Taesong in Pyongyang. The Yongmyong Buddhist Temple was located at the foot of Moranbong hill in Pyongyang. Prior to its destruction during the Korean War, it was the largest and most important centre of Buddhist worship in the capital of North Korea. In the 1920s, the temple was renovated with funds from the Japanese government. The temple was made headquarters for the Rinzai sect of Japanese Zen Buddhism. The Rinzai monks were tasked with converting citizens away from traditional Korean Buddhism as part of a government programme to replace the old Korean culture with that of modern Japan. The historic temple was destroyed by the bombings of Pyongyang during the Korean War. The temple ran the Pobun Hermitage, located on Mont Ryongak in the district of Mangyongdae in Pyongyang. In 2012, the Korean Central News Agency reported the 'reconfirmation' of Lair of King Tongmyong's Unicorn, 200 meters from the Yongmyong Temple. The discovery is credited to 'Archaeologists of the History Institute of the DPRK Academy of Social Sciences', and the report states that the 'Unicorn Lair' is carved on a rock at the site. The report of the

discovery also states that this 'proves that Pyongyang was the capital city of Ancient Korea' (Lair of King Tongmyong's Unicorn reconfirmed in DPRK: 2012).

The number 24 is the seven-storied hexagonal pagoda of the Hongbok Buddhist temple, located in the Moranbong Park in Pyongyang since 1933, but initially in the Pyongchon district of the city. The temple dates from the 11th century.

The number 95 is the Buddhist Singye Temple, founded in 519 AD during the Silla Dynasty in Mount Kumgang. As with many other Buddhist legacies, the temple was destroyed during the Korean War, and rebuilt through donations from South Korea collected by the Jogye Order. The Singye temple is one of the most famous places of worship of Korean Buddhism (KIM HWA-YOUNG: 2006).

Number 164 is the Kwangbop Buddhist temple, founded in the time of the kingdom of Goguryeo during the reign of Kwanggaetho (391–413) and located in the district of Taesong in Pyongyang. It was the largest of a dozen temples built on Mount Taesong. Rebuilt in 1727, destroyed during the Korean War in July 1952 by American bombardments, it was restored in 1990. The ensemble currently comprises an octagonal stone pagoda with five levels surrounded by the Taeung, Tongsung and Sosung pavilions as well as the Haethal and Chonwang gates. Its pagoda is listed in 185th position on the list of National Treasures of North Korea.

Globally speaking, ancient temples like Pohyon, Kwangbop, Singye, Youngtong or Anguk were restarted and are protected as North Korean National Treasures. These places are attractive and receive many local and international tourists. In spite of belonging to the oldest extant temples of the Korean Peninsula, visitors learn about the American aggression and the hypothetical splendour of Kim Il Sung, who effectively reconstructed the country.[8] Paradoxically, the politicisation of Buddhist temples almost deprives them completely of anything related to traditional Buddhism.

Buddhism Legacies are also presented on a regular basis in the English-speaking North Korean press. However, this legacy is also used as a propaganda tool as North Korean journalists underline thoe damages to Buddhism temples that were caused by American bombing during the Korean War. The legacy is also preserved by the policy of the WPK:

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[8] Nicolas Levi visited the Pohyon (North Pyongan Province) and Anguk Temples (South Pyongan Province) in August 2007.

> Though it was seriously damaged by the indiscriminate bombing by the US imperialists during the Fatherland Liberation War (June 1950 – July 1953), the temple was restored to its original state after the war and has been preserved as a valuable cultural heritage thanks to the policy of the WPK and the state on preserving cultural relics (Hong 2014: 42–43).

> Anguk temple is preserved in its original state thanks to the country's policy of preserving the national cultural heritage (Kim 2020: 40).

In spite of the support of the Japanese Occupant in the preservation of the Buddhist legacy in the Northern Part of North Korea, North Korean propaganda journals suggest that the Japanese were responsible for damages related to Buddhist legacies:

> Many of the cultural relics, however, were washed away by the flood in 1915 or destroyed by the Japanese policy of the destruction of Korean culture pursued during their military occupation of Korea (Kim 2012: 14).

> Many Korean artefacts, such as a gold crown, personal ornaments, bronze mirrors and Buddhist images, were on display in Ueno Museum in Tokyo as the 'Japanese treasures' (Choe 2013: 12).

Meanwhile, the role of Buddhists towards the Japanese occupant (through the Imjin War) is also underlined in the North Korean press:

> On display in the area are nine stupas, including that of Saint Sosan, a Buddhist priest and patriotic commander during the Imjin Patriotic War against the Japanese aggressors (1592–1598), and relics and remains and armaments demonstrative of high levels of science and technology attained in the periods of Koryo and the last feudal state of Korea (1392–1910) (Kim 2012: 12).

6. Conclusions

Our brief analysis demonstrates that the function of Buddhism is only ornamental and is not related to religious practices or ideas. The regime does not deny the existence of Buddhism, but places it clearly as a relic of the past. The only reason why Buddhism exists is its utility for the WPK. It helps to promote tourism, soften the image of the regime, and obtain fundings, mostly through South Korean Buddhist channels.

From a general perspective, as of 2016, there are approximately 300 monks and 67 Buddhist temples in North Korea, which is drastically less than

the 26,791 temples in South Korea (Baker 2016:14). The Korea Buddhist Federation claims to have around 10,000 lay members, but the number is very speculative, and not verifiable due to the lack of official statistics.[9] From a non-North-Korean source, almost 70% of Buddhists in North Korea are women (Havet 2010: 125). If true, it would fit with the Korean historical pattern that Buddhism during times of oppression is cultivated primarily by women.

Some South Korean scholars claim that Buddhism is 'the most active and the most powerful' of the North Korean religions (Senécal 2013: 10). Our research shows that Buddhism, as well as other religious associations, is primarily a tool of the state, and the overall treatment of Buddhism is inseparable from the treatment of other religions. This paper demonstrates that the reappearance of Buddhism in North Korea from the 1970s had a political context, and did not change the overall situation of the persecution of Buddhist practitioners. The North Korean system does not tolerate alternative systems of meaning, and tends to either oppose or subjugate them.

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[9]   It is worth mentioning that North Korean authorities mention the same number for Protestants in the country.

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The Karmabhedavastu of Guṇaprabha's
Vinayasūtra

Hong Luo[1]

Abstract: The Karmabhedavastu is the fourteenth chapter of Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra*. It concerns disputes related to ecclesiastical acts in the Buddhist monastic community. The chapter consists of two sections, which are collected from different texts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya corpus. A first critical edition of the Sanskrit text of the Karmabhedavastu, the Tibetan translations in the bsTan 'gyur, and an annotated translation are the main contributions of this paper.

1. Introduction

The Karmabhedavastu,[2] the fourteenth of the seventeen chapters of Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* (henceforth, VS),[3] deals with a special type of dispute within the Buddhist community, the one related to ecclesiastical acts (*karman*). The text is a collection of related rules gathered from the *Vinayavastu*, the *Pṛcchā*, and the *Māṇavikā* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya.[4]

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[1] I dedicate this work to Prof. Dr. Leonard van der Kuijp on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. May the genuineness of his enthusiasm and erudition, to which I am a witness, continue to break the karmic binds of ignorance!

[2] The *Vinayasūtra* was edited twice. The first edition was contributed by Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1981, a polymath of Buddhist Studies and the trailblazer of the modern studies on the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Tibet. His edition was revisited and improved by the Studying Group of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism at Taishō University headed by Dr. Yoshiyasu Yonezawa (米澤嘉康), the edition is available online: https://www.tais.ac.jp/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/vinayasutra_trlt.pdf. On the basis of the previous contributions, the current edition aims to take the study of the *Vinayasūtra* a step forward by taking into consideration the previously unknown materials and the new observations on Guṇaprabha, the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, and the *Vinayasūtra*. For the editorial policy of the *Vinayasūtra* and a survey of all the textual witnesses known so far, see Luo 2011.

[3] For the authorship of the *Vinayasūtra*, see Luo 2019: 198–199.

[4] For the *Pṛcchā*, see Clarke 2015: 77; for the *Māṇavikā*, see Clarke 2015: 79–80.

According to dGe 'dun grub pa's (1391–1474) *Legs par gsungs pa'i dam pa'i chos 'dul ba mtha' dag gi snying po'i don legs par bshad pa rin po che'i 'phreng ba* (henceforth, Rin 'phreng), the Karmabhedavastu, together with the Cakrabhedavastu[5] and Adhikaraṇavastu,[6] shows how to remedy disputes in the Buddhist community; the Cakrabhedavastu deals with disputes concerning the *dharmacakra*, and the Adhikaraṇavastu treats issues other than those presented in the two other chapters.[7] An analytical synopsis of the Karmabhedavastu is extracted from the Rin 'phreng:[8]

Appeasing the dispute concerning ecclesiastical act (*las dang 'brel ba'i rtsod pa zhi bar bya ba*) [VS.14]

1. [*Sūtra*s] from the [*Vinaya*]vastu (*gzhi'i skabs nas byung ba*) [VS.14.1–22]
   1.1. Avoiding the cause of disharmony (*mi mthun pa'i rgyu spang ba*) [VS.14.1–5]
   1.2. The main issue together with the performance [of ecclesiastical act] (*dngos po byed pa dang bcas pa*) [VS.14.6–7]
   1.3. The manner how one who follows the right teaching should act (*chos 'di pas ji ltar bya ba*) [VS.14.8–15]
   1.4. The pacifying ritual with supplementary acts (*zhi byed zhar byung dang bcas pa*) [VS.14.16–22]
2. [*Sūtra*s] from the *Pṛcchā* and the *Māṇavikā* (*zhu ba dang bram ze'i bu mo'i skabs nas 'byung ba*) [VS.14.23–39]
   2.1. The main issue of disharmony together with the performance [of ecclesiastical act] (*mi mthun pa dngos byed pa dang bcas pa*) [VS.14.23–26]
   2.2. Precepts for the indifferent ones (*gzu bo rnams kyi bslab bya*) [VS.14.27–33]
   2.3. Supplementary rules concerning the ownership of the rainy season retreat acquisition (*zhar la dbyar rnyed gang dbang mi dbang bstan pa*) [VS.14.34–39]

The synopsis of the VS supplied by dGe 'dun grub pa in the Rin 'phreng and that by mTsho sna ba Shes rab bzang po (13th century CE) in the *'Dul*

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5 Luo 2021.

6 Luo forthcoming a.

7 Rin 'phreng (586-11).

8 Relevant remarks which are routinely given before the *pratīka*s are scattered in the running commentary; a detailed report of the sources would be tedious and for the moment is not attempted.

ba mdo rtsa'i rnam bshad nyi ma'i 'od zed legs bshad lung gi rgya mtsho, the other major para-canonical VS commentary originally composed in Tibetan, are further developments in the history of the commentarial literature of the VS.

The auto-commentary of the VS, the *Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasva-vyākhyāna* (henceforth, VSS), while focusing on selective topics, skipped the preliminary duty of glossing the wordings and terms in the *sūtra*. This undesirable gap was later filled by Dharmamitra's *Vinayasūtraṭīkā* (henceforth, VSṬ). The explanatory model adopted in the VSṬ is economic as well as effective, first contextualising the *sūtra* in question then anatomising each and every word therein. The model is consistently applied and the VSṬ becomes the best VS commentary for any attempt to understand and interpret the VS. As critically remarked by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364), the quality of the Tibetan translation of the VSṬ is 'extremely good (*shing tu bzang*)' and that of the VSS is 'extremely bad (*shing tu ngan*).'[9] The sharp contrast, to some extent at least, could be accounted for by the different orientations of the two commentators. The final step to a comprehensive understanding of the VS, however, was made only after the *sa bcad*s were supplied by the Tibetan exegetes. Without a birds' eye view of the semantic units, the chapters, and the VS as a whole, an annotated translation like we have attempted to present in the following might be serviceable, but can hardly be systematic.

There are many divergences among the canonical commentaries concerning both the reading as well as the explanation of the *sūtra*s. Some are trivial and ignorable. There are, however, significant ones which either point to different recensions of the *sūtra*s or different interpretations of the same *sūtra*s. In the cases shown below, the divergences may be so extraordinary that the best way to account for them may simply be to assume different sectarian affiliations of the different views. This is particularly true in the cases where serious disagreement is detected between the VSS and the VSṬ on the one hand, and the VSV on the other hand.

A self-evident example for different recensions of the VS is *sūtra* 14.11:

Other says: 'They should, by speech hearable and through others, [offer them bad bedding and seats].'

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9   'di steng pa lo tstsha ba ga rod tshul khrims 'byung gnas kyis phyis bsgyur ba ste | 'gyur shin tu ngan no || slob dpon chos kyi bshes gnyen gyis mdzad pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa shloka nyi khri chig stong | bam po bdun cu pa 'di dang rtsa ba gnyis jinamitra dang klu'i rgyal mtshan gnyis bsgyur bas 'gyur shin tu bzang ngo || (mDzes rgyan, 57a3–4). See Luo 2009a: 328. For sTeng pa lo tstsha ba, see Yonezawa 2016.

This is an alternative of what is prescribed in the previous *sūtra*:

[Those who follow this teaching] should by gesture offer bad bedding and seats [to them].

When those who stick to the wrong teaching arrive, those following the right teaching should, according to 14.10, offer them necessities of poor quality; they could hand out the offering personally but they are not allowed to speak to the unvirtuous visitors. The optional way given in 14.11 is more humiliating: the host-giver is allowed to speak, not, however, to the erring receivers, but to a conduit. Besides, the rightful giver should ensure that his words reach the target audience, the chastisable visitors. The difference between these two *sūtra*s concerning how to react to a visit of guilty monks is rather substantial, though they share the same goal, because, in general, the *vinaya* rules of different schools distinguish themselves from one another mainly with regard to how or how not to behave in a certain way but not why or why not to do so.

Besides, *sūtra* 14.11, it seems, has an informative variant reading. The reading concerned is *aparam*, which is attested in both Sanskrit manuscripts, the major textual witnesses for the critical edition. The canonical commentaries, however, suggest, besides *aparam* (n. sg. nom.), *aparaḥ* (m. sg. nom.).

Both the VSS and the VSṬ specify the referent of *kha cig*, the equivalent of *aparam* in the VS, VSS, VSṬ, and Prajñākara's *Vinayasūtravyākhyāna* (henceforth, VSVy), as a certain text (*gzhung kha cig*).[10] The VSVy, despite sharing the same equivalent with the above three texts, supplies 'a certain *ācārya* teaches.'[11] The VSV has the equivalent *gzhan* for *apara* and identifies it with a Vinayadhara.[12] The referent *gzhung*, which may in all likelihood reflect *śāstra* (n.), supports *aparam*, the referents *ācārya* and *vinayadhara*, both masculine nouns, point to *aparaḥ*.

Besides, the VSV also contrasts in an interesting way the above two explanations:

Others say: '[Those who follow the right teaching] should – by speech audible [to the visitors who follow the wrong teaching] – through others (*anyatra*) [offer them bad bedding and seats].' The previous [*sūtra*] (*ltag ma*) is taught in a *vinaya* text that like before (*ltag ma ltar*) [those who follow the right teaching] should by gesture offer a *bhikṣu* who follows

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[10]   VSS 89-1334-15, VSṬ 91-819-3.

[11]   slob dpon kha cig 'chad par ston pa'o (VSVy 92-618-2).

[12]   'di ni 'dul ba 'dzin pa'i tshig (VSV 92-1504-8).

the wrong teaching bedding and seats; the present *sūtra* [however] is the words of a Vinayadhara: While offering bedding and seats, [those who follow the right teaching] should offer with speech audible to the erring *bhikṣu*.[13]

The VSV attributes what is given in 14.10 to an unnamed *vinaya* text and 14.11 to an anonymous *vinaya* specialist. The two optional ways to deal with the same issue are transmitted in different ways, in written text and in oral tradition, respectively. It is remarkable that Guṇaprabha kept both and it is inferable that both might still be in use while Guṇaprabha's compiling of the VS was ongoing. Very likely, they represent the different voices of the groups who were probably competing for the fundamentality of their own within Buddhist society.[14] This could also be an example of another VS version which predated and was known to Guṇaprabha.[15]

There are other cases where the VSV sets itself apart from other canonical commentaries either in terms of the reading or the interpretation of the *mūla* text. The *pratīka* of 14.4 as cited in the VSV, for instance, lacks an equivalent of *tena*, and the running commentary in the VSV, it seems, takes *evam* as only concerned what is described in 14.3.[16] The *pratīka* of 14.4 in the VSṬ has *des* for *tena* and makes it clear that *evam* refers back to what is presented in both 14.3 and 14.2.[17] The peculiarities of VSV 14.4 suggests, rather strongly, a source of information different from that of the VSṬ.

Significant disagreements between the VSV and the VSṬ are also found in the case of 14.5. First, *grāhyatā ca*, which is taken as the last part of 14.5 in the VS, the VSS, the VSṬ, and the VSVy, is deemed as an independent *sūtra* in the VSV.[18] Second, while the subject is given as cell-distributor in the VSS[19] and the VSṬ,[20] it is specified by the VSV as the community.[21]

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[13] tshig gis gzhan thos par ro zhes gzhan dag go || ltag ma ltar log pa la bltas pa'i dge slong stan mi smra bar lag brdas sbyin no zhes 'dul ba'i gzhung las 'chad de ltag ma yin | 'di ni 'dul ba 'dzin pa'i tshig ste stan sbyin pa mi dge ba'i dge slong thos par byas te sbyin zhes bshad || (VSV 92-1504-11).

[14] Obviously, this is an issue closely related to the division between the Sarvāstivādins and the Mūlasarvāstivādins. For a recent discussion, see Sasaki 2018. Luo forthcoming b is a further observation on this issue.

[15] For other examples, see Luo 2011: 175–176.

[16] VSV 92-1502-20.

[17] VSṬ 91-816-18.

[18] VSV 92-1503-5.

[19] *gnas khang bsko ba* (VSS 89-1333-6).

[20] *gnas khang bsgo ba* (VSṬ 90-817-6).

[21] *dge 'dun* (VSV 92-1503-5).

There are other relatively minor disagreements between the VSV and other canonical commentaries.[22] They have been recorded in annotations to the English translation below. It suffices now to say that the VSV represents a different tradition of the VS, despite its being attributed to Guṇaprabha. The attribution was questioned by Bu ston, reasonably, we would say, in light of the above observation on the individual cases.

The VSVy, which is attributed to Prajñākara, very often sides with the VSV when a disagreement, either linguistic[23] or interpretational,[24] occurs among the canonical commentaries. Yet, it has its own peculiarity. In several cases, single readings are found in the VSVy. The most impressive one occurs in 14.9, where the *pratīka* in the VSVy alone supports the reading of the two Sanskrit manuscripts, both of which in this case stand against the reading shared by the VS, the VSS, the VSṬ, and the VSV. We list below other cases found in this chapter. The wording *atinamane* of VS 14.2 is not attested in the *pratīka* quoted in the VSVy. The word *lūha* is missing in 14.10 as quoted in the VSVy. This is a rather significant issue, because without the adjective bad/*lūha*, the humiliation for the guilty *bhikṣu*s, from the point view of what is prescribed in other commentaries, shall become much less proportional to the infringement they committed, though this might precisely be the point the reading of the VSVy is intended to make. In the case of 14.35, the *pratīka* in the VSVy does not have *saṃghe*.

The two Sanskrit manuscripts used for the critical edition basically represent two different transmission lines of Guṇaprabha's VS.[25] Exceptional cases, which are worth mentioning, however, are found in this chapter. VS 14.17 in both manuscripts reads:

> *sthalasthair atra santi ced bhikṣuṇīnām acodyatvam.*

On the basis of the Tibetan materials, where *bstan par bya ba nyid* (VS, VSS, VSṬ), *lung sbyin* (VSVy), and *bshad* (VSV) rather suggest *codyatvam*, while *gzu bo dag yod na* (VS, VSS, VSṬ), *skam la gnas pa yod na* (VSVy), and *bar ma yod na* (VSV) unequivocally point to *sthalasthāḥ… santi*, we have emended the text:

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[22] By 'canonical commentaries' we refer to the VSS, the VSṬ, the VSVy, and the VSV.

[23] For instance, the disagreement concerning the translation of *vyagratvam*, which is attested in both 14.7 and 14.28.

[24] For instance, the disagreement concerning the interpretation of *idaṃdharmabhiḥ* in 14.8. For the VSS and the VSṬ, this refers to the seven groups of the side following right teaching; the VSVy and the VSV, however, refer only to five groups (*dge slong sde lnga*). It seems, according to VSVy and VSV, the lay followers should still pay respects to the monks who follow the wrong teaching.

[25] Luo 2011: 177–178.

sthalasthā atra santi ced bhikṣuṇīnāṃ codyatvam.

However secondary may the reading in the manuscripts be, it also yields good sense:

If they, [i.e., those who follow the right teaching,] are with indifferent members (*sthalasthaiḥ*), [they] should not teach (*acodyatvam*) nuns.

The implication then is that the indifferent members should teach the nuns. In fact, it is inevitable to emend *acodyatvam* to *codyatvam* if we emend *sthalasthair* to *sthalasthāḥ*. Thus, both the emended text which reflects the reading transmitted in the Tibetan texts and the reading preserved in the two Sanskrit manuscripts are self-coherent. This again shows the complexity of the transmission of the VS. There is yet another example, 14.24:

When the [schism regarding ecclesiastical acts arises], the ecclesiastical acts take effect respectively (*pratisvam*).

The ecclesiastical acts performed by each side take effect independently. Instead of *pratisvaṃ*, manuscript A transmits a partially illegible reading *?ajñāṃ?*, which by itself is puzzling. A clue to its solution is found in the VSV:

While the community is divided into two groups, despite not mutually asking for consent, it is allowable to perform ecclesiastical acts concerning the community.[26]

Without asking for consent means without knowing what is performed by the other side. The damaged reading *?ajñāṃ?* could in fact be a corruption of *ajñātaṃ* and the text in manuscript A may mean:

When the [schism regarding ecclesiastical acts arises] the ecclesiastical acts [performed by each side] take effect [even] without [being] known [by the other side] (**ajñātam*), [i.e., without informing the other side].

There is another unresolved problem. The *pratīka* in VSVy reads: *'di dag so so'i las su mi rung ba*, which may suggest yet another reading of 14.24.

Linguistically speaking, the *pratīka*s of the VS as quoted in the canonical commentaries, i.e., items 1 to 5 in the **Texts**, fall into two groups.[27] Group 1, which consists of the VSS and the VSṬ, both of which transmit the reading of the Tibetan translation of the *mūla* text of the VS, is more intelligible than the

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[26] dge 'dun dge mi dge sde gnyis su chad pa gcig la gcig dad pa ma dris kyang dge 'dun gyi las su rung ngo || (VSV 92-1506-6).

[27] Luo 2009b: 301–306.

texts in the other group and the equivalents therein are more in line with the vocabulary in the *Mahāvyutpatti*. Group 2, the VSVy and the VSV, tends to be literal and is less intelligible. The situation in the VSV is so extreme that in some cases, like for instance VS 14.21, the translaion becomes syntactically odd, though it faithfully copies the word order in the original text, which is sometimes semantically meaningful.

Now, a few words concerning the conventions for the texts and the annotated English translation. The Tibetan translations presented in the **Texts** are based upon the dPe bsdur ma edition of the bsTan 'gyur. The source of the translations is supplied in a fixed pattern: [volume-page-line]. For instance, [88-1054-10] means the text quoted starts in line 10 on page 1054 of volume 88 of the dPe bsdur ma bsTan 'gyur.

For the annotated translation, the *sūtra*s are first rewritten in a way that the syntax may be more easily recognised and appreciated than in their original word order. The rewriting follows the syntactic structure Dharmamitra fleshed out in the VSṬ. The glosses on the terms are basically gleaned from the VSṬ. The divergences among the commentators, which, as shown above, reflect sectarian disagreements concerning specific issues, are discussed in the annotations.

2. Texts

2.1. From the *Vinayavastu*

VS 14.1 na nānātvāya saṃghasya prabhaviṣṇum[28] akāmaṃ codayed unmoṭayed vā codayantam[29] || [A104r2][B58r3]

1. dge 'dun tha dad pa nyid du nus pa la mi 'dod par gleng ba dang gleng bar byed pa na log par mi bya'o || [88-1054-10]

2. dge 'dun tha dad pa nyid du nus pa la mi 'dod par gleng ba dang | gleng bar byed pa na log par mi bya'o || [89-1332-8]

3. dge 'dun tha dad pa nyid du nus pa la mi 'dod par gleng ba dang gleng bar byed pa na log par mi bya'o || [91-816-3]

4. dge 'dun 'byed pa'i mthu yod pa la ma dad bzhin du mi gleng gleng na'ang khyad du mi gsod || [92-616-11]

5. dge 'dun 'byed pa tha dad par byed nus pa la mi 'dod bzhin du mi gleng | [92-1502-7] glengs pa la mthar mi bya || [92-1502-11]

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[28] prabhaviṣṇum em.: prabhāviṣṇuṃ AB
[29] codayantam A: codayatvaṃ B

VS 14.2 na yatra prativirodhas tena sārdham atinamane samāsīta || [A104r2] [B58r4]

1. 'da' bar bya ba gang na mi mthun pa yod pa de dang lhan cig tu 'khod par mi bya'o || [88-1054-11]
2. 'da' bar bya ba gang na mi mthun pa yod pa de dang lhan cig tu 'khod par mi bya'o || [89-1332-9]
3. 'da' bar bya ba gang na mi mthun pa yod pa de dang lhan cig tu 'khod par mi bya'o || [91-816-8]
4. gang du yang khon yod pa dang lhan cig mi bsdad || [92-616-14]
5. gang du mi 'phrod pa de dang lhan cig tu mnan par mi gnas || [92-1502-14]

VS 14.3 dvitrāsanāntaritam anyatra || [A104r3][B58r4]

1. gzhan du ni go gnyis sam gsum gyi bar du bcad do || [88-1054-12]
2. gzhan du na go gnyis sam gsum gyi bar du bcad de'o || [89-1332-12]
3. gzhan du ni go gnyis sam gsum gyi bar du bcad de'o || [91-816-14]
4. gud du'ang gnyis sam gsum gyis go btsal te'o || [92-616-16]
5. gzhan du na stan gnyis gsum spangs te'o || [92-1502-17]

VS 14.4 evam itaras tena || [A104r3][B58r4]

1. des cig shos dang yang de bzhin no || [88-1054-13]
2. des cig shos dang yang de bzhin no || [89-1332-17]
3. des cig shos dang yang de bzhin no || [91-816-18]
4. gcig gis kyang de bzhin du de dang | [92-616-18]
5. gzhan gyis kyang de bzhin no || [92-1502-20]

VS 14.5 antaritasyānayor vihārasya deyatvaṃ grāhyatā ca || [A104r3][B58r4]

1. de gnyis kyi gtsug lag khang bar du chod ba sbyin par bya ba nyid dang mnod par bya ba nyid do || [88-1054-13]
2. de gnyis kyi gtsug lag khang bar du chod pa sbyin par bya ba nyid dang mnod pa bya ba nyid do || [89-1333-2]
3. de gnyis kyi gtsug lag khang bar du chod pa sbyin par bya ba nyid dang mnod par bya ba nyid do || [91-817-2]
4. 'di gnyis kyi gnas so sor sbyin zhing mnod pa yang | [92-616-20]

5-1[30]   des gtsug lag khang bkol te sbyin || [92-1503-2]

5-2   blangs pa yang ngo || [92-1503-5]

VS 14.6 dharme vinaye[31] caitadvattām adharme ced abhiniveśo jñātvā saṃghasāmagrī[32] na vidyate || [A104r3][B58r4]

1. chos dang 'dul ba la gal te de dang ldan par shes nas chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa la dge 'dun mthun pa med do || [88-1054-15]

2. chos dang 'dul ba la gal te de dang ldan par shes nas chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa la dge 'dun mthun pa med do || [89-1333-11]

3. chos dang 'dul ba la gal te de dang ldan par shes nas chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa la dge 'dun mthun pa med do || [91-817-12]

4. chos dang 'dul bas der gyur la chos ma yin pa la ji nas kyang zhen par shes na dge 'dun mthun pa la yal lo || [92-617-3]

5. chos dang 'dul ba 'di dag las te chos ma yin pa la chags par shes nas dge 'dun 'du ba med do || [92-1503-7]

VS 14.7 tasmān na tadanyānāṃ saṃbhūya kṛtau karmaṇo rūḍhir[33] na paraspareṇa vyagratvam[34] || [A104r4][B58r4]

1. de'i phyir de las gzhan pa dag dang tshogs te | las byas na yang mi 'chags la phan tshun mi mthun pa nyid du yang mi 'gyur ro || [88-1054-16]

2. de'i phyir de las gzhan pa dag dang tshogs te las byas na yang mi 'chags la phan tshun mi mthun pa nyid du yang mi 'gyur ro || [89-1333-20]

3. de'i phyir de las gzhan pa dag dang tshogs te las byas na yang mi 'chags pa la phan tshun mi mthun pa nyid du yang mi 'gyur ro || [91-817-20]

4. de bas na de las gzhan pa dang 'dus te las byas kyang mi skye zhing gcig la gcig bskal par yang mi 'gyur ba'o || [92-617-8]

5. de bas na de dang gzhan du ste las spyad pa mi skye phan tshun du mi brel to || [92-1503-14]

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[30] In this case, the VSV separates the *pratīka*. The way the VSV divides the *sūtra* sometimes differs from other canonical commentaries. This is a phenomenon worthwhile for further investigation.

[31] dharme vinaye B: dharmmavinaye A

[32] °sāmagrī A: °sāmagrīn B

[33] rūḍhir A: rūḍhin B

[34] °ṇa vyagratvam A (°ṇa vyagratvaṃ): °ṇāvyagratvam* B

VS 14.8 kaliparāyaṇatva eṣāṃ[35] tadvipakṣasya[36] hy[37] avandyatvam idaṃdharmabhiḥ || [A104r4][B58r5]

1. de dag de'i mi mthun pa'i phyogs dang 'thab par gyur pa nyid na chos 'di pa dag gis phyag mi bya ba nyid yin no || [88-1054-18]

2. de dag de'i mi mthun pa'i phyogs dang 'thab par gyur pa nyid na chos 'di pa dag gis phyag mi bya ba nyid yin no || [89-1334-5]

3. de dag de'i mi mthun pa'i phyogs dang 'thab par 'gyur ba nyid ni chos 'di pa dag pa'i phyag mi bya ba nyid yin no || [91-818-6]

4. de dag de'i gnyen por 'thab ces pa dang chos 'di pa rnams kyi phyag mi bya || [92-617-11]

5. 'thab mo la gnas pa de dang de'i rkyen por 'di'i chos pas phyag mi bya || [92-1503-18]

VS 14.9 pratyutthānāsanopanimantraṇasaṃlapanālapanasammodanavyavalokanālokanānām[38] apy akaraṇam || [A104r5][B58r5]

1. mngon du ldang ba dang stan la bod pa dang gtam 'dre ba dang phebs par smra ba dang kun dga' bar 'gyur ba dang rnam par lta ba dang cung zad lta ba dag kyang mi bya'o || [88-1054-19]

2. mngon du ldang ba dang stan la bod pa dang | gtam 'dre ba dang | phebs par smra ba dang | kun dga' bar 'gyur ba dang rnam par lta ba dang cung zad lta ba dag kyang mi bya'o || [89-1334-11]

3. mngon du ldang ba dang ltan la bod pa dang gtam 'dre ba dang | phebs par smra ba dang | kun dga' bar 'gyur ba dang | rnam par blta ba dang | cung zad blta ba dag kyang mi bya'o || [91-818-13]

4. ldang ba stan la gnyer[39] | gtam[40] | bre mo gtam kun dga' ba rnam par lta ba rnams kyang phyag mi bya || [92-617-14]

5. mi ldang | stan la spyan mi drong | gtam dang | gtam kun dang | mgu bar byed pa dang | rtog pa dang | lta ba dang 'di dag mi bya || [92-1503-21]

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[35] eṣāṃ A: eṣā B

[36] tadvipakṣasya B: dvipakṣye A

[37] hy a° A: cā° B

[38] °vyavalokanālokanānām em.: °vyavalokanānām AB

[39] gnyer em.: gnyar (dPe)

[40] gtam em.: tam (dPe)

VS 14.10 lūhaśayanāsanānupradānaṃ hastasaṃvyavahārakeṇa || [A104r5] [B58r5]

1. lag pa'i tha snyad kyis gnas mal ngan pa rjes su sbyin no || [88-1055-2]
2. lag pa'i tha snyad kyis gnas mal ngan pa rjes su sbyin no || [89-1334-13]
3. lag[41] pa'i tha snyad kyis gnas mal ngan pa rjes su sbyin no || [91-818-21]
4. lag brdas mal stan sbyin | [92-617-19]
5. mal stan ngan pa byin te lag brda bya || [92-1504-3]

VS 14.11 vacanenānyatra saśrūtam ity aparam || [A104r6][B58r5]

1. kha cig las ni tshig gis thos pa dang bcas par gzhan la'o zhes so || [88-1055-3]
2. kha cig las ni tshig gis thos pa dang bcas par gzhan la'o || [89-1334-14]
3. kha cig las ni tshig gis thos pa dang bcas par gzhan la'o || [91-819-2]
4. des thos par gzhogs sbad kyis zhes kha cig ces pa || [92-617-21]
5. tshig gis gzhan thos par ro zhes gzhan dag go | [92-1504-6]

VS 14.12 pratyante vihārasya || [A104r6][B58r5]

1. gtsug lag khang mjug[42] tu'o || [88-1055-4]
2. gtsug lag khang mjug tu'o || [89-1334-18]
3. gtsug lag khang mjug tu'o || [91-819-6]
4. gnas ni mtha' khob tu'o || [92-618-4]
5. gtsug lag khang mtha' 'khob las so || [92-1504-10]

VS 14.13 vṛddhā vayam api vadatsu yūyam api śramaṇāḥ śākyaputriyāḥ sma ity ātmānaṃ pratijānīdhve | yeṣāṃ cedaṃ vṛttam iyaṃ vārttā, kāruṇiko vaḥ śāstā yenaitad anujñātam etad api vo na prāpadyata iti prativadeyur anyatra || [A104r6][B58r5]

1. kho bo cag rgan no zer na khyed cag kyang bdag cag shākya'i sras kyi dge sbyong dag yin no snyam du bdag nyid khas 'che'am | khyed cag gang dag gi spyod tshul 'di lta bu dang gtam 'di lta bu la 'di yang mi 'thob pa yin na khyed kyi ston pa thugs rje dang ldan pas des na 'di rjes su gnang ngo' zhes gzhan la lan gdab par bya'o || [88-1055-4]

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[41] lag em.: log (dPe)
[42] mjug em.: 'jug (dPe)

2. kho bo cag rgan no zhes zer na khyed cag kyang bdag cag shākya'i sras kyi dge slong dag yin no snyam du bdag nyid khas 'che'am | khyed cag gang dag gi spyod tshul 'di lta bu dang gtam 'di lta bu 'di yang mi thob pa yin na | khyed kyi ston pa thugs rje dang ldan pa des na 'di rjes su gnang ngo zhes gzhan la lan gdab par bya'o || [89-1334-19]

3. kho bo cag rgan no zhes zer na khyed kyang bdag cag shākya'i sras kyi dge slong dag yin no snyam du bdag nyid khas 'che 'am khyed cag gang dag gi spyod tshul 'di lta bu dang gtam 'di lta bu 'di la yang mi 'thob pa yin na | khyod kyi ston pa thugs rje dang ldan pas des na 'di rjes su gnang ngo zhes gzhan la lan gdab par bya'o || [91-819-8]

4. nga yang rgan rabs shig na zhes zer na 'di skad gyi gtam drung grags pa khyed kyang bdag shākya'i sras kyi dge sbyong snyam mam khyed kyi ston pa thugs rje can gyis gnang du zad kyi 'di dag tsam gyi tshod kyi mi 'thob bo zhes gzhogs gtam gyis la lan glan || [92-618-5]

5. bdag kyang rgan po'o zhes smras na khyod kyang dge sbyong shākya'i bu na'o zhes bdag la 'cha' 'am | ci ltar khyod kyis 'di lta bur gyur pa'i 'di lta bu'i gtam ste khyod kyi ston pa snying rje can gyis 'di gnang gi 'di yang mi dbang ngo zhes gzhan la smra'o || [92-1504-12]

VS 14.14 na bhikṣuṇy āsanamokṣaṃ hāpayet || [A104v1][B58r6]

1. dge slong mas stan las ldang ba dbri bar mi bya'o || [88-1055-9]

2. dge slong ma la stan las ldang ba dbri bar mi bya'o || [89-1335-7]

3. dge slong mas stan las ldang ba la dbri bar mi bya'o || [91-820-9]

4. dge slong mas ni stan las 'phags pa mi btang || [92-618-10]

5. dge slong mas stan dor ba mi dbri || [92-1504-21]

VS 14.15 dadītopāsakaḥ piṇḍapātam || [A104v1][B58r6]

1. dge bsnyen gyis bsod snyoms dbul bar bya'o || [88-1055-9]

2. dge bsnyen gyis bsod snyoms dbul par bya'o || [89-1335-9]

3. dge bsnyen gyis bsod snyoms dbul bar bya'o || [91-820-13]

4. dge bsnyen gyis kyang bsod snyoms byin || [92-618-12]

5. dge bsnyen gyis[43] bsod snyoms sbyin || [92-1505-1]

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43 dge bsnyen gnyis em.: dge slong gis (dPe)

VS 14.16 nāvasāritānām eṣāṃ sāmagryasya vinā sāmagrīlābhenotthānam ||
[A104v2][B58r6]

1. bzod pa byas pa de dag la mthun pa thob pa med par mthun pa mi ’byung
   ngo || [88-1055-10]

2. bzod par byas pa de dag la mthun pa thob pa med par mthun pa mi ’byung
   ngo || [89-1335-9]

3. bzod pa byas pa de dag la mthun pa thob pa med par mthun par mi ’byung
   ngo || [91-820-15]

4. ’di dag tshangs su zin kyang ’dum pa ma rnyed kyi bar du ’dum mi skye ||
   [92-618-13]

5. bshags pa byas pa de’ang ’dus pa’i rnyed pa med par ’du ba’i mi ldang ||
   [92-1505-3]

VS 14.17 na vinā poṣadhena prakṛtisthatāprāptiḥ || [A104v2][B58r6]

1. gso sbyong med par rang bzhin du gnas pa nyid mi ’thob bo || [88-1055-11]

2. gso sbyong med par rang bzhin du gnas pa nyid mi thob bo || [89-1335-13]

3. gso sbyong med par rang bzhin du gnas pa nyid mi ’thob bo || [91-822-5]

4. gso sbyin ma byas par rang bzhin du gnas pa mi ’thob || [92-618-16]

5. gso sbyong ma yin par rang bzhin du gnas pa mi ’thob || [92-1505-7]

VS 14.18 datvainaṃ kuryuḥ || [A104v2][B58r6]

1. de byin nas bya’o || [88-1055-12]

2. de byin nas bya’o || [89-1336-3]

3. de byin nas bya’o || [91-822-12]

4. ’di ni sbyin zhing bya || [92-618-18]

5. byin na de bya || [92-1505-10]

VS 14.19 karmaṇaitat[44] || [A104v2][B58r6]

1. de ni las kyis so || [88-1055-12]

2. de ni las kyis so || [89-1336-4]

3. de ni las kyis so || [91-822-13]

4. ’di las kyis so || [92-618-20]

5. de las kyis so || [92-1505-12]

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[44] karmaṇaitat* B: karaṇaitat* A

VS 14.20 pūrvaṃ ca || [A104v3][B58r6]

1. snga ma yang ngo || [88-1055-12]
2. snga ma yang ngo || [89-1336-6]
3. snga ma yang ngo || [91-823-17]
4. snga ma yang || [92-618-21]
5. snga ma yang ngo || [92-1505-14]

VS 14.21 kalpate sāmagrīmaṅgalārtham āpadi ca poṣadhaḥ || [A104v3]
[B58v1]

1. mthun pa dang bkra shis dang gnod pa byung ba'i don du gso sbyong byar
   rung ngo || [88-1055-13]
2. mthun pa dang bkra shis dang gnod pa byung ba'i don du gso sbyong byar
   rung ngo || [89-1336-10]
3. mthun pa dang bkra shis dang gnod par 'byung ba'i don du gso sbyong byar
   rung ngo || [91-824-17]
4. 'dum pa dang bkra shis pa dang ye 'drog gi phyir gso sbyin rung ||
   [92-619-2]
5. brtags pa ni 'du ba dang | bkra shis pa'i phyir dang gnod pa'i gso sbyong
   ngo || [92-1505-16]

VS 14.22 tasyaiva cātra kālasya nimittatvam || [A104v3][B58v1]

1. 'di la dus de kho na'i rgyu nyid du'o || [88-1055-14]
2. 'di la dus ni de kho na'i rgyu nyid du'o || [89-1337-2]
3. 'di la dus de kho na'i rgyu nyid du'o || [91-826-16]
4. 'di'i dus ni 'di nyid kyi gzhi las so || [92-619-6]
5. der de'i mtshan ma nyid dus so || [92-1505-18]

karmabhedavastu || || [A104v3][B58v1]

1. las bye ba'i gzhi'o || || [88-1055-14]
2. las byed pa'i gzhi'o || || [89-1337-10]
3. las byed pa'i gzhi'o || || [91-827-4]
4. las byed pa'i dngos po'o || || [92-619-8]
5. las tha dad pa'i dngos po'o || || [92-1505-21]

2.2. From the *Pṛcchā* and *Māṇavikā*

VS 14.23 karmaṇaḥ kṛtāv adharmavādibhir[45] antaḥsīmni pṛthak tadbhedo bhedacittena || [A104v3][B58v1]

1. chos ma yin pa smra ba dag gis dbye ba'i sems kyis mtshams kyi nang du las tha dad par byas na de bye ba yin no || [88-1055-15]

2. chos ma yin pa smra ba dag gis dbye ba'i sems kyis mtshams kyi nang du las tha dad pa byas na bye ba yin no || [89-1337-11]

3. chos ma yin pa smra ba dag gis dbye ba'i sems kyis mtshams kyi nang du las tha dad par byas na de dbye ba yin no || [91-827-7]

4. chos ma yin par smras pas mtshams kyi nang du dbye ba'i bsam pas las gud du byas na bye ba'o || [92-619-10]

5. chos ma yin pa smra ba dang mtshams kyi nang du so sor ni tha dad pa ste dbye ba'i sems kyis las byas na'o || [92-1506-1]

VS 14.24 rūḍhir asmin pratisvaṃ karmaṇaḥ || [A104v4][B58v1]

1. 'di la so so'i rang gi las 'chags so || [88-1055-16]

2. 'di la so so rang gi las ni 'chags so || [89-1338-1]

3. 'di la so so'i rang gi las ni 'chags so || [91-827-17]

4. 'di dag so so'i las su mi rung ba || [92-619-13]

5. der bdag gir las kyis na skye'o || [92-1506-5]

VS 14.25 nāsvapakṣyaṃ[46] prati || [A104v4][B58v1]

1. rang gi phyogs dang mthun pa ma yin pa la ni mi 'chag so || [88-1055-17]

2. rang gi phyogs dang mthun pa ma yin pa la ni mi 'chags so || [89-1338-4]

3. rang gi phyogs dang mthun pa ma yin pa la ni mi 'chags so || [91-827-19]

4. nyid kyi phyogs ma yin na mi rung || [92-619-14]

5. bdag gi phyogs su ma yin par na ma yin no || [92-1506-8]

VS 14.26 dharmavādikṛtatā[47] saṃghasya kṛtatvam || [A104v4][B58v1]

1. dge 'dun gyi ni chos smra bas byas pa nyid na byas pa nyid yin no || [88-1055-17]

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[45] adharmavādibhir B: adharmmādibhir A

[46] °pakṣyaṃ A: °pakṣaṃ B

[47] dharmavādi° B: dharmmādi° A

2. dge 'dun gyi ni chos smra bar byas pa nyid na byas pa nyid yin no ||
   [89-1338-8]

3. dge 'dun gyi ni chos smra bas byas pa nyid ni byas pa nyid yin no ||
   [91-828-5]

4. chos smra bas byas pa ni dge 'dun gyis byas pa'o || [92-619-16]

5. dge 'dun gyi chos su smra bas byas na byas pa'o || [92-1506-11]

VS 14.27 sthalasthā[48] atra santi[49] ced bhikṣuṇīnāṃ codyatvam[50] || [A104v4]
[B58v1]

1. 'di la gal te gzu bo dag yod na dge slong ma rnams la bstan par bya ba nyid
   yin no || [88-1055-18]

2. 'di la gal te gzu bo dag yod na dge slong ma rnams la bstan par bya ba nyid
   yin no || [89-1338-15]

3. 'di la gal te gzu bo dag yod na dge slong ma rnams la bstan par bya ba nyid
   yin no || [91-828-12]

4. skam la gnas pa yod na des dge slong mas lung sbyin || [92-619-18]

5. de ste de na bar ma yod na dge slong ma la bshad || [92-1506-16]

VS 14.28 vyagratvam eṣāṃ dharmapakṣaiḥ || [A104v5][B58v1]

1. de dag gi ni chos kyi phyogs dang mthun pa dag gis mi mthun pa nyid do ||
   [88-1055-19]

2. de dag gis ni chos kyi phyogs dang mthun pa dag gis mi mthun pa nyid do ||
   [89-1339-2]

3. de dag gi ni chos kyi phyogs dang mthun pa dag gis mi mthun pa nyid do ||
   [91-828-21]

4. 'di dag chos kyi phyogs pas bskal bar 'gyur || [92-619-20]

5. chos kyi 'di skyabs btang na brel pa'o || [92-1506-20]

VS 14.29 dhvaṃso 'nuvidhau tattvasya || [A104v5][B58v1]

1. rjes su zhugs na de nyid nyams so || [88-1055-20]

2. rjes su zhugs na de nyid nyams so || [89-1339-10]

3. rjes su zhugs na de nyid nyams so || [91-829-10]

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[48] sthalasthā em.: sthalasthair AB
[49] santi A: sanni B
[50] codyatvam em.: acodyatvaṃ AB

4. yo na de nyid ’jig | [92-620-3]

5. ’jug pas na de bzhin du zhig pa’o || [92-1507-4]

VS 14.30 nainaṃ kuryāt || [A104v5][B58v2]

1. de mi bya’o || [88-1056-1]

2. de ni mi bya’o || [89-1339-20]

3. de mi bya’o || [91-830-1]

4. ’di mi bya || [92-620-4]

5. de mi bya || [92-1507-6]

VS 14.31 codyatvaṃ[51] pakṣāparapakṣavyavasthitasya bhikṣuṇīsaṃghasya || [A104v5][B58v2]

1. dge slong ma’i dge ’dun phyogs dang gzhan gyi phyogs su rnam par gnas pa la gdams par bya ba nyid yin no || [88-1056-1]

2. dge slong ma’i dge ’dun phyogs dang gzhan gyi phyogs su rnam par gnas pa la gdams par bya ba nyid yin no || [89-1340-5]

3. dge slong ma’i dge ’dun phyogs dang gzhan gyi phyogs su rnam par gnas pa la gdams par bya ba nyid yin no || [91-830-7]

4. dge slong ma’i dge ’dun dang phyogs dang phyogs gzhan du bltas kyang lung sbyin | [92-620-5]

5. dge slong ma’i dge ’dun phyogs dang gzhan gyi phyogs su gnas[52] na gzhag | [92-1507-8]

VS 14.32 naivaṃ[53] bhinnasya || [A104v5][B58v2]

1. bye ba la ni de lta ma yin no || [88-1056-2]

2. bye ba la ni de lta ma yin no || [89-1340-10]

3. bye ba la ni de lta ma yin no || [91-830-17]

4. bye na ni ’di ma yin || [92-620-7]

5. de ltar byed nas ma yin || [92-1507-14]

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[51] codyatvaṃ em.: acodyatvaṃ AB

[52] gnas em.: gzhan (dPe)

[53] naivaṃ em.: nainaṃ A, nainaḥ B

VS 14.33 sāmagrye[54] yācamānānāṃ niyojyatvam || [A104v6][B58v2]

1. gsol ba na mthun pa nyid la nges par sbyar bar bya ba nyid yin no || [88-1056-3]

2. gsol ba na mthun par bye ba nyid la nges par sbyar bar bya ba nyid yin no || [89-1340-15]

3. gsol ba na mthun pa nyid la nges par sbyar bar bya ba nyid yin no || [91-830-20]

4. gsol na 'dum du gzhug | [92-620-9]

5. gsol na 'du bar bsgo || [92-1507-17]

VS 14.34 dharmavādini gāmitvaṃ vārṣikasya || [A104v6][B58v2]

1. dbyar gyi rnyed pa ni chos smra ba dbang ba nyid do || [88-1056-3]

2. dbyar gyi rnyed pa ni chos smra ba dbang ba nyid do || [89-1340-18]

3. dbyar gyi rnyed pa ni chos smra ba dbang ba nyid do || [91-831-2]

4. dbyar gyi chos smra bar 'gro || [92-620-10]

5. dbyar gyi chos smra ba'i sgyur ro || [92-1507-20]

VS 14.35 ubhayasannipāte cāvibhajya pratipātitasya saṃghe vaibhājyasya || [A104v6][B58v2]

1. gnyis ka 'dus pa la bye brag tu ma byas par bgo bsha' bya ba dge 'dun la phul ba yang ngo || [88-1056-4]

2. gnyis ka 'dus pa la bye brag tu ma byas par bgo bsha' bya ba dge 'dun la phul ba yang ngo || [89-1340-21]

3. gnyi ga 'dus pa la bye brag tu ma byas par bgo bsha' bya ba dge 'dun la phul ba yang ngo || [91-831-5]

4. 'dus pa gnyis las ma bgos par sbom du byin cig pa'o || [92-620-12]

5. gnyis ka 'dus pa'i dge 'dun la bgo bar rigs pa ma phye bar byin na yang ngo || [92-1508-2]

VS 14.36 saṃghaparimāṇatā cet tatra teṣāṃ || [A104v6][B58v2]

1. de la gal te dge 'dun gyi tshad nyid yin na de dag go | [88-1056-5]

2. de la gal te dge 'dun kyi tshad nyid yin na de dag go | [89-1341-7]

3. de la gal te dge 'dun gyi tshad nyid yin na de dag go | [91-831-12]

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54 sāmagrye em.: samagrye A, samagrya B

4. de dag kyang dge 'dun du tshang bar 'gyur na'o || [92-620-14]

5. de ste dge 'dun gyi tshad du ni de dag la'o || [92-1508-5]

VS 14.37 ūnatā[55] ced itareṣāṃ[56] ca tattvatā[57] yadīyasyotsaṃghe[58] pratipāda-nam || [A105r1][B58v2]

1. gal te nyung ba nyid yin la cig shos ni de nyid yin na gang gis pang bar phul ba'o || [88-1056-6]

2. gal te nyung ba nyid yin la cig shos kyis ni de nyid yin na gang gis phang bar phul ba'i 'o || [89-1341-10]

3. gal te nyung ba nyid yin la cig shos ni de nyid yin na gang gis phang bar phul ba'o || [91-831-16]

4. gal te gzhan ma tshang la de dag na gang gi thu bar 'ongs pa'o || [92-620-17]

5. de ste nyung la de dag dor na gang gi thu bar byin pa'o || [92-1508-8]

VS 14.38 dvayoś ced ubhayatra || [A105r1][B58v3]

1. gal te gnyi ga'i na gnyi ga'o || [88-1056-7]

2. gal te gnyis ka'i na gnyis ka'i 'o || [89-1341-19]

3. gal te gnyi ga'i na gnyi ga'o || [91-831-21]

4. gnyis kar na gnyi ga'o || [92-620-21]

5. de ste gnyis kar na gnyis kas so || [92-1508-12]

VS 14.39 pudgalaśo 'trāṃśitvaṃ na saṃghaśaḥ || [A105r1][B58v3]

1. de la gang zag las cha nyid yin gyi dge 'dun las ma yin no || [88-1056-7]

2. de la gang zag las cha nyid yin gyi dge 'dun las ma yin no || [89-1342-3]

3. de la gang zag las cha nyid yin gyi dge 'dun las ma yin no || [91-832-3]

4. dge 'dun du ma yin gyi gang zag gi skal bas so || [92-621-1]

5. gang zag gi char te dge 'dun gyi ma yin no || [92-1508-15]

karmabhedavastugate pṛcchāmāṇavike || || [A105r1][B58v3]

1. las bya ba'i gzhi zhu ba dang bram ze'i bu mo'i skabs so || [88-1056-8]

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[55]   ūnatā em.: ?janatā? A, janatā B

[56]   itareṣāṃ A: tiraiṣāṃ B

[57]   tattvatā em.: tattatā AB

[58]   °otsaṃghe ° B: otsaṃgha° A

2. las bye ba'i gzhi zhu ba dang bram ze'i bu mo'i skabs so || [89-1342-5]
3. las bye ba'i gzhi zhu ba dang | bram ze'i bu mo'i skabs so || [91-832-7]
4. las kyi phye ba'i dngos por gtogs pa zhus pa dang man pa'i ka'o ||
    [92-621-4]
5. las byas pa'i dngos po ste | dris ba dang man bkar chud pa'o || ||
    [92-1508-18]

*karmabhedavastu || ||

1. las bye ba'i gzhi rdzogs so || || [88-1056-9]
2. las bye ba'i gzhi rdzogs so || || [89-1342-6]
3. las bye ba'i gzhi rdzogs so || || [91-832-9]
4. missing
5. missing

3. Annotated Translation

3.1 From the *Vinayavastu*

> *na saṃghasya nānātvāya prabhaviṣṇum akāmaṃ codayet, codayantam unmoṭayed vā.*

VS 14.1 One should not reprove (*codayet*) a person who (*gang zag gang gis*)[59] is capable of creating disharmony in the community [yet] does not wish [to do that] (*akāmam*); nor should one rebuke (*unmoṭayet*) him [even if he] retorts.[60]

> *yatrātinamane prativirodhaḥ, tena sārdham na samāsīta.*

VS 14.2 One should not stay with a hostile member (*prativirodhaḥ*)[61] who is at a certain (*yatra*)[62] isolated place (*atinamane*).[63]

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59 'A person who can divide the community.' *gang zag gang gis dge 'dun tha dad pa nyid du dbye bar nus pa* (VSṬ 91-816-5).

60 'Even if that [person] retorts, one should not react.' *des tshur glengs pa na yang log thabs mi bya pa ste* (VSṬ 91-816-6). The VSVy presents a slightly different scenario: 'One should not rebuke the person even if he reproves other members in the community.' *de nyid gzhan la gleng na yang khyad du ma gsod cig pa'o* (VSVy 92-616-13).

61 Different interpretations are found in the commentaries: 'an enemy': *dgra bo* (VSṬ 91-816-11); 'a hostile *bhikṣu*': *dge slong 'khon yod pa zhig* (VSV 92-1502-15); 'a hostile one': *khon yod pa* (VSVy 92-616-15).

62 'One should not stay, i.e., sit or stand with an hostile member, i.e., an enemy, who is at a certain isolated place; this is laid down to avoid a possible fight': *'da' bar bya ba'i gnas gang na mi mthun pa zhes bya bar dgra bo yod pa der de dang lhan cig tu 'khod pa zhes bya ba 'dug pa*

anyatra [tena sārdhaṃ] dvitrāsanāntaritam [samāsīta].

VS 14.3 At other places,[64] [if one has to stay with him,[65] one should stay with him] with two or three seats set in between (*dvitrāsanāntaritam*).[66]

evam itaras tena.

VS 14.4 With him (*tena*)[67] the other (*itaraḥ*)[68] [should behave] in the same way.[69]

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dang 'greng bar mi bya ba ste 'thab krol gyi skabs bcad pa'i phyir 'di bca' ba mdzad do || (VSṬ 91-816-11) This is how the VSS and the VSṬ interpreted this *sūtra*.

Alternatively, and it seems to be more natural on the basis of the extant reading to read: *yatra prativirodhaḥ, tena sārdham atinamane na samāsīta*: 'One should not stay at an isolated place (*atinamane*) with a hostile member (*prativirodhaḥ*) who stays where (*yatra*) [there is disharmony.]' This is the interpretation of the VSV: 'Where there is a hostile person, one should not stay with him in an isolated place. Even in the same place with a hostile *bhikṣu*, one should neither sit with him nor travel together with him, nor live in cells of the same place, nor should one go to the place where he normally stays.': *gang du mi 'phrod pa de dang lhan cig tu mnan par mi gnas || dge slong 'khon yod pa zhig dang gnas gcig na'ang lhan cig mi 'khod | lam du'ang mi 'grogs | gnas gnas sa gcig na'ang mi gnas | kho gnas gnas pa'i sa der yang mi 'gro ||* (VSV 92-1502-14).

The *pratīka* in the VSVy lacks *atinamane*: *gang du yang khon yod pa dang lhan cig mi bsdad* (VSVy 92-616-14). Also noteworthy is the following gloss on VS 14.4 in the VSṬ: *mi mthun pa'i yul gang la 'da' bar bya ba gang na mi mthun pa yod pa de dang lhan cig tu 'khod par mi bya ba*, which rather points to the VSV's interpretation of the current *sūtra*.

To sum up, in this single case, we have detected both variant readings of the *mūla* text and various interpretations of the same reading of the *sūtra*. The divergences reflect the complexity of the transmission history of the VS.

63   'A place where one passes time and refreshes oneself is called "time-passing (*atinamana*)", i.e., an isolated place.' *gnas gang du 'da' bar byed cing ngal bso bar byed pa'i gnas de ni 'da' bar bya ba zhes bya ste | dben pa zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go* (VSṬ 91-816-9).

64   'At a place other than atinamana as defined before.' *'da' bar bya ba'i gnas dben pa sngar bstan pa de las gzhan pa'i gnas* (VSṬ 91-816-14).

65   'If it is unavoidable to stay with a hostile person.' *gang zag mi mthun pa yod pa de dang lhan cig tu mi 'khod du mi rung na* (VSṬ 91-816-16).

66   'This is to avoid physical attack and bodily contact.' *'di ni lus kyis pha rol gnod pa dang reg pa spang ba'i phyir ro* (VSṬ 91-816-17).

67   With the object of the one who is hostile (*mi mthun pa'i yul*), i.e., the subject of *sūtra*s 14.2–3, see VSṬ.

68   'The one who is hostile (*prativirodha, mi mthun pa*)'; see VSṬ.

69   'In the case of one who is hostile (*prativirodha*), he should do the same as has been given [in the previous two *sūtra*s] to the object of the hostility.' *bstan pa gang yin pa de mi mthun par des kyang mi mthun pa'i yul cig shos dang de bzhin du bya ba'o ||* (VSṬ 91-817-1). The one who is hostile should neither stay with the target of his hostility at an isolated place nor should he, in case unavoidable, stay without two or three seats set between them.

anayor antaritasya vihārasya deyatvam, [anayor] grāhyatā ca.

VS 14.5 Separated cell[s] (*vihārasya*)[70] [are] to be assigned to[71] the two [mutually hostile individuals] and [they] should accept [such cells].[72]

dharme vinaye caitadvattāṃ jñātvā, adharme 'bhiniveśaś cet, saṃghasāmagrī na vidyate.

VS 14.6 While knowing [the two opposite sides] have that, [i.e., dispute] regarding *dharma* and *vinaya* (*dharme vinaye caitadvattāṃ*), if one has attachment to the incorrect practice, the harmony of the community exists no more.

tasmāt tadanyānāṃ sambhūya karmaṇaḥ kṛtau na rūḍhiḥ, na paraspareṇa vyagratvam.

VS 14.7 Due to the [division of the community], when the [side following the correct teaching] and the other [side following the wrong teaching] assemble together, an ecclesiastical act, even performed (*kṛtau*), does not take effect; [when separately performed, however, there is] no disharmony (*na paraspareṇa vyagratvam*).[73]

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[70] For Dharmamitra, *vihāra* means 'a living place, no matter veiled or unveiled.' *gnas pa'i gzhi g.yogs pa'am ma g.yogs pa gang yang rung ba* (VSṬ 91-817-5). This seems to be a reconciliation of the contradictory information given in the auto-commentary, which takes *vihāra* in the sense of 'a veiled cell' (*'dir gnas kyi gzhi g.yogs pa ni gtsug lag khang ngo*, VSS 89-1333-10) in one place and interprets it as 'a cell either roofed/veiled or unroofed/unveiled' (*cig shos de gnyis kyi gtsug lag khang zhes bya ba gnas pa'i gzhi g.yogs pa'am ma g.yogs pa bsgrub par bya ba'i don du*, VSS 89-1333-4) just a few lines before. The VSV takes *vihāra* as 'a small room (*khang bu*)' (VSV 92-1503-4).

[71] Guṇaprabha and Dharmamitra specify the subject as the cell-distributor (*gnas khang bsko ba*, VSS, *gnas khang bsgo ba*, VSṬ). It is obligatory for a cell-distributor to pay due attention to this issue, and a negligence on his side is deemed as a minor offense (*nyes byas, duṣkṛta*); if such an offense is committed by a general assembly in the community, all the members involved are to be blamed; see VSS (89-1333-7) and VSṬ (91-817-7). The VSV takes the community as the distributor of cells.

[72] The VSV presents '*grāhyatā ca*' as a separate *sūtra*. This again separates the VSV from the other three canonical commentaries on the VS.

[73] 'Even performed separately without assembling, there will not be disharmony in between and the ecclesiastical acts of the two separate sides shall take effect [separately].' *ma tshogs par so sor byed na yang phan tshun mi mthun pa nyid du mi 'gyur te | phyogs so so'i las 'chags par 'gyur ba'o ||* (VSṬ 91-818-4).
The VSS and the VSṬ take *vyagratva* in the sense of disharmony (*mi mthun pa nyid*). For the VSVy (*bskal ba*) and the VSV (*brel*), it means involvement; both are guaranteed by the Sanskrit; and the literal divergence does not affect the intended meaning. Either way, the ecclesiastical acts independently performed by the two opposing sides will take effect independently.

eṣāṃ tadvipakṣasya hi kaliparāyaṇatva idaṃdharmabhir [eṣāṃ] avandyatvam.

VS 14.8 When they (*eṣām*) and [their] opponents (*tadvipakṣasya*)[74] are engaged in dispute, those who follow this teaching[75] should not pay respects to them (*eṣām*).[76]

[eṣāṃ] pratyutthānāsanopanimantraṇasaṃlapanālapanasammodana-vyavalokanālokanānām apy [idaṃdharmabhir] akaraṇam.

VS 14.9 Also, [those who follow this teaching (*idaṃdharmabhiḥ*)[77]] should not do [the following] [for them (*eṣām*)]: to rise from a seat to welcome [them] (*pratyutthāna*), to invite [them] to a seat (*āsanopanimantraṇa*), to chatter with [them] (*saṃlapana*),[78] to speak intimately with [them] (*ālapana*),[79] to delight [them] (*sammodana*),[80] to see [them] carefully (*vyavalokana*)[81] and to look at [them] briefly (*ālokana*).[82]

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74 The pronoun *tat*- refers to those who stick to the wrong teaching (*chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa*, VSS 89-1334-6); -*vipakṣa* refers to those who belong to the side following the right teaching (*chos dang mthun pa'i phyogs su gtogs pa*, VSS 89-1334-7).
Manuscript A reads *dvipakṣye*, which, in view of the Tibetan translations, might be a corruption of *tadvipakṣasya*. But it also makes sense: 'When a dispute of two [opposite] sides occurs (*kaliparāyaṇatve dvipakṣye*), those following the [right] teaching should not salute them [who follow the wrong teaching] (*eṣām*).'

75 This refers to the seven groups, i.e., from the *bhikṣu*s down to the *upāsikā*s: *dge slong dang dge slong ma dang dge tshul dang | dge tshul ma dang | dge slob ma dang | dge bsnyen dang dge bsnyen ma dag gis phyag mi bya ba nyid yin pa'o ||* (VSṬ 91-818-10). Concerning the referent of *idaṃdharmabhiḥ*, the VSV differs from the other commentaries. It specifies that *idaṃdharma* refers to the first five members of the community (*dge slong sde lnga*) who follow the right teaching.

76 To those who follow the wrong teaching.

77 Supplied from the previous *sūtra*. 'All as given [here] are to relinquish the attachment to those who follow the wrong teaching.' *ji skad smos pa de dag thams cad kyang chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa spang ba'i phyir ro ||* (VSṬ 91-818-15).

78 '"To chatter" means to do verbal communication with response and so forth.' *gtam 'dre ba zhes bya ba ni | tshig gi lan la sogs pa kun du smra ba sbyin pa'o ||* (VSṬ 91-818-16).

79 '"To speak intimately" means to speak dear words.' *phebs par smra ba zhes bya ba ni | yid gcugs pa'i gtam bya ba'o ||* (VSṬ 91-818-17).

80 '"To delight [them]" means to ask questions and so forth.' *kun dga' bar 'gyur ba zhes bya ba ni | gtam dri ba la sogs pa'i tha snyad bya ba 'o ||* (VSṬ 91-818-18).

81 '"To read [them] carefully" means to observe continuously.' *rnam par blta ba zhes bya ba ni | mig gis rgyun dang ldan par blta ba'o ||* (VSṬ 91-818-19).

82 The emendation (*ālokana/cung zad lta ba*, Negi: 1115) is based upon the Tibetan translations and the *pratīka*s in the VSṬ and the VSV. '"To look at [them] briefly" means to observe with interruptions.' *cung zad blta ba zhes bya ba ni rgyun dang ldan pa ma yin par blta ba'o ||* (VSṬ 91-818-20). The VSVy lacks this item. Again, the VSV specifies that the five groups who follow the right teaching should not do those actions listed in this *sūtra* for those who follow the wrong teaching.

[eṣām] [idaṃdharmabhir] hastasaṃvyavahārakeṇa
lūhaśayanāsanānupradānam.

VS 14.10 [Those who follow this teaching (*idaṃdharmabhir*)[83]] should by gesture (*hastasaṃvyavahārakeṇa*) offer bad bedding and seats (*lūhaśayanāsanānupradānam*)[84] [to them (*eṣām*)[85]].

vacanena saśrūtam anyatrety aparam.

VS 14.11 [According to] other [texts,[86]] [those who follow this teaching (*idaṃdharmabhir*)[87]] should – by speech[88] hearable [to the visitors who follow the wrong teaching] (*saśrūtam*) – through others (*anyatra*)[89] [offer them bad bedding and seats].[90]

vihārasya pratyante.

VS 14.12 [To offer (*pradānam*)[91]] the cell on the border (*pratyante*).[92]

'vayam api vṛddhāḥ' vadatsu, 'yūyam api "śākyaputriyāḥ śramaṇāḥ
smaḥ" ity ātmānam pratijānīdhve, yeṣām idaṃ vṛttam iyaṃ vārttā ca,
etad api vo na prāpadyate, vaḥ śāstā kāruṇiko yenaitad anujñātam' iti
prativadeyur anyatra.

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[83] Supplied from VS 14.8.

[84] Refers to a collection of necessities. The word *lūha* is glossed in MW (p. 905) with a question mark: 'mfn. bad (?), L.; N. of a man, Buddh.' Our text confirms MW's suggestion. Furthermore, the *pratīka* in the VSVy lacks *lūha*.

[85] Supplied from VS 14.8. This shows how to deal with the case 'when those who have attachment to the wrong teachings arrive.' *chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa de dag nye bar 'ongs na'o ||* (VSṬ 91-819-1).

[86] The VSṬ, following the VSS, explains: 'according to other texts …' *gzhung kha cig las ni* (VSṬ 91-819-3). Both the VSVy and the VSV, however, attributed this to a certain personage: 'a certain *ācārya* teaches' *slob dpon kha cig 'chad par ston pa'o* (VSVy 92-618-2); 'this is the words of a Vinayadhara' *'di ni 'dul ba 'dzin pa'i tshig* (VSV 92-1504-8).

[87] Supplied from VS 14.8.

[88] 'By saying "They could only have this much."' *de dag 'di tsam 'thob bo zhes bya ba'i tshig gis* (VSṬ 91-819-5).

[89] 'Through another individual.' *gang zag gzhan la brten te* (VSṬ 91-819-4). The equivalent for *anyatra* in the VSVy is unique: *gzhogs spad kyis*.

[90] Supplied from VS 14.8 and 14.10.

[91] '"To offer" is to be added.' *sbyin no zhes bya bar sbyar te* (VSṬ 91-819-7). The word *anupradānam* is attested in VS 14.10.

[92] According to the VSV (92-1504-10), when a *bhikṣu* following the wrong teaching arrives at night, he should be treated like a banished one, i.e., he is to be provided with a bad cell at the boundary.

VS 14.13 When [the visitor following the wrong teaching][93] says: 'We are also seniors!' [the host following the right teaching] should through another individual (*anyatra*)[94] reply: 'Even you consider yourselves: "We are mendicants, offsprings of Śākyamuni."[95] For you who have this behaviour (*idaṃ vṛttam*)[96] and this speech (*iyaṃ vārttā*),[97] you do not even [deserve] obtaining this (*etad api vo na prāpadyate*)![98] Your teacher is compassionate that this (*etat*) is allowed by him.'

> *bhikṣuṇy āsanamokṣaṃ na hāpayet.*

VS 14.14 [Even for those *bhikṣu*s in dispute,[99]] a nun should not give up standing from [her] seat.[100]

> *upāsakaḥ piṇḍapātaṃ dadīta.*

VS 14.15 A lay-brother should offer alms [to the *bhikṣu*s in dispute with those following the right teaching].[101]

> *avasāritānām eṣāṃ sāmagrīlābhena vinā na sāmagryasyotthānam.*

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[93] 'Those who follow the wrong view and are offered bad bedding, seats, and a cell at the border.' *chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa de dag gnas mal ngan pa dag tha mar byin pa |* (VSṬ 91-819-12).

[94] '"Should through other individual reply" means that [the host] should not directly answer those following the wrong teaching but through another individual respond with these words.' *gzhan la lan gdab par bya'o zhes bya ba ni | de dag la dngos su lan mi gdab par gang zag gzhan la brten te lan 'di skad gdab par bya ba'o ||* (VSS 89-1335-2).

[95] 'The indication is "You are not."' *khyed cag de ma yin no zhes bya ba'i zur yin no ||* (VSṬ 91-819-18).

[96] '"This behavior" refers to what you have done and so forth, also the corruption of the mending-purification (*gso sbyong / poṣadha*) and the release of the summer retreat (*dgag dbye / pravāraṇā*) etc.' *spyod tshul 'di lta bu zhes bya ba ni khyed cag gis spyad pa'i spyod pa la sogs pa dang gso sbyong dang dgag dbye nyams pa gang yin pa de dag brjod par bya'o ||* (VSṬ 91-819-19).

[97] '"This speech" refers to the false justification for the wrong behaviors and so forth.' *gtam 'di lta bu la zhes bya ba ni spyod tshul de la nyes dmigs gang byung ba ste ston par gud du gshegs pa la sogs pa gang yin pa de dag brjod par bya'o ||* (VSṬ 91-819-20).

[98] 'The meaning is: You do not even deserve the offering of the bad bedding at the border' *gnas mal ngan pa mjug tu byin pa 'di yang khyed la mi 'os pa yin no zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go ||* (VSṬ 91-820-2).

[99] 'Those *bhikṣu*s in dispute' *dge slong 'thab krol byed pa de dag* (VSṬ 91-820-10).

[100] 'When a *bhikṣu* following the wrong view comes, a *bhikṣuṇī*, while not saluting him, should rise from [her] seat.' *log pa'i dge slong zhig 'ongs na dge slong mas phyag mi bya bar stan las ldang* (VSV 92-1504-21).

[101] 'Those who are engaged in dispute' (*'thab krol can de dag*; VSṬ 91-820-14).

VS 14.16 Though they (*eṣām*)[102] ask for forbearance,[103] without obtaining common [assent],[104] the harmony [of the community] does not arise.[105]

> *poṣadhena vinā na prakṛtisthatāprāptiḥ.*

VS 14.17 Without mending-purification,[106] [they would] not [re]gain the original status (*prakṛtisthatāprāptiḥ*).[107]

> *enaṃ datvā kuryuḥ.*

VS 14.18 After having given the [mending-purification] (*enam*), the community should perform it.[108]

> *etat karmaṇā [kuryuḥ].*

VS 14.19 [The community should do (*kuryuḥ*)[109]] this (*etat*)[110] through an ecclesiastical act.[111]

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[102] 'Those who stick to the incorrect teaching' (*chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa de dag*, VSṬ 91-820-16).

[103] For the formulaic speech on such an occasion, see VSṬ (91-820-20).

[104] For the formulaic speech of one who performs such an ecclesiastical act, see VSṬ (91-821-16).

[105] 'While those who stick to the incorrect teaching ask forbearance from the community, and the community, through an ecclesiastical act consisting of a three-time request and one inquiry has granted forbearance, if they further by themselves ask forbearance from the community and have not obtained the granting of common consent through an ecclesiastical act consisting of a three-time request and one inquiry, they are not in harmony with the community.' *chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa de dag gis dge 'dun la bzod pa gsol te | dge 'dun gyis gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis bzod pa byas su byin kyang de dag rang gis dge 'dun la bzod pa gsol te | dge 'dun gyis gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis mthun pa sbyin pa thob pa med par dge 'dun dang mthun pa mi 'byung ngo ||* (VSṬ 91-820-16).

[106] After gaining common assent, a conducive mending-purification (*mthun pa'i gso sbyong*) should be performed to restore the status of the repentant *bhikṣu* in the community; see VSṬ (91-822-6).

[107] Without the original status, the *bhikṣu* could not partake of the *dharma* and supplies for members in the community; see VSṬ (91-822-9).

[108] 'The conducive mending-purification is not to be performed in this way; it is to be performed only after having been granted.' *mthun pa'i gso sbyong de de bzhin du mi bya bar byin nas gzod bya ba'o ||* (VSṬ 91-822-12).

[109] Drawn from the previous *sūtra*.

[110] The wording '*etat*' refers to the granting of the conducive mending-purification (*mthun pa'i gso sbyong sbyin pa*). 'The members in the community, after the offenders' requesting, should grant the conducive mending-purification through an ecclesiastical act consisting of a three-time request and one inquiry (*gsol ba dang bzhi'i las*).' *de ni las kyis so zhes bya ba ni | mthun pa'i gso sbyong sbyin pa de ni de dag gis gsol nas dge 'dun gyis gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis sbyin pa'o* (VSṬ 91-822-13).

[111] For the formulaic announcement (*sngags*) used by the offenders and the members in the community on such an occasion, see VSṬ (91-822-15).

pūrvaṃ ca [karmaṇā kuryuḥ].

VS 14.20 [The community should through an ecclesiastical act do] the previous one (*pūrvam*)[112] as well.

sāmagrīmaṅgalārtham āpadi ca poṣadhaḥ kalpate.

VS 14.21 [The performance of] mending-purification for the purpose of harmony[113] and auspiciousness;[114] also when in a calamity[115] is proper.

atra ca tasya kālasyaiva nimittatvam.

VS 14.22 And in the [case of performing the above three mending-purifications] the due cause [is] precisely the time [when these issues occur].[116]

karmabhedavastu || ||

The section of schism regarding ecclesiastical acts [collected from the *Vinayavastu* is accomplished].

3.2.   From the *Pṛcchā* and the *Māṇavikā*

adharmavādibhir bhedacittenāntaḥsīmni pṛthak karmaṇaḥ kṛtau tadbhedaḥ.

VS 14.23 When an ecclesiastical act is separately performed by those who propounds the wrong teaching[117] with an intention of division within the

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[112] I.e., the ecclesiastical act of granting common consent (*mthun pa sbyin pa, *sāmagryadāna*) first mentioned in VS 14.16: 'They shall request 'the granting of common assent' which was mentioned before, and the community should through an ecclesiastical act consisting of a three-time request and one inquiry grant as well.' *mthun pa sbyin pa zhes sngar bstan pa de yang de dag gis gsol nas dge 'dun gyis gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis sbyin pa'o* || (VSṬ 91-823-18).

[113] 'For the restoration of harmony of the members involved in the division of the community' (*bye ba rnams kyi mthun pa sgrub pa'i phyir*, VSṬ 91-824-19).

[114] There are two types of inauspiciousness, the one concerning *dharma* and *vinaya*, and the other one concerning kinds of external negative happenings; see VSṬ (91-824-21). See also VSṬ (91-825-7) for the ten issues that cause the division of the community.

[115] 'When an epidemic *cāturthako jvaraḥ* (*rims nyin bzhi pa*) and so forth occur' (*rims nyin bzhi pa la sogs pa'i gnod pa byung ba na*; VSṬ 91-825-5).

[116] 'Such issues as concerning harmony and so forth' (*mthun pa la sogs pa de dag*; VSṬ 91-826-18). For these issues, the mending-purification can be performed on lunar days other than the 14th and the 15th.

[117] 'When those who follow the right teaching, while separating from those who follow the wrong teaching, perform an ecclesiastical act, there will not be a schism.' *chos smra ba dag gis mtshams kyi nang du chos ma yin pa smra ba dag las tha dad par byas pa de ni | las de bye bar mi 'gyur te* (VSṬ 91-827-12).

boundary [of those who follow the right teaching],[118] the schism regarding that [i.e., ecclesiastical act] [arises].

asmin pratisvaṃ karmaṇo rūḍhiḥ.

VS 14.24 When there is [a schism regarding ecclesiastical acts (*karma-bheda*)],[119] the ecclesiastical acts take effect separately (*pratisvam*).[120]

[asminn] asvapakṣyaṃ prati [karmaṇo] na [rūḍhiḥ].

VS 14.25 [When there is a schism regarding ecclesiastical acts],[121] [the ecclesiastical acts separately performed by each side][122] concerning [an individual][123] who does not belong to its own side do not [take effect.][124]

saṃghasya dharmavādikṛtatā kṛtatvam.

VS 14.26 As for the ecclesiastical acts concerning the community (*saṃghasya*), that which is performed by those who follow the right teaching (*dharmavādikṛtatā*) [is considered as] being done (*kṛtatvam*).[125]

atra sthalasthāḥ santi ced bhikṣuṇīnāṃ codyatvam.

VS 14.27 On this occasion (*atra*),[126] if there are indifferent members (*sthalasthāḥ*),[127] [they][128] should instruct (*codyatvam*)[129] nuns.

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118 'Inside the boundary of those who follow the correct teaching' (*chos smra ba rnams kyi mtshams kyi nang du*; VSS 89-1337-14).

119 'In the case of a division of the community which is featured with the schism concerning an ecclesiastical act' (*las bye ba'i bdag nyid kyi dge 'dun gyi bye ba 'di la*; VSṬ 91-827-18).

120 'The ecclesiastical acts separately performed by each of the [two] sides take effect separately' (*phyogs so so'i las tha dad par byas pa ni tha dad par 'chags so*; VSṬ 91-827-18).

121 Drawn from the last *sūtra*.

122 Drawn from the last *sūtra*.

123 'In the case of an individual who is not in harmony with one's own side, the ecclesiastical act does not take effect.' *rang gi phyogs dang mthun pa ma yin pa'i gang zag la ni las mi 'chags so ||* (VSS 89-1338-4).

124 Drawn from the last *sūtra*.

125 'Such ecclesiastical acts as establishing the boundary, etc., if done by those who follow the right teaching is accomplished; if done by those who follow the wrong teaching, however, is not accomplished.' *dge 'dun gyi mtshams bcad pa la sogs pa'i las gang yin pa de ni chos smra ba dag gis byas pa nyid na byas pa nyid yin gyi chos ma yin pa smra ba dag gis byas pa nyid na ni byas pa nyid ma yin no ||* (VSṬ 91-828-6).

126 'When a division of the community takes place' (*dge 'dun bye ba 'di la*, VSṬ 91-828-13).

127 'If indifferent persons are not available, those who follow the right teaching should teach nuns.' *gal te de dag med na chos smra ba dag nyid kyis so* (VSṬ 91-828-15). Both manuscripts read *sthalasthair*.

128 According to the *Pṛcchā*, as is quoted in the VSS and the VSṬ (which in this case repeats the

eṣāṃ dharmapakṣair vyagratvam.

VS 14.28 The [indifferent ones] work with (*vyagratvam*)[130] those who follow the right teaching.

anuvidhau tattvasya dhvaṃsaḥ.

VS 14.29 The qualification [of being indifferent] is lost when [the indifferent ones] side with [either side] (*anuvidhau*).

enaṃ na kuryāt.

VS 14.30 One should not do this (*enam*).[131]

pakṣāparapakṣavyavasthitasya bhikṣuṇīsaṃghasya codyatvam.

VS 14.31 [The community of *bhikṣu*s[132]] should teach (*codyatvam*)[133] the

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    former), the indifferent members should go outside the boundary and teach the nuns; see VSṬ
    (91-828-16).

[129] The reading *codyatvam* is an emendation; both manuscripts read *acodyatvam*.

[130] 'The indifferent *bhikṣu*s differ from those following the right teaching, i.e., they work with
    them with regard to ecclesiastical acts. If they perform an ecclesiastical act with them, it takes
    effect; it is not essential to work with those following the wrong teaching, because, even if one
    performs an ecclesiastical act with them, it will not take effect.' *gzu bo'i dge slong dag gis las
    la chos smra ba dag dang mi mthun pa nyid sbad bar bya zhing de dag dang lhan cig las byas
    na yang 'chags so || chos ma yin par smra ba dag dang mi mthun pa nyid du sbad bar bya mi
    dgos te | de dag dang lhan cig las byas na yang mi 'chags so* (VSṬ 91-829-6).

[131] 'One should not make lost the qualification of being indifferent.' *gzu bo nyid nyams pa de mi
    bya'o* (VSṬ 91-830-1). The VSVy ('*di mi bya zhes pa ni 'di lta bas na skam la gnas pa de
    phyogs gcig tu lta bar ma byed cig pa'o ||*) and the VSV (*de mi bya || bar ma'i dge slong de
    dge mi dge rnam gnyis bsdu bar dgos pa'i phyir sangs rgyas kyis bstod pa yin te | dge slong
    de gang la'ang mi 'jug |*) distinguish themselves from other two canonical commentaries in
    identifying the referent of *enam* with *anuvidhi*, the VSS and the VSṬ take *enam* as referring
    back to *dhvaṃsa*.

[132] 'While the community of *bhikṣuṇī*s which has neither a division concerning ecclesiastical acts
    nor that of *cakra* depends on two sides of the community of *bhikṣu*s which has either a division
    concerning ecclesiastical acts or that of *cakra*, without siding with either side of the community
    of *bhikṣu*s, [the community of *bhikṣu*s] should, to save the *bhikṣuṇī*s from a division, instruct
    and teach them.' *dge slong ma'i dge 'dun las dang 'khor lo ma bye ba dge slong gi dge 'dun las
    dang 'khor lo bye ba'i phyogs dang gzhan gyi phyogs kyi 'gab la brten cing rnam par gnas pa
    dag la ni dge slong gi dge 'dun gyi phyogs bzung ba med par ci nas kyang de dag bye bar mi
    'gyur bar bya ba'i phyir gdams shing rjes su bstan par bya ba nyid yin no ||* (VSṬ 91-830-9).

[133] In this case, the VSV distinguishes itself from other canonical commentaries with a single
    reading *gzhag* for *codyatvam*: 'While the community of *bhikṣuṇī*s stays in two parties, this
    should be maintained.' *dge slong ma'i dge 'dun phyogs dang gzhan gyi phyogs su gnas na
    gzhag |* (VSV 92-1507-8). It is noteworthy that *codyatvam* is our emendation based upon
    the reading in the majority of the Tibetan textual witnesses. Both Sanskrit manuscripts read
    acodyatvam, 'not to be impelled/disturbed' which points to *gzhag*, the single reading preserved
    in the VSV.

community of *bhikṣuṇī*s which depends on the two opposite sides [of the community of *bhikṣu*s].

bhinnasya [bhikṣuṇīsaṃghasya] naivam.

VS 14.32 For a split [in the community of *bhikṣuṇī*s[134]], not in this way (*evam*).[135]

yācamānānāṃ sāmagrye niyojyatvam.

VS 14.33 [The community of *bhikṣu*s] should restore [the split community of *bhikṣuṇī*s] requesting [instruction (*gdams ngag*)] to harmony.

vārṣikasya dharmavādini gāmitvam.

VS 14.34 [When a schism happens (*dge 'dun bye ba na*),[136]] the acquisition of the rainy season retreat belongs to those following the right teaching.

ubhayasannipāte vaibhājyasyāvibhajya saṃghe pratipātitasya ca.

VS 14.35 When two [opposite sides] are assembling together, [a donation] which can be divided (*vaibhājyasya*) but has not yet been divided (*avibhajya*) and offered to the community also [belongs to those following the right teaching.]

tatra saṃghaparimāṇatā cet teṣām.

VS 14.36 As regard to that (*tatra*),[137] if [the number of those who follow the right teaching reaches] the size of a community,[138] [the acquisition] belongs to them.

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[134] Drawn from the previous *sūtra*.

[135] The emendation from *enam* to *evam* is supported by the Tibetan translations and the commentaries. 'When a community of *bhikṣuṇī*s has, due to the schism concerning either ecclesiastical act or *dharmacakra*, divided into two sides, the instruction as prescribed in the previous *sūtra* shall not be done.' *dge slong ma'i sge 'dun las dang 'khor lo bye ba phyogs dang gzhan gyi phyogs su rnam par gnas pa la ni snga ma ltar gdams par mi bya ba nyid yin pa'o* (VSṬ 91-830-18).
Alternatively, an emendation from *enam* to *enad* or *etad* can be considered. Both can refer back to *codyatvam* in the previous *sūtra*. The *pratīka* in the VSVy reads *bye na ni 'di ma yin*. Both *enad* and *etad* can be an equivalent of *'di*.

[136] 'When a schism happens, the acquisition gained from the rainy season retreat belongs to the side following the right teaching, not to the side following the wrong teaching.' *dge 'dun bye ba na dbyar gnas pa'i rgyu las byung ba'i rnyed pa ni chos smra ba dag dbang ba nyid yin gyi | chos ma yin pa smra ba dag mi dbang ngo ||* (VSṬ 91-831-3).

[137] 'As regard to that, i.e., the ownership of the acquisition' (*rnyed pa dbang ba de la*, VSṬ 91-831-13).

[138] 'More than four' (*bzhi yan chad*, VSṬ 91-831-14).

ūnatā ced itareṣāṃ ca tattvatā, yadīyasyotsaṃghe pratipādanam.

VS 14.37 If [those who follow the right teaching are] short of [the size of a community] and the others [who follow the wrong teaching reach] the size, [the donation belongs to] the one on whose lap[139] [the donor] offers it.

dvayoś ced ubhayatra.

VS 14.38 [When a donor offers donations] to two [sides respectively, they belong] to two [sides respectively.]

atra pudgalaśo 'ṃśitvaṃ na saṃghaśaḥ.

VS 14.39 In the case [that a donation belongs to both sides,] it is to be shared individually, not community-wise.[140]

karmabhedavastugate pṛcchāmāṇavike || ||

The section of schism regarding ecclesiastical acts collected from the *Pṛcchā* and the *Māṇavikā* [is accomplished].

karmabhedavastu || ||

The chapter of schism regarding ecclesiastical acts [is accomplished].

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[139] '"Lap" indicates the hands and the place before the feet.' *phang ba zhes smos pa ni lag pa dang rkang ba'i drung dag gi dpe yin no* || (VSṬ 91-831-20).

[140] 'As for the (*atra*, *de la*) donation belonging to both sides, it shall be shared among all the individuals of both sides. It shall not, however, be shared equally between the two sides of the community.' *phyogs gnyi ga dbang ba'i rnyed pa de la phyogs gnyi ga'i gang zag ji snyed yod pa de snyed kyi cha nyid du bgo bar bya'i | chos dang chos ma yin pa smra ba'i dge 'dun gyi phyogs gnyis las phyed phyed du bgo ba na ma yin no* || (VSṬ 91-832-4).

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Abbreviations and sigla

A = A complete 120-folio palm-leaf manuscript of the *Vinayasūtra* from the Potala. Written in Nepalese hook-topped script and dated 1270 CE.

B = A complete 66-folio palm-leaf manuscript of the *Vinayasūtra* from Zha lu Monastery. Written in Tibetan dBu med script and copied perhaps around the beginning of the 12th century.

dPe = dPe bsdur ma (*bsTan 'gyur (dPe bsdur ma)*, Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang gis dpe bsdur zhus, Pe jin, Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 2002)

em. = emended

m. = masculine

mDzes rgyan = *'Dul ba spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa 'dul ba rin po che'i mdzes rgyan*, Bu ston thams cad mkhyen pa'i bka' 'bum zha pa, lHa sa, 1917.

MW = Monier-Williams, Monier 1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

n. = neuter

Negi = Negi, J. S. ed. 1993–2005. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Vols 1–16. Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Studies.

nom. = nominative

Rin 'phreng = dGe 'dun grub pa's *Legs par gsungs pa'i dam pa'i chos 'dul ba mtha' dag gi snying po'i don legs par bshad pa rin po che'i 'phreng ba* [Pe jin, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1999, 586–590]

sg. = singular

VS = Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* / *'Dul ba mdo* (dPe volume 88, pp. 1054–1056)

VSS = Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna* / *'Dul ba mdo'i 'grel pa mngon par brjod pa rang gi rnam par bshad pa* (dPe volume 89, pp. 1332–1342)

VSṬ = Dharmamitra's *Vinayasūtraṭīkā* / *'Dul ba'i mdo'i rgya cher 'grel pa* (dPe volume 91, pp. 816–832)

VSV = Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtravṛtti* / *'Dul ba'i mdo'i 'grel pa* (dPe volume 92, pp. 1502–1508)

VSVy = Prajñākara's *Vinayasūtravyākhyāna / 'Dul ba'i mdo'i rnam par bshad pa* (dPe volume 92, pp. 616–621)

14.@ = Critical edition of the Sanskrit text of Karmabhedavastu

1 The Tibetan translation of Karmabhedavastu in VS

2 The pratīkas of Karmabhedavastu in VSS

3 The pratīkas of Karmabhedavastu in VSṬ

4 The pratīkas of Karmabhedavastu in VSVy

5 The pratīkas of Karmabhedavastu in VSV

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Appendices[141]

Appendix 1: VSṬ 14

VSṬ 14.1

da ni las byed pa'i gzhi smra bar 'dod nas **dge 'dun tha dad pa nyid du nus pa la mi 'dod par gleng ba dang gleng bar byed pa na log par mi bya'o** zhes bya ba smras te | gang zag gang gis dge 'dun tha dad pa nyid du dbye bar nus pa de la de mi 'dod bzhin du phar gleng bar mi bya la | des tshur glengs pa na yang log thabs mi bya pa ste | de ni des dge 'dun 'byed par 'gyur ba spang ba'i phyir ro || [91-816-3]

VSṬ 14.2

1 **'da' bar bya ba gang na mi mthun pa yod pa de dang lhan cig tu 'khod par mi bya'o** zhes bya ba ni | gnas gang du 'da' bar byed cing ngal bso bar byed pa'i gnas de ni **'da' bar bya ba** zhes bya ste | dben pa zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go | 'da' bar bya ba'i gnas gang na mi mthun pa zhes bya bar dgra bo yod pa der de dang lhan cig tu 'khod pa zhes bya ba 'dug pa dang 'greng bar mi bya ba ste 'thab krol gyi skabs bcad pa'i phyir 'di bca' ba mdzad do || [91-816-8]

VSṬ 14.3

gzhan du ni go gnyis sam gsum gyi bar du bcad de'o zhes bya ba ni | 'da' bar bya ba'i gnas dben pa sngar bstan pa de las gzhan pa'i gnas gang na gang zag mi mthun pa yod pa de dang lhan cig tu mi 'khod du mi rung na go gnyis sam gsum gyi bar du bcad de 'khod par bya'o || 'di ni lus kyis pha rol gnod pa dang reg pa spang ba'i phyir ro || [91-816-14]

VSṬ 14.4

des cig shos dang yang de bzhin no zhes bya ba ni | mi mthun pa'i yul gang la 'da' bar bya ba gang na mi mthun pa yod pa de dang lhan cig tu 'khod par mi bya ba dang | gzhan du ni go gnyis sam gsum gyis bcad de 'khod par bya'o zhes bstan pa gang yin pa de mi mthun par des kyang mi mthun pa'i yul cig shos dang de bzhin du bya ba'o || [91-816-18]

VSṬ 14.5

de gnyis kyi gtsug lag khang bar du chod pa sbyin par bya ba nyid dang mnod par bya ba nyid do zhes bya ba ni | gang zag mi mthun pa de gnyis kyi gtsug lag

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[141] Due to the restriction of word number, only the VSṬ, the most consulted commentary, is appended. In the forthcoming monograph, other canonical commentaries are planned to be presented.

khang zhes bya ba gnas pa'i gzhi g.yogs pa'am ma g.yogs pa gang yang rung ba |
bar du gzhan gyi gnas khang gis chod pa gnas khang bsgo bas kyang sbyin par bya
ba nyid yin la | rang gis kyang mnod par bya ba nyid yin no || bsko bas de las gzhan
du bskos na yang nyes byas su 'gyur la | nod pas de mnos na yang nyes byas su
'gyur ro || dge 'dun thams cad kyis grogs byas sam las su stsal te | der gnas khang
sbyin par byed na yang thams cad la nyes byas su 'gyur ro || 'di ni mi mthun pa de
gnyis mi 'phrad par bya ba'i phyir ro || [91-817-2]

VSṬ 14.6

**chos dang 'dul ba la gal te de dang ldan par shes nas chos ma yin pa la mngon
par zhen pa la dge 'dun mthun pa med do** zhes bya ba ni | dngos po dang 'brel
ba'i rnam pa'i 'dul ba la gal te de dang ldan pa nyid du shes na zhes bya ba chos
dang 'dul ba la gal te mi mthun pa de dang ldan par shes nas chos ma yin pa la
mngon par zhen pa la zhes bya ba de ltar chos dang 'dul ba'i rnam pa la mi mthun
pa nyid dang ldan par shes nas de'i 'og tu chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa la
de la dge 'dun mthun pa med do || gang gi phyir chos dang 'dul ba'i phyir dge 'dun
mthun pa yin gyi don gzhan gyi phyir ma yin pa de'i phyir mi mthun pa la ni dge
'dun mthun pa 'bye bar mi 'gyur ro || [91-817-12]

VSṬ 14.7

**de'i phyir de las gzhan pa dag dang tshogs te las byas na yang mi 'chags pa
la phan tshun mi mthun pa nyid du yang mi 'gyur ro** zhes bya ba ni | gang gi
phyir ji skad bstan pa de la dge 'dun mthun pa med pa de'i phyir chos ma yin pa la
mngon par zhen pa de dag dang | de las gzhan pa'i chos kyi phyogs dang mthun pa
dag tshogs te las brgya rtsa gcig po dag byas na yang mi 'chags la | ma tshogs par
so sor byed na yang phan tshun mi mthun pa nyid du mi 'gyur te | phyogs so so'i las
'chags par 'gyur ba'o || [91-817-20]

VSṬ 14.8

**de dag de'i mi mthun pa'i phyogs dang 'thab par 'gyur ba nyid ni chos 'di pa
dag pa'i phyag mi bya ba nyid yin no** zhes bya ba ni | chos ma yin pa la mngon par
zhen pa de dag de'i mi mthun pa'i phyogs chos dang mthun pa'i phyogs su gtogs
pa dang lhan cig 'thab par 'gyur ba nyid na de dag la chos 'di la dge slong dang dge
slong ma dang dge tshul dang | dge tshul ma dang | dge slob ma dang | dge bsnyen
dang dge bsnyen ma dag gis phyag mi bya ba nyid yin pa'o || [91-818-6]

VSṬ 14.9

**mngon du ldang ba dang ltan la bod pa dang gtam 'dre ba dang | phebs par
smra ba dang | kun dga' bar 'gyur ba dang | rnam par blta ba dang | cung zad
blta ba dag kyang mi bya'o** zhes bya ba ni | ji skad smos pa de dag thams cad
kyang chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa spang ba'i phyir ro || **gtam 'dre ba** zhes
bya ba ni | tshig gi lan la sogs pa kun du smra ba sbyin pa'o || **phebs par smra ba**
zhes bya ba ni | yid gcugs pa'i gtam bya ba'o || **kun dga' bar 'gyur ba** zhes bya ba
ni | gtam dri ba la sogs pa'i tha snyad bya ba 'o || **rnam par blta ba** zhes bya ba ni |
mig gis rgyun dang ldan par blta ba'o || **cung zad blta ba** zhes bya ba ni rgyun dang
ldan pa ma yin par blta ba'o || [91-818-12]

VSṬ 14.10

lag[142] **pa'i tha snyad kyis gnas mal ngan pa rjes su sbyin no** zhes bya ba ni | chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa de dag nye bar 'ongs na'o || [91-818-21]

VSṬ 14.11

kha cig las ni tshig gis thos pa dang bcas par gzhan la'o zhes bya ba ni | gzhung kha cig las ni chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa de dag 'ongs na tshig gis ci nas kyang de dag gis thos pa dang bcas par gang zag gzhan la brten te de dag 'di tsam 'thob bo zhes bya ba'i tshig gis gnas mal ngan pa rjes su sbyin par bya'o zhes byung ngo || [91-819-2]

VSṬ 14.12

gtsug lag khang mjug tu'o zhes bya ba ni | sbyin no zhes bya bar sbyar te | mjug tu zhes bya bar ni tha mar ro || [91-819-6]

VSṬ 14.13

kho bo cag rgan no zhes zer na khyed kyang bdag cag shākya'i sras kyi dge slong dag yin no snyam du bdag nyid khas 'che 'am khyed cag gang dag gi spyod tshul 'di lta bu dang gtam 'di lta bu 'di la yang mi 'thob pa yin no | khyod kyi ston pa thugs rje dang ldan pas des na 'di rjes su gnang ngo zhes gzhan la lan gdab par bya'o zhes bya ba ni | chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa de dag gnas mal ngan pa dag tha mar byin pa na | gal te 'di skad ces kho bo cag rgan rabs yin na ci'i phyir gnas mal 'di lta bu ngan pa mjug tu sbyin zhes zer na de dag la dngos su lan mi gdab par gang zag gzhan la brten te lan 'di skad gtab par bya'o zhes bya bar sbyar ro || khyed cag kyang bdag cag shākya'i sras kyi dge sbyong dag yin no snyam du bdag nyid khas 'che 'am zhes bya ba ni | khyed cag de ma yin no zhes bya ba'i zur yin no || spyod tshul 'di lta bu zhes bya ba ni khyed cag gis spyad pa'i spyod pa la sogs pa dang gso sbyong dang dgag dbye nyams pa gang yin pa de dag brjod par bya'o || gtam 'di lta bu la zhes bya ba ni spyod tshul de la nyes dmigs gang byung ba ste ston par gud du gshegs pa la sogs pa gang yin pa de dag brjod par bya'o || 'di yang mi 'thob pa yin no zhes bya ba ni | gnas mal ngan pa mjug tu byin pa 'di yang khyed la mi 'os pa yin no zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go | khyed kyi ston pa thugs rje dang ldan pa zhes bya ba ni | de dag kyang da dung de bzhin gshegs pa'i nyan thos yin pas ston pa'i che ba nyid brjod par bya'o || des na zhes bya ba ni | ston pa thugs rje dang ldan pa'i rgyu des na'o || 'di rjes su gnang ngo zhes bya ba ni | gnas mal ngan pa mjug tu sbyin pa zhes bya ba 'di rjes su gnang ngo zhes so || gzhan la lan gdab par bya'o zhes bya ba ni | de dag la dngos su lan mi gdab par gang zag gzhan la brten te lan de skad lan gdab par bya ba'o || [91-819-8]

VSṬ 14.14

dge slong mas stan las ldang ba la dbri bar mi bya'o zhes bya ba ni | dge slong 'thab krol byed pa de dag la dge slong mas ni stan las ldang ba gzhan gyi lugs las dbri bar mi bya ba'o || 'di skad bstan te | dge slong mas ni 'thab krol byed pa dag mthong na de ltar yang stan las ldang bar bya'o || [91-820-9]

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[142] lag em.: log (dPe)

VSṬ 14.15

dge bsnyen gyis bsod snyoms dbul bar bya'o zhes bya ba ni 'thab krol can de dag la'o || [91-820-13]

VSṬ 14.16

1   **bzod pa byas pa de dag la mthun pa thob pa med par mthun par mi 'byung ngo** zhes bya ba ni | chos ma yin pa la mngon par zhen pa de dag gis dge 'dun la bzod pa gsol te | dge 'dun gyis gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis bzod pa byas su byin kyang de dag rang gis dge 'dun la bzod pa gsol te | dge 'dun gyis gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis mthun pa sbyin pa thob pa med par dge 'dun dang mthun pa mi 'byung ngo || [91-820-15]

2   de dag gis dge 'dun la bzod pa gsol ba'i sngags ni | dge 'dun btsun pa rnams gsan du gsol || bdag dge slong kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong nang bar snga zhig tu mdo sde dang 'dul ba dang ma mo'i lung rnam par rtog rtog na 'di snyam bgyid de gang las bdag cag la 'thabs dang mtshang 'dru ba dang | rtsod pa dang 'gyed pa 'byung ba'i gzhi ni 'di lta ste | ltung ba byung ngam ma byung ba dang gnas nas phyud dam ma phyud ba lags na | bdag cag la ltung ba byung gi ltung ba ma byung ba ma lags gnas nas phyud ba lags kyi | gnas nas ma byung ba ma lags te | gang gnas nas phyud ba ni chos dang mthun pa'i las ma 'khrugs gzhag par mi 'os pas bgyis so snyam bgyid nas bdag grong khyer yangs pa can gyi dge slong dang sdums bgyi zhing mthun par bgyi'o snyam du ste | bdag kau shā mbī pa'i dge slong skra 'greng bar gyur skra 'phyar bar gyur cing dge 'dun la spu snyol bar bgyid | 'byung bar sgyod mtshungs pa nye bar ston la mtshams kyi nang du mchis te bzod pa gsol zhing bzhi gang las gnas nas dbyung ba'i phrin las mdzad pa'i gzhi de las slar ldog par bgyid na thugs brtse ba can dge 'dun btsun pa rnams kyis thugs brtse ba'i slad du bdag gnas nas dbyung ba'i phrin las mdzad lags pa la bzod pa mdzad du gsol | lan gsum du bzlas zhes gsungs pa yin no || [91-820-20]

3   dge 'dun gyis gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis bzod pa bya ba'i sngags ni | dge 'dun btsun pa rnams gsan du gsol | kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong gnas nas dbyung ba'i phrin las mdzad lags pa 'di skra 'greng bar gyur | skra 'phyar bar gyur cing | dge 'dun las spu snyol bar bgyid na 'byung bsgyed | mtshungs par nye bar ston la mtshams kyi nang du mchis te | bzod pa gsol zhing gzhi gang las gnas nas dbyung ba'i phrin las mdzad pa'i gzhi de las slar ldog par bgyid na | gal te dge 'dun gyis dus la bab cing bzod na | dge 'dun gyis gnang bar mdzod cig dang | dge 'dun gyis kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong gnas nas dbyung ba'i phrin las mdzad lags pa la bzod pa mdzad do || 'di ni gsol ba'o zhes bya ba la sogs pa gsungs pa yin no || mthun pa gsol ba dang mthun pa sbyin pa'i sngags ni 'og nas 'byung ngo || [91-821-16]

VSṬ 14.17

gso sbyong med par rang bzhin du gnas pa nyid mi 'thob bo zhes bya ba ni | mthun pa gsol te mthun pa thob tu zin kyang ji srid du dge 'dun las mthun pa'i gso sbyong gsol zhing mthun pa'i gso sbyong ma thob kyi bar du **rang bzhin du gnas pa nyid mi 'thob** ste | chos dang zang zing gi longs spyod gnyis kyi 'os nyid ma yin no zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go | mthun pa'i gso sbyong zhes bya ba ni | don dang mthun par brjod pa yin te | mthun par sgrub pa'i phyir gso sbyong bya ba zhes bya

ba'i tha tshig go || [91-822-5]

VSṬ 14.18

de byin nas bya'o zhes bya ba ni | mthun pa'i gso sbyong de de bzhin du mi bya bar byin nas gzod bya ba'o || [91-822-12]

VSṬ 14.19

1 **de ni las kyis so** zhes bya ba ni | mthun pa'i gso sbyong sbyin pa de ni de dag gis gsol nas dge 'dun gyis gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis sbyin pa'o || [91-822-13]

2 de dag gis gsol ba'i sngags ni | dge 'dun btsun pa rnams gsan du gsol || bdag kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong la dge 'dun gyis gnas nas dbyung ba'i phrin las mdzad lags pas bdag dge 'dun gyi gan du mchis te | bzod pa gsol na dge 'dun gyis bdag la bzod pa'i phrin las mdzad lags te | bdag bzod pa'i phrin las mdzad lags ba 'khor dang bcas pa dge 'dun gyi gan du mchis nas mthun ba gsol na | dge 'dun gyis bdag 'khor dang bcas pa la mthun pa stsal lags pas bdag kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong 'khor dang bcas pa mthun pa stsal pa mthun pa'i gso sbyong du gsol na thugs brtse ba can dge 'dun btsun pa rnams kyis thugs brtse ba'i slad du bdag kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong 'khor dang bcas pa mthun pa stsal pa las mthun pa'i gso sbyong stsal du gsol || lan gsum du bzlas zhes gsungs pa yin no || [91-822-15]

3 dge 'dun gyis gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis mthun pa'i gsol sbyong sbyin pa'i sngags ni | dge 'dun btsun pa rnams gsan du gsol || kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong 'di la dge 'dun gyis gnas nas dbyung ba'i phrin las mdzad lags pas 'di dge 'dun gyi gan du mchis te | bzod pa gsol na dge 'dun gyis 'di la bzod pa'i phrin las mdzad lags te | bzod pa'i phrin las mdzad lags ba 'khor dang bcas pa 'di dge 'dun gyi gan du mchis nas mthun pa gsol te | dge 'dun gyis kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong 'khor dang bcas pa 'di la mthun pa stsal lags pas | kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong 'khor dang bcas pa mthun pa stsal ba 'di mthun pa'i gso sbyong gsol na gal te | dge 'dun gyi dus la bab cing bzod na dge 'dun gyis gnang bar mdzod cig dang | dge 'dun gyis kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong 'khor dang bcas pa mthun pa stsal pa la mthun pa'i gso sbyong gsol to || 'di ni gsol ba'o zhes bya ba la sogs pa gsungs pa yin no || [91-823-5]

VSṬ 14.20

1 **snga ma yang ngo** zhes bya ba ni | mthun pa sbyin pa zhes **sngar** bstan pa de **yang** de dag gis gsol nas dge 'dun gyis gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis sbyin pa'o || [91-823-17]

2 de dag gis gsol ba'i sngags ni | dge 'dun btsun pa rnams gsan du gsol || bdag kau shāmbhī pa'i dge slong la dge 'dun gyis gnas nas dbyung ba'i phrin las mdzad lags pas bdag dge 'dun gyi gan du mchis te bzod pa gsol na | dge 'dun gyis bdag la bzod pa mdzad lags te | bdag kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong bzod pa'i phrin las mdzod lags pa 'khor dang bcas pa mthun pa gsol na | thugs brtse ba'i slad du bdag kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong bzod pa'i phrin las mdzad lags pa 'khor dang bcas pa la mthun pa stsal du gsol || lan gsum bzlas zhes gsungs pa yin no || [91-823-19]

3 dge 'dun gyis gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis mthun pa sbyin pa'i sngags ni | dge 'dun btsun pa rnams gsan du gsol || kau shāmbī pa'i dge slong 'di la dge 'dun gyis gnas nas dbyung ba'i phrin las mdzad lags pas 'di dge 'dun gyi gan du mchis te | bzod

pa gsol nas dge ’dun gyis ’di la bzod pa mdzad lags te | kau shāmbī pa’i dge slong
bzod pa’i phrin las mdzad lags pa ’khor dang bcas pa ’di mthun pa gsol na | gal te
dge ’dun gyi dus la bab cing bzod na dge ’dun gyis gnang bar mdzod cig dang | dge
’dun gyis kau shāmbī pa’i dge slong bzod pa’i phrin las mdzad lags pa ’khor dang
bcas pa ’di la mthun pa stsol to || ’di ni gsol ba’o zhes bya ba la sogs pa gsungs pa
yin no || bam po drug cu drug pa || [91-824-6]

VSṬ 14.21

1   **mthun pa dang bkra shis dang gnod par ’byung ba’i don du gso sbyong byar
    rung ngo** zhes bya ba la | mthun pa’i don du gso sbyong byar rung ba ni | bye ba
    rnams kyi mthun pa sgrub pa’i phyir mthun pa’i gso sbyong byar rung ba’i skabs
    ’dir ji skad bstan pa nyid yin no || [91-824-17]

2   **bkra shis kyi don du gso sbyong byar rung ba** ni | chos dang ’dul ba’i skabs su
    chos ma yin pa dang ’dul ba ma yin pa’i don sgro ’dogs pa bkra mi shis pa dang |
    dge ’dun bde ba’i skabs su dge ’dun la mi bde ba yams kyi nad dang | ser ba dang
    bye ba dang chom rkun dang dmag dang rlung la sogs pa phyi rol gyi bkra mi shis
    pa ’byung ba dag mthong na bkra shis par sgrub pa’i phyir gso sbyong byar rung
    ba’o || [91-824-20]

3   **gnod pa byung ba’i don du gso sbyong byar rung ba** ni | rims nyin bzhi pa la sogs
    pa’i gnod pa byung ba na | de dag nye bar zhi bar bya ba’i don du gso sbyong byar
    rung ba’o || [91-825-4]

4   grung khyed yangs pa can du yang dag par sdud par byed pa ni | gso sbyong byas
    pa gang yin pa de ni mi rung ba’i gzhi bcu byung ba de dag nye bar zhi bar bya ba’i
    phyir te | de yang chos dang ’dul ba’i skabs su chos ma yin pa dang | ’dul ba ma yin
    pa’i don sgro ’dogs pa bkra mi shis pa mthong nas | bkra shis par bsgrub pa’i phyir
    bkra shis kyi gso sbyong bya ba yin no || mi rung ba’i gzhi bcu gang zhe na | sdom
    la || hu lu hu lu yi rang dang || kun spyad gnod dang lan tshwa dang || lam dang sor
    gnyis dkrugs dang gding || gser gyi rung ba byas pa ni || ’di la rung min gzhi bcu
    yin || [91-825-7]

5   de la hu lu hu lu’i rung ba zhes bya ba ni | yang pa can ba dag chos ma yin pa dang
    mi mthun pas las dag byed cing | ’jug tu thal mo brdabs te | hu lu hu lu zhes bya ba’i
    sgra phyung nas las ’di grub’o zhes zer ba gang yin pa’o || [91-825-14]

6   yi rang ba’i rung ba zhes bya ba ni | yang pa can pa dag chos ma yin pa dang mi
    mthun pas las dag byas nas dge slong lhag ma rnams rjes su yi rang ba byed du bcug
    pa gang yin pa’o || [91-825-17]

7   kun du spyad pa’i rung ba zhes bya ba ni | de dag gis grags pa’i dbang gis sa brkos
    pa dang | rkor bcug pa gang yin pa’o || [91-825-20]

8   gnod pa’i rung ba zhes bya ba ni | de dag na bar gyur nas chang ’thungs pa gang yin
    pa ’o || [91-825-21]

9   lan tshwa’i rung ba zhes bya ba ni | de dag gis ’tsho ba’i bar du bcad bar byin gyis
    brlabs ba’i lan tsha dus su rung ba dang | lhan cig tu min par yang zos pa gang yin
    pa’o || [91-826-2]

10 lam gyi rung ba zhes bya ba ni de dag gis rgyang grags phyed du yang song ste | 'dus shing za ba byas pa gang yin pa'o || [91-826-4]

11 sor gnyis kyi rung ba zhes bya ba ni | de dag gi spangs pa na lhag por byed du ma bcug par sor mo gnyis kyis reg par byas te bzod pa gang yin pa'o || [91-826-5]

12 dkrugs pa'i rung ba zhes bya ba ni | de dag gis zho dang 'o ma dag dkrugs te dus ma yin par yang 'thungs pa gang yin pa'o || [91-826-7]

13 gding ba'i rung ba zhes bya ba ni | de dag gis gding ba sar ba la gding brnying ba bde bar gshegs pa'i mtho gang 'khor bas ma glan par spyad pa gang yin pa'o || [91-826-9]

14 gser gyi rung ba zhes bya ba ni | de dag gis lhung bzed khri'u gor bu can gyi steng du bzhag ste | dge tshul gyi mgo'am phrag par bkal te | bsngags pa brjod cing bram ze dang khyim bdag dag las dbyig dang gser la sogs pa bslangs te sbyang pa gang yin pa ste | de ni de dag gis rang gi ngo bo yin par blta bar bya'o || [91-826-11]

VSṬ 14.22

1 mthun pa'i gso sbyong la sogs pa de dag gang gi tshe bya zhe na | de'i phyir **'di la dus de kho na'i rgyu nyid du'o** zhes bya ba smras te | gso sbyong bya ba **'di la** de dag tshes bcu bzhi'am bco lnga'i dus de kho na'i rgyu nyid du bya bar ma nges kyi mthun pa la sogs pa de dag gi **dus de kho na'i rgyu nyid du** bya ba yin no || [91-826-16]

2 'dir gzhung ni nye ba 'khor gso sbyong ni lnga po 'di dag yin te | bcu bzhi pa dang bco lnga pa dang | bkra shis kyi gso sbyong dang | gnod pa byung ba'i gso sbyong dang | mthun pa'i gso sbyong ngo || dge slong gis gso sbyong ma yin par gso sbyong mi bya'o || byed na 'gal tshabs can du 'gyur ro || bkra shis kyi gso sbyong dang | gnod pa byung ba'i gso sbyong dang | mthun pa'i gso sbyong ni ma gtogs so zhes bya ba gsungs pa yin no || [91-826-19]

las byed pa'i gzhi'o zhes bya ba de 'dul ba'i gzhi'i skabs su gtogs pa bshad zin to || [91-827-4]

VSṬ 14.23

1 las bye ba'i gzhi zhu ba dang | bram zer'i bu mo'i skabs bsdu ba'i phyir | **chos ma yin pa smra ba dag gis dbye ba'i sems kyis mtshams kyi nang du las tha dad par byas na de dbye ba yin no** zhes bya ba smras te | chos ma yin pa smra ba dag gis chos smra ba 'di dag bdag cag gi nang du zhugs pas ci byas | de dag bdag cag las tha dad par gyur cig snyam du dbye ba'i mtshams kyi nang du chos smra ba dag las las tha dad par byas na las dbye ba yin no zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go | chos smra ba dag gis mtshams kyi nang du chos ma yin pa smra ba dag las tha dad par byas pa de ni | las de bye bar mi 'gyur te | de dag gis las de chos las rnam par ma g.yos pa kho nar bye ba'i phyir ro || [91-827-6]

2 'dir gzhung ni su dag gis kau shāmbī pa'i dge 'dun phye bar gyur | chos ma yin pa smra ba dag gis mtshams kyi nang du gnas gcig tu gso sbyong ma 'dres par byas pas so zhes gsungs pa yin no || [91-827-14]

VSṬ 14.24

'di la so so'i rang gi las ni 'chags so zhes bya ba ni | las bye ba'i bdag nyid kyi dge 'dun gyi bye ba 'di la phyogs so so'i las tha dad par byas pa ni tha dad par 'chags so || [91-827-17]

VSṬ 14.25

1 **rang gi phyogs dang mthun pa ma yin pa la ni mi 'chags so** zhes bya ba ni | rang gi phyogs dang mthun pa ma yin pa'i gang zag la bsdigs pa dang smad pa dang bskrad pa dang | phyir 'gyed pa dang gnas nas dbyung ba'i las byed pa ni mi 'chags so || [91-827-19]

2 'dir gzhung ni dge 'dun bye bar gnas pa na | phan tshun gyi phyogs gnas nas 'byin par bgyid na | gnas nas byung bar brjod par bgyi'am | bka' stsal pa | gnas nas ma phyung bar brjod par bya'o zhes gsungs pa yin no || [91-828-2]

VSṬ 14.26

1 **dge 'dun gyi ni chos smra bas byas pa nyid ni byas pa nyid yin no** zhes bya ba ni | dge 'dun gyi mtshams bcad pa la sogs pa'i las gang yin pa de ni chos smra ba dag gis byas pa nyid na byas pa nyid yin gyi chos ma yin pa smra ba dag gis byas pa nyid na ni byas pa nyid ma yin no || [91-828-5]

2 'dir gzhung ni dge 'dun bye ba na gcig gam cig shos kyi mtshams 'grol bar bgyid na | mtshams bkrol bar brjod par bgyi'am | gal te chos smra bas bgrol bar byed na bkrol bar bar brjod par bya'o zhes gsungs pa yin no || [91-828-9]

VSṬ 14.27

1 **'di la gal te gzu bo dag yod na dge slong ma rnams la bstan par bya ba nyid yin no** zhes bya ba ni | dge 'dun bye ba 'di la gal te dge slong gzu bo dag yod na de dag gis de slong ma rnams la bstan par bya ba nyid yin no || gal te de dag med na chos smra ba dag nyid kyis so || [91-828-12]

2 'dir gzhung ni zhu ba las btsun pa re zhig kau shāmbī pa'i sde slong phyogs gnyis su 'dus shing mchis par gyur na | de gnyis gang gis dge slong ma rnams la bstan par bgyi | nye ba 'khor gzu bo dag gis mtshams kyi phyir rol du song ste bstan par bya ba'o zhes gsungs pa dang | bram ze'i bu mis zhus pa las kyang gal te gzu bo dag med na | chos smra ba dag kho nas so zhes gsungs pa yin no || [91-828-16]

VSṬ 14.28

de dag gi ni chos kyi phyogs dang mthun pa dag gis mi mthun pa nyid do zhes bya ba ni | gzu bo **de dag gi** las ni **chos kyi phyogs dang mthun pa dag gis mi mthun pa nyid** du 'gyur ba ste | de dag ni dge 'dun gyi khongs su gtogs pa'i phyir dang | dge 'dun las tha mi dad pa'i phyir ro || chos ma yin pa'i phyogs dang mthun pa dag gis ni mi mthun pa nyid du mi 'gyur ba de dag ni dge 'dun gyi khongs su ma gtogs pa'i phyir dang dge 'dun las tha dad pa'i phyir ro || de bas na gzu bo'i dge slong dag gis las la chos smra ba dag dang mi mthun pa nyid sbad bar bya zhing de dag dang lhan cig las byas na yang 'chags so || chos ma yin par smra ba dag dang mi mthun pa nyid du sbad bar bya mi dgos te | de dag dang lhan cig las byas na yang mi 'chags so || [91-828-21]

VSṬ 14.29

1 **rjes su zhugs na de nyid nyams so** zhes bya ba ni | gzu bo rnams chos smra ba'am | chos ma yin pa smra ba gang yang rung ba'i phyogs kyi rjes su zhugs na | gzu bo nyid nyams te gzu bor mi rung ngo zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go | gzu bo zhes bya ba ni | skam la gnas pa ste | dbus na gnas pa dang zhal ce ba nyid yin pas 'di ltar de dag ni 'thab krol gyi ljan ljin gyi 'dam rdzab spangs pa'i skam sa'i dbus na gnas pa yin pas gzu bo dang dbus na gnas pa dang zhal ce ba yin par rig par bya'o || phyogs de gnyis las phyogs gang yang rung ba cig shos su yang ma lhung la cig shos su yang ma lhung ba nyid kyis skam la gnas pa ni gzu bo zhes bya'o || [91-829-10]

2 de ltar yang 'dir gzhung ni zhu ba las | yang pa can gyi dge slong dag gis gzhi bcu phyung ba na | dge slong gnas brtan gang dag phyogs cig shos su yang ma gtogs la phyogs gnyis par yang ma gtogs pa de dag ci lags par brjod par bgyi | skam sa la gnas pa gzu bo yin par brjod par bya'o zhes gsungs pa yin no || [91-829-18]

VSṬ 14.30

1 **de mi bya'o** zhes bya ba ni | gzu bo nyid nyams pa de mi bya'o || [91-830-1]

2 'dir gzhung ni | dge 'dun bye bar rnam par gnas pa na | gzu bo rnams kyis ji ltar bsgrub par bgyi | phyogs cig shos su rang 'gro bar yang mi bya | mngag pa gtang bar yang mi bya zhing | phyogs gnyis par yang rang 'gro bar yang mi bya | mdag pa gtang bar yang mi bya bar lus kyis kyang bsdam par bya | ngag gis kyang bsdam par bya zhing mtshams kyi phyir rol du song ste gso sbyong bya'o zhes gsungs pa yin no || [91-830-2]

VSṬ 14.31

1 **dge slong ma'i dge 'dun phyogs dang gzhan gyi phyogs su rnam par gnas pa la gdams par bya ba nyid yin no** zhes bya ba ni | dge slong ma'i dge 'dun las dang 'khor lo ma bye ba dge slong gi dge 'dun las dang 'khor lo bye ba'i phyogs dang gzhan gyi phyogs kyi 'gab la brten cing rnam par gnas pa dag la ni dge slong gi dge 'dun gyi phyogs bzung ba med par ci nas kyang de dag bye bar mi 'gyur bar bya ba'i phyir gdams shing rjes su bstan par bya ba nyid yin no || [91-830-7]

2 'dir gzhung ni dge slong ma'i dge 'dun phyogs dang phyogs la rnam par gnas pa la dgung zla phyed phyed cing gdams ngag dang rjes su bstan pa stsal bar bgyi'am | bka' stsal ba | dge slong ma'i dge 'dun bye bar mi 'gyur bar bya ba'i phyir sbyin par bya'o zhes gsungs pa yin no || [91-830-13]

VSṬ 14.32

bye ba la ni de lta ma yin no zhes bya ba ni | dge slong ma'i sge 'dun las dang 'khor lo bye ba phyogs dang gzhan gyi phyogs su rnam par gnas pa la ni snga ma ltar gdams par mi bya ba nyid yin pa'o || [91-830-17]

VSṬ 14.33

gsol ba na mthun pa nyid la nges par sbyar bar bya ba nyid yin no zhes bya ba ni | dge slong ma bye ba phyogs dang gzhan gyi phyogs su rnam par gnas pa de dag gdams ngag gsol ba na | sring mo dag je mthun par gyis shig ces mthun pa nyid la nges par sbyar bar bya'o || [91-830-20]

VSṬ 14.34

dbyar gyi rnyed pa ni chos smra ba dbang ba nyid do zhes bya ba ni | dge 'dun bye ba na dbyar gnas pa'i rgyu las byung ba'i rnyed pa ni chos smra ba dag dbang ba nyid yin gyi | chos ma yin pa smra ba dag mi dbang ngo || [91-831-2]

VSṬ 14.35

1 **gnyi ga 'dus pa la bye brag tu ma byas par bgo bsha' bya ba dge 'dun la phul ba yang ngo** zhes bya ba ni | chos dang chos ma yin pa smra ba'i phyogs gnyi ga 'dus pa la byed brag tu ma byas par dge 'dun tsam las phul ba'i bgo bsha' bya ba chos gos la sogs pa dge 'dun la phul ba yang chos smra ba rnams dbang ba'o || [91-831-5]

2 'di skad bstan te | dbyar gnas pa pa'i rgyu la brten te | dge 'dun tsam la 'bul bar byed pa'i rnyed pa gang yin pa de yang chos smra ba dag kho na dbang ba yin gyi | chos ma yin pa smra ba dag ni mi dbang ngo || [91-831-9]

VSṬ 14.36

ci thams cad la de ltar rnam par gzhag gam zhe na de'i phyir **de la gal te dge 'dun gyi tshad nyid yin na de dag go** zhes bya ba smras te | rnyed pa dbang ba de la gal te chos smra ba dag bzhi yan chad yin na rnyed pa de dag dbang bar rnam par gzhag go | [91-831-12]

VSṬ 14.37

de dag nyung ba nyid yin na ji ltar bsgrub bar bya zhe na de'i phyir | **gal te nyung ba nyid yin la cig shos ni de nyid yin na gang gis phang par phul ba'o** zhes bya ba smras te | gal te de na chos smra ba dag ni dge 'dun gyi tshad bas nyung ba nyid yin la | chos ma yin pa smra ba cig shos ni dge 'dun gyi tshad de nyid yin na | phyogs de gnyis kyi gang zag gis phang bar rnyed pa de phul ba'i phyogs de rnyed pa de dbang ngo || phang ba zhes smos pa ni lag pa dang rkang ba'i drung dag gi dpe yin no || [91-831-15]

VSṬ 14.38

gal te gnyi ga'i na gnyi ga'o zhes bya ba ni | gal te phyogs gnyi ga'i dge slong gi phang ba la sogs par phul na phyogs gnyi ga dbang ba'o || [91-831-21]

VSṬ 14.39

de la phyogs gnyi gas ji ltar bgo bar bya zhe na de'i phyir | **de la gang zag las cha nyid yin gyi dge 'dun las ma yin no** zhes bya ba smras te | phyogs gnyi ga dbang ba'i rnyed pa **de la** phyogs gnyi ga'i gang zag ji snyed yod pa de snyed kyi cha nyid du bgo bar bya'i | chos dang chos ma yin pa smra ba'i dge 'dun gyi phyogs gnyis las phyed phyed du bgo ba na ma yin no || [91-832-2]

las bye ba'i gzhi zhu ba dang | bram ze'i bu mo'i skabs so zhes bya ba de de gnyis kyi skabs nas 'byung ba bshad zin to || || [91-832-7]

las bye ba'i gzhi rdzogs so zhes bya ba de bshad zin to || [91-832-9]

Appendix 2: Technical Terms[143]

14.2 prativirodha: mi mthun pa (1, 2, 3) / khon yod pa (4) / mi 'phrod pa (5)

14.2 atinamana: 'da' bar bya ba (1, 2, 3) / mnan (5)

14.3 anyatra: gzhan du (1, 2, 3, 5) / gud du (4)

14.3 āsana: go (1, 2, 3, 4) / stan (5)

14.5 vihāra: gtsug lag khang (1, 2, 3, 5) / gnas (4)

14.6 abhiniveśa: mngon par zhen pa (1, 2, 3) / zhen pa (4) / chags pa (5)

14.6 saṃghasāmagrī: dge 'dun mthun pa (1, 2, 3, 4) / dge 'dun 'du ba (5)

14.7 rūḍhi: 'chags (1, 2) / 'chags pa (3) / skye (4, 5)

14.7 vyagratva: mi mthun pa nyid (1, 2, 3) / bskal ba (4) / brel (5)

14.8 kaliparāyaṇatva: 'thab par gyur pa nyid (1, 2) / 'thab par 'gyur pa nyid (3) / 'thab ces pa (4) / 'thab mo la gnas pa (5)

14.9 pratyutthāna: mngon du ldang ba (1, 2, 3) / ldang (4, 5)

14.9 āsanopanimantraṇa: stan la bod pa (1, 2, 3) / stan la gnyer / stan la spyan drong (5)

14.9 saṃlapana: gtam 'dre ba (1, 2, 3) / gtam (4, 5)

14.9 ālapana: phebs par smra ba (1, 2, 3) / bre mo gtam (5) / gtam kun (5)

14.9 sammodana: kun dga' bar 'gyur ba (1, 2, 3) / kun dga' ba (4) / mgu bar byed pa (5)

14.9 vyavalokana: rnam par lta ba (1, 2, 4) / rnam par blta ba (3) / rtog pa (5)

14.9 ālokana: cung zad lta ba (1, 2) / cung zad blta ba (3) / lta ba (5)

14.10 hastasaṃvyavahāraka: lag pa'i tha snyad (1, 2, 3) / lag brda (4, 5)

14.10 śayanāsana: gnas mal (1, 2, 3) / mal stan (4, 5)

14.11 anyatra: gzhan la (1, 2, 3) / gzhogs (4) / gzhan (5)

14.12 pratyanta: mjug (1, 2, 3) / mtha' khob (4, 5)

14.14 āsanamokṣa: stan las ldang ba (1, 2, 3) / stan las 'phags pa (4) / stan dor ba (5)

14.17 poṣadha: gso sbyong (1, 2, 3, 5) / gso sbyin (4)

14.21 āpad: gnod pa (1, 2, 3, 5) / ye 'drog (4)

14.23 bhedacitta: dbye ba'i sems (1, 2, 3, 5) / dbye ba'i bsam pa (4)

14.25 svapakṣya: rang gi phyogs (1, 2, 3) / nyid kyi phyogs (4) / bdag gi phyogs (5)

14.27 sthalastha: gzu bo (1, 2, 3) / skam la gnas pa (4) / bar ma (5)

14.29 dhvaṃsa: nyams (1, 2, 3) / 'jig (4) / zhig pa (5)

14.33 sāmagrya: mthun pa nyid (1, 2, 3) / 'dum (4) / 'du ba (5)

14.34 vārṣika: dbyar gyi rnyed pa (1, 2, 3) / dbyar gyi (4, 5)

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[143] The numbers in round brackets signify the five canonical Tibetan text witnesses; for the corespondency, see **Abbreviations and sigla**.

14.35 vaibhājya: bgo bsha' bya ba (1, 2, 3) / bgo bar rigs pa (5)

14.37 ūnatā: nyung ba nyid (1, 2, 3) / ma tshang (4) / nyung (5)

14.37 utsaṃgha: pang ba (1) / phang ba (2, 3) / thu ba (4, 5)

14.39 aṃśitva: cha nyid (1, 2, 3) / skal ba (4) / cha (5)

karmabhedavastu: las bya ba'i gzhi (1, 2, 3) / las kyi phye ba'i dngos po (4) / las byas
      pa'i dngos po (5)

Appendix 3: Index of the Sanskrit text[144]

antaritasyānayor vihārasya deyatvaṃ grāhyatā ca || 14.5

ubhayasannipāte cāvibhajya pratipātitasya saṃghe vaibhājyasya || 14.35

ūnatā ced itareṣāṃ ca tattvatā yadīyasyotsaṃghe pratipādanam || 14.37

evam itaras tena || 14.4

karmaṇaḥ kṛtāv adharmavādibhir antaḥsīmni pṛthak tadbhedo bhedacittena || 14.23

karmaṇaitat || 14.19

kaliparāyaṇatva eṣāṃ tadvipakṣasya hy avandyatvam idaṃdharmabhiḥ || 14.8

kalpate sāmagrīmaṅgalārtham āpadi ca poṣadhaḥ || 14.21

codyatvaṃ pakṣāparapakṣavyavasthitasya bhikṣuṇīsaṃghasya || 14.31

tasmān na tadanyānāṃ saṃbhūya kṛtau karmaṇo rūḍhir na paraspareṇa vyagratvam ||
      14.7

tasyaiva cātra kālasya nimittatvam || 14.22

datvainaṃ kuryuḥ || 14.18

dadītopāsakaḥ piṇḍapātam || 14.15

dvayoś ced ubhayatra || 14.38

dvitrāsanānāntaritam anyatra || 14.3

dharmavādikṛtatā saṃghasya kṛtatvam || 14.26

dharmavādini gāmitvaṃ vārṣikasya || 14.34

dharme vinaye caitadvattām adharme ced abhiniveśo jñātvā saṃghasāmagrī na
      vidyate || 14.6

dhvaṃso 'nuvidhau tattvasya || 14.29

na nānātvāya saṃghasya prabhāviṣṇum akāmaṃ codayed unmoṭayed vā codayantam ||
      14.1

na bhikṣuṇy āsanamokṣaṃ hāpayet || 14.14

na yatra prativirodhas tena sārdham atinamane samāsīta || 14.2

na vinā poṣadhena prakṛtisthatāprāptiḥ || 14.17

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[144] The index presents the critical edition.

nāvasāritānām eṣāṃ sāmagryasya vinā sāmagrīlābhenotthānam || 14.16

nāsvapakṣyaṃ prati || 14.25

nainaṃ kuryāt || 14.30

naivaṃ bhinnasya || 14.32

pudgalaśo 'trāṃśitvaṃ na saṃghaśaḥ || 14.39

pūrvaṃ ca || 14.20

pratyante vihārasya || 14.12

pratyutthānāsanopanimantraṇasaṃlapanālapanasammodanavyavalokanālokanānām apy akaraṇam || 14.9

rūḍhir asmin pratisvaṃ karmaṇaḥ || 14.24

lūhaśayanāsanānupradānaṃ hastasaṃvyavahārakeṇa || 14.10

vacanenānyatra saśrūtam ity aparam || 14.11

vṛddhā vayam api vadatsu yūyam api śramaṇāḥ śākyaputriyāḥ sma ity ātmānam pratijānīdhve | yeṣāṃ cedaṃ vṛttam iyaṃ vārttā, kāruṇiko vaḥ śāstā yenaitad anujñātam etad api vo na prāpadyata iti prativadeyur anyatra || 14.13

vyagratvam eṣāṃ dharmapakṣaiḥ || 14.28

saṃghaparimāṇatā cet tatra teṣām || 14.36

sāmagrye yācamānānāṃ niyojyatvam || 14.33

sthalasthā atra santi ced bhikṣuṇīnāṃ codyatvam || 14.27

Sāṃkhya on the Validity (*prāmāṇya*) and Invalidity (*aprāmāṇya*) of Cognition

OŁENA ŁUCYSZYNA

Abstract: One of the well-known polemics of Indian thought, in which many *darśana*s participated, is concerned with the problem of the validity (*prāmāṇya*) and invalidity (*aprāmāṇya*) of cognition (*jñāna*). The problem has two main aspects: the origination and ascertainment of validity and invalidity. Mādhava's *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* and other external sources attribute to Sāṃkhya (a tradition of thought recognising the authority of the Vedas) the view that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic, and many researchers hold that this view is Sāṃkhyan. In this article, I reconstruct the Sāṃkhya view on validity and invalidity of cognition on the basis of classical and postclassical Sāṃkhya texts, that is, all extant Sāṃkhya texts from Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṃkhyakārikā* to Aniruddha's *Sāṃkhyasūtravṛtti*. I come to the conclusion that the Sāṃkhya view is different from the view attributed to Sāṃkhya. According to Sāṃkhya texts, validity is intrinsic and invalidity is extrinsic in terms of both origination and ascertainment.

Keywords: Sāṃkhya, means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*), validity (*prāmāṇya*) and invalidity (*aprāmāṇya*) of cognition (*jñāna*), intrinsic (*svatas*) validity, extrinsic (*paratas*) invalidity

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1. Introduction

1.1. The problem and key terms

One of the liveliest yet most intricate polemics in Indian epistemology is concerned with the problem of the origin and ascertainment of the validity (*prāmāṇya*) and invalidity (*aprāmāṇya*) of cognition (*jñāna*). The problem was formulated by the 7th-century Mīmāṃsā philosopher Kumārila Bhaṭṭa,[1]

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[1] According to KATAOKA 2016: 558(5), Kumārila was 'active around the first half of the seventh century (600–650 AD)'.

who also defended the Mīmāṃsā position and criticised other possible solutions of this problem, thus initiating one of the most famous polemics in Indian thought. Almost all Indian philosophical traditions participated in this discussion. Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, Advaita Vedānta, Buddhism, and Jainism were among the main contributors.

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and the philosophers continuing the polemic he initiated acknowledge that cognition's validity and invalidity can be intrinsic (*svatas*) or extrinsic (*paratas*). The issue of the validity and invalidity of cognition has two main aspects: their production and ascertainment. Thus, the following four main questions are discussed: (1) Is validity produced by the same set of factors that produce cognition, or does it require an extraneous factor (often called *guṇa*, 'good quality', 'excellence') for its origination? (2) Does cognition manifest itself as valid, or does it require some extraneous confirmation to manifest its validity? (3) Does invalidity arise from the same set of factors that produce cognition, or does it require some extraneous factor (often called *doṣa*, 'defect', 'bad quality') for its origination? (4) Does cognition manifest itself to us as invalid, or is something extraneous to it needed to reveal its invalidity?

The adherents of the conception called *svataḥ-prāmāṇya-vāda* (literally, 'the conception of being a *pramāṇa* of/from itself') answer the first two questions by stating that the set of factors producing cognition also produces its validity and that cognition manifests itself as valid. According to this conception, cognition does not require anything extraneous for its validity, as it is valid 'of/from itself' (*svatas*). The philosophers who give the opposing answer to the first two questions, that is, who hold that an extraneous factor must be added to the set of factors producing cognition to make it valid and that its validity is manifested by some external confirmation, adhere to the conception called *parataḥ-prāmāṇya-vāda* (literally, 'the conception of being a *pramāṇa* due to [something] extraneous'). According to this view, cognition acquires validity 'due to [something] extraneous'/'from outside' (*paratas*). The third and fourth questions concern the invalidity (*aprāmāṇya*) of cognition. Like validity, invalidity can be understood as either intrinsic or extrinsic. For example, the Mīmāṃsakas and Advaitins hold that validity is intrinsic and invalidity is extrinsic, and the Naiyāyikas contend that both validity and invalidity are extrinsic.

I shall illustrate the issue of validity and invalidity with the following example. A man travels through a forest and sees a beautiful lake in front of him. If he is an adherent of the view that validity is intrinsic, he will say that the factors that produce his perceptual cognition of the lake (such as the organ of vision, the object of cognition, their contact and the other faculties of his

cognitive apparatus) also produce its validity. He holds that a cognitive process normally, if no distortions in its causes occur, leads to a valid cognition. He will also believe that his perceptual cognition of a lake is valid (until this cognition is overturned by another cognition or until he discovers a defect in its causes) and does not require confirmation by any additional criterion, such as another means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) or practical activity – for example, drinking water from the lake or swimming in it.

If our traveller adheres to the view that validity is extrinsic, he will say that some additional factors, such as the health of his organ of vision, the steadiness of his mind and appropriate distance between his organ of vision and the lake, must be added to the set of factors that produces his perceptual cognition of the lake to make this cognition valid. And the traveller will not accept that his perceptual cognition of the lake is valid until he verifies it by some additional criterion.

If the traveller holds that invalidity is intrinsic, he will say that his perceptual cognition of the lake is probably invalid, for the factors that normally produce cognition do not bring forth its validity. He will also believe that his cognition of the lake is invalid – until he applies an additional criterion to establish its validity.

If the traveller holds that invalidity is extrinsic, he will say that some additional factor, such as damage to his organ of vision, an unsteadiness of his mind or too long a distance between him and the lake, must be added to the set of causes that produces his perceptual cognition of the lake to make this cognition invalid. He will also accept that only some extraneous factor(s) can manifest the invalidity of his cognition of the lake, such as the awareness of a defect in its causes (for example, an eye disease) or the subsequent cognition of a glade overturning the cognition of a lake (which can occur after coming nearer to this place).

I would like to mention, for it is important for the reconstruction of the Sāṃkhya position undertaken in this paper, that extrinsic invalidity seems to be the only position that is logically compatible with intrinsic validity. As to the origination of validity and invalidity, we can assume only one of these two options: (1) the set of factors producing cognition normally generates valid cognition or (2) the set of factors producing cognition normally generates invalid cognition. As to the ascertainment of validity and invalidity, a cognition cannot manifest itself as valid and invalid at the same time.[2]

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2   A criticism of the view that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic, which reveals that this view is logically contradictory, is presented, for example, in Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Ślokavārttika*

The important terms of the aforementioned polemic include *svatas*, *paratas*, *prāmāṇya*, *aprāmāṇya*, *pramāṇa*, *pramā* and *jñāna*. In this article, these terms appear both in the Sanskrit original and in the English translation. I translated *svatas* and *paratas*, whose literal meanings are given above, as 'intrinsic'/'intrinsically' and 'extrinsic'/'extrinsically', respectively. I translated *jñāna* as 'cognition', *pramā* as 'valid cognition', and *pramāṇa* as 'a means of valid cognition'[3] or 'valid cognition'. In Indian epistemology, *pramāṇa* usually stands for a means of valid cognition, but it can also stand for the result obtained by a means of valid cognition, that is, for *pramā* (MOHANTY 2001a: 28; CHATTERJEA 2003: 41; ARNOLD 2005: 60).

The neutral noun *prāmāṇya* is derived from the word *pramāṇa* and literally means '*pramāṇa*-ness' ('*pramāṇa*-hood', '*pramāṇ*-ity'). Like *pramāṇa*, the term *prāmāṇya* has two basic meanings in Indian epistemology. The first meaning of *prāmāṇya* is 'being a means of valid cognition'. Its second meaning is 'being a valid cognition'; in this meaning, *prāmāṇya* is synonymous with *pramātva* ('being *pramā*'). In Indian discussions devoted to the issue of *prāmāṇya*, this term is more often used in the second meaning than in the first one.

When *prāmāṇya* is used in the second meaning, it is usually translated by scholars as 'truth' (MOHANTY 2001a; UNO 1980; CHAKRABARTI 1984; BILIMORIA 1988: 235–292; CHATTERJEA 1991 and 2003: 41; PERRETT 1998: 25–27) or 'validity' (YAMASAKI 1963; SEN GUPTA 1969: 59–73; KUMAR 1983: 177–181 and 1984: 184–194; TABER 1992; KRASSER 2003; ARNOLD 2005: 59–114, 237–256; MCCREA 2015–2018). Chatterjee uses both the English words 'truth' and 'validity' for *prāmāṇya* (CHATTERJEE 1950: 76–112). Kataoka, too, translates *prāmāṇya* as 'validity' (KATAOKA 2002, 2011, 2016) and 'truth' (KATAOKA 2011). In the beginning of his chapter 'Tests of truth and error', Bhatt notices that it discusses an issue of validity (*prāmāṇya*), which includes in the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsā not only truth but also 'novelty and certitude' (BHATT 1989: 109); however, he further observes that, in fact, the theorists were preoccupied with the issue of 'the truth of a cognition' (1989: 109) and uses the English word 'truth' for the Sanskrit *prāmāṇya* throughout his chapter (1989: 109–141).

(II, 35–37). Though I do not see a possibility to agree intrinsic validity with intrinsic invalidity, I am of opinion that the question of whether they are compatible needs further investigation. In the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*, Kamalaśīla mentions that in some cases, both validity and invalidity are intrinsic (see ARNOLD 2005: 98).

[3]   I am aware of the difficulties in finding accurate English equivalents of the Sanskrit terms *jñāna*, *pramā* and *pramāṇa*, as well as of the discussions devoted to this issue. I shall mention only some of many important and insightful publications: BILIMORIA 1985, MOHANTY 2001b, MATILAL 2002, BALCEROWICZ 2009: 139–144, note 4 and GANERI 2018. *Pramā* can also be translated as 'knowledge', and *pramāṇa* as 'a means of knowledge' or 'knowledge'.

In this paper, I translate *prāmāṇya* as 'validity'. I prefer this translation to 'truth' for the following reason. *Prāmāṇya* (understood as *pramā*-ness/*pramā*-hood, *pramātva*) encompasses not only congruity with the object (*yāthārthya*), which can be called truth, but also other characteristics, such as certainty and novelty (different thinkers can add other characteristics to these three or modify their list). *Pramā* is a type of *jñāna*, cognition. It is usually distinguished from other types of *jñāna*, first of all from error, doubt and memory (the terms often used for them are *viparyaya*, *saṃśaya* and *smṛti*, respectively).[4] The congruity with the object (*yāthārthya*), truth, can also characterise memory, a type of *jñāna* usually considered, along with error and doubt, as *apramā* (cognition that is not *pramā*).[5] I am by no means claiming that the translation of *prāmāṇya* as 'validity', as well as my translations of other Sanskrit terms in this paper, is final. Divergent translations of *prāmāṇya* may follow from the different ways of understanding *prāmāṇya* in the huge number of Sanskrit source texts dealing with this problem.[6]

1.2. The view attributed to Sāṃkhya

In *Ślokavārttika* II, 33, the great Mīmāṃsaka Kumārila Bhaṭṭa formulates the question of whether the validity (*pramāṇatva*) and invalidity (*apramāṇatva*)[7] of cognition are intrinsic or extrinsic, which opens the discussion. Next, he identifies and explores the following four positions: (1) Both validity and invalidity are intrinsic. (2) Both validity and invalidity are extrinsic. (3) Invalidity is intrinsic, but validity is extrinsic. (4) Validity is intrinsic, but invalidity is extrinsic, which is the view of Mīmāṃsakas themselves (*Ślokavārttika* II, 34–61).[8]

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4   On the notion of *pramā* and on distinguishing *pramā* from other kinds of *jñāna*, see, for example, Bilimoria 1985; Mohanty 2001a: 60–70, 2001b; Kataoka 2002 and Ganeri 2018. In Sāṃkhya, too, *pramā* is a type of *jñāna* characterised by certainty, lack of error (congruity with the object), and novelty; *pramā* is different from doubt, error, and memory (Kumar 1984: 21–36; Łucyszyna 2011).

5   The exception is Jaina thinkers treating memory as a type of *pramā*. See Balcerowicz 2005.

6   McCrea 2015–2018 shows that Umbeka Bhaṭṭa (ca. 700 CE) and Pārthasārathi Miśra (ca. 1050 CE), two Mīmāṃsā philosophers and commentators of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, interpreted *prāmāṇya* as truth. McCrea, however, translates *prāmāṇya* as 'validity'. I, too, opt for the translation 'validity' – to distinguish between *prāmāṇya* ('validity') and Sanskrit terms for truth (one of which is *yāthārthya*). The dates of Umbeka and Pārthasārathi are given according to McCrea 2015–2018: 9.

7   In *Ślokavārttika*, Kumārila uses at least three terms for validity (*pramāṇatva*, *prāmāṇya* and *pramāṇatā*) and for invalidity (*apramāṇatva*, *aprāmāṇya* and *apramāṇatā*).

8   See Kataoka's table enumerating *Ślokavārttika*'s passages devoted to each of the four views (Kataoka 2011, Part 2: 231, note 164).

The first of the four views identified by Kumārila is that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic (*Ślokavārttika* II, 34–37). In *Ślokavārttika* II, 34ab, he introduces this view:

> [Validity and invalidity are] intrinsic because the non-existent cannot be produced. Some claim that both [validity and invalidity] are intrinsic.[9]

Kumārila does not mention whose view it is, but it can be easily associated with Sāṃkhya, for the argument *asatām asādhyatvāt* ('because the non-existent cannot be produced') resembles the first Sāṃkhya argument defending its 'doctrine of the existence of an effect [in its cause]' (*sat-kārya-vāda*), which reads: *asad-akaraṇāt* ('because nothing can bring into existence the non-existent' / 'because there is no instrumental cause [that can bring into existence] the non-existent') (*Sāṃkhyakārikā* 9).

Kumārila's commentator Sucarita Miśra (10th c. CE)[10] ascribes this view to the *satkāryavādin*s, the adherents of the doctrine of the existence of an effect in its cause, by whom the Sāṃkhyas are probably meant, and considers this view as rooted in the *satkāryavāda* (see his *Kāśikā* II, 34–35).

The aforementioned four views have been described also in many other sources, for example, in Kamalaśīla's (740–795)[11] *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* and Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's (840–900)[12] *Nyāyamañjarī*. As to the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*, ARNOLD 2005: 97 writes,

> [K]amalaśīla's commentary to the *svataḥ prāmāṇya* chapter of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* lays out the same fourfold scheme – and, while Kamalaśīla here presents the positions without attributing them, he subsequently makes clear that he knows it is the 'extrinsic validity' position that is attributed to the Buddhists.

In *Nyāyamañjarī*, too, the conception of intrinsic validity and invalidity is presented without ascribing it to Sāṃkhya or any other *darśana* (Chapter

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[9]   *svato 'satām asādhyatvāt kecid āhur dvayaṃ svataḥ* / KATAOKA 2011, Part 2: 233–234 translates: 'Some say (*kecid āhuḥ*) that both [validity and invalidity] are innate (*dvayaṃ svataḥ*), because things that are of themselves non-existent (*svato 'satām*) cannot be [newly] accomplished (*asādhyatvāt*).'

[10] On the date of Sucarita, David writes, 'Although Sucarita is often believed to have lived in the 12th century …, his mention as the "author of the *Kāśikā*" (*kāśikākāra*) by the Buddhist philosophers Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti (both active in the first half of the 11th century) rather suggests an earlier date, perhaps in the 10th century (thanks to Kei Kataoka for this information).'

[11] The dates of Kamalaśīla are given according to KATAOKA 2016: 557 (6).

[12] The dates of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa are given according to POTTER 1977: 6, 9.

3, section 3.1–3.4) – see Kᴀᴛᴀᴏᴋᴀ 2016: 557 (6), 550–548 (13–15), 545–524 (18–39).

In the 14th-century Mādhava's *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, 'Compendium of All *Darśana*s', in the XII chapter devoted to Mīmāṃsā, we encounter the following verse summarising different conceptions of *prāmāṇya* and *aprāmāṇya*:

> The Sāṃkhyas state that validity (*pramāṇatva*) and invalidity (*apramāṇatva*) are intrinsic;
>
> The Naiyāyikas – that they are extrinsic. The Buddhists claim that the latter, [that is, invalidity], is intrinsic,
>
> [And] the first, [that is], validity (*prāmāṇya*), is extrinsic. The adherents of the Vedas
>
> Claim that validity (*pramāṇatva*) is intrinsic and invalidity (*apramāṇatā*) is extrinsic.[13]

The four positions summarised by Mādhava correspond to the four positions that Kumārila presented for the first time. Unlike in the *Ślokavārttika*, in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, it is said directly that the first view belongs to the Sāṃkhyas, the second to the Naiyāyikas, and the third to the Buddhists. In the *Ślokavārttika*, the fourth position is the position of the Mīmāṃsakas themselves (II, 47–61). Mādhava attributes it to the *vedavādin*s, 'the adherents of the Vedas', by whom he means the Mīmāṃsakas and Vedāntins.[14]

Later sources, too, attribute to the Sāṃkhyas the view that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic. We encounter this, for example, in the *Mānameyodaya*, a manual of the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsā, composed in the 17th century by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita.[15] Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita described the Sāṃkhyas' view on validity and invalidity of cognition as rooted in their *satkāryavāda* (*Mānameyodaya* II, 2, 59). It is worth noting that *Mānameyodaya* is a later text than Aniruddha's *Sāṃkhyasūtravṛtti*, which states directly that validity is intrinsic but invalidity is extrinsic (*Sāṃkhyasūtravṛtti* V, 51; this passage will be discussed in subsection 2.4 of this article).

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[13] *pramāṇatvāpramāṇatve svataḥ sāṃkhyāḥ samāśritāḥ /*
naiyāyikās te parataḥ saugatāś caramaṃ svataḥ //
prathamaṃ parataḥ prāhuḥ prāmāṇyaṃ vedavādinaḥ /
pramāṇatvaṃ svataḥ prāhuḥ parataś cāpramāṇatām //

[14] On the Advaitins' accepting this position, see, for example, Bɪʟɪᴍᴏʀɪᴀ 1988: 246–269 and Cʜᴀᴛᴛᴇʀᴊᴇᴀ 1991; 2003: 24–40.

[15] On the authors and their date, see Pᴏᴛᴛᴇʀ 2014: 498–499, 508. The second part of this treatise, which includes the discussion on *prāmāṇya* and *aprāmāṇya*, was composed by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita.

Quite often, scholars accept that the view that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic, attributed to the Sāṃkhyas in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, is really theirs (Sen Gupta 1969: 60–73; Singh 1988: 232–234; Bhatt 1989: 110–113; Weerasinghe 1993: 256; Grimes 1996: 310, the entry 'Svataḥ-prāmāṇya-vāda'; Shokhin 1997b: 331, note 43). However, some scholars observe rightly that the attribution of this position to the Sāṃkhyas is not supported by extant Sāṃkhya texts (Uno 1980: 542–543; Kumar 1984: 188; Matilal 1990: 205; Perrett 1998: 26; Torella 2011: 185).[16] I quote Torella 2011: 185:

> Of these positions, the least known is the first, according to which what makes cognition true or false are the very conditions under which it is produced; validity and invalidity thus belong to cognition from the start, are evident in themselves and do not need to be ascertained from the outside. Such a position is in line with the philosophic assumptions of Sāṃkhya, but there is no extant Sāṃkhya text that explicitly mentions it.

Scholars often point out that the aforementioned view on validity and invalidity is based on / consistent with Sāṃkhya's *satkāryavāda* (Bhatt 1989: 110–113; Singh 1988: 232–234; Matilal 1990: 205; Weerasinghe 1993: 256).

1.3.   The aim of this study and its primary sources

What do extant Sāṃkhya texts say about the validity and invalidity of cognition? What do they say directly and what do they imply? Is the view that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic, presented in the *Ślokavārttika*, *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* and other external sources, really Sāṃkhya's?

I shall attempt to answer these questions by focusing on extant Sāṃkhya texts from Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṃkhyakārikā* to Aniruddha's *Sāṃkhyasūtravṛtti*, that is, on all available Sāṃkhya texts composed before the works of Vijñāna Bhikṣu. I examined all these texts, though only some of them contain evidence on the problem. The sources used in my research belong to three forms of Sāṃkhya: (1) classical Sāṃkhya, presented in Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṃkhyakārikā* (SK; ca. 350–450 CE),[17] the first extant Sāṃkhya text, and eight commentaries on it: the commentary that survived in the Chinese translation of Paramārtha[18] (composed ca. 500 CE, translated into Chinese between 557 CE and 569 CE);

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[16]   These scholars also notice that the conception of validity and invalidity ascribed to the Buddhists, too, is not supported by their texts (Uno 1980: 543; Matilal 1990: 205–206; Perrett 1998: 26; Torella 2011: 185–186).

[17]   The dates and chronological order of Sāṃkhya texts are given according to Larson 1987: 15–16, 19–22.

[18]   I do not know Chinese; I rely on Aiyaswami Sastri's 1944 reconstruction of this commentary in Sanskrit and on Takakusu's French translation (Takakusu 1904).

the *Sāṃkhyavṛtti* (ca. 6th c. CE); the *Sāṃkhyasaptativṛtti* (ca. 6th c. CE); the *Sāṃkhyakārikābhāṣya* (or *Gauḍapādabhāṣya*; ca. 6th c. CE) by Gauḍapāda; the *Yuktidīpikā* (YD; ca. 7th c. CE); the *Jayamaṅgalā* (JM; ca. 700 CE or later); the *Māṭharavṛtti* (ca. 800 CE or later) by Māṭhara; and the *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī* (TK; ca. 841 CE or ca. 976 CE) by Vācaspati Miśra; (2) postclassical Sāṃkhya of the *Tattvasamāsa* (ca. 14th c. CE) and its commentary *Kramadīpikā* (ca. 14th c. CE);[19] (3) postclassical Sāṃkhya of the *Sāṃkhyasūtra*s (SS; ca. 15th c. CE) and their commentary *Sāṃkhyasūtravṛtti* (SSV; ca. 15th c. CE) composed by Aniruddha.

All these texts, though belonging to three distinct forms of Sāṃkhya, develop the same system of philosophy. The last of them, Aniruddha's SSV, is an original Sāṃkhya text accepting and developing the system of thought of classical Sāṃkhya. The next commentary on the SS, Vijñāna Bhikṣu's *Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya* (ca. 1550–1600 CE), treats Sāṃkhya as part of the Vedānta system of this philosopher. In Vijñāna's commentary, Sāṃkhya was absorbed into Vedānta, which to a large extent determined a further image of Sāṃkhya in India (see LARSON 1987: 35–41). Sāṃkhya texts that have appeared since the time of Vijñāna need to be examined by scholars (see KRISHNA 2006). The questions whether these texts are original (that is, contain important material not found in earlier works) and whether they are Sāṃkhyan should be answered.[20]

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[19] At the end of the 19th century, Max Müller argued that the *Tattvasamāsa* was the most ancient of all extant Sāṃkhya texts. Müller's dating of the *Tattvasamāsa* has been rejected by the majority of authoritative Sāṃkhya researchers (Richard Garbe, Larson, Shokhin, and many others). For summaries of the discussion on the date of the *Tattvasamāsa*, see LARSON 1987: 32–33, LARSON and BHATTACHARYA 1987: 315–319 and SHOKHIN 1997a: 48–65. This discussion was renewed by RUZSA 2013: 101–107, contemporary and renowned Sāṃkhya researcher, who held that the *Tattvasamāsa* was 'an ancient text, probably older than Aśvaghoṣa' (2013: 107). Ruzsa's arguments are worth serious consideration. However, in this paper, I accept Larson's dating of the *Tattvasamāsa*. Shokhin, one of the eminent scholars supporting this dating, writes: 'The fact that the first evidence of the *Tattvasamāsa* is the *Kramadīpikā* itself does not allow to date it much earlier than the XIV century' (SHOKHIN 1997a: 56–57). In my opinion, this argument, presented earlier by Larson (LARSON and BHATTACHARYA 1987: 319), is one of the most important arguments for the later dating of the *Tattvasamāsa*. As to the *Kramadīpikā*, the earliest extant commentary of the *Tattvasamāsa*, most scholars agree that it was composed ca. 14th century or later – see LARSON 1987: 33; LARSON and BHATTACHARYA 1987: 319, 321–322 and SHOKHIN 1997a: 65–66. RUZSA 2013: 102, note 19 writes on the date of the *Kramadīpikā*: 'I think that the *Krama-Dīpikā* is not an early text at all (17th century?)'. As neither the *Tattvasamāsa* nor the *Kramadīpikā* contains evidence on the issue of validity and invalidity, we need not dive deep into the problem of the dating of these texts here.

[20] The revival of Sāṃkhya-Yoga by Hariharānanda Āraṇya (1869–1947), who is an original thinker, and the community of his followers is worth the special attention. See Jacobsen's and Jakubczak's publications, two of which I mention here: JACOBSEN 2018 and JAKUBCZAK 2020.

1.4. Previous studies and my contribution (novelty of this study)

I encountered three studies devoted to the Sāṃkhya view on validity and invalidity of cognition.[21] The earliest is Bhatt's (Bʜᴀᴛᴛ 1989: 110–113). Bhatt's book, first published in 1962, contains the chapter 'Tests of Truth and Error', describing different conceptions of validity and invalidity. Part of this chapter is devoted to the Sāṃkhya view. Bhatt accepts that the conception of intrinsic validity and invalidity is really Sāṃkhyas' and is based on their *satkāryavāda*. Bhatt's account of this conception and of its criticism relies on its discussion in Mīmāṃsā texts. No Sāṃkhya text is cited in this study.

The next study is Sen Gupta's (Sᴇɴ Gᴜᴘᴛᴀ 1969: 60–73). It forms a part of her book *Classical Sāṃkhya: A Critical Study*. Reconstructing the Sāṃkhya view on the validity and invalidity of cognition, Sen Gupta does not refer to any Sāṃkhya text. She says that available Sāṃkhya texts do not discuss this issue (Sᴇɴ Gᴜᴘᴛᴀ 1969: 65). Sen Gupta holds that according to Sāṃkhya, both validity and invalidity are intrinsic as to their origin: validity is caused by an excess of *guṇa sattva* in the *buddhi*,[22] while invalidity is caused by an excess of *guṇa tamas* in it; and the *guṇa*s are not additional, external factors but the conditions necessary for the generation of cognition. It is necessary to note that the attempt to explain the origination of validity and invalidity of cognition on the basis of the Sāṃkhya doctrine of the *guṇa*s is undertaken in the YD and that the view of the author of the YD differs from the view presented by Sen Gupta as Sāṃkhya's. According to the YD, validity is intrinsic (which agrees with Sen Gupta's conclusion), while invalidity is extrinsic (which is contrary to Sen Gupta's conclusion) – see my analysis of the evidence of the YD in subsection 2.2 of this article.

As to the way validity and invalidity are manifested, Sen Gupta is of the opinion that validity is intrinsic and invalidity extrinsic. She substantiates it as follows: '[T]he natural tendency of man is to accept any and every kind of knowledge as valid as it arises' (Sᴇɴ Gᴜᴘᴛᴀ 1969: 62). Needless to say, what Sen Gupta calls 'the natural tendency of man' is not so obvious for many thinkers, for example, for the Naiyāyikas, who hold that validity is extrinsic both in its origin and ascertainment. Though the scholar believes that according to Sāṃkhya, invalidity is extrinsic as to its ascertainment (for a cognition cannot manifest itself as valid and invalid at the same time), she adds that the opposing view 'can be logically harmonised with the

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[21] Given the enormous number of publications in different languages available today, it is hardly possible to be sure about the current state of research.

[22] In Sāṃkhya, *buddhi* ('intellect', 'discernment') is the subtlest and highest product of *prakṛti*. The results of all cognitive and volitional processes are modifications of *buddhi*.

philosophical position of the Sāṃkhya School' (1969: 65). She further attempts to show that some cognitions manifest as valid and some manifest as invalid. It follows then that invalidity can also be intrinsic as to its ascertainment (1969: 68–69). In my opinion, it contradicts Sen Gupta's earlier statement that according to Sāṃkhya, validity is intrinsic in terms of its ascertainment.

Sen Gupta's analysis relies on the Sāṃkhya view regarding the combination of the *guṇa*s constituting the cognitive apparatus. She draws the conclusion that according to Sāṃkhya, the validity of cognition, both in terms of its origin and ascertainment, is caused by the predominance of *sattva* in the senses (*indriya*) and in the *buddhi*, while invalidity is caused by the predominance of *tamas*. It is not my task to assess whether the conclusion drawn by Sen Gupta from the Sāṃkhya doctrine of the *guṇa*s is right or not (for the critique of this conclusion, see KUMAR 1984: 188–189) – for the reason provided below.

The problem of the validity and invalidity of cognition is not a problem of metaphysical principles, causes or processes that underlie different components of a cognitive situation (such as our cognitive apparatus, the object of cognition, different entities of the world that can influence the cognitive result). The question of validity and invalidity as to their origin is the question of whether cognition (*jñāna*) is usually valid or not, that is, of whether the factors (causes, conditions) that generate *jñāna* (such as contact of a sense with its object) are those that generate *pramā* (valid cognition, knowledge). The question of validity and invalidity as to their ascertainment is the question of whether cognition manifests itself as valid or invalid when it arises.

The matter of whether an effect exists in its material cause, underlying the *satkāryavāda*, from which some philosophers and researchers try to draw the conclusion that, according to Sāṃkhya, both validity and invalidity are intrinsic, too, is hardly relevant to the problem of validity and invalidity. The set of factors producing a cognition, of which the most important is an instrumental cause (*karaṇa*) – the most efficient, necessary and specific cause of a certain type of cognition (for testimonial cognition, for example, a sentence is a *karaṇa*), is irreducible to the material cause. Needless to say, intrinsic validity or intrinsic invalidity could be accepted also by the *darśana*s that did not acknowledge the *satkāryavāda*.

The most recent of these three studies is Kumar's chapter 'Test of validity of knowledge' in his book *Sāṃkhya-Yoga Epistemology* (KUMAR 1984: 184–194). The first half of this chapter is devoted mainly to the analysis of the view of Vācaspati Miśra's TK, the SS, Aniruddha's SSV and Vijñāna Bhikṣu's *Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya* (1984: 185–188). However, Kumar does not attach

direct citations from these texts. While the first half of the study is focused on the Sāṃkhya primary sources, its second part presents Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's and Sucarita Miśra's discussion of the conception of intrinsic validity and invalidity (1984: 189–193),[23] ascribed to Sāṃkhya.[24]

What distinguishes my research from previous studies? Two of the three helpful and pioneering studies described above (Bhatt's and Sen Gupta's) base their conclusions about the Sāṃkhya conception of validity and invalidity on the Sāṃkhya doctrine of the *guṇa*s, its *satkāryavāda* or the evidence of the Mīmāṃsā *darśana*, completely ignoring what the Sāṃkhya texts say on this problem. The most recent of these studies – carried out by Kumar and published almost four decades ago – considers what the Sāṃkhya texts say on validity and invalidity, but none of them is directly cited. My research is focused on the evidence found in the Sāṃkhya texts, and it also includes new evidence (not mentioned in the previous publications). In this paper, the Sāṃkhya texts are directly cited and the cited evidence is analysed in detail.[25]

2. Classical Sāṃkhya

2.1. Sāṃkhyakārikā and its commentaries on the causes of the non-perception of existing objects

Kārikā 7 of the SK is important to identify what conception of validity and invalidity is Sāṃkhya's, though Īśvarakṛṣṇa lived long before Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, who formulated the issue of validity and invalidity. All classical commentators support what is stated by Īśvarakṛṣṇa in this *kārikā*. The *kārikā* runs as follows:

> [The non-perception of an existing object can be caused] by excessive distance, by closeness, by impairment of the sense organ, by unsteadiness of mind,
>
> By subtlety, by an obstruction [between the sense organ and the object to be perceived], by suppression and by intermixture with the similar.[26]

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[23] Kumar presents this discussion also in his earlier book (KUMAR 1983: 177–181).

[24] The Sāṃkhya view on validity and invalidity of cognition is discussed also in SREENIVASULU 1991: 17–19, 117–122. Most of the text on pp. 17–19 is copied from BHATT 1989: 110–111, and the text on pp. 119–122 is copied from SEN GUPTA 1969: 60–64. Because of plagiarism, I do not mention Sreenivasulu's publication as a separate study.

[25] I would like to note that half of the available classical Sāṃkhya commentaries, namely, the *Sāṃkhyavṛtti*, *Sāṃkhyasaptativṛtti*, JM and *Māṭharavṛtti*, have not been translated into any European language.

[26] *atidūrāt sāmīpyād indriyaghātān mano 'navasthānāt /*
    saukṣmyād vyavadhānād abhibhavāt samānābhihārāc ca //

From the eighth *kārikā* and the commentaries on the seventh and eighth *kārikā*s, we learn that the seventh *kārikā* quoted above lists the causes (*kāraṇa*) of the non-perception (*anupalabdhi*) of some existing objects.[27] All available classical Sāṃkhya commentaries, while explaining *kārikā* 7, give examples illustrating these causes.[28] Two of these eight causes, namely, 'impairment of the sense organ' and 'unsteadiness of mind', are the defects of the cognitive apparatus. The other six causes lie in the objective world. One of them, 'subtlety' (*saukṣmya*), is the quality of the object that makes perception of this object impossible. The remaining five causes are the conditions of the objective world that hamper perception of the object to be perceived.

In my opinion, *kārikā* 7 and its commentaries show a tendency towards intrinsic validity and extrinsic invalidity of cognition. In a separate *kārikā*, Īśvarakṛṣṇa focuses on the causes that make perception impossible. He says that perception can be blocked by certain defects in its causes, that is, by the cognitive apparatus' deficiencies, by the location of the object to be perceived beyond the perceptual field of the sense organ, and so forth. These defects seem to be something extraneous to the normal conditions of perceptual cognition. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and other philosophers discussing validity and invalidity call such defects of the causes of cognition, preventing arising valid cognition, *doṣa*s (*doṣa*, 'defect', 'bad quality'). From all this it follows that in the SK and its commentaries, there is a tendency towards the view that invalidity is extrinsic. Īśvarakṛṣṇa's and his commentators' lack of consideration of the 'excellences' (being opposite to the defects) of the causes of perception that make it valid (the health of the sense organ, steadiness of mind, apt distance between the sense organ and the object to be perceived, etc.), called *guṇa*s (*guṇa*, 'good quality', 'excellence', 'virtue', 'merit') in discussions on the validity and invalidity of cognition, may suggest that normal conditions of cognition guarantee its validity. It can be interpreted as a tendency towards intrinsic validity. The aforementioned tendency towards intrinsic validity and extrinsic invalidity relates to the origination of validity and invalidity (not to

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[27] Shokhin 1995: 263, note 1 observes, 'The following six causes of the non-perception of an object were classified long before the SK, in the famous work *Mahābhāṣya* of the great grammarian Patañjali: excessive remoteness of the object, closeness, "interference" of other objects, lack of lighting (the only point not mentioned by Īśvarakṛṣṇa), weakness of the visual sense organ, distraction of mind (IV.1.3, cf. II.2.5). It does not seem possible to finally answer the question whether Sāṃkhya borrowed this scheme from the Grammarians or Patañjali himself reused the model of preclassical Sāṃkhya. The second of these two hypotheses is, in our opinion, more plausible'.

[28] For the examples mentioned in five of them (the commentary that survived in the Chinese translation of Paramārtha, the *Sāṃkhyavṛtti*, the *Sāṃkhyasaptativṛtti*, the *Gauḍapādabhāṣya* and the *Māṭharavṛtti*), see Solomon 1974: 19–21.

their ascertainment). In Indian *darśana*s, the view on origination of the validity and invalidity is usually the same as the view on their ascertainment.

This tendency is very conspicuous in the JM, which directly calls the defects in the causes of perception *doṣa*s. While commenting on the seventh *kārikā*, the JM says the following about the *doṣa*s:

> [D]ue to the four kinds [of defects], the non-perception (*anupalabdhi*) of even existing things occurs. [It takes place] because of [1] a defect in the location [of the object to be perceived] (*deśa-doṣa*), [2] a defect in the sense organ (*indriya-doṣa*), [3] a defect in the object [to be perceived] (*viṣaya-doṣa*) and [4] a defect owing to other things (*arthāntara-doṣa*).[29] …
>
> [The non-perception of an existing object can be caused] 'by excessive distance', etc. For example, [there occurs] the non-perception of a bird flying far above.
>
> 'By closeness' – here, too, the word 'excessive' (*ati*) is to be added; 'by excessive closeness' – for example, [we do not perceive] the ointment in the eye. And in both [aforementioned] cases, the non-perception is caused by a defect in the location [of the object to be perceived].
>
> 'By impairment of the sense organ (*indriya*)' – because of a defect of the sense organs (*buddhīndriya*), ear, etc., [there occurs] the non-perception of even [those objects], sounds, etc., [that are] situated in a perceptible (*yogya*) location.
>
> 'By unsteadiness of mind (*manas*)' – unsteadiness of mind is [its] distraction because of being preoccupied with some other object. And for this reason it does not perceive the proximate object even when the sense organ is unimpaired. And in both [aforementioned] cases, the non-perception is due to a defect in the sense organ. For mind, too, is a sense organ. However, mind is mentioned separately because of its supremacy.
>
> 'By subtlety' – by the defect in the object [to be perceived]. Thus an object such as an atom[30] is not perceived even by [someone with] the steady mind and unimpaired sense organ.

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[29] Cf. the 17th-century Mīmāṃsā treatise *Mānameyodaya* (II, 2, 75). It mentions the 'defects in the object' (*viṣaya-doṣa*), which encompass '[excessive] remoteness (*dūratva*), etc. (*ādi*)'; 'defects in the "instrument"' (*karaṇa-doṣa*), which encompass 'blindness, etc.' (*timirādi*); and 'defects of mind' (*mano-doṣa*), which encompass its being 'unsteady, etc.' (*pāriplavādi*).

[30] In the quoted passage of the JM, the word *paramāṇu* is used. It does not follow from this that the JM presents a position that is not Sāṃkhyan. In several other classical Sāṃkhya commentaries, this very word (*paramāṇu*) is used in the same context: *paramāṇu* is an example of an object

'By an obstruction [between the sense organ and the object to be perceived]' – when concealed with a curtain, etc., even a big undestroyed jar and other [similar things] are not perceived.

'By suppression' – stars are not perceived by day because they are suppressed with the light of the sun.

'And by intermixture with the similar' – by the making a heap of similar [things]. For in a heap of grains, one grain flung into [it] is not perceived. In all three [aforementioned cases], the non-perception [occurs] because of a defect owing to other things.[31]

In the JM, the eight defects in the causes of perception listed in the SK are subsumed under the four kinds (*prakāra*) of *doṣa*s: (1) the defects in the spatial location of the objects to be perceived, which encompass the first and the second causes of the non-perception mentioned in the SK; (2) the defects of the sense organs, which encompass the third and the fourth causes mentioned in the SK; (3) the defect in the object to be perceived, which is the fifth cause of the non-perception mentioned by Īśvarakṛṣṇa; and (4) the defects appearing because of the intervention of other things, which encompass the sixth, seventh and eighth causes mentioned by Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The JM suggests that as to their origination, invalidity is extrinsic, that is, caused by the *doṣa*s, the distorting

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that cannot be perceived because of its subtlety – see *Gauḍapādabhāṣya* 7 and 8, *Māṭharavṛtti* 7 and 8, TK 7. In the *Sāṃkhyasaptativṛtti* (see the commentary on the eighth *kārikā*) and the YD (see its commentary on the seventh *kārikā*: Wezler and Motegi 1998: 98, line 7), the word *truṭi* (which can be, as the word *paramāṇu*, translated as 'atom') is used instead of the word *paramāṇu*. In this context, both *paramāṇu* and *truṭi* mean a very small and subtle particle that cannot be perceived by the senses (*indriya*); in the commentaries, particles of mist and smoke are examples of such particles. It is also possible that the Sāṃkhya commentators use the word *paramāṇu* to make their example easily understandable for the Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas (atomists).

[31]   *... caturbhiḥ prakāraiḥ satām api padārthānām anupalabdhir bhavati / deśadoṣād indriyadoṣād viṣayadoṣād arthāntaradoṣāc ca / ... //*

atidūrād ityādi / yathā dūram utpatitasya pakṣiṇo nopalabdhiḥ //

sāmīpyād iti / atiśabdo 'trāpi yojanīyaḥ / atisāmīpyād iti / yathā cakṣuḥsthasyāñjanasya / ubhayatrāpi deśadoṣakṛtānupalabdhiḥ //

indriyaghātād iti / śrotrādīnāṃ buddhīndriyāṇāṃ doṣād yogyadeśāvasthitānām api śabdādīnām anupalabdhiḥ //

mano 'navasthānād iti / manaso 'navasthānam asamāhitatā viṣayāntarapravṛttatvāt / tataś cānupahatendriye 'pi sannihitaṃ viṣayaṃ nopalabhate / ubhayatrāpīndriyadoṣād anupalabdhiḥ / manaso 'pīndriyatvād bhedenopādānaṃ tu manasaḥ prādhānyārtham //

saukṣmyād iti / viṣayadoṣāt / viṣaya eva paramāṇvādis tathā yenāvyagramanasāpy anupahatendriyeṇa nopalabhyate //

vyavadhānād iti / yavanikādibhis tirodhānāt sthūlā apy avikṛṣṭā ghaṭādayo nopalabhyante //

abhibhavād iti / ādityaprabhābhibhūtatvād divā tārakā nopalabhyante //

samānābhihārāc ceti / sadṛśānāṃ rāśīkaraṇāt / dhānyarāśau hy eko dhānyaguḍakaḥ prakṣipto na dṛśyate / triṣv apy arthāntaradoṣād anupalabdhiḥ /

factors extraneous to cognition (which is valid when the *doṣa*s do not occur), and validity is intrinsic. The use of the term *doṣa* in this context and the attempt to classify the *doṣa*s blocking perception may indicate that the JM, which is probably later than Kumārila's *Ślokavārttika*, refers to the issue of the validity and invalidity of cognition presented by the Mīmāṃsā philosopher.

2.2.　Evidence of the *Yuktidīpikā*

Important evidence is contained in the YD, the most detailed and polemic classical Sāṃkhya commentary. The first YD's evidence is related to the origin of the validity and invalidity of cognition, and its second evidence is related to their ascertainment.

2.2.1. Evidence one

The first evidence is part of the polemic on the word *hi* used in the fourth *kārikā* of the SK. The Sāṃkhya proponent argues that *hi* is not redundant. From his reply, I am attaching only the passage relevant to the issue of validity and invalidity:

> **Because of the possibility of a defect (*vaikalya*) in means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) on account of the dominance of *tamas*, for the mutual relation between *sattva* and the other [two *guṇa*s] is not fixed.**[32] Between these [three *guṇa*s], *sattva* and the other [two *guṇa*s], the mutual relation is not fixed. Depending on place (*deśa*), time (*kāla*) and [other] efficient causes (*nimitta*), sometimes *sattva* dominates, sometimes *rajas*, [and] sometimes *tamas*. The dominance of *sattva* – because of [its] nature of light – is a means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*). When *tamas* dominates in that [combination of *guṇa*s], then – on account of *sattva*'s being subdued by it – inference (*anumāna*) caused by this is defective (*vikalāṅga*); so even if the inferential sign (*liṅga*) such as the sun is applied correctly for the determining (*niścaya*) of the cardinal directions (*diś*), [inference] is obstructed. But otherwise [inference] does not abandon its nature [of being a *pramāṇa*]. But he who does not acknowledge the hindrance to means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) caused by the defect in [their] origination deals with the *pramāṇa*s' abandonment of their nature. How? For such is their nature that they ascertain objects of valid cognition (*prameya*).[33]

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[32]　The editors of the YD, Wezler and Motegi, use the boldface type to highlight the *vārttika*s. In the text of the YD, they distinguish two levels – the *vārttika* and the *bhāṣya* – functioning as parts of one whole and probably belonging to the same author.

[33]　*sattvādīnām aṅgāṅgibhāv<ā>niyamāt tamaḥprakarṣasāma<rthy>āt pramāṇavaikalyopapatteḥ /
iha sattvādīnām aniyato 'ṅgāṅgibhāvaḥ / deśakālanimittasāmarthyād dhi kadācit sattvaṃ*

The problem of the validity and invalidity of cognition was not unknown to the author of the YD, though he does not use the terms (*prāmāṇya*, *aprāmāṇya*, *svataḥ*, *parataḥ*, *doṣa*, *guṇa*) characteristic of the discussions on this problem. He was either familiar with Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's thought or participated in the pioneering discussion that forewent and stimulated the formulation of the validity and invalidity issue by the Mīmāṃsā philosopher. The second possibility seems more likely to me.[34]

In the view of the YD's author, validity is intrinsic in its origination and invalidity is extrinsic. He holds that inference and other means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) ascertain objects of valid cognition (*prameya*), that is, have their status of *pramāṇa*s, due to their own nature (*svarūpa*), and not due to some extraneous factor(s). It is noteworthy that at the end of this passage, the author mentions three times that the *svarūpa* ('own nature') of means of valid cognition lies in the ascertainment of the objects of valid cognition. This may indicate that he emphasised this idea to oppose the adherents of extrinsic validity, who hold that the validity of perceptual, inferential or testimonial cognition is not due to its own nature but requires some extraneous good quality(ies) (*guṇa*). While validity, according to the YD, is intrinsic as to its origination, invalidity is extrinsic. Cognition becomes invalid because of a defect (*vaikalya*) occurring during its origination. The author of the YD provides the example of the inferential cognition that loses its nature of being valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) because of a defect during its origination.

The author of the YD tries to explain the validity and invalidity of cognition on the basis of the Sāṃkhya doctrine of the *guṇa*s. In the *vārttika*, he states that a defect (*vaikalya*) in the means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) can occur because of the dominance of *tamas*. From the whole passage (the *vārttika* together with the *bhāṣya*), we learn that the dominance of *sattva* constitutes the 'own nature' (*svarūpa*) of the inferential and other types of cognition and leads to a valid cognitive result, while the dominance of *tamas*, when *sattva* is subdued by it, causes a defective (invalid) cognitive result. This attempt to

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prakṛṣyate kadācid rajaḥ kadācit tamaḥ / sattvaprakarṣ<aś> ca prakāśarūpatvāt pramāṇam / tatra yadā tamaḥ prakṛṣyate tadā tenābhibhūtatvāt sattvasya tatkāryam anumānaṃ <vikalāṅgam> upatiṣṭhata ity ataḥ satyām apy ādityādiliṅgapravṛttau diṅniścayādiṣv artheṣu pratihanyate/itarathā tu na svarūpahānam / yasya tu niṣpattivaikalyāt pramāṇapratibandho neṣṭas tasya svarūpahānaṃ pramāṇānāṃ prāptam / katham / etāvad dhi teṣāṃ svarūpaṃ yad uta prameyaparicchedaḥ / (YD 4; Wezler and Motegi 1998: 68, lines 15–24). The editors used < > to mark their additions and corrections. The YD's explanations of the *kārikā*s are often more extensive than the explanations proposed in other commentaries, that is why in the case of the YD, I give, besides the number of the *kārikā*, the pages and lines of the edition.

[34] Whether the author of the YD was familiar with texts and views of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa has not yet been determined by scholars and requires further research. On the date of the YD as well as on this matter, see the valuable observations of Mejor 2004.

explain the validity and invalidity of cognition is confusing, for the question of origin of validity and invalidity is concerned with such factors of cognition as the sense organ, the object of cognition, their contact, the reliable speaker, not with the metaphysical *guṇa*s underlying cognitive organs and other elements of a cognitive situation (on such attempt undertaken by Sen Gupta, a scholar, see above, subsection 1.4 of this article). However, the author of the YD also mentions important causes that are usually considered during discussions of validity and invalidity. He writes: 'Depending on place (*deśa*), time (*kāla*) and [other] efficient causes (*nimitta*) ….'

In this passage, the YD author speaks about *pramāṇa*s' own nature and about a possible defect in their origination on account of which they lose their nature. At first sight, the issue discussed in this passage may seem different from the issue of validity and invalidity of cognition (*jñāna*). In my opinion, however, the difference is apparent. For the YD author, as for Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and other adherents of the conception of intrinsic validity and extrinsic invalidity, each cognitive process is normally, by its own nature, a means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*), and its result, a cognition, is a valid cognition (*pramā*, *pramāṇa*); a cognitive process (for example, perceptual, *dṛṣṭa*, *pratyakṣa*, or inferential, *anumāna*) can lose its status of *pramāṇa*, which it has by its nature, because of a defect. For these philosophers, *jñāna* is normally identical with *pramāṇa*/*pramā*, and a defect is extrinsic to *jñāna* = *pramāṇa*.[35] That is why the YD's passage on the nature of *pramāṇa*s and the loss of their nature on account of a defect can be treated as discussing the validity and invalidity of *jñāna*.[36]

2.2.2. Evidence two

The second YD's evidence is contained in the vast polemic on the mutual relation between inference and verbal testimony, in which the Sāṃkhya proponent argues that verbal testimony is a separate *pramāṇa*, irreducible to inference. The evidence runs as follows:

> It is not so that a *pramāṇa* requires another *pramāṇa* for establishing its object. If [you] adhere to [the view that] the truth (*yathārthatva*)[37] of verbal testimony (*śabda*) requires another *pramāṇa*, [it refers] not

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[35] This view, shared by the Mīmāṃsakas, Advaitins and Sāṃkhyas, is explained by Chatterjea 2003: 29: 'But the Advaitins hold that *jñāna* and *pramā* are coextensive, the conditions that produce *jñāna* are those that produce truth. They consider *apramā* as an exception, a distortion, so that an analysis of distortion must not influence our analysis of cognition proper.'

[36] Cf., for example, *Mānameyodaya*, which at the beginning of the discussion on the validity and invalidity of cognition (*jñāna*) states, using the term *pramāṇa*: '[T]he validity of all *pramāṇa*s is intrinsic' (*... svata eva sarvapramāṇānāṃ prāmāṇyam /*) (II, 2, 58).

[37] Literally 'correspondence to the object', 'congruity with the object'.

only [to testimony about] heaven and other [imperceptible objects but to all testimony]. What then? [All] words will be invalid (*apramāṇa*). And inasmuch as you admit that inference (*anumāna*), which does not require another *pramāṇa*, establishes [the objects of valid cognition], it well follows that tradition (*āgama*)[38] is different from that [i.e. inference].[39]

In this passage, the Sāṃkhya proponent answers the Buddhist (probably Dignāga). For the opponent, verbal testimony is not a separate *pramāṇa*. He reduces testimony about perceptible objects to inference and rejects testimony about imperceptible objects. In the first part of the quoted passage, the author of the YD reacts to the opponent's view that testimony about imperceptible objects is not a *pramāṇa* because such objects cannot be known through 'another *pramāṇa*', that is, through perception or inference (Wezler and Motegi 1998: 104, lines 5–12). The Sāṃkhya proponent tells the opponent that if we accept that testimony about imperceptible objects requires another *pramāṇa* for establishing its congruity with the object (*yathārthatva*), then testimony about perceptible objects, which the Buddhists reduce to inference, will also require another *pramāṇa* for its verification.[40] The Sāṃkhya proponent next states that if we acknowledge that testimony needs to be verified by another *pramāṇa*, all testimony will be invalid. He thus suggests that the position that cognition achieved by a *pramāṇa* requires verification by an additional criterion leads to infinite regress: if the first cognition requires verification, then the criterion verifying it will also require verification, and this process of verification will be without an end.[41] In the second part of the quoted passage, the Sāṃkhya

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[38] The author of the YD uses here two terms for the third Sāṃkhya's *pramāṇa*: *śabda* ('word') and *āgama* ('tradition'). The basic Sāṃkhya terms for this *pramāṇa* are *āpta-vacana* ('authoritative/reliable utterance/statement/sentence') and *āpta-āgama* ('authoritative/reliable tradition') – see SK 4–6.

[39] *na ca pramāṇaṃ svārthasiddhaye pramāṇāntaram apekṣate / tatra yadi śabdasya pramāṇāntarāpekṣaṃ yathārthatvam āśrīyate tena na kevalaṃ svargādayaḥ / kiṃ tarhi / śabdā evāpramāṇam iti prāptam / anumānasya ca pramāṇāntaranirapekṣasya gamakatvābhyupagamād*[a] *āgamasya tato 'rthāntaratvaṃ sutarāṃ prasajyate /* (YD 6; Wezler and Motegi 1998: 105, lines 3–7).
[a] The edition prepared by Wezler and Motegi has *gamakatvānabhyupagamād*. One of the manuscripts used by the editors has *gamakatvābhyupagamād*, which seems to me a better reading (Wezler and Motegi 1998: 105, note 6).

[40] Contrary to the Buddhists, Sāṃkhya rejected verbal testimony about perceptible objects and claimed that verbal testimony is applicable only to the imperceptible objects that can be known neither through perception nor through inference (see SK 6 together with the commentaries).

[41] On this infinite regress, see *Ślokavārttika* II, 49–51, 75. Kumārila argues that extrinsic validity, criticised by him, leads to infinite regress: if a cognition needs to be verified by some subsequent cognition, then the latter one is to be verified by some other cognition, and so forth. This process will never come to an end, and no one will know anything.

proponent says that as the opponent does not suggest that the inference needs to be verified by another *pramāṇa*, his acceptance that verbal testimony requires another *pramāṇa* for its verification reveals the difference between inference and verbal testimony. This means that the opponent questions his own view (that verbal testimony is reducible to inference).

The author of the YD holds that a *pramāṇa* does not require another *pramāṇa* for verifying its result, namely, for establishing its congruity with the object (*yathārthatva*). In my opinion, this indicates that he considers the validity of cognition as intrinsic in terms of its ascertainment. Perceptual, inferential, or testimonial cognition need not be verified by any additional criterion, for the process of such verification will be without an end.[42] The YD's position is similar to the position of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, according to whom all cognitions manifest as valid.

In this passage, the YD's author does not say anything on the invalidity of cognition. The only position on the ascertainment of invalidity that is logically compatible with the aforementioned view on validity seems to be that invalidity is extrinsic. In my opinion, it is very probable that the YD's view on invalidity is similar to the view of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa: a cognition retains its initial validity until it is overturned by another cognition or until a defect in its causes is discovered.

2.3. Evidence of the *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī*

In the TK, the last classical Sāṃkhya text, we find the following passage, which is part of Vācaspati Miśra's commentary on the SK's definition of reliable verbal testimony (*āpta-vacana*):

> And that intrinsically valid (*svataḥ-pramāṇa*) [cognition from reliable
> verbal testimony] is right (*yukta*), for it is free from suspicion (*āśaṅkā*)
> of any defect (*doṣa*) – because it is produced by sentences of the
> authorless (*apauruṣeya*) Vedas.[43]

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[42] The Buddhists, with whom the Sāṃkhya proponent polemicises, as well as the Naiyāyikas, adhere to the conception of the extrinsic validity of cognition. They hold that the validity of a cognition is ascertained due to the successful activity (*artha-kriyā*) based on this cognition. After cognising that the action based on this cognition is effective, its validity is inferred from this fact. Criticising this view, the Mīmāṃsakas point out that the cognition of the efficacy of the action is itself a cognition that requires verification, and therefore this way of establishing validity does not eliminate the infinite regress. On the Buddhist and Nyāya conceptions of extrinsic validity, see, for example, Arnold 2005: 97–103 and Chakrabarti 1984.

[43] *… tac ca svataḥpramāṇam apauruṣeyavedavākyajanitatvena sakaladoṣāśaṅkāvinirmuktatvena yuktaṁ bhavati … /*

The term *svataḥ-pramāṇa* ('being *pramāṇa* from itself') appears in this passage. In classical Sāṃkhya texts, it is the only use of a term with *svatas* or *paratas* related to the problem of validity of cognition. The term *svataḥ-pramāṇa* describes cognition produced by sentences of the Vedas. Vācaspati Miśra presents here one of the main Mīmāṃsā arguments for the unquestionable validity of testimonial cognition caused by sentences of the Vedas: since the Vedas have no author (whose words may be untrue), their sentences can never be defective, and therefore they cannot cause invalid cognition (see *Ślokavārttika* II, 62–70, 95–101, 169–170, 184–186; Kataoka 2002).

In my opinion, the TK adheres to the view that validity is intrinsic and invalidity is extrinsic – in relation to both their origination and ascertainment. As to the origination of validity, it follows from this passage that cognition from the Vedas sentences is valid due to the lack of defects in its cause, not due to some extraneous factor. As to the origination of invalidity, the passage suggests that it can be caused by some defect (*doṣa*), which means that it is extrinsic. As to the ascertainment of validity, Vācaspati says that there can be no doubt in testimonial cognition caused by sentences of the Vedas, which means that such cognition is manifested as valid and that it will forever be manifested as valid.[44] As to the ascertainment of invalidity, the passage implies that in the case of the cognition caused by sentences of the Vedas, the initial ascertainment of validity will never be overturned by discovering a defect in its cause, that is, by an extrinsic factor. Though this passage deals with testimonial cognition caused by Vedic sentences, we can say – considering the influence of the Mīmāṃsā thought on it and the Sāṃkhya view on the validity and invalidity of cognition reconstructed from its other texts – that the TK holds the view that any cognition's validity is intrinsic and its invalidity is extrinsic.

3. Postclassical Sāṃkhya of the *Sāṃkhyasūtra*s and *Sāṃkhyasūtravṛtti*

After Vācaspati Miśra's TK, Sāṃkhya entered a long period of stagnation, from which no text of this *darśana* remained. That period ended with the appearance of two forms of postclassical Sāṃkhya: postclassical Sāṃkhya of the *Tattvasamāsa* and its commentary *Kramadīpikā*; postclassical Sāṃkhya of the SS and their commentary SSV composed by Aniruddha. The *Tattvasamāsa* and *Kramadīpikā* present no evidence on the issue of validity and invalidity. The next – and very important – evidence is contained in the SS and SSV,

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[44] Thus, I do not agree with Kumar's opinion (Kumar 1984: 187) that of the two aspects of the issue of validity, origination of validity and its ascertainment, the TK touches upon the aspect of its origination only.

whose aim was to revive Sāṃkhya after a long period of stagnation in its development.

The SS devote one of its *sūtras* (V, 51) to the issue of validity and invalidity, and I quote this *sūtra* together with Aniruddha's commentary on it:

> The validity (*prāmāṇya*) is intrinsic (*svatas*) – because of the manifestation of the inner power (*nija-śakti*).

> From the point of view of origination (*utpatti*), the validity (*prāmāṇya*) rests merely in the set of factors (*sāmagrī*) generating cognition (*jñāna*) – as the inner power (*nija-śakti*), but it does not require [any] additional (*adhika*) good quality (*guṇa*). From the point of view of the cognising (*jñāna*) [of validity], too, the power of revealing validity (*prāmāṇya-bodha-śakti*) to the subjects of cognition (*jñāna-grāhaka*)[45] is inherent [in the factors generating cognition]. 'The validity (*prāmāṇya*) is intrinsic (*svatas*) – because of the manifestation' of this, [that is, of 'the inner power' (*nija-śakti*)], as well as because of the immediate [human] activity [that follows a cognition]. Even when we use [another] *pramāṇa* (*pramāṇa-anusaraṇa*) to explore the validity [of a cognition][46] – in order to remove the doubt, [we do this] for removing the defect (*doṣa*) in the cause (*kāraṇa*), not for [establishing] an [additional] good quality (*guṇa*) [of the cause]. Hence, invalidity is extrinsic (*paratas*) – because in that case the defect, too, is the cause.[47]

SS V, 51 declare that the validity (*prāmāṇya*) is intrinsic (*svatas*). The *sūtra* is situated after a discussion on the authorship of the Vedas, in which the SS defend the position that the Vedas have no author (V, 46–47, 49–50). This gave Vijñāna Bhikṣu grounds to interpret this *sūtra* as stating the intrinsic validity of cognition caused by sentences of the Vedas (see his *Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya* V, 51). However, *sūtra* V, 51 is followed by a discussion on the nature of perceptual error (V, 52–56), which gives grounds to interpret it in the general epistemological context, that is, as stating the intrinsic validity of every cognition. Aniruddha understands that this *sūtra* states the intrinsic validity

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45 *Jñāna-grāhaka*, translated by me as 'subject of cognition', can be translated also as '[cognition] grasping the cognition'. See Chatterjea 2003: 41–63.

46 This part of the sentence can also be translated as: 'Even when we follow the *pramāṇa* to explore [its] validity ….'

47 *nijaśaktyabhivyakteḥ svataḥ prāmāṇyam //*
nijaśaktijñānajanakasāmagrīmātrādhīnaṃ prāmāṇyaṃ na tv adhikaṃ guṇam apekṣate utpattipakṣe / jñānapakṣe 'py autsargikī jñānagrāhakāṇāṃ prāmāṇyabodhaśaktiḥ / tadabhivyakteḥ svataḥ prāmāṇyaṃ jhaṭiti pravṛtteś ca / yatrāpi śaṅkānivṛttaye prāmāṇyajijñāsārthaṃ pramāṇānusaraṇaṃ tatrāpi kāraṇadoṣotsāraṇāya na guṇāya / ata evāprāmāṇyaṃ parataḥ tatra doṣasyāpi kāraṇatvād iti //

of cognition in general. Even if the intention of the author of the SS was to claim the intrinsic validity of cognition caused by sentences of the Vedas, we can accept that he acknowledged intrinsic validity of every cognition. We can accept this on the basis of the view of classical Sāṃkhya, whose teaching was defended by the author of the SS, as well as on the basis of the fact that usually the view on the validity of a certain type of cognition acknowledged by an Indian *darśana* did not differ from its view on validity of other types of cognition.

The *sūtra* states that the validity is intrinsic 'because of the manifestation of the inner power' (*nija-śakty-abhivyakteḥ*).[48] The *sūtra* means that the validity is the inner power (*śakti*) located in the factors producing cognition, and generating cognition is the process of manifesting this inner power; this *śakti* becomes manifest when we achieve the cognitive result (as the property of this result). The quoted *sūtra* can be interpreted in terms of both origination and ascertainment of validity. From the point of view of the origination of validity, the *sūtra* can be interpreted as saying that the set of factors producing cognition has an inner power of producing it as a valid cognitive result and that no external factor (called *guṇa*, 'good quality', in the discussions on validity and Aniruddha's commentary) is needed to make this result valid. From the point of view of the ascertainment of validity, the *sūtra* can be interpreted as saying that the set of factors producing cognition has an inner power of revealing its validity.

It is very probable that the *sūtra* encompasses both aforementioned aspects of validity, namely, its origination and ascertainment; and Aniruddha understands it in this way. The author of the SS could well compose this *sūtra* with the double meaning – to convey maximum sense in minimum words. The intention to express both aspects of validity by the same combination of words can also be explained by the certain unity of these two aspects of validity. On this unity, I cite Taber: 'But then, since the capacity to determine its object entails an awareness of its truth, every cognition must involve an awareness of its own truth' (Taber 1992: 211). The inner power/capacity (*śakti*) of the factors generating cognition to produce valid cognition is also the power to bring forth the ascertainment of validity of the cognitive result.

It is clear that the *śakti* mentioned in the quoted *sūtra* and its commentary is not the *śakti* of the Sāṃkhyas, understood as the state of the latent (potential) existence of an entity in its material cause.[49] This *śakti* is the *śakti* of the Mīmāṃsakas. I opt to translate the term *śakti* characteristic of the Sāṃkhyas

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[48] Cf. *Ślokavārttika* II, 47–48.

[49] On the Sāṃkhya notion of *śakti*, see Ratié 2014: 136, note 38; 144, note 66.

as 'potency' and the term *śakti* characteristic of the Mīmāṃsakas as 'power', 'capacity', 'faculty', 'function', or 'functionality'. To illustrate the notion of *śakti* of the Mīmāṃsakas: fire has the capacity (*śakti*) of burning, and the set of causes of cognition (*jñāna*) has the *śakti* of producing a valid cognitive result.[50] The Naiyāyikas rejected the Mīmāṃsakas' notion of *śakti*, holding that cognition is produced by its set of causes, and there is no reason to accept the *śakti* located in the set of causes – see, for example, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī*, Chapter 1 (Varadacharya 1969: 108–114).

As I mentioned above, Aniruddha interprets this *sūtra* as encompassing two aspects of validity, that is, its origination and ascertainment. He states directly that the validity is intrinsic in terms of both origination and ascertainment and explains both these aspects. I described these aspects above while interpreting the *sūtra*. As to the second aspect, that is, ascertainment of validity, Aniruddha, alongside substantiating it being intrinsic by the intrinsic character of every *śakti* (*Ślokavārttika* II, 47–48 presents this argument), which is the argument implied by the *sūtra*, gives one more argument. He substantiates it being intrinsic by the immediate human activity that follows a cognition. This argument, too, is the Mīmāṃsakas' (see Arnold 2005: 88; 246, note 83).

While the *sūtra* speaks only of the validity, Aniruddha also presents the view on invalidity. He says that the invalidity is extrinsic (*paratas*). Kumar rightly observes that Aniruddha's direct claim that invalidity is extrinsic pertains to the origination of invalidity and that invalidity being extrinsic in terms of the ascertainment is implied by his commentary (Kumar 1984: 187–188). As to the origination of invalidity, it arises on account of a defect (*doṣa*) in the causes (*kāraṇa*) of cognition. Aniruddha says that in the case of an invalid cognition, the defect, too, is the cause, that is, some extraneous cause added to the set of causes of normal cognition. As to the ascertainment of invalidity, the SSV suggests that, normally, cognition presents itself as valid (brings certitude of its validity, not doubt), and its validity should not be tested unless there is evidence of a defect (*doṣa*) in its causes; the detection of a defect in the causes of cognition removes this intrinsic certitude and becomes the factor causing invalidity. Thus, the invalidity is extrinsic as to its ascertainment, for it is ascertained due to the awareness of a defect in the causes of cognition, which is something extraneous to its normal causes. The awareness of a defect in the causes of cognition is one of the two extraneous causes of the ascertainment of invalidity accepted by the Mīmāṃsakas. The second extraneous cause of the ascertainment of invalidity acknowledged by the Mīmāṃsakas is the cognition overturning the initial cognition.

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[50] On *śakti* in Mīmāṃsā, see Taber 1992: 210–211 and Kataoka 2002: 1026–1025 (11–12).

The position presented in the SS and SSV, though it involves the Mīmāṃsā notion of *śakti* and Mīmāṃsā arguments, is Sāṃkhyan, which means that it agrees with the view of classical Sāṃkhya texts. The author of the SS and Aniruddha aimed to revive and defended the system of thought of classical Sāṃkhya. Though they used the ideas of another *darśana*, the view on validity and invalidity they formulated was Sāṃkhyan. As to the Aniruddha's commentary, it was the first Sāṃkhya text that directly stated the Sāṃkhya position on both validity and invalidity of cognition and that used all main terms characteristic of discussions on this issue (*prāmāṇya*, *aprāmāṇya*, *svatas*, *paratas*, *doṣa*, *guṇa*).

4. Conclusion

Having reconstructed the Sāṃkhya view on the validity and invalidity of cognition on the basis of classical and postclassical Sāṃkhya texts, namely, all extant Sāṃkhya texts from Īśvarakṛṣṇa's SK (ca. 350–450) to Aniruddha's SSV (ca. 15th c.), I conclude that this view differs from the view attributed to Sāṃkhya by external sources and many researchers. External evidence, such as Sucarita Miśra's *Kāśikā*, Mādhava's *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, and *Mānameyodaya*, ascribes to Sāṃkhya the view that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic. My analysis shows that according to Sāṃkhya, validity is intrinsic but invalidity is extrinsic. This conclusion pertains to both aspects of validity and invalidity – origination and ascertainment.

The tendency towards intrinsic validity and extrinsic invalidity in the aspect of their origination can be traced already in the SK. Īśvarakṛṣṇa lists, in *kārikā* 7, the causes of non-perception – that is, the defects in the causes of perceptual cognition that make valid perceptual cognition impossible. These defects are extraneous to the normal conditions of perceptual cognition. This tendency is supported by all classical Sāṃkhya commentaries on *kārikā* 7. It is especially conspicuous in the JM, which classifies these defects and applies to them the term *doṣa* ('defect', 'bad quality'), used by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and other philosophers in their discussions on validity and invalidity.

The YD provides important evidence, though the commentary does not use terminology characteristic of the discussions on this issue (that is, such terms as *prāmāṇya*, *aprāmāṇya*, *svatas*, *paratas*, *doṣa*, *guṇa*). According to the YD's commentary on the fourth and sixth *kārikā*s, validity is intrinsic and invalidity is extrinsic, both in their origination and ascertainment. Vācaspati Miśra's TK (the last classical Sāṃkhya text) – which describes, in its commentary on the sixth *kārikā*, testimonial cognition caused by sentences of the Vedas as *svataḥ-pramāṇa* ('being *pramāṇa* from itself') – too, adheres to the view that

validity is intrinsic and invalidity is extrinsic both in their origination and in their ascertainment.

The postclassical SS state that validity (*prāmāṇya*) is intrinsic (*svatas*) (V, 51). This statement probably encompasses both origination and ascertainment of validity. Aniruddha's SSV, the earliest and most important commentary on the SS, argues that validity is intrinsic and invalidity is extrinsic. Aniruddha's position on validity and invalidity pertains to both their origination and ascertainment. He uses all main terms characteristic of the discussions on this problem (*prāmāṇya*, *aprāmāṇya*, *svatas*, *paratas*, *doṣa*, *guṇa*).

Considering the Sāṃkhya view reconstructed from classical and postclassical Sāṃkhya texts, it is hardly possible to agree with Kumar's opinion (KUMAR 1984: 194):

> We have no conclusive evidence to reject or to support either of the above views put forward by Kumārilabhaṭṭa and Mādhavācārya on the one hand, and by Aniruddha on the other, as really held by the Sāṃkhyas. Hence we arrive at two possibilities: (1) the early Sāṃkhyas held the theory of intrinsicality of validity and invalidity of knowledge and it was revised later on at the hands of Aniruddha and (2) Kumārilabhaṭṭa and others on the one hand and Aniruddha on the other might have recorded the theory from different sources which are not available to us.

My analysis of Sāṃkhya texts shows that *there is* convincing evidence to reject that the view that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic, attributed to the Sāṃkhyas, is Sāṃkhyan, and to accept that the view that validity is intrinsic and invalidity is extrinsic, defended by Aniruddha in the SSV, is held by the Sāṃkhyas. For the time being, no Sāṃkhya text that supports the opinion that Sāṃkhyas acknowledged intrinsic invalidity is discovered (though we cannot rule out the possibility that such text will be discovered in the future). Available Sāṃkhya sources contradict this opinion.

I am inclined to agree with Kataoka, who says that the view that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic, presented and criticised by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and attributed by his later followers to the Sāṃkhyas, probably arose as part of the hypothetical classification and was not the view of any real Kumārila's opponents. I cite Kataoka's comment (KATAOKA 2011, Part 2: 233, note 169) on the view that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic presented in the *Ślokavārttika*:

> Kumārila's classification is quite mechanical and looks highly hypothetical. It is unlikely that Kumārila has a particular opponent in mind, although it is true that the pattern of thinking in this view accords well with that of the Sāṃkhya.

In my opinion, it is very probable that the view that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic was attributed to the Sāṃkhyas because of the association of this view, presented by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, with Sāṃkhya's *satkāryavāda*. It is obvious that a conception of validity and invalidity cannot be based on the *satkāryavāda* because the factors producing cognition cannot be reduced to the material cause. However, such association was not completely ungrounded because Sāṃkhya tried to reduce all types of causes to the material cause (see SK 15–16, 27, 57 with the commentaries), though it could not consequently reject all other types of causality. In any case, it clearly follows from Sāṃkhya texts that Sāṃkhya did not accept intrinsic invalidity. Intrinsic invalidity seems to be incompatible or difficult to agree with intrinsic validity. The view that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic probably arose as part of the classification of the views presented by Kumārila, described by Kataoka as 'quite mechanical' and 'highly hypothetical'. It should not be believed that the view that both validity and invalidity are intrinsic, attributed to the Sāṃkhyas, had real adherents among them – as long as Sāṃkhya texts or passages from them that confirm this attribution are not discovered.

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The Thirty-Two Marks of a Great Man in Two Metrical Lists in the *Mahāvastu*

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Abstract: The paper presents an edition, translation, and analysis of two metrical lists of the major marks of a Great Man (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*), which occur in the *Mahāvastu*. The lists consist of one-word designations pertaining to particular features. The edition is based on the oldest manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*, the so-called Ms. Sa, which offers better readings than those proposed by Émile Senart in his *editio princeps* of the text from 1882–1897.

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Two abridged lists of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man – *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa* – occur in the *Mahāvastu* (Mv[KM] II 40.9f. and Ms. Sa 64rf.), written in the Śloka metre, in the form of keywords or one-word designations referring to particular features. Most of these keywords can be traced in their regular full forms later in the text (Mv[KM] II 375.6ff.), as well as in numerous Buddhist Sanskrit and Pāli texts, e.g., *Lalitavistara* (LV), *Aṣṭadaśaprajñāpāramitā* (AdsP), *Bodhisatvabhūmi* (Bbh), *Arthaviniścaya* (AVin), *Gaṇḍavyūha* (Gv), *Saṅghabhedavastu* (SBV), *Mahāvadānasūtra* (MAV), *Dīghanikāya* (DN) and *Majjhimanikāya*[1] (MN).

The lists are enclosed in three stanzas – two regular four-*pāda* verses and one consisting of six *pāda*s. Each line contains five one-word designations of the major marks of a Great Man, except for the last line, which contains keywords referring to two characteristics, giving the total of thirty-two

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[1] In the Pāli canon, the list of the marks of a Great Man occurs in two places in the *Dīghanikāya* (*Lakkhaṇasuttanta* and *Mahāpadānasuttanta*) and once in the *Majjhimanikāya* (*Brahmāyusuttanta*).

*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*s. The list is arranged in the order beginning with the feet and ending with the top of the head. Some of the terms are corrupted and their meaning remains vague.

The below edition is based on manuscript Sa[2] (abbr. Ms. Sa) – the oldest preserved manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*, dating back to the 12th/13th centuries on paleographical ground. The readings in Ms. Sa differ considerably from those adopted in the *editio princeps* of the *Mahāvastu* (abbr. Sen.), prepared in 1882–1897 by the French scholar Émile Senart based on six late Nepalese manuscripts of the text, of which the oldest was dated from 1800 CE. In most cases Ms. Sa provides demonstrably better readings than those in Senart's edition. In other places, however, the text is corrupted and needs to be amended to obtain the correct sense.

The paper therefore presents a new edition of the lists, followed by a translation and an analysis of the keywords and the marks of a Great Man to which they refer. The transliteration of the text preserved in Ms. Sa together with the readings in Senart's *editio princeps* are given in the footnotes.

List 1. The edition based on Ms. Sa 64r2ff. (Sen. I 226.16ff.):

samā mṛdū ca dīrghā ca āyatā ca ussaṃkhapañcamā |
eṇi bṛhac ca tiṣṭhaṃto kośa nyagrodho te daśa ||[3, 4]

'Even' and 'soft' and 'long' and 'broad', 'arches' [forming] the fifth [mark];
'antelope' and 'straight', 'standing', 'sheath', 'banyan tree' – these are the ten [marks].[5]

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[2]   The manuscript consists of 427 folios, six lines per folio. The original is lost; the microfilms are available at the National Archives of Nepal in Kathmandu and in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Ms. Sa was written in an old-Nepalese script called Bhujimol and represents the so-called Nepalese hooked style. The Ms. was filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in 1978. For more information on this manuscript see Marciniak 2014, 2016, Tournier 2017. For the facsimile edition of Ms. Sa see Yuyama 2001.

[3]   Ms. Sa 64r2: *samā mṛdū ca dīrghā ca āyatā ca uśśaṃkhapañcamā vaṇi bṛhac ca tiṣṭhaṃto kośa nyagrodho te daśa*; Sen. I 226.16ff.: *samā heṣṭā ca dīrghā ca āyatā ca ucchaṃga paṃcamā* | *eṇi bṛhac ca tiṣṭhanto kośa nyagrodha te daśa* ||.

[4]   *Pāda b* is hypermetrical by two syllables, there seems to be no obvious way of correcting it. In *pāda d* the metre requires *nyagrodhă*. *Pāda*s *a* and *c* are in a regular *Śloka Pathyā*.

[5]   Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's. Cf. the translation by Jones 1949–1956: I 180f. 'He has feet with level thread. He has designs of wheels on the soles of his feet. He has long toes and fingers. He has broad and projecting heels. He has sharply arched feet. His legs are like the antelope's. His body is divinely straight. He can touch his knees with his hands when standing erect. His male organ is enclosed in a sheath. His body is proportioned like the banyan tree'.

mṛdū jāli ca pratipūrṇā ekā⁶ ūrdhvāgrapañcamā⁷ |
ślakṣṇacchavi citāntaro ca utsadā ca te daśa ||⁸, ⁹

'Soft' and 'having a net', 'full', 'one', 'upright tips' [forming] the fifth [mark];
'smooth skin' and 'filled-in interval' and 'prominences' – these are the ten [marks].¹⁰

rasaṃ suvarṇa sīho ca samā śuklā ca pañcamā |
samā prabhūtā Brahmā ca nīlā gopakṣma te daśa |
ūrṇā uṣṇīṣaśīrṣaṃ ca nāthe dvātriṃśallakṣaṇā vā¹¹ ||¹², ¹³

'Taste', 'golden' and 'lion', 'even', and 'white' [being] the fifth [mark];
'even', 'long' and 'Brahmā', 'dark blue', 'cow's eyelashes' – these are the ten [marks];
'tuft of hair' and 'head with a protuberance' – [these are] the thirty-two marks on [the body of] a saviour.¹⁴

List 2. A very similar list occurs also in Mv(KM) II 40–41 (Ms. Sa 123r3, Sen. II 29.19–30.6). The differences, underlined below, concern the words relating to five characteristics:

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⁶ Ms. Sa has *rekā*, which seems to be a mere scribal error: *e* was miswritten as *re*, the two *akṣara*s are similar and can be confused.

⁷ The reading in Ms. Sa is not clear, the first *akṣara* is indecipherable:...*tvāgrapañcamā*.

⁸ Ms. Sa 64r2: *mṛdū jāli ca pratipūrṇṇā rekā..tvāgrapañcamā ślakṣṇacchavi viśāntaro ca utsadā ca te daśa*; Sen. I 226.18f.: *mṛdu jālā ca pratipūrṇā ekā ūrdhvāgra paṃcamā | ślakṣṇacchavi haṃsāntarā ca utsadā ca te daśa ||*.

⁹ *Pāda a* is hypermetrical by one syllable, but it becomes *sa-Vipulā* if we omit *ca*.

¹⁰ Cf. Jones 1949–1956: I 180f. 'His hands and feet are soft and tender. His hands and feet are net-like. His body is perfectly formed. The down on his body grows in single hairs, one to each pore. The down on his body grows straight upwards. He has a smooth skin. He has a [?] skin. He has the gait of a swan. There is no hollow between his shoulder blades. His body has the seven convex surfaces.'

¹¹ The word *vā* (= *eva*) is metrically redundant, it does not occur in the parallel verse in Mv(KM) II 41.4.

¹² Ms. Sa 64r3: *rasaṃ suvarṇṇa sīho ca samā | śuklā ca pañcamā samā prabhūbṛhatā ca nīlā gopakṣma to daśa | ūrṇṇā uṣṇīṣaśīrṣaṃ ca nāthe dvātriṃśallakṣaṇā vā*; Sen. I 227.1ff.: *rasaṃ suvarṇa sīho ca samā śuklā ca paṃcamā | samā prabhūtā brahmā ca nīlā gopakṣma te daśa | ūrṇā uṣṇīṣa śīrṣaṃ ca nātho dvātriṃśalakṣaṇo ||*.

¹³ *Pāda f* does not scan. We could improve it by reading *dvātriṃśalakṣaṇā*.

¹⁴ Cf. Jones 1949–1956: I 181 'He has an exquisite sense of taste. His skin is the colour of gold. He has the bust of a lion. He has regular teeth. His teeth are perfectly white. His bust is consistently rounded. His tongue is long and slender. His voice is like that of Brahmā. His eyes are blue. His eyelashes are like cow's. Between his eyebrows he has a hairy mole. His head is shaped like a royal turban. Such is the saviour with the thirty-two marks of excellence.'

samā heṣṭhā ca dīrghā ca āyatā ussaṃkhapañcamā |
eṇi bṛhac ca tiṣṭhato[15] *kośa nyagrodha te daśa ||*[16]

'Even' and 'underneath' and 'long', 'broad', 'arches' [forming] the fifth [mark];
'antelope' and 'straight', 'standing', 'sheath', 'banyan tree' – these are the ten [marks].

mṛdu jālī ca pratipūrṇā ekā ūrddhaṃgapañcamā[17] *|*
ślakṣṇā citā c(') antarāṃsa(?)[18] *utsada-n-addha*[19] *te daśa ||*[20, 21]

'Soft' and 'having a net', 'full', 'one', 'erect' [forming] the fifth [mark];
'smooth' and 'filled-in', 'shoulder', 'prominences', 'half' – these are the ten [marks].

rasa suvarṇa sīho ca samā śuklā[22] *ca pañcamā |*
samā prabhūta Brahmā ca nīlā gopakṣma te daśa |
ūrṇā uṣṇīṣaśīrṣo ca nāthe dvātriṃśalakṣaṇe[23] *||*[24]

'Taste', 'golden' and 'lion', 'even', and 'white' [being] the fifth [mark];
'even', 'long' and 'Brahmā', 'dark blue', 'cow's eyelashes' – these are the ten [marks];
'tuft of hair' and 'head with a protuberance' – [these are] the thirty-two marks on [the body of] a saviour.

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[15] Ms. Sa *bṛha va tiṣṭhato*. If correct, here *tiṣṭhato* is nom. sg. masc. *-to* (cf. BHSG § 18.33). The metre, however, is in favour of *tiṣṭhaṃto* (*Śloka Pathyā* – the seventh syllable should be long).

[16] Ms. Sa 123r3: *samā heṣṭhā ca dīrghā ca āyatā usaṃkhapañcamā | eṇi bṛha va tiṣṭhato kośa nyagrodha te daśa |*; Sen. II 29.19–30.1: *samā heṣṭā ca dīrghā ca āyatā utsaṃgapaṃcamā | eṇi bṛhatpratiṣṭhito kośa nyagrodha te daśa ||*.

[17] *Ūrddhaṃga* is semi-Middle Indic; cf. BHSD s.vv. *ūrdhvāgra*, *ūrd(d)ha*.

[18] The readings in Ms. Sa are corrupted. The proposed readings are based on those in the parallel verse in Ms. Sa 64r2. However, the conjecture is not certain. In the Mv(KM) II 41, I read *ca-h-aṃsa*, which is also doubtful. See the discussion below, no. 17.

[19] So reads Ms. Sa. However, it is more likely that the original reading was *utsada c(') addha*, but then *c-* was miswritten as *n-* (the *akṣaras ca* and *na* can be confused).

[20] Ms. Sa 123r3: *mṛdu jālī ca pratipūnnā ekā ūrdhvaṃgapañcamā* (or *ūrddhaṃgaᵒ*, *ddha* and *dhva* cannot be differentiated here) *| ślakṣṇāṃ citā ca haṃsadakonaddha te daśa*; Sen. II 30.2ff.: *mṛdujālā ca pratipūrṇā ekā ūrdhvāgrapaṃcamāḥ | ślakṣṇacchavi haṃsāntarā ca utsadā ca te daśa ||*.

[21] *Pāda a* is hypermetrical, but it becomes regular if we omit *ca* or assume resolution of the first syllable; *pāda c* is submetrical by one syllable.

[22] Ms. Sa reads *śukrā*, which is a wrong back-formation of *sukkā*.

[23] Here *ᵒlakṣaṇe* is nom. pl. *-e* (BHSG § 8.80).

[24] Ms. Sa 123r3: *rama suvarṇṇa sīho va samā śukrā ca pañcamā | samā prabhūta brahmā ca nīlā gopakṣma to daśa | ūrṇṇo uṣṇīṣaṣṭiddho ca nātho dvātriṃśalakṣaṇe*; Sen. II 30.4ff.: *rasaṃ suvarṇasīho ca samā śuklā ca paṃcamā | samā prabhūtā brahmā ca nīlagopakṣa te daśa | ūrṇā uṣṇīṣaśīrṣaṃ ca nātho dvātriṃśalakṣaṇo ||*.

In the first verse, list 2 has *heṣṭhā* 'underneath'[25], while list 1 reads *mṛdū* 'soft, delicate'. Undoubtedly *heṣṭhā* (= *cakrā heṣṭhā pādatale* 'wheels on the soles of the feet') fits into the list better than *mṛdu* (= *mṛdupāṇipāda* 'soft hands and feet'), as *mṛdu* already occurs in *pāda a* in the next verse. Perhaps *mṛdū* in list 1 could refer to *mṛdugātra* 'delicate body', which, however, is one of the minor characteristics (*anuvyañjana*)[26] and therefore does not fit into the list of the major marks. Moreover, it would be out of place in the toe-to-head enumeration. The correct reading is undoubtedly *heṣṭhā* in list 2, as this *lakṣaṇa* occurs second also in other texts (e.g., SBV, MAV, AdsP, Bbh).

In the second verse, *pāda*s *c* and *d* in list 1 read *ślakṣṇacchavi citāntaro ca utsadā ca te daśa*, which cannot be correct, as it contains designations referring to only three characteristics instead of the expected five: *ślakṣṇacchavi* 'delicate skin', *citāntaro* (= *citāntarāṃsa*) 'filled-in interval (between the shoulders)' and *utsada* (= *saptotsada*) '(seven) prominences'. The corresponding line in list 2 has five words but they seem to refer to only four features: *ślakṣṇā* (= *ślakṣṇacchavi*) 'delicate (skin)', *citā* and *aṃsa* (= *citāntarāṃsa*) 'filled-in (interval between) the shoulders', *utsada* (= *saptotsada*) '(seven) prominences' and *addha* (Middle Indic for *ardha*) (= *siṃhapūrvārdhakāya*) 'the (upper) half (of the body like that of a lion)', unless *aṃsa* expresses another characteristic (see below no. 17 for the discussion on this keyword).

The one-word designations and their meanings are as follows[27]:

1. *Samā = samā caraṇā* 'even feet'. The list in Mv(KM) II 375.6f. reads *samā jālāvanaddhā caraṇā teṣāṃ pracāriṇāṃ supratiṣṭhitā lakṣārāsaprasekavarṇā* 'These wanderers have even feet covered (*avanaddha*) with a web, well-placed, having the colour of the lac essence'. Cf. LV 106.3–4 *supratiṣṭhitasamapādau* 'Well-placed, even feet'; AVin 285.3 *supratiṣṭhitapāda* 'Having well-placed feet' (AVin[tr.] 206.3); SBV I 50.1f. *supratiṣṭhitapādo devakumāraḥ; apīdānīṃ supratiṣṭhitatvāt pādayoḥ samam ākramate mahīṃ* 'The boy has well-placed feet. And because of the well-placedness of his feet, he evenly steps upon the earth'; MAV 78.3f. *(supratiṣṭhitap)ādo (de)va kumāra i(daṃ mahāpuruṣasya mahāpuruṣa-lak)ṣ(a)ṇam* 'The boy has well-placed feet; this is the characteristic of a Great Man'; Gv 399.20 *supratiṣṭhitapādaḥ tejodhipatirājakumāro 'bhūt samaṃ mahāpṛthivyāṃ pādatalāv utkṣipati samaṃ nikṣipati* (…) *samaṃ mahāpṛthivīṃ saṃsparśati* 'The prince Tejodhipati had well-placed feet. He

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25   See BHSD s.vv. *heṣṭā, heṣṭhā*.

26   Cf. for example the list of the minor marks in Mv(KM) II 59.4f.: *mṛdugātrā ca visadagātrā ca adīnagātrā ca*.

27   Cf. also the list of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man in Zʏsᴋ 2015: 195–205.

evenly draws his feet up from the earth, evenly places [them on the earth], evenly touches the earth'; AdsP 49.22 *supratiṣṭhitapādaḥ sa bhagavāṃ. tatra-idaṃ supratiṣṭhitapādatā. sarvavadbhyāṃ pādatalābhyāṃ samaṃ pṛthivīṃ spṛśati* 'The Lord's feet are well-placed, i.e. he places the entire soles of his feet evenly on the ground' (CONZE 1975: 583); Bbh II 375.9f. *supratiṣṭhitapādo mahāpuruṣaḥ samam ākramati mahīm* 'A Great Man has well-placed feet, he steps on the earth evenly'.

Cf. also the description in DN III 146.8ff.: *suppatiṭṭhitapādo hoti, samaṃ pādaṃ bhūmiyaṃ nikkhipati, samaṃ uddharati, samaṃ sabbāvantehi pādatalehi bhūmiṃ phusati* 'Feet with level tread, evenly placing his foot upon earth, evenly drawing it up, evenly touching the earth with the entire surface of the foot' (DN[tr.] III 139.28ff.)[28].[29]

2. *Heṣṭhā = cakrā heṣṭhā pādatale* 'wheels on the soles of the feet'. The list in Mv(KM) II 375.8f. reads *sahasrārā sanemikā cakrā heṣṭhā pādatale jātā svastikair upaśobhitāḥ* 'Beneath, on the soles of the feet appeared thousand-spoked wheels [provided] with rims, adorned with *svastika*s'.

Cf. AVin 386.4 *adhastāt pādatalayoś cakrāṅkitapādatalatā* 'The soles of the feet marked with a wheel' (AVin[tr.] 206.6). In several texts *sanemika* 'with a rim' and *sanābhika* 'with a hub' are added, e.g., Bbh II 375.11ff., SBV I 50.3f., AdsP 49.25ff. *adhastāt pādatalayoś cakre jāte sahasrāre sanābhike sanemike sarvākāraparipūrṇe* 'He has, stamped on the soles of his feet, lines depicting a wheel, i.e. on his both feet there grow wheels, with a thousand spokes, with rims and naves, complete in every respect' (CONZE 1975: 584); MAV 78.5f. *adhas tasya pādayoś cakre jāte sahasrāre sanābhike sa(ne)mike sarvākāra(pa)r(i)pūrṇe* 'On the bottom of his feet appeared wheels with a thousand spokes, with rims and hubs, accomplished with all forms'; LV 106.2f. *cakre jāte citre arciṣmatī prabhāsvare site sahasrāre sanemike sanābhike* 'Beautiful wheels,

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[28] Comm. *yathā aññesaṃ bhūmiyaṃ pādaṃ ṭhapentānaṃ aggatalaṃ vā paṇhi vā passaṃ vā paṭhamaṃ phusati, vemajjhe vā pana chiddaṃ hoti, ukkhipantānaṃ pi aggatal'ādisu ekakoṭṭhāso va paṭhamaṃ uṭṭhahati, na evam assa. assa pana ekappahāren' eva sakalaṃ pādatalaṃ bhūmiṃ phusati, ekappahāren' eva bhūmito uṭṭhahati. tasmā ayaṃ supatiṭṭhitapādo* (Sv II 445.15ff.) 'The other [people], when they place the foot on the earth, either the front [of the foot], the heel, or the side [of the foot] touches [the ground] first, while under the middle [part of the foot] there is a hollow (i.e., the middle part of the foot does not touch the ground). And when they draw [the foot] up, one part goes up first, either the front [of the foot] or the others. But it is not so when it comes to him (i.e., a Great Man). His entire sole of the foot touches the earth at once, [and the entire sole of the foot] rises from the earth at once. This is why he has well-placed feet'.

[29] Cf. also DN(tr.) II 14, fn. 2 'Literally, "well-planted feet". The traditional meaning is, that the whole undersurface touched the ground at once. The Great Man was flat-footed, and did not toe or heel the ground in walking'.

brilliant, clear [and] bright, with a thousand spokes, with rims and hubs';
Gv 399.22ff. *pādatalayoś câsya cakrāṇi jātāni sahasrārāṇi sanābhīni
sanemikāni sarvākāraparipūrṇāni surucirāṇi darśanīyāni* 'On the soles
of the feet appeared wheels with a thousand spokes, with rims and hubs,
accomplished with all attributes, lovely [and] delightful'; DN III 143.9ff.
*pādatalesu cakkāni jātāni honti sahassārāni sanemikāni sanābhikāni
sabbākāraparipūrāni suvibhattantarāni* 'Moreover beneath, on the soles
of his feet, wheels appear thousand-spoked, with tyre and hub, in every
way complete and well divided' (DN[tr.] III 137.31–38.1). Cf. also ALLON
2001: 144 *bhayavadu padeṣu cakra sahasahara s(*aṇemia saṇabhia)
savarovaghada aceata prabh(*a)śp(*a)ra* 'On the feet of the Lord there
were thousand-spoked wheels, with rims and hubs, complete[30], bright and
clear' (see also the discussion in ALLON 2001: 145ff. and DIETZ 2006: 157).

3. *Dīrghā = dīrghāṅguli* 'long fingers and toes'. The list in Mv(KM) II 375.14
reads *dīrghāṃgulī tāmranakhā* (…) *caraṇā lokanāthānāṃ* 'The saviours of
the world have feet with long toes, with copper-coloured toenails[31]'.

Cf. Bbh II 375.13, SBV I 50.5f. *dīrghāṅgulir mahāpuruṣaḥ* 'A Great Man
has long toes and fingers'; MAV 78.7f. *(dīrghā)ṅgulir deva kumāra idaṃ
mahāpuruṣasya mahāpuru(ṣa)-lakṣ(a)ṇam* 'The boy has long fingers and
toes; this is the characteristic of a Great Man'; AVin 288.2 *dīrghāṅgulikatā*
'The fingers long' (AVin[tr.] 206.12); AdsP 49.29f. *dīrgha-aṅgulīkaḥ sa
bhagavān. dīrgha-m-asya aṅgulayo hastapāde yathā na anyeṣām* 'His toes
and fingers are long, i.e. they are longer than those of others' (CONZE 1975:
584); Gv 400.2 *dīrghā asyâṅgulayo 'bhūvan vṛttāḥ samāyatasaṃdhayaḥ*
'His toes and fingers were long, rounded, with extended joints'; DN III
143.17 *mahāpuriso dīgh'aṅgulī hoti* 'A Great Man has long toes and
fingers'[32].

4. *Āyatā = āyatapārṣṇi* 'broad/projecting heels'. This characteristic does not
occur in the list in Mv(KM) II 375.6ff.

Cf. SBV I 50.6, Bbh II 375.13f. *āyatapādapārṣṇir* 'Having broad heels';
MAV 78.8f. *āyatapādapārṣṇir deva (kumāra idaṃ mahāpuruṣasya*

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[30] Literally 'with all its form made', Gāndhārī *savarovaghada*, Sanskrit *sarvarūpakṛta*. See
ALLON 2001: 147.

[31] 'Copper-coloured toenails' is one of the secondary marks of a Great Man, e.g., LV 106.12,
AdsP 52.16f.

[32] Comm. *yathā aññesaṃ kāci aṅguliyo dīghā honti, kāci rassā, na evaṃ Mahāpurisassa.
Mahāpurisassa pana makaṭṭass' eva dīghā hatthapādaṅguliyo mūle thūla anupubbena gantvā
agge tanukā* (Sv II 446.12ff.) 'Among other [people], some fingers and toes are long, some are
short, but it is not so when it comes to a Great Man. The fingers and toes of a Great Man are
long like those of a monkey, thick at the bottom and then gradually [become] thin at the top'.

mahāpuru)ṣalak(ṣa)ṇaṃ 'The boy has broad heels; this is the characteristic of a Great Man'; LV 105.22 *āyatapārṣṇipādaḥ* 'Having feet with broad heels'; AdsP 49.32f. *āyatanapārṣṇi sa bhagavān. āyate asya pārṣṇī atirekeṇa yathā na anyeṣāṃ* 'He has broad heels, i.e. his heels are broader than those of others' (Conze 1975: 584); Gv 400.1 *āyatapādapārṣṇitâsyâbhinirvṛttâbhūtapariśuddhāprabhāsvarāsarvaratnavarṇāvabhāsapramuktā* 'He had broad/projecting heels, pure, shiny, releasing the light [having] the colours of all gems'; DN III 143.15 *āyatapaṇhī* 'He has projecting[33] heels' (DN[tr.] III 138.3)[34]. In AVin 287.6 this mark and the next one are listed together as one characteristic *āyatapārṣṇyutsaṃgapādatā* 'The heels of the feet large and the ankles prominent' (AVin[tr.] 206.6).

5. *Ussaṃkha* = *ussaṃkhapāda* 'feet with high/conspicuous arches'. Cf. Mv(KM) II 375.12f. *ussaṃkhapādā te nāthā* 'The saviours have feet with high arches'.

   In Buddhist Sanskrit texts several spellings are attested: *ucchaṅkha-*, *ucchaṅga-*, *utsaṅga-* and *ussaṅkha-*, however, the original form, etymology and meaning remain obscure. Cf. SBV I 50.11 *ucchaṅkhacāro*, LV 106.1 *utsaṅgapādaḥ*, Bbh II 375.15 *utsaṃgacaraṇaḥ*, Gv 399.24 *ucchaṅkhapādatā*; MAV 80.1f. *(ucchaṅga)caraṇo deva kumāra idaṃ mah(ā)pu(ruṣas)y(a) mahāpu(ruṣalakṣaṇaṃ)* 'The boy has feet with high arches; this is the characteristic of a Great Man'; AdsP 49.33f. *ucchaṅkhapāda sa bhagavān. uccair asya jātau gulphau bhavataḥ* 'His feet have inconspicuous anklebones, i.e. his two anklebones grow high up' (Conze 1975: 584). Cf. also BHSD s.v. *ucchaṅkha* 'According to Pali DN comm. ii.446.28ff. it means that the soles of the feet can be seen as they walk, because "the ankles are fixed high"; if from *utsaṅga*, having feet characterized by a "lap" (an up-curve under the foot, making the sole visible?)'.

   Cf. Pāli *ussaṅkha* 'Having feet with high arches' (DP s.v. *ussaṅkha*) and 'Whose feet have conspicuous arches; the variety of spellings and interpretations in the ct.s and other traditions indicates that the true meaning was lost at an early date' (CPD s.v. *do.*). DN III 143.20 reads *ussaṅkhapādo* 'His ankles are like rounded shells'[35] (DN[tr.] III 138.7)[36].

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[33] See CPD, DP s.v. *āyata* 'º-paṇhi(n)*, having projecting heels'.

[34] Comm.: *āyatapaṇhī ti dīghapaṇhī, paripuṇṇapaṇhī ti attho* (Sv II 446.5) '"Having extended heels" means "having long heels, full heels"'. Cf. also DN(tr.) II 14, fn. 3 'If the foot of a Great Man be measured in four parts, two are taken up by the sole and toes, one is under the leg, and one is the heel projecting rearward.'

[35] Cf. DN(tr.) II 14, fn. 6 'Ensuring the maximum of flexibility. Cy. This is desirable in sitting cross-legged.'

[36] Comm. *uddhaṃ patiṭṭhitagopphakattā ussaṅkhā pādā assā ti ussaṅkhapādo* (Sv II 446.28f.) '"Having feet with arches" means because the ankles are fixed high, his feet are with arches'.

6. *Eṇi* = *eṇījaṃghā* 'shanks like [those of] the black antelope'. Cf. Mv(KM) II 376.2 *eṇījaṃghā ca te āsi śirigarbhopasannibhā* 'They had shanks like the black antelope's, resembling the *śirigarbha* gem (i.e., of reddish colour)'.

Cf. SBV I 50.11 *eṇījaṅghaḥ*; MAV 80.2f. *(aiṇeyajaṅgho) deva kumāra i(daṃ mahāpuruṣasya mahāpuruṣalakṣa)ṇaṃ* 'The boy has shanks like the black antelope's; this is the characteristic of a Great Man'; Bbh II 375.15, AVin 291.2 *eṇeyajaṃghaḥ*; LV 105.22 *eṇeyamṛgarājajaṅghaḥ* 'Having shanks like [those of] the black antelope, the king of deer'; AdsP 49.34ff. *aiṇeyajaṃghaḥ sa bhagavān. anupūrvasamudgate asya jaṃghe tadyathâpi nāma aiṇeyasya mṛgarājasya* 'His shanks are like those of the black antelope, i.e. because his shanks are gradually tapering away, like those of the black antelope, king of deer' (Conze 1975: 584); Gv 400.6ff. *eṇeyajaṅghatā câsya abhinirvṛttâbhūt. tasya jaṅghe anupūrvasamudgate abhūtāṃ racite vṛtte sujāte eṇeyasyêva mṛgarajñaḥ. nainaṃ kaścit samartho 'nujavitum anuprāptuṃ vā, na ca vrajan klamam āpadyate sma* 'He has attained the state of having shanks like [those of] the black antelope. His shanks were gradually tapering,[37] – [well-]set, round, well-grown, like those of the black antelope, the king of deer. No one was able to run after or reach him; as he walked, he did not [ever] become tired'; DN III 143.21 *eṇijaṅgho* 'His legs are like an antelope's' (DN[tr.] III 138.8)[38].

7. *Bṛhac* = *bṛhadṛjugātra* 'strong and straight body'. The list in Mv(KM) II 377.1 reads *Brahma-(')jjugātrā te nāthā* 'The saviours have straight bodies like [that of] Brahmā', which agrees with the Pāli *brahm'ujju-gatta* (e.g., DN III 144.6[39], cf. the translation in DN[tr.] III 138.21 'He has a frame divinely straight').

Cf. SBV I 51.2, Bbh II 376.1 *bṛhadṛjugātraḥ*; MAV 82.8f. *bṛhadṛjugātro deva kumāra idaṃ mahāpuruṣasya mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇam* 'The boy has a strong and straight body; this is the characteristic of a Great Man'; Gv 400.23 *bṛhadṛjugātramahāpuruṣalakṣaṇapratilabdhaḥ sa khalu punar abhavat* (…) *praśamagātro gurugātraḥ prasannagātraḥ prahlādagātraḥ* 'He has attained the characteristic of a Great Man [in the form of] a strong

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[37] Cf. CPD s.v. *anupubba* 'regular, gradual (increasing or decreasing)'; BHSD s.v. *anupūrva* 'tapering'.

[38] Comm. *eṇimigasadisajaṅgho maṃs' ussadena paripuṇṇajaṅgho* (Sv II 447.4f.) 'Shank like [that of] an antelope; shank full of protuberance of flesh'. Cf. also DN(tr.) II 14, fn. 6 'With protuberant well-modelled joints, like an ear of rice or barley, Cy'; MN(tr.) II 321, fn. 4 'With flesh all around, not in a lump at the side, i.e. straight-limbed.'

[39] Comm. *Brahmā viya ujjugatto* (Sv II 447.32) 'The body straight like Brahmā's'. Cf. MN(tr.) II 321, fn. 7 'A straight tall body, like Brahmā's. Most creatures bend at their shoulders, hips and knees; but the Tathāgata, rising up tall, is like a high golden gateway in a city of the *devas*'; DN(tr.) II 15, fn. 1 'He will not stoop, nor lean backward, as if catching at the stars, nor have a crooked spine, but tower up symmetrically like a golden tower-gate in a city of the gods, Cy.'

and straight body, (…) tranquil body, great body, pure body, joyful body';
AdsP 50.1ff. *prabhūtaṛjusujātagātraḥ sa bhagavān. akubjam abhagnaṃ
sujātaṃ sarvākārai sapta-aratnyucchrāyeṇa anurūpavistaram asya
gātraṃ bhavati* 'His bodily frame is well-grown, tall and straight, i.e. it is
not crooked, not bent, well-grown in all ways; its height is seven cubits,
and everything is proportioned accordingly' (Conze 1975: 584). This
characteristic does not occur in the lists in LV and AVin.

8. *Tiṣṭhato = tiṣṭhaṃto anavanamanto pāṇīhi jānukāṃ spṛśe* 'Standing, without
bending, he is able to touch his knees with his hands', which agrees with the
reading in Mv(KM) II 376.5 *anonamanto kāyena pāṇīhi jānukāṃ spṛśe.*

    Cf. AdsP 50.4ff. *ājānubāhu sa bhagavān. sthito 'navanaman yadā
ākāṅkṣati tadā dvābhyāṃ pāṇitalābhyām ubhe jānumaṇḍale parāmṛśati
saṃparāmārṣṭi* 'His arms reach to his knees, i.e. when he stands up,
he can, without bending down, whenever he wants, touch and stroke
his kneecaps with the two palms of his hands' (Conze 1975: 584);
SBV I 50.11 *anavanamanena kāyena ubhau jānumaṇḍalāv āmārṣṭi
parāmārṣṭi* 'Without bending the body he touches and strokes both
kneecaps'; MAV 80.3ff. *anavanatakāyo deva kumā(raḥ anavanat)e(na
kāyenobhau jānumaṇḍalāv āmārjati parimā)rjati idaṃ ma(hāpuruṣasya
mahāpuruṣalakṣa)ṇaṃ* 'The boy has an unbent body; without bending the
body he touches and strokes both kneecaps. This is the characteristic of
a Great Man'; Bbh II 375.15 *anavanatakāyaḥ* 'Unbent body'; LV 105.19
sthito 'navanatapralambabāhuḥ, AVin 294.4 *anavanatapralambabāhutā*
'Long arms when standing erect' (AVin[tr.] 207.7); Gv 400.21ff. *pralam
babāhutāmahāpuruṣalakṣaṇapratilabdhaḥ* (the edition reads incorrectly
°*lakṣaṇaḥ prati*°) *sa khalu punar abhavat. so 'navanamanenôbhābhyāṃ
pāṇibhyāṃ jānumaṇḍale parimārjati parāmṛśati samabhāgasthitena
śarīreṇa* 'He possesses a mark of a Great Man in the form of arms hanging
down [to the knees]. Without bending down, with his body straight, he
touches and strokes his kneecaps with his hands'; DN III 143.22f. *ṭhitako
va anonamanto ubhohi pāṇitalehi jannukāni parimasati parimajjati*
'Standing and without bending, he can touch and rub his knees with either
hand' (DN[tr.] III 138.9f.)[40].

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[40] Comm. *avasesā hi janā khujjā vā honti vāmanā vā. khujjānaṃ uparimakāyo aparipuṇṇo
hoti, vāmanānaṃ heṭṭhimakāyo. ye aparipuṇṇakāyattā na sakkonti anonamantā jaṇṇukāni
parimajjituṃ. Mahāpuriso pana paripuṇṇa-ubhayakāyattā sakkoti* (Sv II 447.8ff.) 'The other
people are either humpbacked or dwarfish. The upper body of the humpbacked is not full, the
lower body of the dwarfish [is not full]. They, because of the incompleteness of their bodies,
are not able to touch their knees without bending dhah. But when it comes to a Great Man,
because of the completeness of both halves of his body, he is able [to touch his knees without
bending down]'.

9. *Kośa* = *kośavastiguhya* 'male organ concealed in a sheath'. The list in Mv(KM) II 376.7 reads *kośavastiguhyameḍhraṃ hayarājasya yādṛśaṃ* 'His male organ is concealed in a sheath like that of the king of horses'.

The other texts have *kośagatavastiguhya* (Bbh, AVin), *kośopagatavastiguhya* (LV), *kośāhitavastiguhya* (AdsP) and *kośogatavastiguhya* (SBV, MAV), e.g., AdsP 50.6 *kośāhitavastiguhya sa bhagavān. tadyathā abhijātasya hastyājāneyasya aśvājāneyasya vā* 'His male organ is hidden in a sheath, i.e. as in the case of a noble thoroughbred elephant or horse' (Conze 1975: 584); Gv 400.11ff. *kośagatavastiguhyatā câsya mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇam abhinirvṛttam abhūt suguptam asya kośavastiguhyam abhūn nimagnaṃ saṃchāditam, tadyathā hastyājāneyasya vā aśvājāneyasya vā* 'He had a mark of a Great Man [in the form of] the male organ hidden in a sheath. His male organ was well hidden, concealed in a sheath, sunk and covered, just like that of a thoroughbred elephant or horse'; SBV I 50.14ff. *kośogatavastiguhyo deva kumāraḥ; kośogatavastiguhyaṃ tadyathā abhijātasya hastyājāneyasya vā aśvājāneyasya vā* 'The boy has his male organ concealed in a sheath; the male organ is concealed in a sheath just like that of a thoroughbred elephant or horse'; MAV 80.6ff. *kośagatavastiguhyo de(va k)umāraḥ; k(ośagatam asya va)stiguhy(aṃ) tadyathābhijā tasya hastyā(jāneyasya) vā(ś)v(as)yā(j)ā(n)e(yasya vā idaṃ) mahāpuruṣasya ma(hā)puruṣalakṣaṇa(m)* 'The boy has his male organ concealed in a sheath; his male organ is hidden in a sheath, just like [that of] a thoroughbred elephant or horse. This is the characteristic of a Great Man.' In DN III 143.24 the reading is *kosohitavatthaguyho* 'His male organs are concealed in a sheath' (DN[tr.] III 138.11)[41]. Cf. also Dietz 2006: 154 *kośohitavastra-[gu]hyo*[42]

10. *Nyagrodha* = *nyagrodhaparimaṇḍala* '[well-]proportioned body like the *nyagrodha*-tree', which agrees with the readings in Mv(KM) II 376.10, LV 105.20 and Bbh II 375.16.

Cf. AdsP 50.28ff. *nyagrodhaparimaṇḍala sa bhagavān. yāvad asya ārohas tāvat pariṇāha yāvat pariṇāhas tāvad āroha* 'The circumference of his body is like that of the fig-tree, i.e. as great as he is in height, so great is he in width, as great as he is in width, so great is he in height' (Conze 1975: 584); AVin 305.1 *nyagrodhaparimaṇḍalasamantaprāsādikatā* 'A body of

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[41] Comm. *usabhavāraṇ'ādīnaṃ viya suvaṇṇapadumakaṇṇikāsadisaṃ kos'ohitaṃ paṭicchannaṃ vatthaguyhaṃ assā ti kos' ohitavatthaguyho* (Sv II 447.13ff.) 'Male organ hidden, covered, concealed in a sheath, resembling a golden pericarp of a lotus, like [the organ] of bulls, elephants etc.'

[42] Middle Indic *ohita* from Sanskrit *apahita* 'concealed, hidden' or *avahita* 'placed'; see von Hinüber 2001: § 139.

well-proportioned symmetry, like the banyan-tree' (AVin[tr.] 209.1); SBV
I 50.16f. *nyagrodhaparimaṇḍalo. yāvān kāyena tāvān vyāmena, yāvān
vyāmena tāvān kāyena* 'The body has proportions like the *nyagrodha*-tree.
As [great] is [the length of] his body, so [great] is the compass of his arms;
as [great] is the compass of his arms, so [great] is [the length of] his body';
MAV 80.9f. *(n)yagrodhaparimaṇḍalo deva (kumā)ro yāvat kāye(na) tāvad
vyāmena yāvad vyāmena tāvat kāyena* 'The boy has body proportions like
the *nyagrodha*-tree; as is [the length of] his body, so is the compass of his
arms; as is the compass of his arms, so is [the length of] his body'; Gv
402.14ff. *nyagrodhaparimaṇḍalatāmahāpuruṣalakṣaṇapratilabdhaḥ sa
khalu punaḥ tejo'dhipatī rājakumāro 'bhūt samantabhadraparimaṇḍalaḥ
samantabhadraḥ samantaprāsādikaḥ* 'The prince Tejodhipati has attained
the mark of a Great Man [in the form of] body proportions like those of
a *nyagrodha*-tree, the proportions perfect on all sides, entirely perfect,
entirely beautiful'; DN III 144.10ff. *nigrodhaparimaṇḍalo hoti, yāvatakv
assa kāyo tāvatakv assa vyāmo, yāvatakv assa vyāmo tāvatakv assa kāyo*
'His proportions have the symmetry of the banyan-tree; the length of his
body is equal to the compass of his arms, and the compass of his arms is
equal to his height' (DN[tr.] III 138.25ff.).

11. *Mṛdu* = *mṛdupāṇipāda* 'soft hands and feet'. Cf. the lists in Mv(KM) II
59.6f. *buddhā bhagavanto tūlamṛdupāṇayaś* 'The buddhas have hands soft
like cotton' and in Mv(KM) III 332.14 *jālamṛduhastapādo* 'He has soft,
webbed hands and feet'.

Cf. Bbh II 375.14 *mṛdutaruṇapāṇipādaḥ*; LV 106.1, AVin 289.6
mṛdutaruṇahastapādaḥ; SBV I 50.6f., MAV 78.9f. *mṛdukam asya
pāṇipādaṃ tadyathā tūlapicur vā karpāsapicur vā* 'His hands and feet are
soft like cotton or cotton-wool'; AdsP 49.27f. *mṛdutaruṇahastapādatalaḥ
sa bhagavān. mṛdv asya hastapādaṃ yathā na anyeṣāṃ* 'The soles of his
feet and the palms of his hands are tender and soft, i.e. his hands and feet
are softer than those of others' (CONZE 1975: 584); Gv 400.3ff. *mṛdūni
câsya hastapādatalāny abhūvan kācilindikātirekasukhasaṃsparśāni. sa
tair yān spṛśati striyaṃ vā puruṣaṃ vā dārakaṃ vā dārikāṃ vā, sarve te
prītimanaso 'bhūvan paramasukhasaumanasyasamarpitāḥ* 'His hands
and feet were soft, felt [like] a very soft cloth. When he touched women
or men, boys or girls with them, they all became joyful, filled with the
utmost happiness'; DN III 143.18 *mudutaluṇahatthapādo* 'Soft and tender
in hands and feet' (DN[tr.] III 138.5).

12. *Jālī* = *jālapāṇipāda* 'webbed hands and feet'. The list in Mv(KM) II 375.6
reads *jālāvanaddhā caraṇā* 'Feet covered (*avanaddha*) with web'. Cf. also
Mv(KM) III 332.14 *jālamṛduhastapādo* 'He has soft hands and feet with

a net', which is a conflation of two characteristics: *mṛdupāṇipāda* 'soft hands and feet' and *jālapānipāda* 'webbed hands and feet'.

Cf. Bbh II 375.14 *jālinīpāṇipādo*; SBV I 50.8f. *jālinīpāṇipādo deva kumāraḥ*; *jāliny asya hastayoś ca pādayoś ca, tadyathā abhijātasya haṃsarājasya* 'The boy has hands and feet with a net; his hands and feet are with a net, just like those of a noble king of geese'; MAV 78.12f. *(jālin)īpāṇipādo deva kumāra jālinī asya pā(ṇipād)eṣu t(a)dy(a)thābhijātasya haṃsarājñaḥ* 'The boy has hands and feet with a net; there are nets on his hands and feet just like [those on the feet] of a noble king of geese'; AVin 288.5 *jālahastapādatā*; LV 106.1 *jālāṅgulihastapādaḥ* 'Fingers and toes with a net'; AdsP 49.30f. *jālahastapāda sa bhagavān. haṃsarājasyaiva asya sajālaṃ hastapādaṃ* 'His hands and feet are joined by webs, i.e. as with the royal goose' (Conze 1975: 584); Gv 399.25f. *ubhe câsya hastapādatale jālinī abhūtāṃ vicitrasuvibhaktacchidraparisrāviṇī* (the edition reads °*chidrāpari*°, see BHSD s.v. *parisrāvin*) *tadyathā Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya haṃsarājasya* 'Both palms of his hands and the soles of his feet have a net, [which is like] a filter with manifold, well-divided holes, just like those of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the king of geese'; DN III 143.19 *jālahatthapādo* 'With hands and feet like a net' (DN[tr.] III 138.6)[43], but cf. MN(tr.) II 321.4f. 'The revered Gotama has (the fingers and toes) of his hands and feet evenly spaced'[44].

13. *Pratipūrṇā.* It is not entirely clear to which characteristic this word refers. Perhaps we could read *pratipūrṇaskandha* 'full, filled-in shoulders', which would convey the meaning similar to 'rounded shoulders' – a feature which occurs also in a few other texts, e.g., Mv(KM) II 376.16 *saṃvṛttaskandhâbhūc caiṣāṃ riṣabhasya <va> yādṛśī* 'They had round shoulders like those of a bull'; SBV I 51.2, MAV 82.9, Bbh II 376.1, LV 105.18 *susaṃvṛttaskandha* 'Well-rounded shoulders'; AVin 293.5 *samavṛttaskandhatā* 'The shoulders evenly rounded' (AVin[tr.] 207.4); AdsP 50.25f. *saṃvṛttaskandha sa*

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43 According to the commentary in Sv II 446.21ff., there is no webbing between the fingers and the toes: *na cammena parinaddha-aṅgul' antaro, ediso hi phaṇahatthako purisadosena upagato pabbajaṃ na labhati. Mahāpurissa pana catasso hatth' aṅguliyo pañcapād' aṅguliyo ekappamāṇā honti* 'The space between fingers and toes is not covered with skin. Such a one, whose hands are [webbed] like a snake's hood, is not able to go forth. The four fingers and five toes of a Great Man are of an equal measure'. Cf. also DN(tr.) II 14, fn. 5 'There is no webbing between fingers and toes, but that these are set in right lines, like the meshes of a net'.

44 MN(tr.) II 321, fn. 2 'The four fingers of the Tathāgata's hands and the five toes of his feet are of an equal measure – spaced as evenly apart (with no swellings) as is the "netting" or network, jāla, of a particular kind of latticed window when made by a skilled carpenter. A person whose fingers are webbed (i.e., grown together) like a snake's hood is not even fit to go forth. So how could a "webbed finger" be a mark of a Great Man? "With hands and feet like a net" explains nothing.'

Bhagavān. tatreyaṃ saṃvṛttaskandhatā. pīnāc asya sarvataḥ upacitau skandhau bhavataḥ 'His shoulders are gently curved, i.e. because they are muscular his shoulders are everywhere amply developed' (Conze 1975: 584); DN III 144.13 *samavattakkhandho* 'His bust is equally rounded' (DN[tr.] III 138.29)[45].

Alternatively, we could understand it as 'full (i.e., wide) chest', which would roughly correspond to LV 105.21 *suvivartitoru* 'well-rounded chest', or as *pratipūrṇagātra* 'complete/perfect (i.e., not lacking anything) body', which would agree with the feature of a Great Man which occurs in Gv 400.19 in the form *anūnagātra* 'not deficient body'.

The word *paripūrṇa* occurs also in four of the minor characteristics of a Great Man: *paripūrṇavyañjana* 'sex organs complete' (e.g., LV 106.17, AdsP 52.28), *paripūrṇottamāṅga* 'full/perfect head' (e.g., LV 107.11, AdsP 53.20), *(su)paripūrṇendriya* 'complete organs of sense' (e.g., LV 107.10) and *paripūrṇamukhamaṇḍala* 'full face' (e.g., AdsP 53.1f.). However, these marks are always listed as secondary, moreover, they would be out of place in the scheme of the toe-to-head enumeration.

14. *Ekā* = *ekaikaroma* 'one hair [in each pore of the skin]'. The list in Mv(KM) II 376.14 reads *ekaikaromā te āsi* 'They had one hair [in each pore]'.

Cf. Bbh II 375.17, LV 105.20 *ekaikaromaḥ*; AVin 301.3 *ekaikaromakūpatā* 'A hair in each pore of the skin' (AVin[tr.] 208.16); Gv 402.7f. *ekaikaromā ca sa kumāro 'bhūd ekaikaromasyaikaikasmin romakūpe roma jātam abhūn nīlavaiḍūryavarṇapradakṣiṇāvartakuṇḍalajātaṃ* 'The prince had one hair in each pore of the skin, dark blue, the colour of cat's-eye gem, turned to the right, curling in rings'; SBV I 50.19, MAV 80.13f. *ekaikaṃ asya roma kāye jātaṃ nīlaṃ, kuṇḍalajātakaṃ, pradakṣiṇāvartaṃ* 'In each pore of his body grows one dark blue hair, curling to the right'; AdsP 50.8ff. *ekaikalomā sa bhagavān. sarvaromakūpeṣv ekaikaṃ lomaṃ jātaṃ mṛdu kuṇḍalakajātaṃ. pradakṣiṇāvartaṃ* 'The hairs on his body stand separately, i.e. in each hairpore there grows only one single hair, which is soft, curls in rings and turns to the right' (Conze 1975: 584); DN III 144.1f. *ekekalomo hoti, ekekāni lomāni lomakūpesu jātāni* 'The down on

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45 Comm. *yathā eke koñcā viya bakā viya varāhā viya ca honti, dīghagalā vaṅkagalā puthulagalā vā honti, kathanakāle sirājālaṃ paññāyati mandassaro nikkhamati, na evaṃ Mahāpurisassa. Mahāpurisassa puna suvaṭṭitasuvaṇṇ'āliṅgasadiso khandho hoti, kathanakāle sirājālaṃ na paññāyati, meghassa viya gajjato saro mahā hoti* (Sv II 449.19ff.) 'As some [people], just like cranes, herons, boars, have long necks, crooked necks, broad necks, while they speak, the network of veins is visible [and] their voice is soft, it is not so when it comes to a Great Man. The shoulder of a Great Man is well-rounded, like a drum, and while he speaks, the network of veins is not visible [and] his voice is powerful like the roar of a thunder-cloud'.

it grows in single hairs one to each pore'[46] (DN[tr.] III 138.16f.). Note that in contrast to SBV, MAV and AdsP, the lists in the Mv, AVin, Bbh, LV and DN have only *ekaikaroma* here, while *nīla* and *pradakṣiṇāvarta* are listed together with the next characteristic.

15. *Ūrddhaṃga* = *ūrddhaṃgaroma* 'hair going upwards'. The list in Mv(KM) II 376.14f. has *ūrdhvāgraromarāji nīlapradakṣiṇāvartā* 'The hair [growing] in rows, with upright tips, dark blue, curling to the right'.

Cf. SBV I 50.19, MAV 80.12, Bbh II 375.17 *ūrdhvāṅgaromo*; Gv 402.9f. *ūrdhvāṅgaromā ca sa kumāro 'bhūd asaṃsṛṣṭaromā* 'The boy had upward growing hairs, not entangled hairs'; AVin 303.1 *ūrdhvāgrapradakṣiṇāvartaromatā* 'Hair that is raised and curls to the right' (AVin[tr.] 208.16); AdsP 50.10 *ūrdhvāṃgalomā sa Bhagavān. tatreyaṃ ūrdhvāṃgalomatā. ūrdhvamukhāni asya keśalomāni jātāni. nīlāni mṛdūni kuṇḍalakajātāni pradakṣiṇāvartāni* 'The hairs on his body point upwards, i.e. the hairs on his head and body grow in such a way that they are turned upwards. They are blue–black, soft, curl in rings, and turn to the right' (Conze 1975: 584). In LV there are two separate characteristics pertaining to the hair of a Great Man: LV 105.13 *bhinnāñjanamayūraka lāpābhinīlavallitapradakṣiṇāvartakeśaḥ* 'Dark blue hair, like the neck of a peacock or the black collyrium, curling to the right' and LV 105.21 *ūrdhāgrābhipradakṣiṇāvartaromāḥ* 'Hair with upright tips, curling to the right'. Cf. DN III 144.3ff. *uddhaggalomo hoti, uddhaggāni lomāni jātāni nīlāni añjanavaṇṇāni kuṇḍalavattāni padakkhiṇāvattakajātāni* 'The down on his body turns upward, every hair of it, blue black in colour like eye-paint, in little curling rings, curling to the right' (DN[tr.] III 138.17ff.). Cf. also Dietz 2006: 157 *urdvāṃgulomo*.

Note the variant readings *ūrdhvāgra* (Mv[KM] II 376.14, LV), *ūrdhvāṅga* (SBV, MAV, Bbh, AdsP), and *ūrdhvaṃga* (Mv[KM] II 40.11) in Buddhist Sanskrit texts – they are all merely different back-formations of Middle Indic *uddhagga*.[47]

16. *Ślakṣṇā* = *ślakṣṇacchavi* 'smooth skin', which agrees with the reading in Mv(KM) II 376.13 *ślakṣṇacchavī ca te nāthā* 'The saviours have smooth skin'.

Cf. Bbh II 375.19f. *ślakṣṇatvāt tvaco rajo malo 'sya kāye nâvatiṣṭhate* 'His skin is so smooth that dust and dirt do not remain on his body'; Gv

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[46] Cf. MN(tr.) II 321.15f. 'The revered Gotama has hairs that are separate. The separate hairs grow (one) to each pore.'

[47] For *ūrdhvāgra* (*ūrdhva* + *agra*) 'upright tips' and *ūrdhvaṃga* (*ūrdhvaṃ* + *ga*) 'going upwards' see also BHSD s.v. *ūrdhvāgra*.

402.3ff. *sūkṣmacchaviś ca sa kumāro 'bhūt. nâsya kāye rajo vā malo vā kledo vā jālaṃ vā valī vā śaithilyaṃ vā bhaṅgo vā prasaraṇaṃ vā visaraṇaṃ vā asamaṃ vā asthiṣata* 'The prince had smooth skin. Dust, dirt, dampness, wrinkles, laxness, breakage, stretching, loosening or unevenness did not remain on his body'; SBV I 50.23 *sūkṣmacchaviḥ, apîdānīṃ sūkṣmatvāc cchave rajomalam asya kāye na santiṣṭhate* 'Smooth skin; because of the smoothness of the skin, dust and dirt do not remain on his body'; MAV 81.17f. *(sūkṣmacchavi)r de(va) kumāraḥ sūkṣmatvāt tvaco rajojalaṃ kāye na saṃtiṣṭhate* 'The boy has smooth skin; because of the smoothness of the skin, dust and dirt do not remain on the body'; AdsP 50.12f. *ślakṣṇasūkṣmacchaviḥ sa bhagavān. na asya jalaṃ vā rajo vā kāye śliṣyati* 'His skin is smooth and delicate, i.e. water and dust do not cleave to his body' (Conze 1975: 584); AVin 300.2 *ślakṣṇacchavitā* 'Smooth skin' (AVin[tr.] 208.11); DN III 143.27f. *sukhumacchavī hoti sukhumattā chaviyā rajojallaṃ kāye na upalippati* 'His skin is so delicately smooth that no dust cleaves to his body' (DN[tr.] III 138.14f.). LV 105.19 reads *sūkṣmasuvarṇavarṇachaviḥ* 'smooth and golden skin' as one characteristic[48], which in the other texts is divided into two separate ones: *sūkṣmacchaviḥ* and *suvarṇavarṇacchaviḥ*.

17. and **18.** This is the most problematic part in both lists. We expect two characteristics here, so that the total number in the line would be five. In the second list the Ms. has *citā ca haṃsa* or *citā ca-h-aṃsa*, while Senart reads *haṃsāntarā* (Jones 1949–1956: II 26 'He has the gait of a swan'); however, such a feature does not seem to be attested elsewhere as a major mark of a Great Man.[49] The word *citā* undoubtedly stands for *citāntarāṃsa* 'the space between the shoulders is filled-in'. In both lists there seems to be only one characteristic here, i.e., *citāntarāṃsa*, which is expressed with the keywords *cita* and *aṃsa* in the first list, and with *cita* and *antara* in the second one.

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[48]　In MN II 136.18f. the golden colour of the skin is mentioned twice: as a separate feature as well as a part of another characteristic: *suvaṇṇavanno kho pana so bhavaṃ Gotamo* and *kañcanasannibhattaco sukhumacchavī kho pana so bhavaṃ Gotamo*.

[49]　The word *haṃsa* occurs in some texts as a part of the *lakṣaṇa* 'webbed hands and feet', e.g., AdsP 49.30f. *jālahastapāda sa bhagavān. haṃsarājasyaiva asya sajālaṃ hastapādaṃ* 'His hands and feet are joined by webs, i.e. as with the royal goose' Conze 1975: 584 and Gv 399.25f. *ubhe câsya hastapādatale jālinī* (…) *tadyathā Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya haṃsarājasya* 'His both palms of the hands and soles of the feet have a net, just like those of the king of geese Dhṛtarāṣṭra'. However, in the *Mahāvastu* and other texts this characteristic occurs earlier in the list, moreover, it would be out of place in the toe-to-head enumeration. The word *haṃsa* occurs also in one of the secondary marks of a Great Man: *haṃsavikrāntagāmin* 'one who walks with the stride of a goose'.

Another possibility could be that *aṃsa* in both lists refers to another characteristic concerning the shoulders, e.g., *susaṃvṛttāṃsa* 'well-rounded shoulders', which would correspond to *susaṃvṛttaskandha*, one of the major marks in AdsP, AVin, Bbh, Gv, LV and SBV, or to *phalikhopamāṃsabāhā* 'arms and shoulders resembling bars', which occurs in the list in Mv(KM) II 377.2. If so, then we would be able to obtain two keywords referring to two different characteristics: *aṃsa* = *susaṃvṛttāṃsa* and *antara* = *citāntarāṃsa*. However, such interpretation seems rather forced.

Cf. SBV I 51.1, MAV 82.6, Bbh II 376.1, LV 105.18 *citāntarāṃso* 'Having the interval between the shoulders filled-in'; Gv 400.17ff. *citāntarāṃsaḥ khalu punar abhavat sūpacitaśarīraḥ suvibhaktasamucchrayaḥ* 'The space between his shoulders was filled-in; he had a well-furnished body, a well-proportioned bodily frame'; AdsP 50.27f. *citāntarāṃsas sa bhagavān. uro vistāropacayāc cito 'sya bhavanty antarāṃsaḥ* 'The interval between his shoulders is well filled, i.e. his chest is wide and well elevated' (Conze 1975: 584); DN III 144.9 *citantaraṃso* 'There is no furrow between his shoulders' (DN[tr.] III 138.24)[50].

19. *Utsada* = *saptotsada* 'seven prominences'. The list in Mv(KM) II 377.1 reads *ime utsadā* 'They had prominences [on their bodies]' and *utsadaiś caiṣāṃ kāyam atīva śobhitaṃ* 'Their body is greatly embellished with prominences'.

Cf. LV 105.8 *saptotsadā* 'Seven prominences'; AVin 290.4 *saptotsada-śarīratā* 'Seven convex surfaces on the body' (AVin[tr.] 206.21); SBV I 50.25f., MAV 82.3ff., Bbh II 375.20f. *saptotsadakāyaḥ. saptâsyôtsadāḥ kāye jātāḥ dvau hastayor dvau pādayor dvāv aṃsayor eko grīvāyām* 'The body with seven prominences. Seven prominences appeared on his body: two on the hands, two on the feet, two on the shoulders, one on [the back of] the neck'; Gv 400.8 *saptotsadaḥ khalu punaḥ tejo'dhipatirājakumāro 'bhūt tasya dvayoḥ pādayor dhvāv utsadau jātāv abhūtāṃ vṛttau sujātau suparipūrṇāv adṛśyasaṃdhīsuracitau darśanīyau dvau hastayor dvāv aṃsakūṭayoḥ pṛṣṭhato grīvāyām ekaḥ* 'The prince Tejodhipati had seven prominences; on both feet appeared two prominences, rounded, well-formed, well filled-in, with well-arranged, invisible joints, beautiful, two [prominences] on the hands, two on the shoulders [and] one on the back of the neck'; AdsP 50.16ff. *saptotsada sa bhagavān. adhastāt pādatalayor dvāv utsadau jātāv abhirūpau prāsādikau darśanīyāv upacitamāṃsaśoṇitena. dvayo pāṇyo dvāv utsadau jātāv abhirūpau prāsādikau darśanīyāv*

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50   Cf. DN(tr.) II 15, fn. 4 'The Cy. explains, the two sides of the back have no depression in the middle, nor look separated, but from the small of the back upwards the fleshy covering is as a level golden slab.'

upacitamāṃsaśoṇitena. dvayor aṃsakūṭayor dvāv utsadau jātāv abhirūpau prāsādikau darśanīyāv upacitamāṃsaśoṇitena. pṛṣṭato grīvāyām eka utsado jāto 'bhirūpaḥ prāsādiko darśanīya upacitatvaṅmāṃsaśoṇitena 'He has seven prominences, i.e. two below on the soles of his feet, two on his hands, two on his shoulder blades and one behind on his neck – and they are all handsome, attractive, and beautiful to behold, with ample flesh and blood' (Conze 1975: 584); DN III 144.7 *sattussado* 'He has seven convex surfaces' (DN[tr.] III 138.22)[51]. Cf. also Dietz 2006: 155 *saptutsado bh(a)v(at)i*.

20. *Addha*[52] = *sīhapūrvāddhakāya* 'The upper half of his body is like [that of] a lion'. This keyword does not occur in list 1 (note, however, that a few *lakṣaṇa*s are lacking there). Cf. the reading in Mv(KM) II 376.9 *pūrvabuddhā maharṣiṇo sīhapūrvārdhakāyā* 'The former buddhas, great seers, had the upper half of their bodies like [that of] a lion'.

   Cf. SBV I 51.1, MAV 82.7, LV 105.19, Bbh II 375.22, AVin 292.5 *siṃhapūrvārdhakāyo* 'The upper part of the body like that of the lion' (AVin[tr.] 206.30); Gv 400.15ff. *siṃhapūrvārdhakāyaḥ khalu punaḥ* (…) *rājakumāro 'bhūd upavistīrṇavṛtorasko* 'The prince had the upper part of his body like that of a lion, with an extended, round chest'; AdsP 50.23ff. *siṃhapūrvārdhakāyaḥ sa bhagavān. siṃhasya iva asya mṛgarājasya vistīrṇaḥ pūrvordhakāyo bhavati* 'The upper half of his body is like that of a lion, i.e. it is large like that of a lion, king of beasts' (Conze 1975: 584); DN III 144.8 *sīhapubbaddhakāyo* 'The front half of his body is like a lion's' (DN[tr.] III 138)[53].

21. *Rasa* = *rasarasāgra* 'the most excellent [sense of] taste', which agrees with the reading in Mv(KM) II 377.7 *te nāthā tathā rasarasāgriṇaḥ* 'The saviours have the most excellent [sense of] taste'.

   Cf. SBV I 51.4, MAV 82.16f., Bbh II 376.5 *rasarasāgraprāptaḥ* 'One who has obtained the best taste'; AVin 298.1 *rasarasāgratā* 'An exquisite sense of taste' (AVin[tr.] 207.29); LV 105.17 *rasarasāgravān* 'Possessing the best taste'; AdsP 51.1ff. *rijyo 'sya kaṇṭhe rasāhāriṇyo jātā bhavanty,*

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51 Comm. *dve hatthapiṭṭhiyo, dve pādapiṭṭhiyo dve aṃsakūṭāni khandho ti: imesu sattasu ṭhānesu paripuṇṇo maṃs' ussado assā ti satt' ussado* (Sv II 448.11ff.) 'Two tops of the hands, two tops of the feet, two shoulders and the back: on these seven places [on the body] there are fleshy protuberances – hence "having seven protuberances"'.

52 *Addha* is Middle Indic, Sanskrit *ardha*.

53 Comm. *sīhassa hi puratthimakāyo va paripuṇṇo hoti pacchimakāyo aparipuṇṇo. Mahāpurisassa pana sīhassa pubbaddhakāyo viya sabbakāyo paripuṇṇo* (Sv II 448.21ff.) 'The upper part of the lion's body is full; the lower part is not full. The entire body of a Great Man, however, is full just like the front part of the lion's body'.

jihva avakrā avivarṇās, tābhiḥ supratiṣṭhitābhiḥ sirābhiḥ kāyo 'tyarthaṃ śobhate 'He has [taste] conductors which give him the most excellent taste, i.e. the taste conductors in his throat are quite straight; those in his tongue are not twisted or bloodless; since his nerves are so well endowed, his body is supremely fit' (Conze 1975: 585). The list in Gv 400.25f. does not have this characteristic but reads *kambugrīvatā* 'The neck shaped like a shell' (i.e., having folds or lines, which is considered lucky) instead. Cf. DN III 144.14 *rasaggasaggī* 'His taste is supremely acute' (DN[tr.] III 138.30)[54].

22. *Suvarṇa = suvarṇavarṇa* 'golden complexion'. The list in Mv(KM) II 376.11 has *hāṭakaṃ yathā uttapta kāṃcanacchavi* 'Golden skin [which is] like burnished gold'.

Cf. Bbh II 375.19 *kāṃcanasaṃnibhatvak* 'Skin resembling gold'; SBV I 50.21f. *suvarṇavarṇasaṅkaśo deva kumāraḥ, vyāmaprabhaḥ kāñcanasannibhas tvak* 'The boy has a golden complexion. His radiance [extends] a fathom, his skin resembles gold'; MAV 82.16f. *suvarṇavarṇo deva kumāra(ḥ k)āñcana(saṃnibhatvacaḥ)* 'The boy has a golden complexion; his skin resembles gold'; Gv 402.5f. *suvarṇavarṇacchaviś ca kumāro 'bhūj jāmbūnadahemanirbhāsaḥ samantavyāmaprabhaḥ* 'The boy had a golden complexion, shining like the *Jāmbūnada* gold, having the radiance [extending] a fathom'; AdsP 50.14ff. *suvarṇavarṇa sa bhagavān. abhirūpa prāsādikaḥ. tayā suvarṇavarṇatayā kāṃcanapaṭṭasannikāśo 'sya kāyo 'tyarthaṃ bhrājate* '(His skin) has a golden hue, (making him) handsome and attractive, i.e. his body shines brightly just like a bar of gold' (Conze 1975: 584); AVin 301.1 *suvarṇacchavitā* 'Golden skin'; DN III 143.25f. *suvaṇṇavaṇṇo hoti kañcanasannibhattaco* 'His complexion is like bronze, the colour of gold' (DN[tr.] III 138.12f.).

23. *Sīho = sīhahanu* 'jaws like a lion's', which agrees with the reading in Mv(KM) II 377.7 *siṃhahanū ca te nāthā* 'The saviours have jaws like [those of] a lion'.

Cf. SBV I 51.3, MAV 82.15f., LV 105.1, Bbh II 376.3 *siṃhahanu*; AVin 295.6 *siṃhahanutā*; Gv 401.4f. *siṃhahanutāmahāpuruṣalakṣaṇapratilabdhaḥ sa khalu punar abhavat suniṣpīḍihanuḥ suparipūrṇamukhamaṇḍalaḥ sujātapariśuddhamukhamaṇḍalaḥ* 'He has attained the mark of a Great Man [in the form of] jaws like a lion's, jaws that produce contracted

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[54] Comm. *Mahāpurisassa kira sattarasaharaṇisahassāni uddhaggāni hutvā gīvāyam eva paṭimukkāni, tilaphalamatto pi āhāro jivh' agge ṭhapito sabbaṃ kāyaṃ anupparhati* (Sv II 449.28ff.) 'A Great Man has seven thousands taste conductors with points turned upwards, attached in the throat, [so that] food, even [as small as] the size of a sesame seed, placed on the tip of the tongue, goes through the entire body'.

speech[55]; he had a well filled-in face, a beautiful and pure face'; AdsP 50.30f. *siṃhahanus sa bhagavān. siṃhasya iva asya vṛttau hanū bhavataḥ* 'He has jaws like a lion, i.e. his jaws are well rounded, as those of the lion' (Conze 1975: 584); DN III 144.15 *sīhahanu*[56].

24. *Samā* = *samadanta* 'even teeth'. The list in Mv(KM) II 377.8 reads *catvāriṃśa suvaṭṭā dantā* 'forty well-rounded teeth[57]'. This keyword seems to include the following marks: *samadanta-* 'even teeth' as well as *aviraladanta-* 'teeth without gaps' and *catvāriṃśaddanta-* 'forty teeth', which in other texts are listed as three separate *lakṣaṇa*s, e.g., SBV I 51.3 and MAV 82.10ff. no. 21 *catvāriṃśaddantaḥ*, no. 22 *samadantaḥ* and no. 23 *aviraladantaḥ*; Gv 401.6ff. no. 19 *samacatvāriṃśadantatā*, no. 20 *aviralāviṣamādantatā* and no. 21 *samadantatā*. Cf. AdsP 50.32 no. 22 *catvāriṃśaddantaḥ sa bhagavān adhastād asya viṃśatir dantā upariṣṭād viṃśati* 'He has a total of forty teeth, i.e. twenty below and twenty above' (Conze 1975: 584), no. 23 *aviraladantaḥ* (…) *sahitā asya dantā bhavanti* 'There are no gaps between his teeth, i.e. his teeth are all close together' (Conze 1975: 584) and no. 24 *samadanta sa bhagavān. anunnata avanatā asya dantā bhavanti* 'The teeth are equal in size, because not some teeth are higher and some lower' (Conze 1975: 584); DN III 144.16f. no. 23 *cattārisadanto* 'forty teeth', no. 24 *samadanto* 'regular teeth' and no. 25 *avivaradanto* 'continuous teeth' (DN[tr.] III 138, 32–34)[58]. In other texts they are listed as two separate marks, i.e. *sama* and *catvāriṃsad* are combined, e.g., Bbh II 376.2 no. 22 *catvāriṃśatsamadantaḥ* and no. 23 *aviraladantaḥ*; LV 105.16 no. 8 *samacatvāriṃśaddantaḥ* 'having forty even teeth' and no. 9 *aviraladantaḥ* 'having teeth without gaps'; AVin 296.1ff. no. 17 *samacatvāriṃśaddantatā* 'forty even teeth' and no. 18 *samāviraladantatā* 'even teeth that are without spaces' (AVin[tr.] 207.19,

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[55] See BHSD s.v. *niṣpīdin*.

[56] Comm. *sīhasseva hanu assā ti sīhahanu. tattha sīhassa heṭṭhimahanum eva paripuṇṇaṃ hoti na uparimaṃ. Mahāpurisassa pana sīhassa heṭṭhimaṃ viya dve pi paripuṇṇāni dvādasiyā pakkhassa candasadisāni honti* (Sv II 450.1ff.) 'His jaws are like a lion's. The lion's lower jaw is full, the upper one is not [full]. When it comes to a Great Man, both [his jaws] are full like the lower jaw of the lion, resembling the moon on the twelfth day of the [bright] half [of the lunar month]'.

[57] The mark 'round(ed) teeth' is listed as one of the minor marks in Mv(KM) II 60.3 *vaṭṭitadāḍhā* and AdsP 53.15 *vṛttadaṃṣṭrā*.

[58] Comm. *aññesaṃ hi paripuṇṇadantānaṃ pi dvattiṃsa dantāyo honti, imassa pana cattāḷīsaṃ bhavissanti. aññesañ ca: keci dantā uccā keci nīcā ti, visamā honti, imassa pana* (…) *samā bhavissanti* (Sv II 450.8ff.) 'Other people, when their teeth are complete, have thirty-two teeth, while [a Great Man has] forty teeth. Some teeth of other people are high, others low, i.e., they are uneven. While [the teeth of a Great Man] are even (…)'. Cf. also DN(tr.) II 15, fn. 9 'That is, the Great Man at a more adult stage has eight more than the normal thirty-two. How the learned brahmins saw these signs in the babe is not explained.'

21); Gv 401.4f. *samacatvāriṃśaddantatāmahāpuruṣalakṣaṇapratilabdhaḥ sa khalu punar abhūd* 'He has attained the mark of a Great Man [in the form of] forty even teeth'.

25. *Śuklā* = *śukladanta* 'white teeth'. The list in Mv(KM) II 377.9 reads *suśukladaṃṣṭrā te nāthā* 'The saviours have very white canine teeth'.

Cf. SBV I 51.3 *śukladaṃṣṭraḥ* 'Having white canine teeth'; MAV 82.14 *suśukladaṃ(ṣṭ)ro* 'Having very white canine teeth'; LV 105.16 *śukladantaḥ* 'Having white teeth'; Bbh II 376.2 *suśukladantaḥ* 'Having very white teeth'; AdsP 51.1 *śukladanta sa bhagavān. jyotiṣmanto 'sya dantā bhavanti* 'His teeth are very white, i.e. they shine brilliantly' (Conze 1975: 584); AVin 297.1 *suśukladantatā* 'Teeth that are marvellously white' (AVin[tr.] 207.24); Gv 401.13f. *suśukladaṃṣṭraś ca kumāro 'bhūt nirupakleśadaṃṣṭraḥ suprasannadaṃṣṭraḥ supariśuddhadaṃṣṭraḥ susaṃsthitavicitradaṃṣṭraḥ* 'The prince had very white canine teeth, stainless, bright, clean, well-set, beautiful'; DN III 144.9 *susukkadāṭho* 'The eyeteeth are very lustrous' (DN[tr.] III 138.35)[59].

26. *Samā*. It is not entirely clear to which characteristic this word pertains. It could refer to *samavipulalalāṭa* 'even wide forehead', which is one of the major marks in LV 105.14. However, this characteristic is not listed as *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa* in other texts. In another list in Mv(KM) II 60.8 *saṃmitamukhalalāṭa* 'even forehead' occurs as one of the minor marks (*anuvyañjana*) of a buddha. Also in other texts, °*lalāṭa* is listed as one of the minor characteristics: *saṃgatamukhalalāṭa* 'fitting/proportional forehead' (LV), *supariṇatalalāṭa* 'well-filled/full forehead' (AVin), *pṛthulalāṭa* 'wide forehead' (Gv, AdsP). However, in the toe-to-head enumeration 'forehead' should be included under no. 31, after *ūrṇā* 'a tuft of hair between the eyebrows' and before *uṣṇīṣa* 'a protuberance on the top of the head'.

Alternatively, *samā* here could pertain to the teeth, but then *samā* in no. 24 would have to refer to another characteristic.

27. *Prabhūta* = *prabhūta[tanu]jihva* 'having a long [and slender] tongue'. The list in Mv(KM) II 377.10 reads *prabhūtatanujihvā ca sarvaṃ cchadensu te mukhaṃ duve ca karṇāgrāṇi nāsā ca parimārjensu* 'Long and slender tongue [could] cover the entire face and touch the tips of both ears and the nose'.

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[59] Comm. *suṭṭhusukkadāṭho osadhitārakaṃ pi atikkamma virocamānāya pabhāya samannāgatadāṭho bhavissati* (Sv II 450.17ff.) '"Having exceedingly white eyeteeth", i.e., eyeteeth having bright lustre which exceeds [that of] the medicine-star'.

Cf. Bbh II 376.4 *prabhūtatanujihvaḥ* 'Having a long, slender tongue';
SBV I 51.5ff. *prabhūtatanujihvo deva kumāraḥ*; *apīdānīṃ prabhūtatvāt
tanutvāc ca jihvāyā mukhāj jihvāṃ nirṇamayya sarvaṃ mukhamaṇḍalaṃ
chādayati yāvat keśaparyantaṃ upādāya* 'The boy had a long, slender
tongue; because of the length and slenderness of the tongue, putting the
tongue out of his mouth, [he] covers the entire face up to the hairline'; MAV
82.18ff. *prabhūtatanujihvo deva kumāra prabhūtatvāj jihvayā mukhā(j)
jihvāṃ (nirṇāmayitvā sarvaṃ mukhamaṇḍa)laṃ praticchā(dayati yāvat
keśaparyantam upādā)ya* 'The boy has a long, slender tongue; because
of the length of the tongue, having put the tongue out of his mouth, [he]
covers the entire face up to the hairline'; Gv 401.14ff. *suprabhūtajihvatā-
mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇapratilabdhaḥ khalu punar abhavat prabhūtā câsya
jihvâbhūt tanvī mṛdvī sukumārā karmaṇyā kamanīyā laghuparivartinī
mukhamaṇḍalasaṃchādanī* 'He has attained the mark of a Great Man [in
the form of] a very long tongue. His tongue was long, slender, soft, very
delicate, fitting, lovely, moving quickly, covering the entire face'; AdsP
51.4ff. *prabhūtajihva sa bhagavān. yadā ākāṃksati jihvāyôbhe karṇe srotasi
parāmṛśati saṃparāmārṣṭi: ubhe cakṣuḥ srotasi sarvaṅkakeśaparyantaṃ
mukhamaṇḍalaṃ jihvāyā ācchādayati* 'His tongue is long, i.e. when he
desires to do so he touches and strokes with his tongue the apertures of his
two ears, and he covers with his tongue the apertures of his two eyes and his
entire face up to the hairs' (Conze 1975: 585); AVin 297.4 *prabhūtajihvatā*
'a long tongue'; DN III 144.20 *pahutajivho*[60].

28. *Brahmā* = *Brahmasvara* 'voice like [that of] Brahma'. The list in
Mv(KM) II 377.14 reads *Brahmasvarā ca te āsi karaviṅkarutasvarā
duṃdubhisvaraghoṣā ca premaṇīyasvarā pi ca* 'They had the voice like
[that of] Brahma, [like] *karaviṅka*'s song, like the sound of a drum, lovely'.

Cf. LV 105.17, Gv 401.17 *Brahmasvaro* 'The voice like Brahma's'; AVin
298.2 *Brahmasvarakalaviṅkarutasvaratā* 'A voice like that of Brahma and
like that of the *kalaviṅka* bird' (AVin[tr.] 208.1f.); SBV I 51.8, MAV 84.1f.,
Bbh II 376.5ff. *Brahmasvaro deva kumāraḥ, kalaviṅkamanojñabhāṇi
dundubhisvaranirghoṣaḥ* 'The prince has the voice like [that of] Brahma,
speaking beautifully [like] *kalaviṅka*['s singing], like the sound of a kettle-
drum'; AdsP 51.7 *Brahmasvaraḥ sa Bhagavān. tatreyaṃ brahmasvaratā.*

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[60] Comm. *aññesaṃ jivhā thūlā pi hoti kisā pi rassā pi thaddhā pi visamā pi. Mahāpurisassa
pana jivhā mudū dīghā puthulā vaṇṇasampannā hoti* (Sv II 450.20ff.) 'The tongue of others
is thick, lean, short, hard or rough. The tongue of a Great Man, however, is soft, long, broad
and beautiful'. Cf. also DN(tr.) I 131.13ff. 'And the Blessed One so bent round his tongue
that he touched and stroked both his ears, touched and stroked both his nostrils, and the whole
circumference of his forehead he covered with his tongue.'

yad asya ke? sāhasryāṃ parṣado svaro yathā-abhyantare śruyate, manojñaś ca te(?) kalaviṅkabhāṇîti (the edition reads: *kalaviṅka bhāṇīti*) 'His voice is like that of Brahmā, i.e. his voice can be heard as clearly in a large assembly as in the inside of a room, and his speech is as charming as the song of the Kalaviṅka bird' (Conze 1975: 585); DN III 144.21f. *Brahmassaro hoti, karavīkabhānī hoti* 'He has a divine voice like the *karavīka* bird's'[61].

29. *Nīla* = *nīlanetra* 'dark blue eyes'. The list in Mv(KM) II 378.3 reads *āyatā abhinīlā ca netrā teṣāṃ maharṣiṇāṃ* 'The eyes of great seers are wide and intensely dark'.

    Cf. SBV I 51.11, Bbh II 376.7, MAV 84.3, LV 105.16 *abhinīlanetro* 'Having dark blue eyes'; AdsP 51.9 *abhinīlanetra sa bhagavān.* (…) *yad asya netrayor nīlaṃ eva tat suviśuddhaṃ. yad avadātaṃ avadātaṃ eva tat suviśuddhaṃ bhavati* 'His eyes are intensely black, i.e. the black of his eyes is pure black, and the white pure white' (Conze 1975: 585); Gv 401.20ff. *abhinīlanetraś ca sa kumāro 'bhūd acchanetraḥ pariśuddhanetraḥ prabhāsvaranetro viprasannanetro abhirūpanetro darśanīyanetraḥ suruciranetraḥ* 'The prince had dark blue eyes, clear, pure, luminous, bright, lovely, beautiful, brilliant'; DN III 144.23 *abhinīlanetto* 'His eyes are intensely blue'[62].

30. *Gopakṣma* 'eyelashes like [those of] a cow'. This characteristic does not occur in the list in Mv(KM) II 366ff.

    Cf. SBV I 51.11, MAV 84.4, Bbh II 375.7 *gopakṣmā*; LV 105.15 *gopakṣmanetraḥ*; AVin 300.1 *gopakṣmanetratā*; Gv 401.22 *gopakṣmo*

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61 Comm. *aññe chinnassarā pi bhinnassarā pi kākassarā pi honti, ayam pana Mahābrahmuṇo sarasadisena sarena samannāgato bhavissati* (Sv II 450.30ff.) 'Others have broken voice, worn voice, [shrill] voice like a crow; he, however, is endowed with the voice resembling the voice of the Great Brahma'. Cf. also DN(tr.) II 16, fn. 1 'The Great Man's voice is very clear and pure-toned, neither worn nor broken nor harsh'.

62 Comm. *abhinīlanetto ti, na sakalanīlanetto va. nīlayuttaṭṭhāne pan' assa ummāpupphasadisena ativisuddhena nīlavaṇṇena samannāgatāni nettāni honti, pītayuttaṭṭhāne kaṇikāra-pupphasadisena pītavaṇṇena, lohitayuttaṭṭhāne bandhujīvakapupphasadisena lohitavaṇṇena, setayuttaṭṭhāne Osadhitārakasadisena setavaṇṇena, kāḷayuttaṭṭhāne addāriṭṭhakasadisena kāḷavaṇṇena* (Sv II 451.4ff.) '"Having dark blue eyes" means that his eyes are not completely dark blue. In the case of the dark blue [colour], his eyes are endowed with the exceedingly clear colour resembling [that of] the flax flower; in the case of the yellow [colour], [his eyes are endowed with] the yellow colour resembling [that of] the *kaṇikāra* flower; in the case of the red [colour], [his eyes are endowed with] the red colour resembling [that of] the *bandhujīvaka* flower; in the case of the white [colour], [his eyes are endowed with] the white colour resembling [that of] the medicine-star; in the case of the black [colour], [his eyes are endowed with] the black colour resembling [that of] the *addāriṭṭhaka* flower'.

sa kumāro 'bhūt 'The boy had eyelashes like a cow's'; AdsP 51.12f. *gopakṣma sa bhagavān. mahārṣabhasya iva asya akṣipakṣmāṇi bhavanti. yāny adhastāt tāny adhastād eva. yāny upariṣṭāt tāny uparistād eva asaṃluḍitāni* 'His eyelashes are like those of a magnificent heifer, i.e. his eyelashes are like those of a great bull; those below are just below, those above are just above; and they are in no way disarranged' (Conze 1975: 585); DN III 144.24 *gopakhumo* 'He has eyelashes like a cow's'[63].

31. *Ūrṇā* 'a tuft of hair'. The list in Mv(KM) II 378.6 reads *uṇṇā hi prakāśāvadātā mṛdukā tūlasadṛśā* 'The tuft of hair between his eyebrows is bright, white [and] soft like cotton'.

Cf. SBV I 51.12f., MAV 84.6f., Bbh II 376.8 *ūrṇā câsya bhruvor madhye jātā śvetā śaṅkhanibhā pradakṣiṇāvartā* 'A tuft of hair appeared between his eyebrows, white, resembling a conch-shell, turning to the right'; AVin 303.2 *suśuklabhrūmukhāntarorṇālalāṭatā* 'Brilliant white hair on the head between the eyebrows' (AVin[tr.] 209.27); AdsP 51.14ff. *ūrṇāntarabhruka sa bhagavān. ūrṇā bhagavanto bhruvor antare jātā avadātā mṛdus tūlasannibhā aspṛṣṭā bhruvo 'ntare pradakṣiṇākuṇḍalāvartā* 'He has a tuft of hair between his eyebrows, i.e. a tuft of hair grows between his eyebrows which is very white and soft, resembles a tuft of cotton, and is not in touch with his eyebrows – the hairs turning to the right and curling in rings' (Conze 1975: 585); LV 105.13f. *ūrṇā mahārāja sarvārthasiddhasya kumārasya bhruvor madhye jātā himarajataprakāśā* 'Between the eyebrows of prince Sarvārthasiddha there appeared a tuft of hair resembling silver[-white] snow'; Gv 401.24ff. *bhruvāntare câsyôrṇā jātâbhūn mṛdvī karmaṇyā sukumârâkulasaṃsparśā svacchā śuddhā prabhāsvarā himaguḍikā tuṣāravarṇā suśuklaraśmimaṇḍalaprabhāvabhāsā* 'Between his eyebrows appeared a tuft of hair, soft, fitting, very delicate, twisted to the touch, clear, pure, brilliant, [like] a ball of snow, having the colour of snow, a shining circle of bright rays'; DN III 144.25f. *uṇṇā bhamukantare jātā hoti odātā mudutūlasannibhā* 'Between the eyebrows appears a hairy mole white and like soft cotton down' (DN[tr.] III 139.1f.)[64].

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[63] Cf. DN(tr.) II 16, fn. 3 'Completely surrounding the eyes, thick like a black cow's; bright and soft like a new-born red calf's, Cy.'

[64] Comm. *uṇṇā ti, uṇṇā lomaṃ. Bhamuk'antare ti, dvinnaṃ bhamukānaṃ vemajjhe nāsikāmatthake yeva jātā uggantvā pana nalāṭamajjhe jātā. Odātā ti, parisuddhā Osadhitārakasamavaṇṇā* (Sv II 451.21ff.) '"A tuft" means a tuft of hair. "Between the eyebrows" means it appeared in the middle [between] the two eyebrows, above the nose, in the centre of the forehead. "White" means entirely pure, having the colour equal to that of the medicine-star'.

32. *Uṣṇīṣaśīrṣo* 'having a protuberance on the head', which agrees with the readings in the Mv(KM) II 378.11 *uṣṇīṣaśīrṣa te nāthā* 'The saviours have protuberances on their heads'.

Cf. SBV I 51.11, MAV 84.5 *uṣṇīṣaśirāḥ*; Bbh II 376.7, LV 105.11f. *uṣṇīṣaśīrṣaḥ*; AdsP 51.17 *uṣṇīṣaśīrṣa sa bhagavān*. (…) *vṛttam asya śīrṣaṃ bhavaty uṣṇīṣayā supariṇathatayā atyarthaṃ śobhate* 'There is a cowl on his head, i.e. his head is well-rounded and through the large circumference of the cowl it looks exceedingly beautiful' (Conze 1975: 585); AVin 304.2 *uṣṇīṣaśiraskatā* 'A protrusion at the crown of the head' (AVin[tr.] 208.30); Gv 401.26ff. *murdhni câsyôṣṇīṣam abhinirvṛttam abhūt sujātaṃ samantaparimaṇḍalaṃ madhyābhinyastakeśālaṃkāraṃ* 'On his head appeared a protuberance, well-formed, all round, having an ornament [in the form] of hair placed in the middle'; DN III 145.1 *uṇhīsasīso* 'His head is like a royal turban'[65] (DN[tr.] III 139.3)[66].[67]

The two metrical lists of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man examined in the present paper are unique in that they are formulated in the form of keywords pertaining to particular features. This form of presentation occurs only in the *Mahāvastu*. Most of the words can be traced in their full forms in other Buddhist Sanskrit texts, some, however, remain unclear. The most problematic are *pāda*s *c* and *d* in the second verse, in which some designations either are lacking (list 1) or are partially corrupted (list 2). It is also not entirely clear to which feature the word *pratipūrṇa* pertains. It might refer to 'full/filled-in shoulders', which in other texts is expressed as '(well-)rounded shoulders' (*[su]saṃvṛttaskandha*), or to 'perfect body', which would correspond roughly to *anūnagātra* 'not deficient body'.

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[65] Cf. MN(tr.) II 322.22 'The revered Gotama has a head shaped like a (royal) turban', fn. 6 'I.e. absolutely symmetrical.'

[66] Comm. *aññe pana janā aparipuṇṇasīsā honti, keci kappasīsā, keci phalasīsā, keci tumbasīsā, keci pabbhārasīsā. Mahāpurisassa pana* (…) *suparipuṇṇaṃ udakabubbulasadisaṃ sīsaṃ hoti* (Sv II 452.8ff.) 'Other people have not filled-in heads, some have deformed (see CPD s.v. ²*kappa* "having a 'bifurcated' head") heads, some have heads like fruits (i.e., the shape of a fruit), some have heads like jars, the heads of others are slanting. But when it comes to a Great Man, (…) his head is well filled-in, resembling a bubble of water.'

[67] Cf. DN(tr.) II 16, fn. 4 'This expression, says the Cy, refers to the fullness either of the forehead or of the cranium. In either case the rounded highly-developed appearance is meant, giving to the unadorned head the decorative dignified effect of a crested turban, and the smooth symmetry of a water-bubble.'

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

AdsP = *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā: Chapters 70 to 82 Corresponding to the 6th, 7th and 8th Abhisamayas*, edited and translated by Edward Conze, Serie Orientale Roma 46. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1974.

AVin = *The Arthaviniścaya-sūtra and its commentary (Nibandhana) (written by Bhikṣu Vīryaśrīdatta of Śrī-Nālandāvihāra)*, ed. N. H. Samtani. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series XIII. Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1971.

AVin(tr.) = *Gathering the Meanings: The Compendium of Categories: The Arthaviniścaya Sūtra and its Commentary, Nibandhana*, translated from the Sanskrit with an introduction and notes by N. H. Samtani. Tibetan Translation Series. Berkeley, CA: Dharma Pub., 2002.

Bbh = *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, ed. Unrai Wogihara, Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1930–1936, repr.: ²1971.

BHSD = Edgerton, Franklin. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.

BHSG = Edgerton, Franklin. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.

CPD = *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, begun by V. Trenckner, ed. D. Andersen et al. Copenhagen, Bristol, 1924–2011.

DN = *The Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter. 3 vols. London: Pali Text Society, 1890–1911.

DN(tr.) = *Dialogues of the Buddha*, tr. from the Pali of the Dīgha Nikāya by T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids. Part I–III. London: Pali Text Society, 1977 (¹1899, 1910, 1921; SBB vol. II–IV).

DP = *A Dictionary of Pāli*, by Margaret Cone, Oxford: Pali Text Society 2001–.

Gv = *Gaṇḍavyūha*, ed. Daisetz Teitarō Suzuki and Hōkei Idzumi. Kyoto: The Sanskrit Buddhist Texts Publishing Society, 1934–1936. New rev. ed.: Kyoto: The Society for the Publication of Sacred Books of the World, 1949.

LV = *Lalitavistara: Leben und Lehre des Çâkya-Buddha*, ed. S. Lefmann. 2 vols. Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1902–1908. Repr.: Tokyo: Meicho-Fukyū-Kai, 1977.

MAV = *The Mahāvadānasūtra: A New Edition Based on Manuscripts Discovered in Northern Turkestan*, ed. Takamichi Fukita. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 10. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.

MN = *Majjhima-Nikāya*, ed. V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers. London: Pali Text Society. Vols 1–3, 1888–1899. Vol. 4 (Indexes by C. A. F. Rhys Davids), 1925.

MN(tr.) = *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya)*, translated by I. B. Horner. London 1954–1959, ²1975–1977 (Pali Text Society Translation Series 29–31).

Ms. Sa = manuscript Sa of the *Mahāvastu*.

Mv = *Mahāvastu*.

Mv(KM) = *The Mahāvastu. A New Edition*, ed. Katarzyna Marciniak. Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica XIV, 1–2. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University. Vol. III: 2019. Vol. II: 2020.

SBV = *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*, ed. Raniero Gnoli. 2 parts. Serie Orientale Roma 49/1–2. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1978.

Sen. = *Le Mahāvastu*, texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire, par É. Senart, Paris 1882–1897. 3 vols: Imprimerie nationale (Collection d'ouvrages orientaux; Seconde série). Repr.: Tokyo: Meicho-Fukyū-Kai, 1977.

Sv = *The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter. 3 vols. London: Pali Text Society, 1886–1932.

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A Preliminary Study of the Dunhuang Tibetan Fragments of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Ekottarakarmaśataka* (I): *Tarjanīyakarman*

Xiaoqiang Meng

Abstract: This paper identifies a lost Old Tibetan version of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Ekottarakarmaśataka* (hereafter, EK) as preserved in Dunhuang Tibetan fragments. It firstly gives a brief introduction to the related Tibetan manuscripts Pelliot tibétain 945 and Indian Office Library Tibetan J 596, and then analyses the textual nature of the Old Tibetan version of the EK preserved in these manuscripts by comparing with its cognate Chinese version, i.e., *Genbenshuoyiqieyoubu baiyijiemo* 根本說一切有部百一羯磨 (T 1453) translated by Yi Jing 義淨 (635–713 ce). Then, it focuses on the passage of the *tarjanīyakarman* (Tib. *bsdigs pa'i las*, Chin. 令怖羯磨), one of the ecclesiastical rituals for punishment in the Buddhist Order, as seen in the Old Tibetan version of the EK. It reveals that the *tarjanīyakarman* passage therein is textually related to, even derived *mutatis mutandis* from, *Pāṇḍulohitakavastu*. In sum, this paper introduces for the first time the 'true' Tibetan version of the EK long forgotten yet preserved in Dunhuang, and attempts to show its affiliation with the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition.

Keywords: Pelliot tibétain 945, IOL Tib J 596, *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Ekottarakarmaśataka*, *tarjanīyakarman*, *Pāṇḍulohitakavastu*

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1. Dunhuang Tibetan Fragments of the EK: PT 945 and ITJ 596

In the Stein Collection of the British Library there is a fragmental Tibetan manuscript ITJ 596 (Indian Office Library Tibetan J 596), which was correctly recognised by Louis de La Vallée Poussin as '*Las brgya' rtsa gcig po* / [*Ekottara-karma-śataka*]' (La Vallée Poussin 1962: 183). Another Tibetan fragment PT 945 (Pelliot tibétain 945) from the Pelliot Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France was incorrectly identified as '[f]ragments du *Karmaśataka*' by Marcelle Lalou 1950: 22. In this paper, these two fragments,

ITJ 596 as well as the folios 1 and 3 of the PT 945, are identified as belonging to one manuscript, and the text inscribed is, as referred to in the colophons of these two manuscripts, *kar ma sha ta ka*, or *las brgya' rtsa gcig po*, or *las brgya rtsa gcig pa* (ITJ 596: 10r5, 21r1; PT 945: 3v1).[1]

PT 945: As described by Lalou, PT 945 consists of four folios in *Pothī* format, three of which are complete, measuring 52 cm × 8.5 cm in length and width, respectively, while one folio is fragmental. As mentioned, folios 1 and 3 belong to the same manuscript as ITJ 596, yet folios 2 and 4 are from another manuscript of *mDzangs blun zhes bya ba'i mdo* (D 341 / Q 1008). Lalou identified one story on folio 2 (Tibetan page number 'GA 12') to be about Upagupta and a servant, which is now identified as the 47th story *U pa kub ta* of the Tibetan *mDzangs blun* (Terjék 1970: 71–78), equivalent to the 60th story *Youbojuti* 優波毱提 of the Chinese *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 (T 202 [IV] 442c10–443a9).[2] The fragmental folio 4 (Tibetan page number nonexistent), which Lalou did not recognise, is the 51st story *Dge slong kyung te* of the Tibetan *mDzangs blun* (D 341 *mdo sde, a* 297b6–298b7), equivalent to the 62nd story *Shami Junti* 沙彌均提 of the Chinese *Xianyu jing* (T 202 [IV] 444c9–445a5)[3]. Interestingly, no other Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript of *mDzangs blun* contains this story, as far as I know.

Regarding folios 1 ('KA 81') and 3 ('[KA 6]3'),[4] they are inscribed in 7 lines in *dbu can* Tibetan script per folio side, and are decorated with big circles in red ink around two threading holes as well as the red vertical lines on both margins. In folio 1, on lines 4 and 6 of the recto side, there are two patterns made of three small circles in red and black ink arranged in the form of an inverted triangle, set off by *shad*, possibly marking the end of a topic passage.[5] On the verso side of folio 3, following the main text is an illustration made of

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1   Regarding folio number, I take the number of the manuscripts as represented on the online databases of the International Dunhuang Project (http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?ui d=188672498;recnum=5448;index=1 [accessed 17 July 2020]) and the Bibliothèque nationale de France (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8302971m.r=pelliot%20tibetain%20945?rk =21459;2 [accessed 16 March 2020]).

2   Another Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript containing the same story *U pa kub ta* of the Tibetan *mDzangs blun* is PT 943. For a general introduction to the Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts of the *mDzangs blun*, see Terjék 1969: 289–316. For a critical edition of the *U pa kub ta* story in PT 943, see Terjék 1970: 71–78.

3   Shayne Clarke also recognised these two stories from the *mDzangs blun* or *Xianyu jing*. Rf. personal email (31 May 2020).

4   Thanks to Shayne Clarke for his help in the Tibetan page numbers. Rf. personal email (31 May 31 2020).

5   Brandon Dotson and Agnieszka Helman-Ważny explain that such pattern can 'mark off key passages or instructions in a text'. They also refer to the similar patterns made of double, triple and quadruple circles. Cf. Dotson and Helman-Ważny 2016: 84.

two flaming Bodhi-trees (**Table 1**). Following is a colophon *kar ma sha ta ka bam po drug go*, marking the end of the 6th *bam po*.

ITJ 596: As noted by de La Vallée Poussin, ITJ 596 consists of 29 folios in *Pothī* format, the folio measuring 52.2 cm × 8.6 cm in length and width, respectively. The Tibetan page numbers of ITJ 596 are not consecutive (numbered as 'KA 19–22, 24–26, 28, 30–34, 47–51, 58, 62, 64–72'). Before folio 'KA 30' there are 6 lines inscribed in *dbu can* script per folio side, and after folio 'KA 31', 7 lines. Similar to PT 945, red circles around two threading holes and red marginal lines could be seen therein. The patterns marking the end of a topic passage could also be found in ITJ 596: 2r1, 2r5, 3r3, 3v2, 3v6, 4r5, 10r4, 12r1, 19v3, 20r6, 20v3, 21v2, 22r1, 25v3, 26r2, except here the circles are arranged in the form of either a vertical line or a quadrangle.[6] The Bodhi-tree (as well as other unclear pattern) illustrations, which mark the end of a text section, also appear in ITJ 596: 15r7, 15v3 (?), 16v3 (?), 17r1, 17v6, 18r6, 19r7, 20v6 (?), 24r4, 24v5, 28v1 (**Table 1**).[7] Colophons in ITJ 596 are to be found on 10r5 ('KA 31') as *kar ma sha ta ka / bam po dang 'og go* […] *las brgya' rtsa gcig po bam po gsum mo*, perhaps marking the end of the 2nd *bam po* and the beginning of the 3rd *bam po*; and also in the 21r1 ('KA 64'), *las brgya [rtsa?] gcig pa'I bam po bdun no*, possibly marking the beginning of the 7th *bam po*.

PT 945 (folios 1 and 3) and ITJ 596 belong to one manuscript, yet they were split up and respectively collected into the Pelliot and Stein collections. As described before, PT 945 and ITJ 596 have almost the same format characteristics regarding folio length and width, lines inscribed per side, paleography,[8] two threading holes, red marginal lines, the illustrations and patterns (Bodhi-tree and small circles), etc. Also, folio 3 ('[KA 6]3') of PT 945 continues in content folio 20 ('KA 62') of ITJ 596, thus the text from ITJ 596: 20v6 to the end of PT 945: 3 corresponds to a coherent passage about the *smṛtivinaya* (Tib. *dran pa 'dul ba*, Chin. 憶念毘奈耶) in *Genbenshuoyiqieyoubu baiyijiemo* 根本說一切有部百一羯磨 (hereafter, *baiyijiemo*) (T 1453 [XXIV] 494a20–b2).[9] Moreover, both manuscripts have

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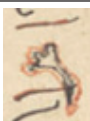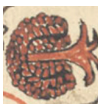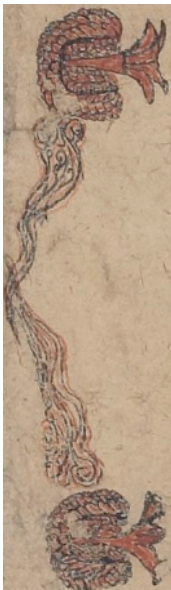
[6]   Dotson and Helman-Ważny 2016: 84.

[7]   Shayne Clarke kindly informs me of the similar drawings in PT 903. Rf. personal email (31 May 2020).

[8]   According to the paleographic system of Sam van Schaik, PT 945 and ITJ 596 seem to be inscribed in 'the sutra style' of Tibetan writing from the Tibetan imperial period around the first half of 9th century. Cf. van Schaik 2014: 309–312; Dotson and Helman-Ważny 2016: 91–116.

[9]   Much gratitude to Shayne Clarke for confirming the connection between ITJ 596: 20 and PT 945: 3. Rf. personal email (31 May 2020).

Table 1. Bodhi-tree and other Illustrations of the ITJ 596 and PT 945

		ITJ 596											
		10r4	28v1	24v5	24r4	20v6	19r7	18r6	17v6	17r1	16v3	15v3	15r7
		PT 945											
		3v1											

the same reference to its title in its abbreviated form *kar ma sha ta ka*,[10] and the full title may be reconstructed as **Ekottarakarmaśataka* based on the Tibetan translation of its title seen in the ITJ 596. Therefore, PT 945 (folios 1 and 3) and ITJ 596 come from the same manuscript, and preserve a text called *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa* or **Ekottarakarmaśataka*.

2. A Preliminary Textual Analysis of the Old Tibetan Version of the EK

The Dunhuang Tibetan text of *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa* as seen in PT 945 and ITJ 596 is an Old Tibetan translation of the EK affiliated with the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, and we argue that this text is the 'true' Tibetan version of the EK long forgotten yet preserved in Dunhuang.[11] It is textually cognate with Yi Jing's Chinese translation *baiyijiemo*, both belonging to the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition. However, significant differences in text between the Old Tibetan and Chinese versions of the EK implies that they were translated from different *Vorlagen* of the same text.

The *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa* text in PT 945 and ITJ 596 shows orthographic features of Old Tibetan, such as *da drag*, *gi log*, *ma ya btags*, *rjes su nga ro*, *'a* suffix, and medial *'a*.[12] As recorded in the catalogues *lHan kar ma* (No. 492) and *'Phang thang ma* (No. 455), *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa* consisted of 12 *bam pos* in 3600 *śloka*s in sum.[13] Therefore, the *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa* text in PT 945 and ITJ 596 might be an Old Tibetan translation of the EK dating back to the Tibetan Imperial period. Yi Jing translated a Chinese version of the EK, i.e. *baiyijiemo*, in 10 fascicles during 700–703 CE.[14] After comparing the Old

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[10] Possibly because this *kar ma sha ta ka* is the abbreviated form of the full title, LALOU 1950: 22 mistook PT 945 as another Buddhist narrative text, *Karmaśataka* (Tib. *Las brgya tham pa*, D 304 / Q 1007) that has a similar title.

[11] This is not suggesting that the vulgate Tibetan Tanjur version of *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa* (D 4118 / Q 5620) is a 'fake' text, but since the Old Tibetan version and Yi Jing's translation of the EK are textually cognate and affiliated with Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, questions about the text nature and the school affiliation of D 4118 require further research. But in light of the *tarjanīyakarman* passage, it is clear that D 4118 (*'dul ba, wu* 223b3–224b5) is different from the Old Tibetan and Chinese versions of the EK, and it is more like an abbreviated version of the EK consisted of merely the *karmavācanā* formulae recited during the *karman* rituals, which corresponds to §§ 1.4–1.5, 1.11–1.13 of the *tarjanīyakarman* text in the diplomatic edition below. A full comparison between both versions of the EK and D 4118 would require another research, but this paper does not focus on that. For an insightful comparison between Yi Jing's translation and D 4118, see KISHINO 2013: 17–18.

[12] For a fuller description of the Old Tibetan orthography, see DOTSON and HELMAN-WAŻNY 2016: 72–81.

[13] Cf. HERRMANN-PFANDT 2008: 282; KAWAGOE 2005: 23.

[14] Cf. Yi Jing's biography in *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T 2154 [LV] 568b19–c8). Also cf. T 2157 [LV] 869a23–b9; T 2061 [L] 710b20–c5.

Tibetan and Chinese versions of the EK, one would soon realise that they were parallel texts but with deviations in certain passages.

Table 2.   Old Tibetan and Chinese Versions of the EK Compared

No.	Old Tibetan version (ITJ 596, PT 945)		Chinese version (T 1453 [XXIV])
	Folio number	**Tibetan Page number**	
1.	ITJ 596: 1–4	KA 19–22	461c22–462c19
2.	ITJ 596: 5–7	KA 24–26	462c20–464b24
3.	ITJ 596: 8	KA 28	464c7–464c27
4.	ITJ 596: 9–13	KA 30–34	465b5–466c29
5.	ITJ 596: 14–15v4	KA 47–48	471b10–472a21
6.	ITJ 596: 15v4–17r1	KA 48–50	477b26–478b11
7.	ITJ 596: 17r1–18	KA 50–51	494c19–496a15
8.	ITJ 596: 19	KA 58	483c27–484c30
9.	ITJ 596: 20r1–v6	KA 62	486b3–c12
10.	ITJ 596: 20v6–PT 945: 3	KA 62–63	494a20–b14
11.	ITJ 596: 21–22r1	KA 64–65	493c7–494a19
12.	ITJ 596: 22r1–28v1	KA 65–71	486c13–490b5
13.	ITJ 596: 28v1–29	KA 71–72	467c10–468b22
14.	PT 945: 1	KA 81	498b7–498c28

Concerning the text structure, the Old Tibetan version of the EK arranges the topics regarding various Buddhist *karman* rituals in a sequence close to *baiyijiemo*, but deviations between them are also found in the text. As shown in **Table 2**, in §§ 1–3: folios 1–8 ('KA 19–22, 24–26, 28') of ITJ 596 contain the text that corresponds to a long consecutive passage of T 1453 [XXIV] 461a22–464c27, and the content therein is a detailed description of the *upasaṃpadā* ritual for *bhikṣuṇī*. However, since the folios 'KA 23' and 'KA 27' are missing here, we could expect that the Old Tibetan version of the EK has been inserted with more text than *baiyijiemo* here. In addition, it seems that the *uddāna*s present in *baiyijiemo* are missing in the Old Tibetan version. For example, in ITJ 596: 8v4–5, after the topic of *aṣṭau gurudharmāḥ* (Tib. *lci ba'i chos brgyad*, Chin. 八尊敬法), the text continues with three sets of double *shad* marking the end of the topic, then turns to *dge sbyong mar byed pa'I chos bzhi* (Chin. 沙門尼四種所應作法) with no gap. But in the Chinese version,

two summary verses of the *aṣṭau gurudharmāḥ* are inserted here.[15] Afterwards, § 4: folios 9–13 ('KA 30–34') of ITJ 596 correspond to the text of T 1453 [XXIV] 465b5–466c29 in *baiyijiemo*. Here, after the topic of *tshad myed pa'I 'khor bca' ba'I sdom* (Chin. 畜無限門徒法), in ITJ 596: 10r4–5 there is the colophon marking the end of the 2nd *bam po* and the beginning of the 3rd *bam po*, as mentioned before.

However, in §§ 5–7: folios 14-18 ('KA 47–51') the order of topics in the Old Tibetan text shows substantial difference from the Chinese version. ITJ 596: 14–15v4 ('KA 47–48') contains a text parallel to T 1453 [XXIV] 471b10–472a21, elucidating individual situations concerning the topic of *mtshams gyI phyi rol du song* (Chin. 出界外). Following is ITJ 596: 15v4–17r1 ('KA 48–50') containing the passage parallel to T 1453 [XXIV] 477b26–478b11, mainly about the adaptations of *bhikṣu* precepts to the local condition in *yul rdo mtha'I pha rol* (Chin. 邊方國). The position of this topic as presented in both versions of the EK is confusing, since in Chinese text it is inserted abruptly after the *jñapticaturthakarman* of *jiatuo qinghui* 假託輕毀白四 and before the *jñaptidvitīyakarman* of *guanzao xiaofangdi* 觀造小房地白二 with no obvious relation with each other, while in the Old Tibetan version this topic is inserted after the topic of *mtshams gyI phyi rol du song* (Chin. 出界外) and before the *brtags pa'I gnas cho* (Chin. 結淨厨). Actually, this passage is not about a specific *karman* at all, but it might be extracted from *Carmavastu*[16] and *Bhaiṣajyavastu*.[17] Following the aforementioned insertion is ITJ 596: 17r1–18 ('KA 50–51'), of which the Chinese parallel text is T 1453 [XXIV] 494c19–496a15. Afterwards, § 8: folio 19 of ITJ 596, corresponds to T 1453 [XXIV] 483c27–484c30 in *baiyijiemo*.

More deviations of the textual arrangement between the Old Tibetan and Chinese versions of the EK are to be seen in §§ 9–13: folios 20–29 of ITJ 596 and folio 3 of PT 945 ('KA 62–72'). The texts of § 9 and §12 that are separated in the Old Tibetan version (ITJ 596: 20r1–v6, 22r1–28v1; 'KA 62, 65–71') are successive to each other in *baiyijiemo* (T 1453 [XXIV] 486b3–490b5). § 10 and §11 (ITJ 596: 20v6–22r1; PT 945: 3; 'KA 62–65') also contain a consecutive passage in the Chinese parallel (T 1453 [XXIV] 493c7–494b14), but in a reversed order. That is, in the Old Tibetan text, the topic of the *smṛtivinaya* is set at the end of the 6th *bam po*, before the topic of *amūḍhavinaya* (Tib. *ma myos pa'i 'dul ba*, Chin. 不癡毘奈耶) and *tatsvabhāvaiṣīya* (Tib. *ngo*

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[15] The same verses could also be located in T 1458 [XXIV] 582a14–17; T 1451 [XXIV] 351b7–10; T 1457 [XXIV] 522c16–19. For a comparative study on the *aṣṭau gurudharmāḥ* as seen in the Vinaya traditions of various Buddhist sects, see CHUNG 1999; TSEDROEN and ANĀLAYO 2013: esp. 744 n.3 for a more detailed bibliography of related studies.

[16] DUTT 1950: 188–190, 205, 209; T 1447 [XXIII] 1052a29–1053a14, 1056b26–c1, 1057b1–3.

[17] DUTT 1947: 2–5; T 1448 [XXIV] 1a23–c11.

bo nyid tshol ba, Chin. 求罪自性), both of which are at the beginning of the 7th *bam po*. But in *baiyijiemo*, the *smṛtivinaya* follows the *amūḍhavinaya* and *tatsvabhāvaiṣīya* in the 9th fascicle.[18] Then, in § 13, ITJ 596: 28v1–29 ('KA 71–72') contains a passage about *sīmā* (Tib. *mtshams*, Chin. 界), of which the Chinese parallel is T 1453 [XXIV] 467c10–468b22. Actually, it continues the topic aforementioned in ITJ 596: 13v4–v7 of § 4, but the text is separated abruptly and the topic is retaken up 37 folios later! At last, § 14 is made up of folio 1 of PT 945 ('KA 81'), and its parallel in *baiyijiemo* is T 1453 [XXIV] 498b7–498c28 in the 10th fascicle near the end of the whole text.[19] So it is possible that the entire number of folios of the Dunhuang Tibetan fragments of the EK would be around 81–85.

As shown above, the Old Tibetan version of the EK as preserved in ITJ 596 and PT 945 shares with the Chinese parallel text *baiyijiemo* a close textual structure, but their arrangements of the order of individual topics about *karman* is substantially different, especially in §§ 7, 10–13, and this might be caused by the different *Vorlagen* they were translated from. This textual variation derived from *Vorlagen* could be attested not only in text structure, but also in content, especially regarding the different approaches to the details of topics as represented in both versions. Here I would give three examples.

1) ITJ 596: 5v5–6r1 = T 1453 [XXIV] 463a16–b13: Regarding the *trayo niśrayāḥ* (Tib. *gnas gsum rIg pa*, Chin. 三依法) for *bhikṣuṇī*, while *baiyijiemo* gives us the details during the *upasaṃpadā* ritual how to regulate the *pāṃśukūla* (Tib. *phyag dar khrod pa*, Chin. 糞掃衣), *piṇḍapātika* (Tib. *bsod snyoms*, Chin. 常乞食), and *pūtimuktabhaiṣajya* (Tib. *sman*, Chin. 陳棄藥), the Old Tibetan text of the EK just mentions the three in passing. Probably here the Old Tibetan version omits the ritual details since they have been elucidated before when relating the *catvāro niśrayāḥ* (Chin. 四依法) for *bhikṣu*.

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18 It seems that the structure as given in the Old Tibetan text has been rearranged deliberately, and this rearrangement was introduced either to the Old Tibetan translation itself or even to its Indic *Vorlage*. For example, cf. § 1.6 of the *tarjanīyakarman* text in the diplomatic edition below. While the stock sentences therein about the 'not-to-do' list of a punished monk are reduced and the text reminds readers to see the fuller sentences in the previous passage, we could only locate the complete cliche in the *tatsvabhāvaiṣīya* passage, which is placed right before the *tarjanīyakarman* passage in the Old Tibetan fragments, but in *baiyijiemo*, the *tatsvabhāvaiṣīya* passage is two fascicles later. Given that Yi Jing's translation is earlier than the Old Tibetan one, and that he did not rearrange his *Vorlage* nor his translation, and that the textual inconsistency was originally present in the Indic *Vorlage*, it is possible that the Tibetan translators obtained a similar Indic *Vorlage* as Yi Jing's and soon realised its textual inconsistency and tried to make sense of it by rearranging the structure of the text, e.g. putting the *tatsvabhāvaiṣīya* passage right before the *tarjanīyakarman* passage. But more possible is that the *Vorlage* of the Old Tibetan translation was more consistent and coherent than Yi Jing's. Cf. § 1.6, n.56.

19 The page number of the end of the Chinese version is T 1453 [XXIV] 500b13.

2) ITJ 596: 6v6–7r1 = T 1453 [XXIV] 463c6–464a20: Similar to the former case, when explaining the *adattādāna* (Tib. *ma byin bar len pa*, Chin. 不與取), *praṇātipāta* (Tib. *myi bsad pa*, Chin. 害命), and *mṛṣāvāda* (Tib. *myI bla ma'i chos smra ba*, Chin. 妄語), of the *aṣṭau pārājikāḥ* (Tib. *ltung ba'I chos brgyad*, Chin. 八墮落法) for *bhikṣuṇī*, the Old Tibetan version again mentions them in passing and meanwhile recalls that the details should be filled in as before (*de bzhIn rgyas bar *rIg par* byos shIg*), but *baiyijiemo* again gives full details. Probably, the Old Tibetan text omits the details that have been fully demonstrated in the *catvāraḥ pārājikāḥ* (Chin. 四墮落法) for *bhikṣu*.

3) ITJ 596: 8r1–v3 = T 1453 [XXIV] 464c7–c13: More interesting is the topic of *aṣṭau gurudharmāḥ* for *bhikṣuṇī* here. While the Chinese version mentions the 8 aspects of the *aṣṭau gurudharmāḥ* in a condensed way, and the fuller elucidation could be located in the *Genbenshuoyiqieyoubu pinaiye zashi* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 (**Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-Kṣudrakavastu*, T 1451 [XXIV] 351a1–25), which was also translated by Yi Jing, the Old Tibetan version lists only the last 5 aspects, since the text of the first 3 is written on the former folio, which is missing, although it gives details that are almost the same as *zashi*. Moreover, the sequence of the 5 aspects in the Old Tibetan text is slightly different from *zashi* and *baiyijiemo*. In the Old Tibetan text, it is: 4) *pravāraṇā*; 5) *codanā*; 6) *ākroṣa*; 7) *abhivādana*; 8) *mānāpya*, but last 5 aspects of the Chinese tradition are: 4) *codanā*; 5) *ākroṣa*; 6) *abhivādana*; 7) *mānāpya*; 8) *pravāraṇā*.[20] This shows that in the Old Tibetan version, the *pravāraṇā* is placed ahead of the other 4 aspects, and this is actually the same in *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācanā* (Schmidt 1993: 244–248, 269–270) and the Tibetan translation of *Kṣudrakavastu*, i.e., *'Dul ba phran tshegs kyi gzhi* (D 6 *'dul ba*, *tha* 102a7–104a6, 118b5–119b4). But in *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācanā* and *'Dul ba phran tshegs kyi gzhi* the last 2 aspects are 7) *mānāpya*; 8) *abhivādana*. Therefore, it is possible that the Old Tibetan version of the *aṣṭau gurudharmāḥ* stands in a transitional phase between the Sanskrit *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācanā* and the Tibetan *'Dul ba phran tshegs kyi gzhi* on one hand, and the Chinese *zashi* and *baiyijiemo* on the other, although all belong to the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition.[21]

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[20] For a comparative study on the order of the 8 aspects of the *aṣṭau gurudharmāḥ* shown in the Vinaya traditions of different Buddhist schools, see Chung 1999: 229; Tsedroen and Anālayo 2013: esp. 744 n.3 for a more detailed bibliography of related studies.

[21] Based on Chung's classification, the Old Tibetan version of the *aṣṭau gurudharmāḥ* might be defined as the 'Mū.III' type, different from the 'Mū.I' (*Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācanā* and *'Dul ba phran tshegs kyi gzhi*) and 'Mū.II' (T 1451; T 1453; T 1458). Cf. Chung 1999: 227–229. On the school affiliation of *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācanā* with the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, see Schmidt 1994; Chung 1998a.

Therefore, based on their different presentation of details regarding individual topics, as well as their different textual structures mentioned earlier, we could possibly conclude that the Old Tibetan text *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa* in PT 945 and ITJ 596 was derived from a *Vorlage* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Ekottarakarmaśataka*, which differed from the *Vorlage* of Yi Jing's Chinese translation *baiyijiemo*. Probably these two *Vorlagen* belong to two subgroups of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school.

As already noticed by Kishino 2013: 17–18, the Chinese *baiyijiemo* contains many passages from the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, 'such as narratives, question-and-answers between Upāli and the Buddha, and the rules regulated by the Buddha'.[22] So does the Old Tibetan version. In the next section I give a preliminary diplomatic edition and translation of the text concerning the *tarjanīyakarman*, to provide a concrete example demonstrating the textual relationship between the Old Tibetan and Chinese versions, and also to prove their school affiliation to the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition.

3. *Tarjanīyakarman* in the Old Tibetan *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Ekottarakarmaśataka*

Three kinds of *karman*, the formal ecclesiastical acts of the Buddhist Order, are discussed in the EK: *jñaptikarman* (Tib. *gsol ba*, Chin. 單白), *jñaptidvitīyakarman* (Tib. *gsol ba dang gnyIs pa*, Chin. 白二), and *jñapticaturthakarman* (Tib. *gsol ba dang bzhi'I pa*, Chin. 白四).[23] However, as revealed by Clarke 2015, the number of *karman*s belonging to each category varies in different Vinaya texts affiliated with different sects, and it seems that only the Chinese EK clearly refers to 22 *jñaptikarman*, 47 *jñaptidvitīyakarman*, and 32 *jñapticaturthakarman* (T 1453 [XXIV] 498c29–499c5), while other traditions usually mention 24, 47 and 30 respectively, such as *Sapoduobu pini modeleqie* 薩婆多部毘尼摩得勒伽 (T 1441 [XXIII] 569a24–28, 610c7–611a29) and the vulgate Tibetan Tanjur version of *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa* (D 4118 *'dul ba*, *wu* 256a3–4).[24] Since the remaining Dunhuang Tibetan

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[22] On some examples of the close parallels between the *baiyijiemo* and *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, see Kishino 2013: 17 n.50.

[23] For a detailed study of the three categories of *karman*, see Hu-von Hinüber 1994: 206–209; Nolot 1996: 82–86; Chung 1998b: 19–32. Clarke explains these three as: *jñaptikarman*s, 'acts consisting of a motion (*jñapti*) only'; *jñaptidvitīyakarman*s, 'acts in which the motion is followed by a single proclamation and passed as the second (*dvitīya*) part of the procedure'; and *jñapticaturthakarman*s, 'acts in which the motion is followed by three proclamations and passed as the fourth (*caturtha*) part of the procedure'. Cf. Clarke 2012: 18–21; 2015.

[24] Cf. Clarke 2012: 20–21. In the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* edition of the *Dashamen baiyijiemofa* 大沙門百一羯磨法 (T 1438 [XXIII] 489a5–6), it contains as most traditions 24 *jñaptikarman*, 47 *jñaptidvitīyakarman*, and 30 *jñapticaturthakarman*, but the editors report that one recension

fragments of the EK do not contain the number of individual categories, we do not know whether the Old Tibetan version deviates from its Chinese parallel again as in the case of the *aṣṭau gurudharmāḥ* or not.

Tarjanīyakarman, 'the formal act of censure',[25] is categorised as the *jñapticaturthakarman* in the EK. It is one of the so-called 'Bestrafungs-Karmas' for punishing dissident monks in the Buddhist Order.[26] The text of *tarjanīyakarman* in the Old Tibetan version of the EK (ITJ 596: 22r1–24r4), as well as its Chinese parallel (T 1453 [XXIV] 486c13–487c10), is textually cognate with, or even directly derived from, *Pāṇḍulohitakavastu* §§ 1.1–1.13 (YAMAGIWA 2001: 34–47, 143–150. Hereafter, PL).

In this section, I offer a diplomatic edition of the *tarjanīyakarman* text in the Old Tibetan text of *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa* with philological commentary, and translate the text. Given that no Sanskrit parallel of the EK is available, we use the PL (in Sanskrit and Tibetan), as well as the *baiyijiemo*, to help understanding the Old Tibetan text.[27] Here I rely on Yamagiwa's critical edition (2001) of the PL, and on the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 for the Chinese EK to edit the fragments. And I also use Yamagiwa's division of the *tarjanīyakarman* text in the PL to arrange the Old Tibetan text. However, since this preliminary edition focuses on the text itself, further study on the *tarjanīyakarman* across various Vinaya traditions affiliated with different Buddhist schools will not be offered here (**Table 3**).

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of the text stored in Kunai-shō Zusho-ryō 宮内省図書寮 gives 22, 47 and 32 respectively, which is the same as *baiyijiemo*, while recensions from Three Dynasties 宋元明 give 24, 47 and 32. Further recensions should be checked.

[25] KISHINO 2013: 63. It could also be translated as 'act of rebuke or threat' (BHSD s.v. *tarjanīya*); 'Zurechtweisung/Degradierung/Erniedrigung' (CHUNG 1998b: 23); 'blame' (NOLOT 1999: 3); 'Rechtshandlung, die zur Degradierung führt' (YAMAGIWA 2001: 13).

[26] On the *Bestrafungs-Karmas*, see YAMAGIWA 2001: 13 n.20 for a fuller bibliography of related studies.

[27] It is reported that Jin-il Chung has located some Sanskrit fragments about the *parivāsikakarman* of the EK in the Pelliot Collection (Numeros Verts 20–22, 33; with the title reconstructed as '*Ekaśatakarman*'), but no further studies have been published yet as far as I know. Cf. HARTMANN and WILLE 1997: 168–9; 2014: 215. Sanskrit fragments SHT 1048 ('Beginn des *Pāṇḍulohitavastu* der Sarvāstivādins'), SHT 1057 ('Fünfergruppen von Verhaltensmaßregeln bei Gemeindeverhandlungen') and SHT 1108 ('Fünfereihen gemischten Inhalts') seem to contain passages related to *tarjanīyakarman*, so they should also be consulted in any edition. Cf. SANDER and WALDSCHMIDT 1985: 34–36, 46–48, 102–104.

Table 3. Tarjanīyakarman in the EK Compared with Other Vinaya Traditions

Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya *Pāṇḍulohitakavastu* (Yamagiwa 2001: 34–47) '*tarjanīyaṃ karma*'	Mūlasarvāstivāda-EK		Pāli-vinaya	Sarvāstivāda-vinaya	Dharmaguptaka-vinaya	Mahīśāsaka-vinaya	Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya
	Old Tibetan (ITJ 596) '*bsdlgs pa'i las*'	Chinese T1453 [XXIV] '令怖羯磨'	*Cūḷavagga: Kammakkhandhaka* (PTS Vin II: 1–7) '*tajjanīyakamma*'	十誦律 T1435 [XXIII] '般荼盧伽法'	四分律 T1428 [XXIII] '呵責犍度'	五分律 T1421 [XXII] '呵責羯磨'	摩訶僧祇律 T1425 [XXII] '諍訟相言' of '折伏羯磨'
1.1	22r1–3	486c13–19	1.5–2.20	221a20–b16	889a14–b9	163a2–9	424a12–16, 438c2–6
1.2a	22r3–4	486c19–22	3.1–32	221b19–c8	889c29–890a10, 890a17–20	163a14–19	438c6–439a5
1.2b	22r4–6	486c22–26	3.33–4.16		890a10–17, 20–23	--	
1.3	22r6	486c26–27	--		--	--	--
1.4	22r6–v1	486c27–487a2	2.20–29	221c8–20	889b9–20	--	424b3–5
1.5	22v1–3	487a2–9	2.29–38		889b20–c3	--	424b5–11
1.6	22v3–4	487a9–11	5.5–17	221c20–29	889c3–28	163a19–26	--

1.7	22v4–6	487a11–18	5.17–25, 6.26–34	221c29–222a5	890a23–b1	163a26–28	–
1.8a	22v6–7	487a18–19					–
1.8b	22v7–23r1	487a19–21					
1.8c	23r1–2	487a21–24	5.17–6.7	222a5–12	890b1–3	–	–
1.8d	23r2–3	487a24–26					
1.9a	23r3–4	487a26–b1					439a8–12
1.9b	23r5–6	487b1–3	6.8–25	222a12–18	890b3–5	–	–
1.9c	23r6–7	487b3–7					
1.9d	23r7	487b7–10					
1.10	23v1	487b10–11	–	–	–	–	–
1.11	23v1–4	487b12–19	6.26–34	222a19–b1	890b6–11	163a28–29	–
1.12	23v4–7	487b19–28	6.34–7.4	222b1–13	890b11–15	163a29–b5	–
1.13	23v7–24r4	487b29–c10	7.4–16		890b15–21	163b5–9	–

§ 1.1[28]

[ITJ 596.22r1 ('KA 65')] gzhI mnyan du yod pa[29] na ste / [22r2]de'I tshe yang dge slong pha leb rgan pa[30] zhes bya ba thab mo byed log po byed rdeg pa byed tshIg ngan du smra rtsod par byed[31] de de[32] dge slong pha'I dge 'dun rnams la 'ang

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[28] PL (Skt.): buddho bhagavāṃ Śrāvastyāṃ viharati jetavane Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāme | tena khalu samayena Śrāvastyāṃ Pāṇḍulohitikā (Yamagiwa suggests to read *Pāṇḍulohitakā*) bhikṣavaḥ prativasanti kalahakārakā bhaṇḍanakārakā vigrahakārakā vivādakārakā ādhikaraṇikāḥ | te saṃghe 'bhīkṣṇam adhikaraṇāny utpādayanti yena saṃghaḥ kalahajāto viharati bhaṇḍanajāto vigṛhīto vivādam āpannaḥ | etat prakaraṇaṃ bhikṣavo bhagavata ārocayanti • bhagavān āha | kuruta yūyaṃ bhikṣavaḥ Pāṇḍulohitakānāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ kalahakārakāṇāṃ bhaṇḍanakārakāṇāṃ vigṛhītānāṃ vivādam āpannānām ādhikaraṇikānāṃ tarjanīyaṃ karma iti | yo vā punar anyo 'py evaṃjātīyaḥ.
PL (Tib.): sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rgyal bu rgyal byed kyi tshal mgon med zas sbyin gyi kun dga' ra ba na bzhugs so || de'i tshe mnyan yod na dge slong dmar ser can | 'thab krol byed pa | mtshang 'dru bar byed pa | rtsod par byed pa | 'gyed par byed pa | rtsod pa'i gzhi byed pa rnams gnas te | de rnams dge 'dun la yang dang yang du rtsod pa'i gzhi skyed pas des na dge 'dun 'thab krol dang | mtshang 'dru ba dang | rtsod pa dang | 'gyed pa byung zhing gnas so || skabs de dge slong rnams kyis bcom ldan 'das la gsol pa dang | bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | dge slong dag khyed kyis dmar ser can gyi dge slong 'thab krol byed pa | mtshang 'dru bar byed pa | rtsod par byed pa | 'gyed par byed pa | rtsod pa'i gzhi byed pa rnams dang | gzhan yong de lta bu dang mthun pa su yang rung ba la bsdigs pa'i las byos shig.

[29] PL gives a more detailed location where Buddha resided, i.e. *Śrāvastyāṃ... jetavane Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāme* (*rgyal bu rgyal byed kyi tshal mgon med zas sbyin gyi kun dga'ra ba... mnyan yod na*). But the Old Tibetan text simply has *gzhI mnyan du yod pa*. One Reviewer of this paper suggests that the *Vorlage* of the Old Tibetan text here is *Śrāvastyāṃ nidānaṃ*, 'which is normally translated *gleng gzhi ni mnyan yod na'o* or *gleng gzhi ni mnyan du yod pa na ste* in several Vinaya texts in Kangyur'. Here I follow this suggestion. The Chinese text just mentions Buddha (the subject as in PL) is in Śrāvastī (室羅伐城). It seems that only Yi Jing transliterated Śrāvastī as '室羅伐城', possibly a shortened form of Xuan Zang's 玄奘 transliteration '室羅伐悉底城 (or 國)'. In the vulgate Tibetan Tanjur version of *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa* (D 4118 *'dul ba*, *wu* 223b3–5), no place name is mentioned in the passage of the *tarjanīyakarman*.

[30] As noted by Yamagiwa 2001: 14–15, PL affiliated with Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition seems to treat Pāṇḍulohitakā [bhikṣavaḥ] ([*dge slong*] dMar ser can, rendered as '[the monks of] the group of Pāṇḍulohita'. BHSD s.v. *pāṇḍulohita*), not as a dvandva compound, but the adjective derived from the proper name of one person, while other Vinaya traditions clearly state these to be two persons. The Old Tibetan translation *dge slong pha Leb rgan pa* seems to take the *Leb rgan pa* (**lohita*?, Negi s.v. *le brgan*) as the name of a group of monks, which is the same with PL. But the Chinese parallel '半豆盧呬得迦等(譯為黃赤色)諸苾芻輩' might not necessarily be the case. Yi Jing seems to most of the time take '半豆盧呬得迦' as one person (e.g. in T 1442 [XXIII] 705a10–12), but in *Genbensapoduopu lüshe* 根本薩婆多部律攝 (**Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinayasaṃgraha*, T 1458 [XXIV] 548a11–20) which was composed by **Viśeṣamitra* 勝友 and translated by Yi Jing during the same time as the Chinese EK, '半豆' and '盧呬得迦' are referred as two persons clearly. For **Viśeṣamitra*, see Clarke 2012: 19; Kishino 2013: 16 n.43. The Old Tibetan translation of the proper name *Leb rgan pa* seems to be closer to **lohita* than the *dMar ser can* (**piṅgala*?, Negi s.v. *dmar ser*) which is seen in the PL (Tib.) or *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa* (D 4118). The rare form *leb rgan* (*le brgan* more used later) is also attested in PT 1120.r11, cf. Takeuchi 1986: 589–590.

[31] The Old Tibetan text *thab mo byed log po byed rdeg pa byed tshIg ngan du smra rtsod par*

rtag du ʼ{{ga}}thab du ʼdzud / rdeg du ʼdzud tshIg ngan gyIs smrar ʼdzud / dge ʼdun rnams rtsod par byed de[33] / de lta buʼI phyir[34] bcom ldan ʼdas kyIs bkaʼ stsald paʼ // [22r3] dge slong pha khyed kyIs dge slong pha leb rgan pa de thab mor byed log por byed ʼdeg[35] par byed rtsod par Ɵ byed paʼ / de dag la bsdIgs paʼI las byos shIg / ʼon tang gzhan {du} yang tshul de bzhIn rig par Ɵ ʼgyur[36] te /

[令怖白四:]   佛在室羅伐城時，半豆盧呬得迦等(譯為黃赤色)諸苾芻輩是鬥諍者、是評論者，彼便數數舉眾諍事，常令僧伽不安樂住，能令諍競展轉增長。諸苾芻以緣白佛，佛言："汝諸苾芻！應與半豆盧呬得迦等作令怖羯磨。若更有餘如是流類，應如是與。"

Trans.: The scene was in the city Śrāvastī (*mnyan du yod pa*). Once there was [a group of] monks of *Leb rgan pa* as named, who were quarrelsome, hostile, assaultive, ready to insult, and disputative, so they made the Order always to be quarrelsome, assaultive, ready to insult, and to dispute with

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byed seems to be a loose translation of PL: *kalahakārakā bhaṇḍanakārakā vigrahakārakā vivādakārakā ādhikaraṇikāḥ* (*ʼthab krol byed pa | mtshang ʼdru bar byed pa | rtsod par byed pa | ʼgyed par byed pa | rtsod paʼi gzhi byed pa.* For a similar translation in vulgate Tanjur *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa*, cf. D 4118 *ʼdul ba*, *wu* 223b3). The forms *thab mo* or *ʼthab mo* are both used in Dunhuang Tibetan text, and here *thab mo byed* corresponds well to *kalahakāraka* (*ʼthab krol byed pa*), 'being quarrelsome'. But *log po byed* ('being erroneous/hostile', **viparyayakāraka*?, Negi s.v. *log pa*) matches nothing, nor does *rdeg pa byed* ('being aggressive/assaultive', **tāḍanakāraka*?, Negi s.v. *rdeg pa*; WTS s.v. *rdeg*, s.v. *brdeg*), less likely the *tshIg ngan du smra* ('being insulting', **apavādakāraka* (Negi s.v. *tshig ngan pa smra ba*) */*vivādakāraka*?). And *rtsod par byed* ('being disputative') matches *vigrahakāraka*, or *ādhikaraṇika*, or even *vivādakāraka*, cf. Yamagiwa 2001: 34 n.13. Yi Jing translated the long list simply as '是鬥諍者、是評論者' (*kalahakāraka* and *ādhikaraṇika*? In the *karman* procedure later it is '鬥亂僧伽令起諍競', cf. §§ 1.4, 1.5, 1.11, 1.12), possibly taking the first and the last of the list to represent all.

32 Probably it should be emended as '*des*', cf. §§ 1.4, 1.5.

33 It seems that the Old Tibetan text does not translate *adhikaraṇāny utpādayanti* (*rtsod paʼi gzhi skyed pas des*) as seen in PL. And the text uses the causative form *ʼdzud* to translate *-jāta*. Yi Jing translated as '彼便數數舉眾諍事，常令僧伽不安樂住，能令諍競展轉增長', which matches PL (Skt.) to some degree. And he also used causative form 令 to translate *-jāta* and other verb here.

34 It seems that the Old Tibetan text does not translate *bhikṣavo bhagavata ārocayanti* (*dge slong rnams kyis bcom ldan ʼdas la gsol pa dang*) as seen in PL, while the Chinese parallel does. The Old Tibetan text *de lta buʼI phyir* (in Chinese '以緣') corresponds to *etat prakaraṇaṃ* in PL (Skt.) closer than *skabs de* in PL (Tib.).

35 From here on, *rdeg pa* is continually inscribed in the form *ʼdeg pa*, which should be taken as a variant form.

36 The Old Tibetan text here *de bzhIn rig par ʼgyur* (in Chinese text as '如是與') seems to correspond well to *evaṃjātīya* seen in PL (Skt.), but the text in PL (Tib.) is added with more information by the Tibetan translators. Possibly, the *rig pa* should be taken as a variant of *rigs pa* here, cf. Negi s.v. *rigs pa*.

monks. Therefore, Buddha commanded, 'Monks! [You] must perform the formal act of censure (*bsdIgs pa'I las*) to those monks of *Leb rgan pa* who were quarrelsome, hostile, assaultive and disputative! Also, in any other [similar] situation, [perform] accordingly!'

§ 1.2a[37]

rnam pa lnga dang ldan[38] na bsdigs pa'I las byas pa 'ang chos bzhIn gyI{s} las kyang ₍₂₂ᵣ₄₎ ma yIn 'dul ba'I las kyang ma yIn te / d{{e}}ge 'dun rnams 'ang de'I phyir 'das pa dang bcas ʘ par 'gyur ba'o[39] / lnga gang zhe na ma bskyod pa dang dran bar ma byas pa rnams dang dngos po myed pa dang / ʘ khas myI lend pa dang thad na myed pa la bya*s pa*'o[40] //

"有五緣作令怖羯磨，是非法羯磨、是非毘奈耶羯磨。僧伽作時，得越法罪。何謂為五？一、不作詰問；二、不為憶念；三、無其實；四、不自臣罪；五、不對面作。"

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[37] PL (Skt.): paṃcabhiḥ kāraṇais tarjanīyaṃ karma kṛtam adharmakarma ca tad avinayakarma ca saṃghaś ca tena sātisāraḥ || katamaiḥ paṃcabhiḥ | acodayitvā kurvanty asmārayitvā avastukam apratijñayā asaṃmukhībhūtasya kurvanti.
PL (Tib.): rgyu lngas bsdigs pa'i las byas na | de ni chos ma yin pa'i las dang 'dul ba ma yin pa'i las yin te | des ni dge 'dun yang 'gal tshabs can du 'gyur ro || lnga gang gis zhe na | gleng ba ma byas pa dang | dran par ma byas pa dang | gzhi med pa dang | khas ma blangs pa dang | mngon sum du ma gyur par byed pa'o.

[38] The Old Tibetan text here *rnam pa lnga dang ldan*, and the Chinese parallel '有五緣', suggest their *Vorlage* to be *paṃcabhiḥ kāraṇais samanvāgataṃ instead of paṃcabhiḥ kāraṇais (*rgyu lngas*) seen in PL here. However, in SHT 1108 v.4–r.1 there is paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ samaṃvāgataṃ tarjanīyaṃ karma kṛtam adharmakarma ca bhavati a(vinayaka)rma ca, and similar text is also attested in PL (Skt.) §§ 1.8–1.9, so the reconstruction for the Old Tibetan text here is possible. Cf. Sander and Waldschmidt 1985: 103–104; Härtel 1956: 146.

[39] The Old Tibetan text *'das pa dang bcas pa* (Chinese text '得越法罪') seems to be a literal translation of sātisāra (*'gal tshabs can du 'gyur*), and *'das* ('越') could be taken as a variant form of *'da'*, cf. WTS s.v. *'da'*, s.v. *'das*.

[40] For five lawful and unlawful acts, cf. *Karmavastu* (Dutt 1942: 206–209; D 1 *'dul ba*, ga 138a3–140a2). Among the five aspects in the Old Tibetan text, while the *dran bar ma byas pa* (Chinese parallel as '不為憶念') and *khas myI lend pa* ('不自臣罪') are the same as PL (Tib.), *dran par ma byas pa* (kurvanty asmārayitvā, 'don't make to remember') and *khas ma blangs pa* (apratijñayā, 'don't verbally acknowledge'), except for that *blangs* is the perfect form of *len*, yet other three aspects are translated differently. *Ma bskyod pa*, 'don't prompt' (WTS s.v. *skyod*), seems to be a loose translation of acodayitvā kurvanty (*gleng ba ma byas pa*), but the Chinese text '詰問' ('ask') understands the √*cud* the same as PL (Tib.). Also, *dngos po myed pa* (*abhāva, 'no substance', WTS s.v. *dngos po*) could also be reconstructed as avastukam (*gzhi med pa*) as in PL, but it seems closer to the Chinese parallel '無其實'. The last one *thad na myed pa la bya*s pa*, 'perform not in direct presence' ('不對面作') also corresponds to asaṃmukhībhūtasya kurvanti (*mngon sum du ma gyur par byed pa*). These five aspects are also attested in SHT 1108 v.5–r.1: avastukaṃ kṛtaṃ bhavati | asaṃmukhībhūtasya kṛta[ṃ] bhavati acodayitvā kṛtaṃ bhavati asmārayitvā kṛtaṃ bhavati apratijña(yā kṛtaṃ) bhavati. Cf. Sander and Waldschmidt 1985: 104.

Trans.: The formal act of censure which is done with the five aspects is deemed as not a lawful act, nor a disciplined act, through which the monks commit the sin of transgression. Which five? 1) Not prompt; 2) not make to remember; 3) no substance; 4) not acknowledge; and 5) perform not in presence.

§ 1.2b[41]

rnam pa lnga dang ldan na bsdIgs pa'i las [22r5] byas pa yang chos bzhIn gyi las dang 'dul ba'I las su 'gyur te / {de} *dge* 'dun rnams la Ө 'ang 'das pa dang bcas pa myed do // lnga gang zhe na bskyod pa dang dran bar byas pa rnams dang dngos Ө po yod pa dang khas lend pa dang thad na yod pa las byas pa'o // de 'ang 'dI bzhin du byos [22r6] shIg /

"復有五緣作令怖羯磨，是如法羯磨、是如毘奈耶羯磨，僧伽無過：先作詰問；令其憶念；其事是實；自復臣罪；對面作法。如是應作。"

Trans.: The formal act of censure which is done with the five aspects is deemed as a lawful act, a disciplined act, for which the monks don't commit the sin of transgression. Which five? 1) Prompt; 2) make to remember; 3) with substance; 4) acknowledge; and 5) perform in presence. Perform likewise!

§ 1.3[42]

stan bting ba nas dge slong pha gcIg gis gsol *ba* byos la las gyIs shIg ces pa'I bar du ste //

"為前方便，准上應知。[43] 次令一苾芻為白四羯磨[44]。"

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41 PL (Skt.): paṃcabhis tu kāraṇais tarjanīyaṃ karma kṛtaṃ dharmakarma ca tad vinayakarma ca saṃghaś ca tena na sātisāraḥ | katamaiḥ paṃcabhiḥ | codayitvā kurvanti smārayitvā savastukaṃ pratijñayā saṃmukhībhūtasya kurvanti.
PL(Tib.): yang rgyu lngas bsdigs pa'i las byas na | de ni chos kyi las dang 'dul ba'i las yin te | des na dge 'dun yang 'gal tshabs can du mi 'gyur ro || lnga gang gis zhe na | gleng ba byas pa dang | dran par byas pa dang | gzhi dang bcas pa dang | khas blangs pa dang | mngon sum du gyur par byed pa'o.

42 PL (Skt.): evaṃ ca punaḥ kartavyaṃ | śayanāsanaprajñaptiṃ kṛtvā gaṇḍīm ākoṭya pṛṣṭavācikayā bhikṣūn samanuyujya sarvasaṃghe saṃniṣaṇṇe sannipatite ekena bhikṣuṇā jñaptiṃ kṛtvā karma kartavyam*.
PL (Tib.): 'di ltar yang bya ste | gnas mal bshams la gaṇḍī brdungs te | dris pa'i tshig gis dge slong rnams la yang dag par bsgo la | dge 'dun thams cad tshogs shing mthun par gyur pa dang | dge slong gcig gis gsol ba byas te las bya'o.

43 The Old Tibetan and Chinese texts both reduce the stock sentences of the *karman* preparational procedure. Or they simply translated the first sentence of the PL, i.e. *evaṃ ca punaḥ kartavyaṃ* (*'di ltar yang bya*). In the Old Tibetan fragments of the EK, no complete stock sentences are attested except for some less reduced ones, e.g. in ITJ 596: 9v2, 10r7, 11r7, 12r3 and 13v3 as *stan thing ste 'ga' 'de rdungs la,* which corresponds to the PL (*śayanāsanaprajñaptiṃ kṛtvā*

Trans.: Seating couch is prepared [, and so on]. Then one monk brought the motion (*gsol *ba**) and performed the act, saying...

§ 1.4[45]

gson cig btsun ba'I dge 'dun rnams dge slong leb rgan pa 'dI thab mo byed log po byed 'deg pa byed tshIg ngan du smra / rtsod par byed de des 'di ltar dge slong pha'I *dge* 'dun rnams la 'ang / [22r7] rtag du 'thab du 'dzud 'deg du 'dzud tshIg ngan gyIs smra bar 'dzud dge 'dun rnams rtsod par byed de / de dge 'dun gyI dus la bab cing bzod na dge 'dun gyIs gnong[46] shIg / dge 'dun gyIs dge slong leb rgan pa thab mo byed log po byed 'deg pa byed tshIg ngan

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gaṇḍīm ākoṭya, gnas mal bshams la gaṇḍī brdungs te), but since 13v3 the rest of this cliche is written as *stan bting ba nas*. In the Chinese EK, the fuller stock sentence is '敷座席、鳴犍稚，言白復周，眾既集已' (T 1453 [XXIV] 467a14–15) which corresponds to the PL. But lesser reduced one could also be seen in the Chinese EK, e.g. '敷座席、鳴犍稚，作前方便' (T 1453 [XXIV] 465b25), which is similar with § 1.3 here. For a detailed study of *gaṇḍī* in Buddhist monastic life, especially its function during *karman* rituals, see Hu-von Hinüber 1991: esp. 746–749.

44 The editors of the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyo* report that in the recensions from Kunai-shō Zusho-ryō and Three Dynasties, it is '次令一苾芻為白羯磨'. This reading may be preferred and repunctuated as '次令一苾芻為白、羯磨'. Possibly, here '白[、]羯磨' was once misunderstood as '單白羯磨', for which the reading '白四羯磨' adopted in Taishō edition might be a later emendation trying to remove this confusion by referring to the following entire *jñapticaturthakarman* description that consists of one motion and three acts, instead of, as in PL and the Old Tibetan version here, just referring to the motion and first act. But similar phrasing is also attested in other places of the EK, e.g. in ITJ 596: 19r2 (= T 1453 [XXIV] 484a13–14): *dge slong pha gcig *gIs* gsol ba gyIs la las byos shIg* ('令一苾芻應先作白，方為羯磨'); ITJ 596: 26v4–5 (= T 1453 [XXIV] 489c16): *de nas dge slong pha gcig gIs gsol ba gyIs la las byos shIg* ('次一苾芻為白[、]羯磨').

45 PL (Skt.): śṛṇotu bhadantāḥ saṃghaḥ | ime Pāṇḍulohitikā (Yamagiwa suggests to read *Pāṇḍulohitakā*) bhikṣavaḥ kalahakārakā bhaṇḍanakārakā vigrahakārakā vivādakārakā ādhikaraṇikāḥ | ta ete abhīkṣṇaṃ saṃghe adhikaraṇāny utpādayanti yena saṃghaḥ kalahajāto viharati bhaṇḍanajāto vigṛhīto vivādam āpannaḥ | sacet saṃghasya prāptakālaṃ kṣametānujānīyāt saṃgho yat saṃghaḥ Pāṇḍulohitakānāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ kalahakārakāṇāṃ bhaṇḍanakārakāṇāṃ vigrahakārakāṇāṃ vivādakārakāṇām (Yamagiwa suggests to read *vigrahakārakāṇāṃ vivādakārakāṇām*) ādhikaraṇikānāṃ tarjanīyaṃ karma kuryād ity eṣā jñaptiḥ.

PL (Tib.): dge 'dun btsun pa rnams gsan du gsol | dge slong dmar ser can 'di dag ni 'thab krol bgyid pa | mtshang 'dru bar bgyid pa | rtsod par bgyid pa | 'gyed par bgyid pa | rtsod pa'i gzhi bgyid pa dag lags te | 'di dag gis dge 'dun la yang dang yang du rtsod pa'i gzhi skyed par bgyid de | des na dge 'dun 'thab krol dang | mtshang 'dru bar dang | rtsod pa dang | 'gyed pa byung zhing gnas na | gal te dge 'dun gyi dus la bab cing bzod na | dge 'dun gyi gnang bar mdzod cig dang | dge 'dun gyis dge slong dmar ser can 'thab krol bgyid pa | mtshang 'dru bar bgyid pa | rtsod par bgyid pa | 'gyed par bgyid pa | rtsod pa'i gzhi bgyid pa rnams la bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad do || 'di ni gsol ba'o.

46 The Old Tibetan text *gnong* here should be taken as the imperative form of *gnang*, of which usage is attested in other Dunhuang Tibetan fragments. Cf. §§ 1.5, 1.13. Cf. de Jong 1989: 41, 72, 132; Zeisler 2004: 349.

smra rtsod pa byed pa'I phyir bsdIgs pa'I las _[22v1] bgyI bar ro // de nI gsol ba'o //

"'大德僧伽聽！此苾芻芻半豆盧呬得迦等鬪亂僧伽令起諍競，彼便數數舉發諍事，常令僧伽不安樂住。若僧伽時至聽者，僧伽應許，僧伽今與半豆盧呬得迦等作令怖羯磨。'白如是。"

Trans.: 'Listen, the Venerable Order! This [group of monks] of *Leb rgan pa* are quarrelsome, hostile, assaultive, ready to insult, and disputative, so they make the Buddhist monks always to be quarrelsome, assaultive, ready to insult, and to dispute with monks. [If the Order] consent that [it is] the right time for the Order, the Order should grant that the Order performs the formal act of censure to those monks of *Leb rgan pa* who were quarrelsome, hostile, assaultive, ready to insult, and disputative!' Thus is the motion.

§ 1.5[47]

[48]gson cig btsun ba'I dge 'dun rnams / dge slong leb rgan pa 'di thab mo byed log po byed 'deg pa byed tshIg ngan du smra rtsod par byed de des 'di ltar *de* dge slong pha'I dge 'dun rnams la 'ang rtag du 'thab du 'dzud 'deg

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[47] PL (Skt.): tataḥ karma kartavyaṃ | śṛṇotu bhadantās saṃghaḥ | ime Pāṇḍulohitikā (Yamagiwa suggests to read *Pāṇḍulohitakā*) bhikṣavaḥ kalahakārakā bhaṇḍanakārakā vigrahakārakā vivādakārakā ādhikaraṇikās | ta ete abhīkṣṇaṃ saṃghe adhikaraṇāny utpādayanti yena saṃghaḥ kalahajāto viharati bhaṇḍanajāto viharati vigrhīto vivādam āpannaḥ | tat saṃgha Pāṇḍulohitikānāṃ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *saṃghaḥ Pāṇḍulohitakānāṃ*) bhikṣūṇāṃ kalahakārakānāṃ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *kalahakārakānāṃ*) bhaṇḍanakārakāṇāṃ vigrahakārakāṇāṃ vivādakārakāṇāṃ ādhikaraṇikānāṃ tarjanīyakarma karoti | yeṣām āyuṣmatāṃ kṣamate Pāṇḍulohitikānāṃ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *Pāṇḍulohitakānāṃ*) bhikṣūṇāṃ pūrvavad yāvat tarjanīyaṃ karma karttuṃ te tūṣṇīṃ na kṣamate bhāṣantām | iyaṃ prathamā karmavācanā | evaṃ dvitīyā tṛtīyā karmavācanā kartavyā || kṛtaṃ saṃghena Pāṇḍulohitakānāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ pūrvavad yāvat tarjanīyaṃ karma | kṣāntam anujñātaṃ saṃghena yasmāt tūṣṇīm evam etad dhārayāmi.

PL (Tib.): de nas las bya ste | dge 'dun btsun pa rnams gsan du gsol | dge slong dmar ser can 'di dog ni 'thab krol bgyid pa | mtshang 'dru bar bgyid pa | rtsod par bgyid pa | 'gyed par bgyid pa | rtsod pa'i gzhi bgyid pa lags te | 'di dag gis dge 'dun la yang dang yang du rtsod pa'i gzhi skyed par bgyid de des na dge 'dun 'thab krol dang | mtshang 'dru ba dang | rtsod pa dang | 'gyed pa byu ba zhing gnas pas | de'i slad du dge 'dun gyis | dge slong dmar ser can 'thab krol bgyid pa | mtshang 'dru bar bgyid pa | rtsod par bgyid pa | 'gyed par bgyid pa | rtsod pa'i gzhi bgyid pa rnams la bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad na | tshe dang ldan pa gang dag dge slong dmar ser can rnams la zhes bya ba nas | bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad par zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma bzhin du ste | bzod pa de dag ni cang ma gsung shig | gang dag mi bzod pa de dag ni gsung shig || 'di ni las brjod pa dang po yin te | de bzhin du las brjod pa gnyis pa dang | gsum pa'i bar du brjod par bya'o || dge 'dun gyis bzod cing gnang nas | dge 'dun gyis dge slong dmar ser can zhes bya ba nas bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad lags te | 'di ltar cang mi gsung bas de de bzhin du 'dzin to zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma bzhin no.

[48] Both the Old Tibetan and Chinese texts do not contain the text *tataḥ karma kartavyaṃ* (*de nas las bya ste*) seen in PL.

du 'dzud tshIg ngan gyIs smra bar 'dzud dge 'dun rnams rtsod par _[22v2] byed de de la bsdIgs pa'I las bgyI na tshe dang ldan ba'i rnams dge slong pha leb rgan pa 'dI thab mo byed log po byed 'deg pa byed tshIg ngan du smra / rtsod par byed de[49] bsdIgs pa'i las bya bar gag[50] bzod pa'I rnams nI cang ma gsung shig[51] / 'dI ni las dang po'I tshig ste tshIg de bzhIn du lan gnyis lan gsum du las gyI shig // _[22v3] dge 'dun gyIs dge slong leb rgan *pha* 'dI thab mo byed log po byed 'deg pa byed tshIg ngan du smra / rtsod par byed pa[52] la bsdIgs pa'I las byas pa / dge 'dun gyIs bzod cing gnang bas na / cang myI gsung ste de bzhIn du 'dzIn to / Ꝺ /

"'大德僧伽聽！此苾芻半豆盧呬得迦等鬪亂僧伽令起諍競，彼便數數舉發諍事，常令僧伽不安樂住。僧伽今與半豆盧呬得迦等作令怖羯磨。若諸具壽聽與半豆盧呬得迦等作令怖羯磨者默然，若不許者說。' 此是初羯磨。第二、第三亦如是說。'僧伽已與半豆盧呬得迦等作令怖羯磨竟。僧伽已聽許，由其默然故[53]，我今如是持。'"

Trans.: 'Listen, the Venerable Order! This [group of monks] of *Leb rgan pa* are quarrelsome, hostile, assaultive, ready to insult, and disputative, so they make the Buddhist monks always to be quarrelsome, assaultive, ready to insult, and to dispute with monks. Therefore, the formal act of censure has been carried out to them. The Order that consents to perform the formal act of censure to those monks of *Leb rgan pa*, who were quarrelsome, hostile, assaultive, ready to insult, and disputative, speak no word!' Thus is the speech of the first act. The second and third were performed likewise. 'The Order has performed the formal act of censure to those monks of *Leb rgan pa* who were quarrelsome, hostile, assaultive, ready to insult, and disputative. The Order consents and grants [that, so the monks] speak no word.' Thus I take.

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[49] The Old Tibetan text repeats again the list of sins of the monks of *Leb rgan pa*, but PL (replaced with *pūrvavad yāvat* in Skt.) and the Chinese parallel text omit the cliche.

[50] Here *gag* is the variant form of *gang* as seen in Dunhaung Tibetan fragments. Cf. WTS s.v. *gag*.

[51] The Old Tibetan text contains no sentence that corresponds to *na kṣamate bhāṣantām* (*gang dag mi bzod pa de dag ni gsung shig*) in PL, nor the '若不許者說' in Chinese text.

[52] The Old Tibetan text repeats again the list of sins of the monks of *Leb rgan pa*, but PL (replaced with *pūrvavad yāvat* in Skt.) and the Chinese parallel text omits the cliche.

[53] It seems that Yi Jing renders the text differently from the Old Tibetan parallel and PL (Tib.), because he seems to take *yasmāt tūṣṇīm* together and connect this with the following *evam etad dhārayāmi*, while others translated the words in an order as presented in the PL (Skt.). It seems that Yi Jing tended to adopt this rendering in his translations of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* texts. The punctuation here is based on Yi Jing's understanding.

§ 1.6[54]

bsdIgs pa'I las byas pa'I dge slong phas rab du dbyung ba ma byed cig / rab du myI dbyung [22v4] zhIng myI bya ba[55] la stsogs pa thams cad nI snga ma bzhIn no /[56]

"若苾芻僧伽與作令怖羯磨已，不得與他出家，不得授他近圓，廣如上說。"

Trans.: Monks that have been performed with the formal act of censure should not make [others] go forth from home, nor make [others] not go forth from home, and so on as all [other rules] mentioned before.

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54 PL (Skt.): tarjanīyakarmakṛtasyāhaṃ bhikṣor āsamudācārikāṃ dharmāṃ prajñapayāmi • tarjanīyakarmakṛtena bhikṣuṇā na pravrājayitavyaṃ | nopasaṃpādayitavyaṃ • na niśrayo deyo | na śramaṇoddeśa upasthāpayitavyo | na bhikṣuṇy avavaditavyā (Yamagiwa suggests to read *avavādayitavyā*) | na bhikṣuṇyāvavādakaḥ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *bhikṣuṇyavavādakaḥ*) saṃmantavyo | nāpi pūrvasaṃmatena bhikṣuṇy avavaditavyā (Yamagiwa suggests to read *avavādayitavyā*) | na bhikṣuś codayitavyaḥ smārayitavyaḥ śīlavipatyā dṛṣṭivipatyā ācāravipatyā ājīvavipatyā (Yamagiwa suggests to read *śīlavipattyā dṛṣṭivipattyā ācāravipattyā ājīvavipattyā*) sthāpayitavyo | na poṣadho na pravāraṇā na jñaptikarma na jñapticaturthaṃ karma | tarjanīyakarmakṛto bhikṣur yathā prajñaptān āsamudācārikān dharmān na samādāya varttate sātisāro bhavati.
PL (Tib.): dge slong dag ngas bsdigs pa'i las byas pa'i dge slong gi kun tu spyod pa'i chos bca' bar bya ste | bsdigs pa'i las byas pa'i dge slong gis rab tu dbyung bar mi bya ste | snyen par rdzogs par mi bya | gnas mi sbyin | dge tshul gzhag par mi bya | dge slong ma rnams la gdams par mi bya | dge slong ma rnams kyi gdams ngag dpog par bsko bar mi bya | sngar bskos na yang dge slong ma rnams la gdams par mi bya'o || dge slong la tshul khrims nyams pa dang | lta ba nyams pa dang | spyod pa nyams pa dang | 'tsho ba nyams pas gleng ba dang | dran par mi bya | gdams ngag sbyin par mi bya ste | gso spyong ma yin | dgag dbye ma yin | gsol ba dang gnyis pa ma yin | gsol ba dang bzhi'i las ma yin no || bsdigs pa'i las byas pa'i dge slong gis kun tu spyod pa'i chos ji ltar bcas pa bzhin yang dag par blangs te 'jug par mi byed na 'gal tshabs can du 'gyur ro.

55 It seems that only the Old Tibetan text here gives the *rab du myI dbyung zhIng myI bya ba* instead of *nopasaṃpādayitavyaṃ* (*snyen par rdzogs par mi bya*) in PL or '不得授他近圓' in the Chinese parallel, which might be a scribal error, or an inferior reduction of the stock sentences. Cf. ITJ 596: 21v5–22r1, 24v2–3.

56 Both Old Tibetan and Chinese texts reduce the stock sentences and remind readers of the former fuller passages with *snga ma bzhIn* ('廣如上說'). Similar reductions are attested in ITJ 596: 24v2–3 (*sma dbab pa'I las byas pa des rab du dbyung ba ma *byed* cig pa nas / dge 'dun gyI nang du so sor thard pa ma 'don cIg pa'I bar du ste*). However, right before the *tarjanīyakarman* passage of the Old Tibetan text, ITJ 596: 21v6–22r1 (= T 1453 [XXIV] 494a12–19) is exactly the complete stock sentences omitted here in § 1.6: *dge slong pha des rab du ma dbyung shIg / bsnyend par rdzogs par ma byed cig / gnas ma bca' shIg / dge sbyong pha ma 'chang shIg / dge slong pha la ma bskyod cig dran bar ma byed cig / de nI dge slong pha tshu las nyams sam spyod pa las nyams san 'tsho ba las nyams kyang ngo / lung stsold pa la ma 'gog shIg / gso sbyIn byed pa dang gleng ba dang gsol ba gnyIs kyI ba dang gsol ba dang bzhI'i las la ma 'gog shIg / dge slong ma rnams la stond par ma bsko shIg / sngon stond par bskos na 'a*ng* des dge slong ma rnams {{sa}} ma bstan cig / $ // des las ma bya shIg.* Cf. n.18.

§ 1.7[57]

dge slong pha rnams kyIs dge slong Ɵ leb rgan *pa* thab mo byed nas
rtsod pa'I bar du ba'i phyIr thab mo'I[58] las byas so // de bzhIn du bsdIƟgs pa'I
las byas pa dang dge 'dun la ri mo shIn du gus pa[59] dang spu bzhIn du 'bab pa[60]
[22v5] dang 'byung bar yang rtsom[61] ste / mtshams kyI mthar[62] 'dug nas 'byung

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[57]   PL (Skt.): ta evaṃ tarjanīyakarmakṛtā utkacaprakacās saṃghe roma pātayanti nissaraṇaṃ
       prajānanti (Yamagiwa suggests to read *pravartayanti*) sāmīcīm upadarśayanty antaḥsīme
       (Yamagiwa suggests to read *antaḥsīmāyāṃ*) sthitvā osāraṇāṃ yācante kalahakārakatvāc
       ca prativiramāma iti kathayanti | etat prakaraṇaṃ bhikṣavo bhagavata ārocayanti •
       bhagavān āha | osārayata yūyaṃ bhikṣavaḥ Pāṇḍulohitikāṃ (Yamagiwa suggests to read
       Pāṇḍulohitakāṃ) bhikṣūn kalahakārakāṃs tarjanīyakarmakṛtānīti (Yamagiwa suggests to read
       tarjanīyakarmakṛtān iti) • yo vā punar anyo 'py evaṃjātīyaḥ.
       PL (Tib.): de ltar bsdigs pa'i las byas pa de rnams skra skra gyen du bsgreng ba lta bu dang | skra
       zhig pa lta bu dang dge 'dun la spu sa la ltung ba lta bur byed | 'byung bar bskyod | mtshungs
       par nye bar ston la mtshams kyi nang du 'dug nas bslang ba gsol te | 'thab krol byed pa nyid
       spong ngo zhes pa'i skabs de bcom ldan 'das la dge slong rnams kyis gsol pa dang | bcom ldan
       'das kyis bka' stsal pa | dge slong dag khyed kyis dge slong dmar ser can 'thab krol byed pa |
       bsdigs pa'i las byas pa rnams dang | gzhan yang de lta bu dang mthun pa su yang rung ba la
       bslang bar gyis shig.
[58]   One Reviewer of this paper suggests that *thab mo'I las byas so* here is a scribal error for *bsdIgs
       pa'I las byas so*. Here I follow this suggestion and translate accordingly. While in PL (*ta evaṃ
       tarjanīyakarmakṛtā, de ltar bsdigs pa'i las byas pa de rnams*), the subject of the sentence is
       mentioned briefly as *te* (*de rnams*), in Chinese text ('時諸苾芻為半豆盧呬得迦等作令怖羯
       磨') it is relatively more detailed, and in Old Tibetan text it is almost ready to repeat the stock
       description (*dge slong pha rnams kyIs dge slong leb rgan *pa* thab mo byed nas rtsod pa'I
       bar du ba'i phyIr [bsdIgs pa]'I las byas so*).
[59]   The Old Tibetan text *ri mo shIn du gus pa* ('show great respect', with *ri mo* taken as the variant
       of *rim*?) seems close to the Chinese parallel '極現恭勤', but their *Vorlage* is probably different
       from PL *utkacaprakacās* (*skra gyen du bsgreng ba lta bu dang | skra zhig pa lta bu*) which
       means 'with hair standing up' (BHSD s.v. *utkaca*, s.v. *prakaca*), or 'diejenigen, deren Haare
       gesträubt sind, deren Haare zu Berge stehen' (Kieffer-Pülz 2008: 111).
[60]   While the Old Tibetan text *spu bzhIn du 'bab pa* is close to PL *roma pātayanti* (*spu sa la ltung
       ba lta bur byed*), the Chinese parallel omits the fallen hair metaphor, or gives an interpretive
       translation '於僧伽處不生輕慢' which means 'not neglect, being subdued'. For the fallen hair
       metaphor, see Kieffer-Pülz 2008: 111.
[61]   The Old Tibetan text *'byung bar yang rtsom* ('properly initiate to be exempted', with *yang*
       taken as the abbreviation of *yang dag* = *sāmīcīm*?) seems to omit the *sāmīcīm upadarśayanty*
       (or just *upadarśayanty*) of PL text *nissaraṇaṃ prajānanti sāmīcīm upadarśayanty* (*'byung
       bar bskyod | mtshungs par nye bar ston*), while the Chinese text keeps, i.e. '恒申敬禮', but in
       § 1.9a (also, cf. § 1.8a) the Old Tibetan text keeps the sentence (*phyag 'tshal bar stond pa*).
       And *rtsom* (as well as *bskyod* in PL (Tib.), and '希求' in Chinese to some degree) here possibly
       implies its *Vorlage* to have been *pravartayanti*, which may be attested in PL (Skt.) § 1.8a, and
       in *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācanā* 28b5–29a1: *niḥsaraṇaṃ pravarttayantaṃ sāmīcīm upadarśayantaṃ*
       (Schmidt 1993: 267). Yamagiwa prefers this reading here instead of *prajānanti* (BHS s.v.
       prajānāti. Yamagiwa 2001: 38, 146) in his translation, yet still keeps *prajānanti* in his text
       edition.
[62]   The Old Tibetan text *mtshams kyI mthar* is probably translated from *antasīme* instead of
       antaḥsīme (*mtshams kyi nang du*, '界内') seen in PL and Chinese text.

ba gsol⁶³ te / de ltar thab mo Ɵ bgyId pa de slar spong ngo zhes pa ro // de lta bu'I tshul las⁶⁴ bcom ldan 'das kyIs bka' stsald Ɵ pa'I bar du ste / dge slong pha khyed kyIs dge slong pha leb rgan pa⁶⁵ / bsdIgs pa'I las byas pa / ₍₂₂ᵥ₆₎ las dbyung ba'I las byos shIg / 'on tang gzhan kyang tshul 'di lta bur rIg par 'gyur ro //

時諸苾芻為半豆盧呬得迦等作令怖羯磨，既得法已，極現恭勤，於僧伽處不生輕慢，希求拔濟，恒申敬禮，界內而住，請乞收攝法，自云：“我半豆盧呬得迦，於此鬪諍長為止息。” 諸苾芻眾以緣白佛，佛言：“汝諸苾芻！先為半豆盧呬得迦等作令怖羯磨者，今為半豆盧呬得迦等作收攝羯磨。若更有餘如是流類者 [......]”

Trans.: The monks had performed the formal act of censure as said to the monks of *Leb rgan pa* who were quarrelsome, [hostile, assaultive, ready to insult,] and disputative. Thus performed the formal act of censure, [now they] showed great respect to the Order, became fully subdued with hairs fallen, and initiated properly to be exempted [from the act]. Abiding in the end of the boundary they begged to be exempted [from the act], saying, 'we shall stop being quarrelsome [and so on] again!' Therefore, Buddha commanded further, 'Monks! [You] performed the formal act of censure to those monks of *Leb rgan pa*, [now] perform the formal act of exemption! In any other [similar] situation, [perform] accordingly!'

§ 1.8a⁶⁶

dge slong pha bsdigs pa'I las byas pa de chos lnga dang ldan dang ma phyung ba las nI ma dbyung shIg / lnga gang zhe na dge 'dun la ri mo gus par

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63   While PL (Skt.) is *osāraṇāṃ yācante* (the Chinese EK goes as '請乞收攝法' similarly), PL (Tib.) seems to omit *osāraṇāṃ* and simply reads *bslang ba gsol*, the Old Tibetan text again uses *'byung* to translate *osāraṇa* as it also translates *nissaraṇa* (*niḥsaraṇa*) seen before with *'byung*. Cf. BHSD s.v. *osāraṇā*; Nolot 1999: 39–57.

64   It seems that the Old Tibetan text does not translate *bhikṣavo bhagavata ārocayanti* (*bcom ldan 'das la dge slong rnams kyis gsol pa dang*) as seen in PL, while the Chinese parallel does. The Old Tibetan text *de lta bu'I tshul* (in Chinese text as '以緣') seems to translate the *etat prakaraṇaṃ* (*skabs*) in PL, but in § 1.1 it translates as *de lta bu'I phyir*. Cf. § 1.1, n.34.

65   Here both Old Tibetan and Chinese EK omit the cliche of the sin list of the monks of *Leb rgan pa*, while PL keeps.

66   PL (Skt.): paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ samanvāgatas tarjanīyakarmakṛto nodārayitavyaḥ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *nosārayitavyaḥ*) | katamaiḥ paṃcabhiḥ | notkacaprakaca (Yamagiwa suggests to read *notkacaprakacaḥ*) saṃghe roma pātayati • na nissaraṇaṃ pravarttayati na samīcīm (Yamagiwa suggests to read *sāmīcīm*) upadarśayati nāntaḥsīmāyāṃ sthitvā osāraṇāṃ yācate • tasmāc ca kalahakārakatvāc ca na prativiramāmīti vadaty | ebhiḥ paṃcabhir dharmais samanvāgataḥ pūrvavat*.
PL (Tib.): bsdigs pa'i las byas pa chos lnga dang ldan pa ni bslang bar mi bya'o || lnga gang zhe na | skra gyen du 'greng blta bu dang | skra zhig pa lta bu dang | dge 'dun la spu sa la ltung ba lta bur mi byed pa dang | 'byung bar mi bskyod pa dang | mtshungs par nye bar mi ston pa dang | mtshams kyi nang du 'dug ste bslang ba mi gsol ba dang | 'thab krol byed pa de mi spong ba ste | chos 'di lnga dang ldan pa ni zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin du'o.

myI byed pa dang spu bzhIn *du* myI 'bab pa dang / 'byung bar myI rtsom ba dang ₍₂₂ᵥ₇₎ phyag 'tshal bar myI stond pa dang mtshams kyI mthar 'dug cing 'byung bar myI gsol ba'o // de bas na thab mo byed pa las slar myI gtong⁶⁷ zhIng chos de lnga dang ldan na bsdigs pa'I las byas pa las ma phyung da*ng* ma dbyung shIg⁶⁸ /

"[......] 有其五法與作令怖羯磨，苾芻若未收攝不應收攝。"

Trans.: To the monks who have been performed with the formal act of censure yet [still] have five features, [you must] not exempt them [when] they have not been exempted! Which five? 1) Showing no respect to the Order at all, and not being subdued with hairs fallen; 2) not initiating to be exempted [from the act]; 3) not showing with homage; 4) not begging to be exempted [from the act] while abiding in the end of the boundary; and 5) not giving up being quarrelsome [and so on] anymore. [Therefore,] to those who have aforementioned five features and are performed with the formal act of censure, [you must] not exempt them [when] they have not been exempted!

§ 1.8b⁶⁹

de las yang chos lnga dang ldan na bsdigs pa'I las byas pa las ma phyung ₍ITJ 596.23r1 ('KA 66')₎ $ // dang ma dbyung shIg / lnga gang zhe na rgyal po la dpag tshol ba dang dbang yod pa⁷⁰ la dpag tshol ba dang / gang zag la dpag tshol ba

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⁶⁷ The Old Tibetan text and PL (Tib.) don't contain the *vadati* which PL (Skt.) preserves. Cf. § 1.9a.

⁶⁸ The Chinese text here implies that its *Vorlage*, or the translation itself, is fragmental: there is no text that corresponds to the text between the *evaṃjātīyaḥ* at the end of PL (Skt.) § 1.7, and *paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ samanvāgatas tarjanīyakarmakṛto nodārayitavyaḥ... tasmāc ca kalahakārakatvāc ca na prativiramāmīti vadati* in PL (Skt.) § 1.8. Only the translation of a sentence close to *ebhiḥ paṃcabhir dharmais samanvāgataḥ pūrvavat** in PL (Skt.) remains ('有其五法與作令怖羯磨，苾芻若未收攝不應收攝'), whose Old Tibetan parallel is available: *chos de lnga dang ldan na bsdigs pa'I las byas pa las ma phyung da*ng* ma dbyung shIg*. And both the Old Tibetan (*ma phyung ba las nI ma dbyung*) and Chinese EK ('若未收攝不應收攝') here suggest their *Vorlage* is something like **nodārayito nodārayitavyaḥ* or **nosārayito nosārayitavyaḥ*.

⁶⁹ PL (Skt.): aparair api paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ samanvāgatas tarjanīyakarmakṛtā (Yamagiwa suggests to read *tarjanīyakarmakṛto*) nosārayitavyaḥ | katamaiḥ paṃcabhiḥ | rājakulapratisaraṇo bhavati yuktakulapratisaraṇas tīrthikapratisaraṇaḥ pudgalapratisaraṇo na saṃghapratisaraṇaḥ | ebhiḥ paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ samanvāgataḥ pūrvavat*.
PL (Tib.): gzhan yang bsdigs pa'i las byas pa chos lnga dang ldan pa ni bslang bar mi bya ste | lnga gang zhe na | pho brang 'khor du rton pa dang | bskos pa 'dus pa'i sar rton pa dang | mu stegs can la rton pa dang | gang zag la rton pa dang | dge 'dun la mi rton pa ste | chos 'di lnga dang ldan pa ni zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin no.

⁷⁰ The Old Tibetan text translates *rājakula* (*pho brang 'khor du*, 'royal family') simply as *rgyal po* ('king'), which is the same as the Chinese text ('國王'); and it also translates *yuktakula* (*bskos pa 'dus pa'i sar*, 'people in charge') as *dbang yod pa* ('people with power'), while the

dang mur 'dug la dpag tshol ba dang[71] / dge 'dun la dpag myI tshol ba ste / de lnga 'ang snga ma bzhIn no //

"何謂為五？一、依國王；二、依諸官；三、依別人；四、依外道；五、依僧伽[72]。如是之人不應收攝。"

Trans.: Henceforth, to those who have five features and are performed with the formal act of censure, [you must] not exempt them [when] they have not been exempted! Which five? 1) Seeking refuge to kings; 2) to those with power; 3) to [other] men; 4) to heretics; yet 5) not to the Order. [To those with] five features, [do] as aforementioned!

§ 1.8c[73]

de las yang chos lnga dang ldan na bsdigs pa'I las byas pa las ma phyung da*ng* [23r2] ma dbyung shIg / lnga gang zhe na mur 'dug la bsnyend pa dang stobs pa dang bsnyen bkur byed pa[74] dang dge 'dun la bsnyen ba{{ku}}r myI byed pa dang gnas myed par byed pa[75] ste / de lnga yang snga ma bzhIn no /

"復有五法不應收攝。云何為五？一、承事外道；二、樂親近惡友；三、供養外道；四、不願與僧伽和合；五、不願與僧伽同住。如是之人不應收攝。"

Trans.: Henceforth, to those who have five features and are performed with the formal act of censure, [you must] not exempt them [when] they

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Chinese text simply renders it as '諸官', i.e. 'officers'. In Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* § 10.39, it gives that *rājakulayuktakulajñātipudgalapratisaraṇatām apratisartṛtāṃ saṃghasyābibhrataḥ* (SANKRITYAYANA 1981: 101), but no *tīrthikapratisaraṇa* is mentioned here.

[71] Both the Old Tibetan and Chinese texts list the *gang zag la dpag tshol ba* ('依別人') and *mur 'dug la dpag tshol ba* ('依外道') in an order that is reversed in PL.

[72] It should be taken as a scribal or printing error, and should be corrected as '不依僧伽'.

[73] PL (Skt.): aparair api paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ samanvāgataḥ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *samanvāgatas*) tarjanīyakarmakṛto nosārayitvayaḥ | katamaiḥ paṃcabhiḥ | āgārikadhvajaṃ dhārayati tīrthikadhvajaṃ dhārayati tīrthyān sevate bhajate paryupāste anadhyācāram ācarati bhikṣuśikṣāyāṃ na śikṣate | ebhiḥ paṃcabhir dharmais samanvāgataḥ pūrvavat*.
PL (Tib.): gzhan yang bsdigs pa'i las byas chos lnga dang ldan pa ni bslang bar mi bya ste | lnga gang zhe na | kyim pa'i rtags 'chang ba dang | mu stegs can gyi rtags 'chang ba dang | mu stegs can la sten cing bsnyen la bsnyen bkur byed pa dang | spyod par bya ba ma yin pa spyod pa dang | dge slong gis bslab pa la mi slob pa ste | chos 'di lnga zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin du'o.

[74] The Old Tibetan text gives *mur 'dug la bsnyend pa dang stobs pa dang bsnyen bkur byed pa*, which corresponds to *tīrthyān sevate bhajate paryupāste* (*mu stegs can la sten cing bsnyen la bsnyen bkur byed pa*) in PL, but the Chinese text contains '樂親近惡友' ('like to be with evil friends').

[75] Regarding the last two of the list, the Old Tibetan and Chinese EK texts (*dge 'dun la bsnyen ba{{ku}}r myI byed pa* '不願與僧伽和合' and *gnas myed par byed pa* '不願與僧伽同住') actually correspond to the last two of the list in PL (*saṃghasya ca alābhāya avasādāya cetayaty, dge 'dun gyi rnyed pa med par byed pa dang | gnas med par brtson par byed pa*) in the next section § 1.8d.

have not been exempted! Which five? 1) Attending to the heretics; 2) serving the heretics; 3) honoring the heretics; yet 4) not honoring the Order; 5) not dwelling in the Order. [To those with] five features, [do] as aforementioned!

§ 1.8d[76]

yang chos lnga dang ldan ba ste de ni dge slong pha rnams la kha ngan zer ba dang khro ba dang bsdIgs pa dang myI [23r3] spyad pa spyod pa dang dge slong pha'I bslab pa myI slob pa[77] ste / chos de lnga dang ldan ba'I bsdigs Ө pa'I byas pa las ma phyung dang ma dbyung shIg /

"復有五法不應收攝：一、罵苾芻；二、瞋恨；三、訶責；四、行不應行；五、苾芻學處而不修習。"

Trans.: And to those with five features, i.e. 1) speaking ill of the monks; 2) being angry with the monks; 3) censuring the monks; 4) performing bad conduct; 5) not taking the monk's training, to those who have these five features and are performed with the formal act of censure, [you must] not exempt them [when] they have not been exempted!

§ 1.9a[78]

chos lnga dang ldan na bsdIgs pa'I las byas pa'I Ө dge slong pha ma phyung dang phyung shIg / lnga gang zhe na dge 'dun la ri mo gus par byed

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[76] PL (Skt.): aparair api paṃcabhir dharmais samanvāgataḥ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *samanvāgatas*) tarjanīyakarmakṛto nosārayitavyaḥ | katamaiḥ paṃcabhiḥ | bhikṣūn ākrośati roṣayati paribhāṣate • saṃghasya ca alābhāya avasādāya cetayaty | ebhiḥ paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ pūrvavat*.
PL (Tib.): gzhan yang bsdigs pa'i las byas pa chos lnga dang ldan pa ni bslang bar mi bya ste | lnga gang zhe na | dge slong rnams la gshe bar byed pa dang | khro bar byed pa dang | kha zer bar byed pa dang | dge 'dun gyi rnyed pa med par byed pa dang | gnas med par brtson par byed pa ste | chos 'di lnga dang zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma bzhin du'o.

[77] Regarding the last two of the list, the Old Tibetan and Chinese EK texts (*myI spyad pa spyod pa* '行不應行' and *dge slong pha'I bslab pa myI slob pa* '苾芻學處而不修習') actually correspond to the last two of the list in PL (*anadhyācāram ācarati, spyod par bya ba ma yin pa spyod pa*; and *bhikṣuśikṣāyāṃ na śikṣate, dge slong gis bslab pa la mi slob pa*) in the former section § 1.8c.

[78] PL (Skt.): paṃcabhis tu dharmais samanvāgataḥ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *samanvāgatas*) tarjanīyakarmakṛta osārayitavyaḥ | katamaiḥ paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ | utkacaprakacaḥ saṃghe roma pātayati nissaraṇaṃ pravarttayati sāmīcīm upadarśayaty antaḥsīmāyāṃ sthitvā osāraṇāṃ yācate | kalahakārakatvāc ca prativiramāmīti • vadati | ebhiḥ pañcabhir dharmaiḥ samanvāgatas tarjanīyakarmakṛta osārayitavyaḥ.
PL (Tib.): yang bsdigs pa'i las byas pa chos lnga dang ldan pa ni bslang bar bya ste | lnga gang zhe na | skra gyen du 'greng pa lta bu dang | skra zhig pa lta bu dang | dge 'dun la spu sa la ltung ba lta bur byed pa dang | 'byung bar bskyod pa dang | mtshungs par nye bar ston pa dang | mtshams kyi nang du 'dug ste bslang ba gsol ba dang | 'thab krol byed pa nyid spong ba ste | chos 'di lnga dang zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin du'o.

pa dang / ₍₂₃ᵣ₄₎ spu bzhIn du 'bab pa dang dbyung bar rtsom dang phyag 'tshal bar stond pa dang mtshams kyI Ɵ mtha'{{mu}}r 'dug cing dbyung bar gsol ba'o / de bas na thab mo byed pa la slar gtong⁷⁹ zhIng Ɵ chos de lnga dang ldan na bsdigs pa'I las byas pa las ma phyung dang ma dbyung shIg //

"若有五法應可收攝。云何為五？一、於僧伽處自現恭勤不生輕慢；二、悕求拔濟；三、恒申敬禮；四、界內而住請求收攝；五、自云：'我今於此鬪諍更不復作。' 是謂為五。若未收攝者，應可收攝。"

Trans.: Concerning the monks who have been performed with the formal act of censure yet [now] have five features, [they could] be exempted [when] they have not been exempted! Which five? 1) Showing great respect to the Order, and being fully subdued with hairs fallen; 2) initiating to be exempted [from the act]; 3) showing with homage; 4) begging to be exempted [from the act] while abiding in the end of the boundary; and 5) giving up being quarrelsome [and so on] anymore. [Therefore,] to those who have aforementioned five features and are performed with the formal act of censure, [you could] exempt them [when] they have not been exempted!

§ 1.9b⁸⁰

₍₂₃ᵣ₅₎ de las yang chos lnga dang ldan na bsdigs pa'I las byas pa las ma phyung dang phyung shIg / Ɵ lnga gang zhe na rgyal po la dpag myI tshol ba dang dbang yod pa la dpag myI tshol ba dang / gang zag Ɵ la dpag myI tshol ba dang / mur 'dug la dpag myI tshol ba dang dge 'dun la dpag tshol ₍₂₃ᵣ₆₎ ba dang de lnga 'ang snga ma bzhIn no //

"復有五法應可收攝。云何為五？一、不依國王；二、不依諸官；三、不依別人；四、不依外道；五、不依僧伽⁸¹，是名為五。"

Trans.: Henceforth, concerning those who have five features and are performed with the formal act of censure, [they could] be exempted [when] they have not been exempted! Which five? 1) Not seeking refuge to kings;

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⁷⁹ The Old Tibetan text and PL (Tib.) do not contain the *vadati* ('自云'), which PL (Skt.) and the Chinese EK preserve.

⁸⁰ PL (Skt.): aparair api paṃcabhir dharmais samanvāgataḥ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *samanvāgatas*) tarjanīyakarmakṛta osārayitavyaḥ | katamaiḥ paṃcabhiḥ | na rājakulapratisaraṇo bhavati na yuktakulapratisaraṇo na tīrthikapratisaraṇaḥ saṃghapratisaraṇo na pudgalapratisaraṇaḥ | ebhiḥ paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ samanvāgataḥ pūrvavat*.
PL (Tib.): zhan yang bsdigs pa'i las byas pa chos lnga dang ldan pa ni bslang bar bya ste | lnga gang zhe na | pho brang 'khor du mi rton pa dang | bskos pa 'dus pa'i sar mi rton pa dang | mu stegs can la mi rton pa dang | gang zag la mi rton pa dang | dge 'dun la rton pa ste | chos 'di lnga dang ldan pa ni zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin du'o.

⁸¹ It should be taken as a scribal or printing error, and should be corrected as '依僧伽'.

2) nor to those with power; 3) nor to [other] men; 4) nor to heretics; yet 5) to the Order. [To those with] five features, [do] as aforementioned!

§ 1.9c[82]

de las yang chos lnga dang ldan na bsdIgs pa'i las byas pa las ma phyung dang phyung shIg / lnga gang zhe na mur 'dug la myI snyand pa dang / myI stobs pa dang bsnyen bkur byed pa myed pa dang dge 'dun la bsnyen ba{{ku}}r byed pa dang gnas yod par byed pa ste[83] // [23r7] de lnga yang snga ma bzhIn no /

"復有五法與解令怖羯磨。云何為五？一、不於外道而作承事；二、不親近惡友；三、不供養外道；四、願與僧伽和合；五、願與僧伽同住，是名為五。"

Trans.: Henceforth, concerning those who have five features and are performed with the formal act of censure, [they could] be exempted [when] they have not been exempted! Which five? 1) Not attending to the heretics; 2) nor serving the heretics; 3) nor honouring the heretics; yet 4) honouring the Order; 5) dwelling in the Order. [To those with] five features, [do] as aforementioned!

§ 1.9d[84]

yang chos lnga dang ldan ba ste / de nI dge slong pha rnams la kha ngan myI zer ba dang / myi khro ba dang myI bsdigs pa dang myI spyad myI spyod pa dang / dge slong pha'I bslab pa slob pa ste / bsdIgs pa'I las byas pa las ma phyung dang phyung shIg / dbyung ba nI 'di ltar bya'o //

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[82] PL (Skt.): aparair api paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ samanvāgataḥ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *samanvāgatas*) tarjanīyakarmakṛta osārayitavyaḥ | katamaiḥ paṃcabhiḥ | nāgārikadhvajaṃ dhārayati na tīrthikadhvajaṃ dhārayati na tīrthyāṃ sevate na bhajate na paryupāste adhyācāram ācarati bhikṣuśikṣāyāṃ śikṣate • ebhiḥ paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ pūrvavat*.

PL (Tib.): gzhan yang bsdigs pa'i las byas pa chos lnga dang ldan pa ni bslang bar bya ste | lnga gang zhe na | khrim pa'i rtags mi 'chang ba dang | mu stegs gyi rtags mi 'chang ba dang | mu stegs can la mi sten cig mi bsnyen la bsnyen bkur mi byed pa dang | spyad par bya ba spyod pa dang | dge slong gi bslab pa la slob pa ste | chos 'di lnga dang zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin du'o.

[83] Cf. § 1.8c, n.75.

[84] PL (Skt.): aparair api paṃcabhir dharmais samanvāgataḥ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *samanvāgatas*) tarjanīyakarmakṛta osārayitavyaḥ | katamaiḥ paṃcabhiḥ | na bhikṣūn ākrośati na roṣayati na paribhāṣate saṃghasya lābhāya anavasādāya cetayate | ebhiḥ pañcabhir dharmaiḥ pūrvavat*.

PL (Tib.): gzhan yang bsdigs pa'i las byas pa chos lnga dang ldan pa ni bslang bar bya ste | lnga gang zhe na | dge slong rnams la mi gzhe ba dang | mi khro ba dang | kha mi zer ba dang | dge 'dun gyi rnyed pa'i phyir dang | gnas kyi phyir brtson pa ste | chos 'di lnga dang zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin du'o.

"復有五法與解令怖羯磨。云何為五？一、不罵苾芻；二、不瞋恨；三、不訶責；四、行所應行；五、於苾芻學處而常修習，是名為五。既調伏已應與收攝羯磨。"

Trans.: And concerning those with five features, i.e. 1) not speaking ill of the monks; 2) nor being angry with the monks; 3) nor censuring the monks; 4) nor performing bad conduct; 5) taking the monk's training, [those who have these five features and] are performed with the formal act of censure, [they could] be exempted [when] they have not been exempted! Such is the way to exempt.

§ 1.10[85]

[23v1] stan bting ba nas[86] dge slong leb rgan pa las thal mo sbyar nas tshIg 'dI skad ces smra ba'i bar du ste //

"為前方便，准上應知，乃至半豆盧呬得迦等作如是言。"

Trans.: Seating couch is prepared [, and so on, until] the monks of *Leb rgan pa* saluted with joined hands, saying...

§ 1.11[87]

gson cig btsun ba'I dge 'dun rnams bdag dge slong pha leb rgan *pa* thab mo byed log po byed 'deg pa byed tshIg ngan du smra rtsod par byed de / de dge slong pha'I dge 'dun rnams la 'ang rtag par 'thab du [23v2] 'dzud 'deg du

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[85] PL (Skt.): evaṃ ca punar osārayitavyaḥ | śayanāsanaprajñaptiṃ kṛtvā gaṇḍīm ākotya pṛṣṭhavācikayā bhikṣūṃ samanuyujya sarvasaṃghe sanniṣaṇṇe sannipatite Pāṇḍulohitakair bhikṣubhir yathāvṛddhikayā kṛtvā vṛddhānte utkuṭukena sthitvā añjaliṃ pragṛhya idaṃ syād vacanīyaḥ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *vacanīyaṃ*).
PL (Tib.): bslang ba ni 'di ltar bya ste | gnas mal bshams la gaṇḍī brdungs te | dris pa'i tshig gis dge slong rnams la yang dag par bsgo la | dge 'dun thams cad tshogs shing mthun par gyur pa dang | dge slong dmar ser can gyis rgan rims ji lta ba bzhin du gdung ba byas la | rgan rims kyi mdung du tsog tsog por 'dug ste | thal mo sbyar ba btud nas tshig 'di skad ces.

[86] Cf. § 1.3, n.43.

[87] PL (Skt.): śṛnotu bhadantāḥ saṃghaḥ | vayaṃ Pāṇḍulohitikā (Yamagiwa suggests to read *Pāṇḍulohitakā*) bhikṣavaḥ kalahakārakā bhaṇḍanakārakā vigrahakārakā vivādakārakā ādhikaraṇikāḥ | te vayam abhīkṣṇaṃ saṃghe adhikaraṇāny utpādayāmo yena saṃghaḥ kalahajāto viharati bhaṇḍanajāto vigṛhīto vivādam āpannaḥ | teṣām asmākaṃ Pāṇḍulohitakānāṃ bhikṣūnāṃ kalahakārakāṇāṃ bhaṇḍanakārakāṇāṃ vigrahakārakāṇāṃ vivādakārakāṇāṃ ādhikaraṇikānāṃ saṃghena tarjanīyaṃ karma kṛtaṃ | te vayaṃ tarjanīyakarmakṛtāni utkacaprakacā (Yamagiwa suggests to read *tarjanīyakarmakṛtā utkacaprakacāḥ*) saṃghe roma pātayāmo nissaraṇaṃ pravarttayāmaḥ sāmīcīm upadarśayāmaḥ antassīmāyāṃ sthitvā osāraṇāṃ yācāmahe • kalahakārakatvāc ca prativiramāmaḥ osārayatv asmākaṃ bhadantās saṃgha (Yamagiwa suggests to read *saṃghaḥ*) Pāṇḍulohitakāṃ bhikṣūn kalahakārakān vivādakārakāṃ ādhikaraṇikāṃs tarjanīyakarmakṛtān anukaṃpakaḥ anukaṃpām upādāya | evaṃ dvir api tṛr api.

'dzud de tshIg ngan gyIs smra bar 'dzud dge 'dun rnams rtsod par btsud de / de'I phyi*r* bdag la dge 'dun rnams kyIs bsdigs pa'I las bgyIs te / bdag la bsdigs pa'I las bgyIs pa na dge 'dun la rI mo shIn du gus par bgyid / {{spu}} / spu bzhIn du 'bab par bgyid / 'byung bar rtsom ₍₂₃ᵥ₃₎phyag 'tshal ba 'ang bstand mtshams kyI mtha'{{mu}}r 'dug cing dbyung bar gsol / thab mor Ɵ bgyId pa de 'ang slar spong na / btsun ba'I dge 'dun rnams kyIs bdag dge slong leb rgan pa Ɵ bsdIgs pa'I las bgyis pa las dbyung bar gsol / brtse ba can brtse ba'I phyir ro[88] // ₍₂₃ᵥ₄₎de bzhIn du lan gnyis lan gsum du'o //

"'大德僧伽聽！我苾芻半豆盧呬得迦等是鬪亂者、是諍競者，我便數數舉發諍事，常令僧伽不安樂住。由是僧伽於我等輩為作令怖羯磨。我得羯磨已於僧伽中極現恭勤不生輕慢，悕求拔濟恒申敬禮，界內而住請求收攝，我於鬪諍永為止息。願大德僧伽與我半豆盧呬得迦等解令怖羯磨。是能愍者，願哀愍故。' 第二、第三亦如是說。"

Trans.: 'Listen, the Venerable Order! We the monks of *Leb rgan pa* were quarrelsome, hostile, assaultive, ready to insult, and disputative, and hence made the Buddhist monks always to be quarrelsome, assaultive, ready to insult, and to dispute with monks. Therefore, the Order performed the formal act of censure to us. After being performed with the formal act of censure, we show great respect to the Order, become fully subdued with hairs fallen, initiate to be exempted [from the act], show with homage, beg to be exempted [from the act] while abiding in the end of the boundary, and [now] give up being quarrelsome [and so on] anymore. [Here I] request you, the Venerable Order, [to grant] the formal act of exemption to us, the monks of *Leb rgan pa* who haven been performed with the formal act of censure! [You are] sympathisers since you've taken compassion!' The second and third are performed likewise.

PL (Tib.): dge 'dun btsun pa rnams gsan du gsol | bdag cag dge slong dmar ser can 'thab krol bgyid pa | mtshang 'dru bar bgyid pa | rtsod par bgyid pa | 'gyed par bgyid pa | rtsod pa'i gzhi bgyid pa dag lags pas | bdag cag gis dge 'dun la yang dang yang du rtsod pa'i gzhi bskyed de | des na dge 'dun 'thab krol dang | mtshang 'dru ba dang | rtsod pa dang | 'gyed pa byung zhing gnas pas | dge 'dun gyis bdag cag dge slong dmar ser can 'thab krol bgyid pa | mtshang 'dru bar bgyid pa | rtsod par bgyid pa | 'gyed par bgyid pa | rtsod pa'i gzhi bgyid pa rnams la bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad lags te | bdag cag bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad lags pa rnams skra gyen du 'greng ba lta bu dang | skra zhig pa lta bur dge 'dun la spus la ltung ba lta bur bgyid | 'byung bar bskyod | mtshungs par nye bar ston | mtshams kyi nang du mchis nas bslang bar gsol te | 'thab krol bgyid pa nyid kyang spong na | dge 'dun btsun pa thugs brtse ba can thugs brtse bas nye bar bzung nas | bdag cag dge slong dmar ser can 'thab krol bgyid pa | mtshang 'dru bar bgyid pa | rtsod par bgyid pa | 'gyed par bgyid pa | rtsod pa'i gzhi bgyid pa | bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad pa lags pa bslang bar gsol | de skad lan gnyis lan gsum du bzlas so.

[88]   The Old Tibetan text *brtse ba can brtse ba'I phyir* is close to the Chinese parallel '是能愍者，願哀愍故', and both are translated from PL (Skt.): *anukaṃpakaḥ anukaṃpām upādāya*. But PL (Tib.) allocates the sentence at the beginning of the request of exemption.

§ 1.12[89]

de nas dge slong pha gcig gIs gsol ba Ɵ gyIs la / las byos shIg // gson cig btsun ba'I dge 'dun rnams dge slong Ɵ leb rgan pa 'dI thab mo byed log po byed 'deg pa byed pa {byed} tshig ngan du smra rtsod par byed ₍₂₃ᵥ₅₎ de / dge slong pha'I dge 'dun rnams la 'ang rtag par 'thab du 'dzud 'deg du 'dzud / Ɵ tshIg ngan gyIs smra bar 'dzud dge 'dun rnams *rtsod* par 'dzud pa de'I phyir / dge 'dun rnams Ɵ kyIs dge slong pha leb rgan pa thab mo can 'dI la bsdigs pa'I las bgyis te / ₍₂₃ᵥ₆₎ bsdIgs pa'I las bgyis pas na / dge 'dun la rI mo shIn du gus par bgyIs spu bzhIn du 'bab par bgyIs 'byung bar brtsams phyag 'tshal ba 'ang bstand mtshams kyI mthar 'dug cing dbyung bar yang gsol thab mor bgyId pa de yang slar spangs te / de dge 'dun gyI ₍₂₃ᵥ₇₎ dus la bab cing bzod na dge 'dun rnams kyIs gnong shIg / dge 'dun gyIs dge slong pha leb rgan 'di la bsdIgs pa'I las bgyIs pa las phyung shIg / de nI gsol ba'o /

"次一苾芻為白四羯磨[90]：'大德僧伽聽！此半豆盧呬得迦諸苾芻等鬥亂僧伽令起諍競，復便數數舉發諍事，常令僧伽不安樂住。僧伽先與半豆盧呬得迦諸苾芻等作令怖羯磨。此半豆盧呬得迦諸苾芻等得羯磨已，於僧伽中極現恭勤不生輕慢，今從僧伽乞解令怖羯磨。若僧伽時至聽者，僧伽應許僧伽今與半豆盧呬得迦諸苾芻等解令怖羯磨。'白如是。"

Trans.: Then one monk brought the motion and performed the act, requesting: 'Listen, the Venerable Order! This [group of monks] of *Leb rgan pa* who were quarrelsome, hostile, assaultive, ready to insult, and disputative,

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[89] PL (Skt.): tataḥ paścād ekena bhikṣuṇā jñaptiṃ kṛtvā karma kartavyaṃ | śṛṇotu bhadantāḥ saṃghaḥ | ime Pāṇḍulohitikā (Yamagiwa suggests to read *Pāṇḍulohitakā*) bhikṣavaḥ kalahakārakā yāvad ādhikaraṇikāḥ | ta ete abhīkṣṇaṃ saṃghe adhikaraṇāny utpādayanti • yena saṃghaḥ kalahajāto viharati bhaṇḍanajāto vigṛhīto vivādam āpannaḥ | tad eṣāṃ saṃghena kalahakārakā iti tarjanīyakarma kṛtaṃ | ta ete tarjanīyakarmakṛtā utkacaprakacāḥ saṃghe roma pātayanti • nissaraṇaṃ pravarttayanti samīcīm (Yamagiwa suggests to read *sāmīcīm*) upadarśayaṃty antaḥsīmāyāṃ sthitvā osāraṇāṃ yācaṃte kalahakārakatvāc ca prativiramāma iti vadanti • sacet saṃghasya prāptakālaṃ kṣametānujānīyāt saṃgho yat saṃghaḥ Pāṇḍulohitakān bhikṣūn osārayati nissaraṇaṃ pravarttayati | eṣā jñaptiḥ.

PL (Tib.): de'i 'og tu dge slong gcig gis gsol ba byas te las bya'o || dge 'dun btsun pa rnams gsan du gsol | dge slong dmar ser can 'di dag ni 'thab krol bgyid pa nas | rtsod pa'i gzhi bgyid pa'i bar du ste | de dag gis dge 'dun la yang dang yang du rtsod pa'i gzhi bskyed de | des na dge 'dun 'thab krol dang | mtshang 'dru ba dang | rtsod pa dang | 'gyed pa byung zhing gnas pas | dge 'dun gyis 'thab krol bgyid pa 'di rnams la bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad lags te | bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad lags pa 'di rnams skra gyen du 'greng ba lta bu dang | skra zhig pa lta bur dge 'dun la spus la ltung ba lta bur bgyid | 'byung bar bskyed | mtshungs par nye bar ston | mtshams kyi nang du mchis nas | bslang ba gsol te | 'thab krol bgyid pa nyid kyang spong ngo zhes mchi na | gal te dge 'dun gyi dus la bab cing bzod na | dge 'dun gyis gnang bar mdzod cig dang | dge 'dun gyis dge slong dmar ser can rnams bslang bar mdzad do || 'di ni gsol ba'o.

[90] The editors of the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* report that in the recensions from Kunai-shō Zusho-ryō and Three Dynasties, it is '次一苾芻為白羯磨', and this reading should be preferred and repunctuated as '次一苾芻為白、羯磨'. Cf. § 1.3, n.44.

and hence made the Buddhist monks always to be quarrelsome, assaultive, ready to insult, and to dispute with monks. Therefore, the Order performed the formal act of censure to the monks of *Leb rgan pa* who were quarrelsome [and so on]. After being performed with the formal act of censure, they showed great respect to the Order, became fully subdued with hairs fallen, initiated to be exempted [from the act], showed with homage, begged to be exempted [from the act] while abiding in the end of the boundary, and gave up being quarrelsome [and so on] anymore. [If the Order] consent that [it's] the right time for the Order, the Order should grant the formal act of exemption to the monks of *Leb rgan pa* who have been performed with the formal act of censure!' This is the motion.

§ 1.13[91]

las nI 'di ltar bya'o // gson cig btsun ba'I dge 'dun rnams / dge slong leb rgan pa ₍ITJ 596.24r1 ('KA 67')₎ $ // 'di thab myo byed log po byed 'deg pa byed tshIg ngan du smra rtsod par byed de / de dge slong pha'I dge 'dun rnams la yang rtag du 'thab du 'dzud 'deg du 'dzud tshIg ngan gyIs smra bar 'dzud dge 'dun rnams rtsod par 'dzud de / de'I phyir dge slong leb rgan pa thab mo can 'dI la dge 'dun rnams kyIs bsdigs pa'I las ₍24r2₎ bgyIs te / bsdigs pa'I las de bgyIs

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91 PL (Skt.): tataḥ karma kartavyam* | śṛṇotu bhadantāḥ saṃghaḥ | ime Pāṇḍulohitakā bhikṣavaḥ kalahakārakā yāvad ādhikaraṇikās | ta ete abhīkṣaṃ saṃghe adhikaraṇāny utpādayanti yena saṃghaḥ kalahajāto viharati bhaṇḍanajāto vigṛhīto vivādam āpannaḥ | tad eṣāṃ saṃghena kalahakārakā iti tarjanīyakarma kṛtaṃ | ta ete tarjanīyakarmakṛtā utkacaprakacā (Yamagiwa suggests to read *utkacaprakacāḥ*) saṃghe roma pātayanti nissaraṇaṃ pravarttayanti sāmīcīm upadarśayanti antaḥsīme sthitāḥ (Yamagiwa suggests to read *antaḥsīmāyāṃ sthitvā*) osāraṇāṃ yācaṃte kalahakārakatvāc ca prativiramāma iti vadanti | tat saṃghaḥ Pāṇḍulohitakān bhikṣūn kalahakārakāṃs tarjanīyakarmakṛtān osārayati | yeṣāṃm āyuṣmatāṃ kṣamate Pāṇḍulohitakān bhikṣūṃ kalahakārakāṃs tarjanīyakarmakṛtāṃn osārayituṃ te tūṣṇīṃ na kṣamate bhāṣantāṃ | osāritā saṃghena Pāṇḍulohitakā bhikṣavaḥ kalahakārakās tarjanīyakarmakṛtāḥ | kṣāntam anujñātaṃ saṃghena yasmāt tūṣṇīṃ evam etad dhārayāmi.

PL (Tib.): las bya ba ni dge 'dun btsun pa rnams gsan du gsol | dge slong dmar ser can 'di dag ni 'thab krol bgyid pa zhes bya ba nas | rtsod pa'i gzhi bgyid pa'i bar du ste | de dag gis dge 'dun la rtsod pa'i gzhi bskyed de | des na dge 'dun 'thab krol dang | mtshang 'dru ba dang | rtsod pa dang | 'gyed pa byung zhing gnas pas | dge 'dun gyis 'thab krol bgyid pa 'di rnams la bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad te | bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad lags pa 'di rnams | skra gyen du 'greng ba lta bu dang | skra zhig pa lta bur dge 'dun la spu sa la ltung ba lta bur bgyid | 'byung bar bskyod | mtshungs par nye bar ston | mtshams kyi nang du mchis nas bslang ba gsol te | 'thab krol bgyid pa nyid kyang spong ngo zhes mchi na | de'i slad du dge 'dun gyis dge slong dmar ser can 'thab krol bgyid pa bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad lags pa rnams bslang bar mdzad na | tshe dang ldan pa gang dag dge slong dmar ser can 'thab krol bgyid pa bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad lags pa rnams bslang bar bzod pa de dag ni cang ma gsungs shig | gang dag mi bzod pa de dag ni gsuṅgs shig | 'di ni las brjod pa dang po ste | de bzhin du las brjod pa gnyis dang gsum gyi bar du brjod par bya'o || dge 'dun gyi bzod cing gnang nas | dge 'dun gyis dge slong dmar ser can 'thab krol bgyid pa bsdigs pa'i phrin las mdzad lags pa rnams bslang bar mdzad lags te | 'di ltar cang mi gsung bas de de bzhin du 'dzin to.

pas na dge 'dun la rI mo shIn du gus par bgyis / spu bzhIn du 'bab par bgyIs dbyung bar brtsams phyag 'tshal ba yang bstand mtshams kyI mthar 'dug cing dbyung ba yang gsol thab mor bgyIs pa de yang slar spangs te / dge 'dun rnams kyIs dge ₍₂₄ᵣ₃₎ slong leb rgan pa 'dI bsdigs pa'I las bgyIs pa de las 'byIn na / tshe dang ldan ba rnams las Ɵ dge slong leb rgan *pa* 'di bsdIgs pa'i las byas pa las dbyung bar gag la bzod pa de dag nI cang ma gsung shIg / myI bzod pa nI gsungs shIg / 'dI ni las kyI tshig dang po ste / las kyI tshig de ₍₂₄ᵣ₄₎ bzhIn du lan gnyIs lan gsum du byos shIg / dge 'dun gyIs dge slong leb rgan pa Ɵ bsdIgs pa'I las byas pa las phyung ste / dge 'dun rnams kyIs bzod cing gnang bas na Ɵ cang myI gsung ste de bzhIn du 'dzin to // ₓ*ₓ //

"'大德僧伽聽！此半豆盧呬得迦諸苾芻等，鬪亂僧伽令起諍競，復便數數舉發諍事，常令僧伽不安樂住。僧伽先與半豆盧呬得迦諸苾芻等作令怖羯磨。此半豆盧呬得迦諸苾芻等得羯磨已，於僧伽中極現恭勤、不生輕慢，今從僧伽乞解令怖羯磨。僧伽今與半豆盧呬得迦諸苾芻等解令怖羯磨者默然，若不許者說。此是初羯磨。' 第二、第三亦如是說。'僧伽已與半豆盧呬得迦諸苾芻等解令怖羯磨竟。僧伽已聽許，由其默然故，我今如是持。'"

Trans.: Thus is how to perform the act. 'Listen, the Venerable Order! This [group of monks] of *Leb rgan pa* who were quarrelsome, hostile, assaultive, ready to insult, and disputative, and hence made the Buddhist monks always to be quarrelsome, assaultive, ready to insult, and to dispute with monks. Therefore, the Order performed the formal act of censure to the monks of *Leb rgan pa*. After being performed with the formal act of censure, they showed great respect to the Order, became fully subdued with hairs fallen, initiated to be exempted [from the act], showed great homage, begged to be exempted [from the act] while abiding in the end of the boundary, and gave up being quarrelsome [and so on] anymore. The Order grants the formal act of exemption to the monks of *Leb rgan pa* who have been performed with the formal act of censure. The Order that consents to grant the formal act of exemption to those monks of *Leb rgan pa* who have been performed with the formal act of censure, speak no word! Whoever doesn't consent, speak!' Thus is the speech of the first act. The second and third were performed likewise. 'The Order removed those monks of *Leb rgan pa*, for whom the formal act of censure had been performed, from such a state. The Order consents and grants [that, so the monks] speak no word.' Thus I take.

Acknowledgements

Symbols used in the Diplomatic Edition

I   *gi log*

M   *anusvāra*

$ page initial sign head *mgo-yig*

abc   insertions: letter, word, or phrase written below the line

{abc}   letters deleted by a tiny stroke

{{abc}} letters erased

[#a#]   page and line number

Ɵ   string hole

***   illustration at the end of text section

Abbreviations

baiyijiemo = *Genbenshuoyiqieyoubu baiyijiemo* 根本說一切有部百一羯磨 (T 1453)

Chin. = Chinese

D = Derge Tanjur

EK = *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Ekottarakarmaśataka*

IOL Tib = Indian Office Library Tibetan

ITJ = IOL Tib J

PL = *Pāṇḍulohitakavastu*

PT = Pelliot tibétain

PTS Vin = Pali Text Society: *Vinayapiṭaka*. See Oldenberg 1995.

Q = Peking Tanjur

Skt. = Sanskrit

T = *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, ed. Takakusu, Junjiro and Kaigyoku Watanabe. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taisho Issaikyo, 1924–1934.

Tib. = Tibetan

zashi = Genbenshuoyiqieyoubu pinaiye zashi 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 (T 1451).

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Calendrical Terminology in the Early Vedic Astronomical Treatises of the *Jyotiṣavedāṅga*

Marta Monkiewicz

Abstract: Knowledge of Vedic time reckoning was preserved in the *Ṛk-* and *Yajurveda* recensions of the *Jyotiṣavedāṅga*. Most of the verses of the two treatises convey the same meaning and provide a lecture on the measurement of time and its division. Some basic mathematical operations are also applied in order to calculate specific data important for the performance of Vedic ritual. This paper discusses some of the stanzas and examines the terminology applied for the sake of time reckoning.

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1. Introduction

The oldest preserved treatises on *jyotiṣa* are two recensions, *Ṛgvedajyotiṣavedāṅga* (*ṚJV*) and *Yajurvedajyotiṣavedāṅga* (*YJV*), likely composed in the 5th–3rd centuries BC[1] and associated with *Ṛgveda* or *Yajurveda,* respectively. The first, considered older, is composed of 36 stanzas, and the latter of 43, but most of them are shared by both recensions.[2] A few of the shared stanzas differ in words but convey the same meaning. The authorship of both treatises is attributed to sage Lagadha or his disciple Śuci.[3]

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[1] The absolute chronology of the *Jyotiṣavedāṅga* has been a bone of contention between European and Indian scholars. Sen, Weber, Pingree, and Müller agree that the work was composed before Common Era. Sen 1971: 78 dates *ṚJV* as not earlier than the 7th–6th cent. BC, Weber 1852: 222 places it in the 5th cent. BC, Pingree 1981: 10 in the 5th–4th cent. BC, and Müller 1862: 16 believes it was composed in the 3rd cent. BC. Filliozat considers it later, composed between the 4th cent. BC and the 2nd cent. AD (see Sen 1971: 78). Others recognise the work as much earlier. Narahari Achar 2000: 173 dates it back to the 18th cent. BC, while Sarma 1985: 13 and Dixit 1969: 87 to the 14th cent. BC.

[2] See Weber 1862: 2, cf. Narahari Achar 1997: 21.

[3] See Narahari Achar 1997: 21.

The content of the treatises is threefold and can be divided into the following categories: (1) socio-religious (praise of the deities, reference to ritual, social practices, and authorship of the text), (2) mathematical (units of time and their proportions, rudimentary calculations) and (3) astronomical (celestial phenomena, movement of the Sun and the Moon in the sky, sky topography, characteristics of the five-year lunisolar cycle, i.e. *yuga*). Although the astronomical knowledge recorded in both recensions is rudimentary, it conveys complex yet interesting concepts, like *nakṣatra* and *tithi*, presented later in the article.

According to the *ṚJV* 35[4] '*jyotiṣa* distinguishes itself among the limbs of the Veda, as do the crests of the peacocks [and] the jewels on the heads of the *nāga*s.'[5] This work belongs to the Vedāṅga text corpus and conveys knowledge of the Vedic period in the field of *jyotiṣavedāṅga*. However, its shade of meaning is fairly comprehensive, as *jyotiṣa* translates as 'the science of the movements of the heavenly bodies and divisions of time dependant thereon',[6] 'astronomical science',[7] 'astronomy'[8] or 'mathematical, astronomical, and astrological science, astronomy, astrology'.[9] Given its wide scope and development, *jyotiṣa* is divided into three minor branches (*skandha*s) in later astronomical works.[10] Varāhamihira, in his work *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, introduces the following *skandha*s: *saṃhitā* ('connected with, agreeing with, conformable with' → study of omens), *horā* ('hour, horoscope' → divination, astrology), and *gaṇita* ('counted, calculated, reckoned' → astronomy).[11] Of these three sub-disciplines, only one can be considered *scientific*,[12] that is *gaṇita*. The other two are less precise and rely rather on guesswork, prediction, and interpretation of some events, despite the mathematical apparatus sometimes applied in such activities.[13] Although *ṚJV* 35 seems to refer to the overall term and hence to this broad scope of knowledge, the *YJV* specifies the character of the work as belonging to *gaṇita-skandha*, i.e. astronomy. In the *YJV* 4,[14] identical to the

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[4] *ṚJV* 35: *yathā śikhā mayūrāṇāṃ nāgānāṃ maṇayo yathā /*
     tad vad vedāṅgaśāstrāṇāṃ jyotiṣaṃ mūrdhani sthitam //.

[5] Unless otherwise stated, all translations of the source texts were made by the author.

[6] Monier-Williams 1899: 427.

[7] Benfey 1866: 341, Macdonell 1893: 103.

[8] Cappeller 1891: 191.

[9] Wilson 1832: 356.

[10] Pingree 1981: 1, cf. Subbarayappa and Sarma 1985: 2.

[11] Subrahmanya and Bhat 1946: 4.

[12] *Scientific* as based on any investigation by systematic methods and principles of science.

[13] See Pingree 1981: 8.

[14] *YJV* 4: *yathā śikhā mayūrāṇāṃ nāgānāṃ maṇayo yathā /*
     tad vad vedāṅgaśāstrāṇāṃ gaṇitaṃ mūrdhani sthitam //.

ṚJV 35, the word *jyotiṣa* is replaced with *gaṇita* thus its astronomical character is emphasised. Probably the other *skandha*s developed later when *jyotiṣa* (at the early stage particularly *gaṇita*) had already established its own theories and primary research methodology. Its high position among the *vedāṅga*s presumably comes from the close relationship between Vedic ritual and setting the time of its performance. This relationship is emphasised in the *ṚJV* 3 and *ṚJV* 36:[15]

> I will proclaim in order the entire [knowledge of] the movements of heavenly bodies, highly respected by *brāhman*s, [composed] to establish the proper time of the ritual. […] For the Vedas were advanced for the sake of the ritual and the rites were arranged according to the time [of their performance], therefore he who knows *jyotiṣa*, the knowledge of the measurement of time, knows the sacrifice.

Jyotiṣa, as well as other *vedāṅga*s, is considered to form primary scientific knowledge.[16] As a scientific discipline, it should have its own terminology and methodology, although, considering the date of its composition, both could be quite rudimentary. Hence the aim of this paper is to establish whether Vedic astronomers introduced a *jargon* that formed the astronomical/calendrical lexicon of the early Vedic period. In order to provide the background for this discussion, the author performs textual analysis of chosen passages from the early *jyotiṣa* treatises. Translation of these passages is done by the author based on a philological approach. As a result, a primary astronomical/calendrical *lexis* is proposed and discussed in the section 'Calendrical Terminology'.

2. Elements of the Vedic Calendar

The elements of the Vedic calendar explained in both recensions of the *Jyotiṣavedāṅga* can be divided into two groups: (a) topographic, i.e. concerning sky topography and phenomena observable in the sky, and (b) calendrical, i.e. time reckoning resulting from the observation of the movement of celestial bodies.

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[15] *ṚJV* 3, 36: *jyotiṣām ayanaṃ kṛtsnaṃ pravakṣyāmy anupūrvaśaḥ /*
viprāṇāṃ sammataṃ loke yajñakālārthasiddhaye // [...]
vedā hi yajñārtham abhipravṛttāḥ kālānupurvyā vihitāś ca yajñāḥ /
tasmād idaṃ kālavidhānaśāstraṃ yo jyotiṣaṃ veda sa veda yajñāḥ //.
These stanzas are shared with the *YJV* 2, 3 with few differences. The *YJV* 2 has *puṇyaṃ* instead of *kṛtsnaṃ* in the first *pāda* and differs in the third *pāda* which is as follows: *sammataṃ brāhmaṇendrāṇāṃ*. The fourth *pāda* of the *YJV* 3 has *yajñam* instead of *yajñāḥ*.

[16] Kᴀᴋ 1997: 399.

2.1. The Sky Topography

Astronomical observations from Vedic times were limited to studying the movements of the Sun and the Moon along their paths; planetary movements were not then considered by astronomers.[17] Thus, the first group (a) includes the terms for the sky, stars, the Sun and the Moon with their orbits. Together, they form the sky topography.

The most general, yet fundamental list of the topographic elements of the Vedic sky is given in the *ṚJV* 30 (*YJV* 43):[18]

somasūryastṛcaritaṃ lokaṃ loke ca sammatim /
somasūryastṛcaritaṃ vidvān vedavid aśnute //

Versed in the Vedas [and] skilled in [the knowledge of] the movements of **the Moon**, **the Sun**, and **stars** reaches the world in which **the Moon**, **the Sun**, and **stars** reside [and] is highly valued in the world.

These elements are the stars (*stṛ*), the Sun (*sūrya*), and the Moon (*soma*). The terms for the Sun and the Moon also serve as names of personified Vedic deities. Such an association with Vedic mythology and tradition may emphasise the importance of this *vedāṅga* and its close connection with ritual, especially given that this stanza praises astronomers (or *brāhman*s learned in *jyotiṣa*). Their positions in the sky were marked with a reference to the stars, and more specifically to *nakṣatra*s.[19] The term *nakṣatra* occurs in the *ṚJV* 28 (*YJV* 35) in a socio-religious context:

nakṣatradevatā etā etābhir yajñakarmaṇi /
yajamānasya śāstrajñair nāma nakṣatrajaṃ smṛtam //

[…] these are the residing deities [and beings] of the ***nakṣatra*s. [It is said] by these learned in sacrificial rites that the sacrificer's name [should be] associated with the ***nakṣatra*** one was born under.

It introduces an important[20] custom according to which the names of newborns were associated with the *nakṣatra* or its deity. This stanza is preceded

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[17] See Ashfaque 1977: 151.

[18] *ṚJV* 30 is identical to *YJV* 43 however the latter is slightly corrupted. They differ in the second *pāda* where in the *YJV* there is *santati* instead of *sammati*, which makes the meaning unclear.

[19] Indian astronomers divided a space of width determined by the arc measure of 13°20' along the ecliptic into 27 (or 28) equal parts and called them *nakṣatra*s. These were further divided into 124 smaller parts (*aṃśa*s). Together, they formed a conventional reference system used to determine positions of both the Sun and the Moon moving against the fixed background of the sky. See Sen 1971: 574 and Basham 1954: 492, cf. Subbarayappa and Sarma 1985: 104, and Ashfaque 1977: 151.

[20] The importance and significance of this tradition are testified by the continuity of its observance up to date. See Sharma 2005: 36–40, cf. Gatrad et al. 2005: 1095–1096.

by enumeration of the names of the deities and class of beings residing over 27 *nakṣatra*s.[21] *Nakṣatra*s are listed in a prior stanza that is the *ṚJV* 14 (*YJV* 18):[22]

> *jau drā ghaḥ khe śve 'hī ro ṣā cin mū ṣa ṇyaḥ sū mā dhā ṇaḥ /*
> *re mṛ ghrāḥ svā 'po 'jaḥ kṛ ṣyo ha jye ṣṭhā itt **ṛkṣā** liṅgaiḥ //*

> Aśvinī, Ārdrā, Pūrvaphalgunī, Viśākhā, Uttarāṣāḍhā, Uttarabhādrapadā, Rohiṇī, Āśleṣā, Citrā, Mūla, Śatabhiṣak, Bharaṇī, Punarvasū, Uttaraphalgunī, Anurādhā, Śravaṇa, Revatī, Mṛgaśīras, Maghā, Svātī, Pūrvāṣāḍhā, Pūrvabhādrapadā, Kṛttikā, Puṣya, Hasta, Jyeṣṭhā, Śraviṣṭhā – [these are] **the lunar mansions** with [their] signs.

The enumeration does not follow any order and is given only by the *designata*.[23] They are here referred to as lunar mansions (*ṛkṣa*). This highlights a close and clear connection between the stars (and consequently *nakṣatra*s) with the Moon, which moves against the fixed background of the sky, residing in successive *nakṣatra*s and reaching fullness in them recurrently.

A few more terms for the Sun (*sūryā*, *arka*) and the Moon (*soma*, *candramas*) are mentioned in the *ṚJV* 5–6 (*YJV* 6–7):

> ***svar** ākramete **somārkau** yadā sākaṃ savāsavau /*
> *syāt tadādi **yugaṃ** māghas tapaḥ **śuklo'yanaṃ** hy udak //*

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[21] The list is as follows: 'Agni, Prajāpati, Soma, Rudra, Aditi, Bṛhaspati, Sarpas, Pitṛs, Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitā, Tvaṣṭā, Vāyu, Indrāgnī, Mitra, Indra, Nirṛti, Āpas, Viśvedevas, Viṣṇu, Vasus, Varuṇa, Ajaekapād, Ahirbudhnya, Pūṣā, Aśvins and Yama are residing deities of asterisms....' [*ṚJV* 25–27 (*YJV* 32–34): *agniḥ prajāpatiḥ somo rudro 'ditir bṛhaspatiḥ /*
sarpāś ca pitaraś caiva bhagaś caivāryamāpi ca //
savitā tvaṣṭātha vāyuś cendrāgnī mitra eva ca /
indro niṛrtir āpo vai viśve devās tathaiva ca //
viṣṇur vasavo varuṇo 'ja ekapāt tathaiva ca /
ahirbudhnyas tathā pūṣā aśvinau yama eva ca //].

[22] Some *designata* are (mis)written in both recensions. Instead of *gaḥ* (Pūrvaphalgunī) and *ṇyaḥ* (Bharaṇī) given in the second *pāda* of the *ṚJV* 14, there are *ghaḥ* and *yaḥ*, respectively, in the *YJV* 18. In turn, there is *ghrāḥ* in the third *pāda* of the *ṚJV* 14 instead of *ghā* (Maghā) as in the *YJV* 18. There is probably a misspelling in *ittṛkṣā* (*ityṛkṣā* is correct). Cf. *YJV* 18:
jau drā ghaḥ khe śve hī ro ṣā cin mū ṣaṇ yaḥ sū mā dhā ṇaḥ /
re mṛ ghā svā po jaḥ kṛ ṣyo ha jye ṣṭhā ity ṛkṣā liṅgaiḥ //.
Both recensions note the *designatum* of Śatabhiṣak incorrectly. The proper (*ṣak*) is given in Dvivedin 1908 in his edition of *Jyotiṣavedāṅga*, however it (incorrectly) marks Āśleṣā with *ṣāś* and Maghā with *ghāḥ* (*jau drā gaḥ khe śve hī ro ṣāś cin mū ṣak ṇyaḥ sū mā dhā ṇaḥ / re mṛ (mre) ghāḥ svā po jaḥ kṛ ṣyo ha jye ṣṭhā ity ṛkṣā liṅgaiḥ //*). For the proper list of *designata* see Dixit 1969: 72.

[23] For the list of *nakṣatra*s with their *designata* see Dixit 1969: 72 and Sarma 1985: 56. For the comparison of Indian *nakṣatra*s and European constellations see Basham 1954: 492.

*prapadyete śraviṣṭhādau **sūryācandramasāv** udak /*
*sārpārdhe dakṣiṇ**ārkas** tu māghaśrāvaṇayoḥ sadā //*

When **the Sun** and **the Moon**, accompanied with Vāsava, rise together in **the sky**, [then] with this begin a ***yuga***, [the lunar month of] Māgha, [the solar month of] Tapas, **the bright** [fortnight], and the northern **pathway** [of the Sun]. **The Sun** and **the Moon** move northwards [when situated] at the beginning of Śraviṣṭhā [and] southwards [when situated] in the middle of Āśleṣā. [In the case of] **the Sun**, [this happens] always in Māgha and Śrāvaṇa, [respectively].

The Sun and the Moon were recognised as the only moving celestial bodies in the Vedic period and were believed to occupy a part of the sky called *svar*. *Svar* was also considered the abode of the gods, and therefore both deities, the Moon and the Sun, could walk within this space in their personified forms.[24]

The aforementioned stanzas also explain the arrangement of the *nakṣatra*s, the Sun and the Moon in the sky at the time when the periodic five-year cycle (*yuga*) begins (*ṚJV* 5 and *YJV* 6) and on the solstices when the Sun changes the direction of its movement in the sky (*ṚJV* 6 and *YJV* 7). Between two successive solstices, the Sun advances along one of the two pathways (*ayana*s), the northern and the southern parts of its ecliptic.[25] The time needed for the Sun to cover one path equals half a year and may be called *ayana* as well.[26]

2.2. Time Reckoning

Observation of the repetitive phenomena in the sky enabled the Vedic astronomers to divide the time and arrange such divisions (b) in definite order for the sake of the religious observances and regulation of daily activities.[27] Such a system of time reckoning was based on a five-year cycle (*yuga*) in which all phenomena in the sky visible with the unaided eye are repeated. The further division of the *yuga* is explained in the *ṚJV* 1 (*YJV* 1) and *ṚJV* 32 (*YJV* 5):

*pañca**saṃvatsara**mayaṃ **yugā**dhyakṣaṃ prajāpatim /*
***dinartvayanam** āsāṅgaṃ praṇamya śirasā śuciḥ // […]*
*māgha**śukla**pravṛttasya pauṣa**kṛṣna**samāpinaḥ /*
***yugasya** pañca**varṣasya** kālajñānaṃ pracakṣate //*

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[24] Macdonell 1893: 371, Monier-Williams 1899: 1281, Wilson 1832: 962.

[25] These were called *dakṣiṇāyana* and *uttarāyana*, respectively. See Sen 1971: 63, cf. Dixit 1969: 23.

[26] Benfey 1866: 46, Cappeller 1891: 39, Macdonell 1893: 50, Monier-Williams 1899: 84, Wilson 1832: 64.

[27] See Malinowski 1927: 203.

Having bent before Prajāpati, the lord of a five-**year** *yuga* comprised of **days**, **seasons**, and **half-years**, [I] Śuci […]. [Scholars] declare the knowledge about the [division of] time within a five-**year** *yuga* commencing with the **bright** [fortnight] of [the lunar month of] Māgha and concluding with the **dark** [fortnight] of [the lunar month of] Pauṣa.

A *yuga* is comprised of five years (*saṃvatsara*, *varṣa*), seasons (*ṛtu*), half-years (*ayana*), and days (*dina*). A year is divided into lunar months and a lunar month into two fortnights: bright (*śukla*) and dark (*kṛṣṇa*).[28] However, this is quite a general statement, without more specific details on how many days count in a month or months in a year. *YJV* 28 amplifies the information on the division of a year marked by the journey of the Sun along its ecliptic:

*triśyaty **ahnām** saṣaṭṣaṣṭair **abdaḥ** ṣaṭ ca**rtavo'yane** /*
*māsā** dvādaśa **sūryāḥ** syuḥ etat pañcaguṇaṃ **yugam** //*

A [solar] **year** [comprises of] three hundred and sixty-six **days** and six **seasons**, two **half-years**, [and/or] twelve **solar months**. This repeated five times [makes] a *yuga*.

Unlike the aforementioned stanzas, the *YJV* 28 lists time units that only depend on the movement of the Sun in the sky.[29] Thus, the full ecliptic cycle of the Sun, the solar year (*abda*), is divided into two half-years (*ayana*), six seasons (*ṛtu*), and twelve solar months (*sūrya māsa*). Accordingly, two solar months correspond to one season. A solar year (*abda*) comprises also of 366 civil days (*ahan*),[30] which gives 61 days per season or 30.5 days per solar month (*sūrya māsa*).

Sidereal days amount to sidereal months and other lunar time divisions as given in the *ṚJV* 19:[31]

[…] ***staryān** **māsān** ṣaḍ abhyastān vidyāc **cāndramasān** ṛtūn //*
[…] multiply the **starry** (=sidereal) **months** by six, the result will be **lunar** (=synodic) **seasons**.

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28 The fortnights reflect the progress of the lunar phases. The Moon waxes during the *śukla* fortnight and wanes during the *kṛṣṇa* fortnight. See Freed and Freed 1964: 68.

29 *ṚJV* 1 (*YJV* 1) were rather general while *ṚJV* 32 (*YJV* 5) mention the names of lunar months and their division into *śukla* and *kṛṣṇa* fortnights.

30 See Sen 1971: 78.

31 There is *svārkṣān* instead of *staryān* in Dvivedin's edition of *Jyotiṣavedāṅga*: […] *svārkṣān māsān ṣaḍ abhyastān vidyāc cāndramasān ṛtūn* // ['multiply own stellar (=sidereal) months by six, the result will be lunar (=synodic) seasons']. See Dvivedin 1908: 65.

The adjective 'starry' (*starya* << *str̥* 'a star') highlights the Moon's relation to stars, i.e. its position against their background, thus starry month (*starya māsa*) is another name for a sidereal month. For the lunar seasons (*cāndramasa r̥tu*), they are not identical to solar seasons.[32] Their number is six times as much as the number of sidereal months in a *yuga*, which is 402. However, they were not as applicable as the Sun's seasons, marked by its movement along the ecliptic.[33]

This movement along one of the pathways (*ayana*s) lasted six months, which were further divided into three solar seasons, six solar months, and then civil days (*dina*, *ahan*). One more term for a day is referred to in the *YJV* 39 (*R̥JV* 18):[34]

*sasaptakaṃ **bha**yuk **somaḥ sūryo dyūni** trayodaśa /*
*navamāni ca pañc**āhnaḥ** [...] //*

The Moon [1: during a *yuga* or 2: within a day] is connected with (=resides in) **lunar mansions** for seven more times [than 1: sixty or 2: the length of the civil day], **the Sun** [stays in a lunar mansion] for 13 and 5/9ths of a **day** [...]

The second and third *pāda* of this stanza determine the number of days (*ahan*, *dyūni* → *div*) that elapse while the Sun measures off one *nakṣatra* (*bha*) during its journey along the ecliptic. However, the very first *pāda* can be understood twofold.

Firstly, as an explanation of the number of coincidences of the Moon with *nakṣatra*s (*bha*) within a *yuga*. Such coincidences determine sidereal months[35] and their number equals 67, while the number of noticeable synodic months[36] is 60.[37] Hence the difference in the number of sidereal and synodic months equals

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[32] *R̥tu,* however associated with a season, is considered rather a unit of distance than time. As Sarma 1985: 38 explains it is 'the period of the Sun or Moon moving through 4 ½ segments' of the stellar frame, i.e. *nakṣatra*s. Cf. *R̥JV* 9 (*YJV* 10): [...] *ardhapañcamabhas tv r̥tuḥ //* ['[...] one season equals four and a half parts of *nakṣatra*s'].

[33] See Sarma 1985: 38.

[34] This stanza is shared with *R̥JV* 18 however there is a possible misspelling in the third *pāda* of the *R̥JV* 18 ('bhā' → *navabhāni* instead of 'mā' → *navamāni*). Thus, the stanza of the *YJV* is considered correct because it adds up to the total number of days (*navama* means 'ninth'). However, *bhāni* might be deceptive as it refers to an asterism (*bha* means 'star, planet, asterism, lunar asterism or mansion').

[35] A sidereal month is 'the time needed for the Moon to return to the same place against the background of the stars' (Britannica 2011, 'month') that is to come across all lunar mansions. It is divided further into thirty sidereal days (Sen 1971: 73).

[36] A synodic month equals the time of a 'complete cycle of phases of the Moon' (Britannica 2011, 'month'). Cf. Ridpath 1997: 466.

[37] However, there are 62 synodic months in a *yuga*, two of which were added to the noticeable

seven ($7 = 67^{\text{sidereal months}} - 60^{\text{synodic months}}$). A *yuga* is comprised of both lunar time units however the sidereal ones were less significant for the calculations of the Vedic calendar and the performance of the ritual.

Secondly, it may be understood as the relationship between solar and lunar time units. According to *jyotiṣa,* a civil day is comprised of smaller time units, *inter alia*, 603 *kalā*s.[38] Considering the length of the civil day and the compliance between the Moon's occupation of *nakṣatra* and the length of a sidereal day, it can be assumed that this stanza explains the difference between a civil day (solar reckoning) and a sidereal day (lunar reckoning). In such a case, the latter is seven units (*kalā*s) longer than the former, which makes a sidereal day of 610 *kalā*s ($7 = 610^{\text{sidereal day}} - 603^{\text{civil day}}$). *YJV* 39 (*ṚJV* 18) proves the dual nature of ancient Indian time reckoning as it combines both lunar- and solar-based time units.

Another lunar-based time unit was synodic days (*tithi*s), derived from the lunation, i.e. the time elapsing between successive phases of the moon. There were thirty *tithi*s in a synodic month and fifteen in each fortnight. They were named after the ordinals.[39] According to Sen 1971: 73, synodic days were calendrical tools of 'not much astronomical significance except as an artificial division of the lunation.' However, they were useful for the sake of rituals[40] as well as for establishing the days of the important moon phases or equinoxes, as given in *ṚJV* 31:

> **viṣuvaṃ** *tad guṇaṃ dvābhyāṃ rūpahīnaṃ tu ṣaḍguṇam /*
> *yal labdhaṃ tāni* **parvāṇi** *tathārdhaṃ sā* **tithir** *bhavet //*
>
> Double the **equinox** (=the equinoctial ordinal) and subtract one. Multiply [this] by six. [The number of] **full and new moons** [that have passed] are obtained. Half of this [number] gives the **lunar day** [at the end of which the equinox occurs].

This stanza gives a mathematical formula for determination of the ordinal of the sidereal day (*tithi*) on which the equinox (*viṣuvat*) occurs. By means

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number of 60 months. Such an emendation was necessary to align two calendars, based on solar and lunar observations. See Sen 1971: 78 and Narahari Achar 1997: 21.

[38] The relationship between diurnal time units is given in the *jyotiṣavedāṅga*: '10 and 1/20ths *kalā*s are equal to *muhūrta* that comprises [also] of two *nāḍika*s, [and] thirty times this [=*muhūrta*] makes a day which is equal to 603 *kalā*s' [*ṚJV* 16 (*YJV* 38): *kalā daśa saviṃśā syāt dve muhūrtasya nāḍike / dyutriṃśat tat kalānāṃ tu ṣaṭchatī tryadhikaṃ bhavet //*]. For the division of a civil day see also Sen 1971: 78. Cf. Thibaut 1877: 419.

[39] See Ashfaque 1977: 153, Basham 1954: 494, and Sen 1971: 73. Cf. Narahari Achar 1997: 21.

[40] See Monkiewicz 2021: 137–155.

of the ordinal of the equinox, the number of new and full moons (*parvan*) is obtained. A similar stanza can be found in the *YJV*. Much as its meaning is similar to that of the *ṚJV* 31, the *YJV* 23 differs slightly in wording (especially in the third and fourth *pāda*):

> **viṣuvantaṃ** *dvir abhyastaṃ rūponaṃ ṣaḍguṇīkṛtam /*
> **pakṣā** *yad ardha* **pakṣāṇāṃ tithiḥ** *sa* **viṣuvān** *smṛtaḥ //*
>
> Double the **equinox** (the equinoctial ordinal) and subtract one. Multiply [this] by six. [The number of] **fortnights** [that have passed are obtained]. A half [of the number of] **fortnights** [gives] the lunar day termed an **equinox**.

The first verse conveys exactly the same meaning. The second explains the method to obtain the sidereal day (*tithi*) of the equinox (*viṣuvat*) as well, but by means of fortnights (*pakṣa*). The similarity of the two stanzas (*ṚJV* 31 and *YJV* 23) comes from the use of convergent time units. In a synodic month, there are two *parvan*s, a new moon and a full moon. The time that elapses between them is fifteen days, which corresponds to a fortnight (*pakṣa*). Thus, the method of calculating equinoctial *tithi* in both stanzas is the same; the difference is due to consideration of particular synodic days (*ṚJV* 31) or synodic half-months (*YJV* 23).

However, if one wishes to omit the calculations, it is possible to refer to the *ṚJV* 33, which gives the exact *tithi*s on which successive equinoxes occur as the *yuga* progresses:

> *tṛtīyāṃ navamīṃ caiva* **paurṇamāsīm** *athāsite /*
> *ṣaṣṭhīṃ ca* **viṣuvān** *prokto dvādaśīṃ ca samaṃ bhavet //*
>
> The **equinox** is proclaimed to occur on the third and ninth lunar days, and on the **day of the full moon** [of the bright fortnight, then] on the sixth and twelfth lunar days [of the dark fortnight]. [This] happens twice [in a *yuga*].

The equinox (*viṣuvat*) occurs on a particular *tithi*s, most of which are named after their ordinals. The *tithi* of the full moon bears a special name (*paurṇamāsī*), which emphasises that it is the day of the month associated with the full moon.[41]

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[41] The name *paurṇamāsī* is a compound of *paurṇa* (<< *pūrṇa* 'filled with, full of') and *māsī* (a day of the month << *māsa* 'a month' or *mās* 'a month, the moon'). Cf. Monier-Williams 1899: 814, 642; Wilson 1832: 549, 660; Macdonell 1893: 167, 227; Cappeller 1891: 324, 409 and Benfey 1866: 705.

Aside from establishing the *tithi* of the equinox and observing the recurring phenomena in the sky, Vedic astronomers were aware of the regular change in the length of the civil day. This progress was of vital importance due to the daily life cycle and activities undertaken during the daytime, such as tillage or household chores. The problem of the length of daytime is recorded in the *ṚJV* 7 (*YJV* 8):

> **gharmavṛddhir** *apāṃ prasthaḥ* **kṣapāhrāsa** *udag gatau /*
> *dakṣiṇe tau viparyāsaḥ ṣaṇ* **muhūrty ayanena** *tu //*

> Increase of the heat (=**daytime**) equals [a measure of] one *prastha* of water, [which is also a measure of] **the decrease of the nighttime**. Both [take place] when [the Sun is on its] northern path [and] when [moving] towards the south [the duration of a day changes] contrarily. The lapse [of the increase] is six **muhūrta**s within [each] **pathway of the Sun** (=half-year).

It had long been noticed that the length of the daytime (*gharma*), understood as the time between sunrise and sunset, draws in and out between solstices, that is within half a year (*ayana*). And the length of the nighttime (*kṣapā*) changes at the same rate. Therefore, the increase (*vṛddhi*) of the time is equal to its decrease (*hrāsa*) and amounts to six *muhūrta*s (one *muhūrta* equals 48 minutes).[42] This lapse was measured by means of the water in *prastha*s, a unit of quantity or capacity.[43] The flow of time was not only admeasured but also calculated. The formula for estimation of the length of any day in a year is given by *ṚJV* 22 (*YJV* 40):[44]

> *yad* **uttarasyāyanato** *gataṃ syāc cheṣaṃ tu yad* **dakṣiṇato'yanasya /**
> *tad ekaṣaṣṭyā dviguṇaṃ vibhaktaṃ sadvādaśaṃ syād* **divasapramāṇam //**

> What has passed after the **northern pathway of the Sun** [or] is left in the **southern pathway of the Sun**, divided by sixty-one, then doubled [and] increased by twelve produces the **length of a day**.

The formula is as follows: the time that has passed after the day on which the Sun completed its journey along the northern pathway (*uttarāyaṇa*), the summer solstice, must be multiplied, divided and increased accordingly to get the length of the daytime (*divasapramāṇa*). Similarly, if the Sun covered the southern path (*dakṣiṇāyana*), the time that has elapsed after the winter solstice should be applied.

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[42] Kak 1998: 32.

[43] See Monier-Williams 1899: 699, Wilson 1832: 583, Macdonell 1893: 183, Cappeller 1891: 348 and Benfey 1866: 610.

[44] *ṚJV* 22 is identical to *YJV* 40 with one exception. *YJV* has *tathā* instead of *yad* in the second *pāda*.

3. Calendrical Terminology

The stanzas discussed in the previous part of the article introduce the basic ideas and terms of early Vedic astronomy termed *jyotiṣa* (*ṚJV* 35; *ṚJV* 3, 36 [*YJV* 2, 3]), or more precisely *gaṇita* (*YJV* 4). The names and concepts presented there can be distinguished due to various factors, considering their relationship with time or space, or with a particular celestial body.

The article proposes four groups of calendrical terminology that include vocabulary relating to: (a) sky topography and phenomena visible in the sky, (b–c) time units, and (d) quality (adjectives). The vocabulary is grouped in tables. In each table, there are words belonging to the particular group (a–b), their Sanskrit names, and references to the stanza in which they occur.

3.1. Celestial Phenomena and the Sky Topography

Among the vocabulary describing the topography of the sky, there are those words that refer to its static or moving elements. This first group is comprised of words for stars (2. row in **Table 1**), parts of the ecliptic (3.–5.), pathways of the Sun (9.), and the sky itself (1.). The second group includes different names for the Sun (6.–8.) and the Moon (10.–11.) as well as the phenomena resulting from noticeable changes in the lunar phases (12.–13.).

Table 1. Calendrical terminology due to the sky topography and celestial phenomena

No	Element of the sky	Term	Occurrence in the treatises
1.	the sky	*svar*	*ṚJV* 5 (*YJV* 6)
2.	a star	*stṛ*	*ṚJV* 30 (*YJV* 43)
3.		*nakṣatra*	*ṚJV* 28 (*YJV* 35)
4.	1/27th of the ecliptic	*ṛkṣā*	*ṚJV* 14 (*YJV* 18)
5.		*bha*	*ṚJV* 9 (*YJV* 10), *ṚJV* 18 (*YJV* 36)
6.		*sūryā*	*ṚJV* 18 (*YJV* 36), *ṚJV* 30 (*YJV* 43)
7.	the Sun	*sūrya*	*ṚJV* 6 (*YJV* 7)
8.		*arka*	*ṚJV* 5–6 (*YJV* 6–7)
9.	the pathway of the Sun (the half of the ecliptic)	*ayana*	*ṚJV* 5 (*YJV* 6), *ṚJV* 22 (*YJV* 40)

No	Element of the sky	Term	Occurrence in the treatises
10.	the Moon	*soma*	ṚJV 5 (*YJV* 6), ṚJV 18 (*YJV* 36), ṚJV 30 (*YJV* 43)
11.		*candramas*	ṚJV 6 (*YJV* 7)
12.	moon phase (full moon or new moon)	*parvan*	ṚJV 31 (*YJV* 23)
13.	full moon	*paurṇamāsī*	ṚJV 33

Altogether, there are six terms for the (static) sky elements, i.e. topography (1.–5., 9.), two for celestial phenomena (12.–13.), and five for moving elements of the Vedic sky: three for the Sun (6.–8.) and two for the Moon (10.–11.). Hence these elements are solar (6.–9.; four terms in total), lunar (10.–13.; four terms), or stellar (1.–5.; five terms).

3.2. Calendrical Time Reckoning

The first group of time units proposed in the article is comprised of those that allowed time reckoning and arranging it in a calendrical system applied to organise the life of societies in accordance with their customs or everyday practice.[45]

The Vedic calendar was based on a five-year cycle called *yuga* (1. row in **Table 2**), and the *yuga* comprised of five years (2.–4.). A year was divided into two half-years (5.) or seasons (6.).[46] The year consisted also of months (7.), their number varied depending on whether the solar, sidereal or synodic months were considered. Each month was divided into days (11.–16.) or in the case of synodic measures also into fortnights (8.–10.).

Table 2. Calendrical terminology due to the calendrical time reckoning

No	Time unit	Term	Occurrence in the treatises
1.	a five-year cycle	*yuga*	ṚJV 1 (*YJV* 1), ṚJV 5–6 (*YJV* 6–7), ṚJV 32 (*YJV* 5), *YJV* 28

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[45] See MALINOWSKI 1927: 203.

[46] It should be remembered that a distinction was made between lunar and solar seasons, and the latter were generally used.

No	Time unit	Term	Occurrence in the treatises
2.	a year	*saṃvatsara*	*ṚJV* 1 (*YJV* 1)
3.		*varṣa*	*ṚJV* 32 (*YJV* 5)
4.		*abda*	*YJV* 28
5.	a half-year	*ayana*	*ṚJV* 1 (*YJV* 1), *ṚJV* 7 (*YJV* 8), *YJV* 28
6.	a season	*ṛtu*	*ṚJV* 1 (*YJV* 1), *ṚJV* 9 (*YJV* 10), *ṚJV* 19, *YJV* 28
7.	a month	*māsa*	*ṚJV* 19, *YJV* 28
8.	a fortnight	*pakṣa*	*YJV* 23
9.	a bright fortnight	*śukla*	*ṚJV* 5 (*YJV* 6), *ṚJV* 32 (*YJV* 5)
10.	a dark fortnight	*kṛṣna*	*ṚJV* 32 (*YJV* 5)
11.	a day	*ahan*	*ṚJV* 18 (*YJV* 36), *YJV* 28
12.		*dina*	*ṚJV* 1 (*YJV* 1)
13.		*div*	*ṚJV* 18 (*YJV* 36)
14.		*divasa*	*ṚJV* 22 (*YJV* 40)
15.		*tithi*	*ṚJV* 31 (*YJV* 23)
16.	the equinox	*viṣuvat*	*ṚJV* 31 (*YJV* 23), *ṚJV* 33

These time divisions are solar- (2.–5., 11.–14., 16; nine terms in total) or lunar-based (8.–10., 15.; four terms) but some of them combine both counts (1., 6.–7.), hence confirming the dual character of Vedic time reckoning.

3.3. Diurnal Time Units

The second group of time units comprises of variable measures (rows 1.–3. in **Table 3**) and diurnal time divisions (6.–8.). These units (six terms in total) divided the day into smaller parts and made it possible to determine important moments during the day, e.g. sunrise or sunset.[47]

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[47] The rule to determine the beginning and end of the daytime, as well as its length, is given in stanzas *ṚJV* 7, 22 (*YJV* 8, 40).

Table 3.   Calendrical terminology due to the diurnal time units

No	Time unit	Term	Occurrence in the treatises
1.	daytime	*gharma*	*ṚJV* 7 (*YJV* 8)
2.		*divasapramāṇa*	
3.	nighttime	*kṣapā*	
4.	increase	*vṛddhi*	
5.	decrease	*hrāsa*	
6.	*muhūrta*		*ṚJV* 7 (*YJV* 8), *ṚJV* 16 (*YJV* 38)
7.	*nāḍika*		*ṚJV* 16 (*YJV* 38)
8.	*kalā*		

In addition to diurnal units, this group also includes terms denoting the increase (4.) and decrease (5.) of the time.

3.4.   Quality of the Calendrical Elements

The last group includes adjectives that occur in the discussed stanzas and determine the quality of the elements of the Vedic calendar, especially these of a dual nature such as months (rows 1.–2. in **Table 4**; two terms in total) and seasons (4.). One adjective referring to sidereal reckoning (3.) might refer both to days and months, as proven in Part 2.2 of this article.

Table 4.   Calendrical terminology due to the adjectives

No	Adjective	Term	Occurrence in the treatises
1.	solar	*sūrya*	*YJV* 28
2.	sidereal (related to the moon, residing in the moon)	*starya*	*ṚJV* 19
3.		*bhayuj*	*ṚJV* 18 (*YJV* 36)
4.	lunar	*cāndramasa*	*ṚJV* 19

No	Adjective	Term	Occurrence in the treatises
5.	southern	*dakṣiṇa*	*ṚJV* 22 (*YJV* 40)
6.	northern	*uttara*	*ṚJV* 22 (*YJV* 40)

Some adjectives discussed in the previous paragraph refer to units of time (1.–4.), i.e. they characterise time elements of the calendar. There are also adjectives in the treatises describing the spatial elements. These distinguish the pathways of the Sun (5.–6.).

4. Conclusions

The stanzas discussed in this article are excerpts of the *Jyotiṣavedāṅga* treatise, namely of its *Ṛk*- and *Yajurveda* recensions. Both texts give a lecture on the measurement of time and its division based on a cycle of *yuga*s, lunisolar (solar, synodic, and sidereal) units such as months and days, the *nakṣatra* system, and sky observations. Some basic mathematical operations are also applied in order to calculate the flow of time (*ṚJV* 22, *YJV* 40), the number of lunar units (*ṚJV* 19 and *ṚJV* 18, *YJV* 36) or the relationship between the solar and lunar time reckoning (*ṚJV* 18, *YJV* 36). References to tradition are given as well (*ṚJV* 28, *YJV* 35). Thus, the work has threefold nature and served for the purpose of astronomical considerations, observance of religious practices, and time reckoning.

The old Indian time reckoning was based on the astronomical concepts discussed in Section 2.1 of this article, such as the movement of the Sun along its pathways, the movement of the Moon and its phases, the division of the sky, and the *nakṣatra* system. The Sanskrit names for these astronomical ideas presented here form a basic astronomical vocabulary of *jyotiṣa*.

The notion of the passing of time resulted in arranging it into measurable units that depended on the aforementioned astronomical phenomena. Thus, the calendar comprised of solar- and lunar-based divisions was established. Based on these lunisolar units, some mathematical calculations within *jyotiṣa* were made. Sanskrit names of these time units were summarised in Section 3.2–4 of this article.

Some of the Sanskrit terms found in the *Jyotiṣavedāṅga* denote topographical names (*svar*, *stṛ*, *ṛkṣā*, *bha*, *sūrya*, *arka*, *soma*, *candramas*), observable celestial phenomena (*parvan*, *paurṇamāsī*, *viṣuvat*), and astronomical concepts

(*nakṣatra*, *tithi*, *ayana*) that have been developed in later astronomical works. Others (such as *muhūrta*, *nāḍika*, *kalā*, *saṃvatsara*, *varṣa*, *abda*, *māsa*, *pakṣa*, *ahan*, *dina*, *div*, and *divasa*) define a system of measurement within a narrow field of application (calendrical time reckoning). There are also terms specifying the relations between concepts and phenomena and classifying them, e.g. the group of adjectives summarised in Table 4 and highlighting the origin (*sūrya*, *starya*, *bhayuj*, *candramāsa*) or position/direction (*dakṣiṇa*, *uttara*). Together, they form a group of specialised words referring to the field of astronomical observations and calendrical calculations. This meets the definition of terminology formulated as 'the set of technical words or expressions used in a particular subject' (*OLDAE*, 'terminology'). Hence my closing conclusion is that both Vedic astronomical and calendar naming systems together form a common terminology that can be considered a primary *jyotiṣa* lexicon.

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ṚJV = *Ṛgvedajyotiṣavedāṅga*, see SARMA 1985.

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YJV = Yajurvedajyotiṣavedāṅga, see Sarma 1985.

Tocharian A *ārkiśoṣi* 'world with radiance' and Chinese *suo po shi jie* 'world of *sabhā*'

Tao Pan

Abstract: This article provides an explanation for the single and puzzling Tocharian B[1] gloss *śaiṣṣe* 'world' (instead of Tocharian A *ārkiśoṣi*) for Sanskrit *jagat-* 'world' on a Sanskrit fragment SHT 4438 with all the other glosses in Tocharian A. Based on a detailed study of the Sanskrit and Chinese texts, Tocharian A *ārkiśoṣi* is very likely the loan translation of Sanskrit *săbhāloka(dhātu)-* 'a world with radiance', which is preserved in the Chinese translations by Kumārajīva and other translators connected with Kucha. In the Kucha area, the first part *săbhā-* was understood as containing *-(ā)bhā-* 'radiance'. Buddhist Sanskrit *sa(b)hāloka(dhātu)-* is built from *sa(b)hāpati-* 'master of *sa(b)hā* world', epithet of the highest divinity Brahmā in the *sahāloka-*, which derives via Middle Indic from the older epithet *sabhāpati-* 'owner of the assembly hall' in *Atharvaveda*. The excursus at the end offers a glimpse into the complicated transmission process of Chinese Buddhist terminology based on the analysis of Chinese *sha men* 'monk' and *he shang* 'teacher, monk'.

Keywords: Tocharian, Sanskrit, Chinese, world, *ārkiśoṣi*

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1. SHT 4438

SHT 4438 (in SHT XI: 33–34) is a Sanskrit fragment with Tocharian and Sanskrit interlinear glosses, and there are numerous Sanskrit fragments with Tocharian glosses in the SHT collection.[2] However, SHT 4438 turns out to be a special case, because all the Tocharian glosses are written in Tocharian A, except one single Tocharian B gloss, namely TB *śaiṣṣe* 'world' for Skt. *jagat-* 'world' in line b on the verso. This 'remarkable' circumstance is noted

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[1] Tocharian B or West Tocharian ('Westtocharisch' in German) is abbreviated as 'TB'; Tocharian A or East Tocharian ('Osttocharisch' in German) is abbreviated as 'TA'.

[2] See Malzahn 2007a: 301–319, Peyrot 2014, 2015.

by PEYROT 2014: 163 as well: 'It is remarkable that all Tocharian glosses to this fragment are in Tocharian A, except for this one.'[3] 'There seems to be no palaeographical difference between the Tocharian A glosses and this gloss in Tocharian B' (PEYROT 2014: 163 fn. 40).[4] The suggested explanation by Peyrot,[5] that TB *śaişşe* is shorter than TA *ārkiśoşi*, can hardly be true, because on the folio there is enough space even for a word of 8 *akşara*s (cf. the manuscript photo of SHT 4438 in IDP). The following text is a philological study of TA *ārkiśoşi*, based on which another explanation for this remarkable feature is offered.

2. TA *ārkiśoşi*, TA *ārki* and TB *ārkwi*

According to the current *communis opinio* TA *ārkiśoşi* corresponds to Skt. *loka-* 'world', and this is indeed supported by the following textual evidences: TA *ārkiśoşşi(s āśari)* in A 244 a1–2 corresponds to Skt. *lokācārya-* in *Varņārhavarņa* II 21;[6] TA *poñcn ārkiśoşi* in A 257 a7 corresponds to Old Turkic *qop yir* 'the whole earth' in Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka from Hami act XI, 11b6.[7] TA *ārkiśoşi* is therefore glossed as 'the world, (lit) the white world' by HILMARSSON 1996: 40 and 'Welt' by THOMAS and KRAUSE 1964: 82.[8]

The meaning 'white' of TA *ārki* can be confirmed by the following occurrence: TA *şokyo ā(r)ky(aṃ)ś āṅkari* 'very white canines' in A 213 a6 as the description of the 24th mark of Buddha corresponds to Skt. *suśukladanta-* 'having very white canines' and TA *ārki* corresponds to Skt. *śukla-* 'white'.[9] The corresponding Tocharian B word *ārkwi* 'white' occurs in the Parinirvāņa story in *Udānālaṅkāra* and functions as attribute of TB *āsta* 'bones', and TB *āst=arkwina* 'the bones (are) white' is the translation of Skt. *kapotavarņāny asthīni* 'the bones (have) the colour of pigeons'.[10] The same phrase

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[3]   His additional note reads: 'There are also some glosses in Sanskrit and a couple that are so fragmentary that not even the language can be established (see SHT 11: 34–35), which are not discussed in the present article' (PEYROT 2014: 163 fn. 40).

[4]   See the manuscript picture at the end.

[5]   'It is unclear why only this word should be glossed in Tocharian B: might it be because TB *śaişşe* is only two syllables, twice as short as the Tocharian A equivalent *ārkiśoşi*?' (PEYROT 2014: 163) And this explanation is offered in CEToM as well (https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?m-sht4438, accessed on 22 September 2021).

[6]   Cf. SCHMIDT 1987: 157f. and HARTMANN 1987: 101.

[7]   Cf. GENG et al. 1988: 332.

[8]   Cf. further PINAULT 2008: 234; CARLING 2009: 45 and the entry in CEToM (https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?E_B_ārkwi, accessed 1 June 2021).

[9]   Cf. JI et al. 1998: 90f.

[10] Cf. HACKSTEIN et al. 2019: 256–258.

kapotavarṇāny asthīni occurs in *Udānavarga* I 5 as well.[11] TA *ārki* and TB *ārkwi* 'white' go back to (virtual) ***h₂erĝ-u-i̯on-*, from PIE **h₂erĝ-* 'white, shining'.[12]

3. Semantics of TB *śaiṣṣe* and TA *śoṣi*

TB *śaiṣṣe* 'world, people' is the equivalent of Skt. *jagat-* 'men and animals, world' in the bilingual fragment B 148 a4 and Skt. *loka-* 'world' in the bilingual *Udānavarga* fragment SI B 117 a2.[13] TA *śoṣi* is translated as 'folk, people [Volk, Leute]'[14] or 'homines',[15] but no bilingual fragment containing TA *śoṣi* is preserved.[16] Sieg et al. 1931: 78 equated TA *māk śoṣi* 'many people' in A 97 a2 with Skt. *bahuloka*, but A 97 contains no Sanskrit words. According to Sieg and Siegling, A 97 belongs to the manuscript containing the Tocharian adaptation of *Saundarananda* by Aśvaghoṣa,[17] but the word *bahuloka-* is not attested in the Sanskrit text of *Saundarananda*. Actually, in the Sanskrit corpus the compound *bahuloka-* in the sense of 'many people' does not exist,[18] and the numerous examples containing *bahuloka-* are in fact occurrences of *bahulokadhātu-* 'many world-regions'. Skt. *loka-* in the sense of 'folk, people' is a collective, and the attribute *bahu-* 'many' would be redundant.[19]

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[11] Cf. Bernhard 1965: 96.

[12] Cf. Hilmarsson 1996: 40; Carling 2009: 45; Wodtko et al. 2008: 317–319.

[13] Cf. Thomas and Krause 1964: 147, 246 and the linguistic commentary on SI B 117 a2 in CEToM, where TB *śaiṣṣene* loc. sing. corresponds to Skt. *lokeṣu* loc. plur., which means that TB *śaiṣṣe* can have the collective meaning 'ensemble of people'.

[14] See Thomas and Krause 1964: 147.

[15] See Poucha 1955: 328.

[16] Poucha 1955: 328 has enumerated the following eleven occurrences: A 8 b4, A 38 b6, A 97 a2, A 173 b2, A 231 a2, A 257 a4, A 259 b4, A 269 b5 (a5 in CEToM), A 306 a5, A 371 b2 and A 381 a1. But A 38 b6, A 231 a2, A 269 b5, A 306 a5 and A 371 b2 are more likely examples of TA *ārkiśoṣi*. So is the case in THT 1409.j b2. TA *śoṣintwaṃ* in A 425.e b3 should be restored as *(ārki)śoṣintwaṃ* as translation of Skt. *lokeṣu* in *Udānavarga* XXXIII 56d or 57d (cf. Bernhard 1965: 490f.).

[17] Sieg and Siegling 1921: 51: 'Die Stücke No. 89 ff. entsprechen inhaltlich den Kapiteln 5 (bhāryāvilāpa) (sic!) und 6 (nandavilāpa) (sic!) des Saundarananda-Kāvya'. The fifth chapter is called Nandapravrājana, the sixth Bhāryāvilāpa, and seventh Nandavilāpa (cf. Johnston 1928: 35, 42, 49). The edition used by Sieg and Siegling for the identification of the parallel texts is very likely the one by Śāstrī 1910 and the chapter information there is the same as in the edition by Johnston 1928.

[18] The phrase *bahulokārthapūjitam* in 14th Paṭalavisara of *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, also known as *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (cf. Sāstrī 1920: 141) should be understood as 'on account of the many worlds'.

[19] Cf. the example in *Saundarananda* 5.23: *lokasya kāmair na hi tṛptir asti* 'For the people/the whole world there is no more satisfaction other than the sensual pleasures' (Johnston 1928: 31; Matsunami 1981: 38).

It is, however, true that TA *śoṣi* usually has the attribute TA *māk* 'many' before it,[20] and furthermore, as noticed by Sieg, Siegling and Schulze,[21] TA *māk śoṣi* 'many people' often occurs together with TA *wrasañ* 'living beings, human beings'. According to Sieg et al. 1931: 18 TA *wrasom* corresponds to Skt. *prāṇin-* 'breathing, living creature, animal or man', and in many examples it clearly refers to human beings (Skt. *manuṣya-*), cf. A 3 b4 *yaläṃ wram ypant wrasom nu pälkäṣ māṃt ne sälpmāṃ por* 'Denn der Mensch, der das tut, was man tun soll, leuchtet wie glühendes Feuer'.[22] TA *māk śo(ṣ)i wra(sañ)* in A 257 a4 corresponds to Old Turkic *tïnlaγlar alqu* 'all the living beings' in MaitrHami XI: 11a18,[23] and this Tocharian A phrase is in fact a loan translation of Skt. *bahujana-manuṣya-* 'whose people constitute a great multitude' or 'having many people', a Sanskrit *cliché* in the Buddhist texts: it is attested 31 times in Divy,[24] 21 times in AVŚ,[25] 7 times in MV,[26] 3 times in MPS in SHT[27] and so on.

Among all the occurrences Skt. *bahujana-manuṣya-* is always accompanied by Skt. *ākīrṇa-* 'filled, crowded', cf. *bahujana-manuṣyākīrṇa-* in MV,[28] *bahujanākīrṇa-manuṣya-* in Suv,[29] and *ākīrṇa-bahujana-manuṣya-* in several Sanskrit texts from Turfan.[30] TA *wrasañ māk śoṣi kākropu(ṣ)* 'a great multitude of people were gathered' in the *Puṇyavantajātaka* fragment A 8 b4 is very likely a loan translation of Skt. *ākīrṇa-bahujana-manuṣya-* 'having crowded and many people' or *bahujana-manuṣyākīrṇa-* 'crowded with a great multitude of people', because its Tocharian B counterpart TB *kraup-* corresponds to Skt. *upaci-* 'gather, accumulate, heap up'.

Therefore, TA *māk śoṣi* corresponds to Skt. *bahu-jana-* 'many people', and TA *śoṣi* means 'person' (= Skt. *jana-*). Indirect evidence for this equation can be found in A 97, which contains an adaptation of the 7th canto (Skt. *sarga-*) of *Saundarananda* by Aśvaghoṣa. The name Vasiṣṭha in 7.28 (= TA *vāsiṣṭhe* in A 97 b2) occurs only in the 7th canto;[31] *yajñe* 'in sacrifice' in 7.32[32]

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[20] Cf. Sieg et al. 1931: 78.

[21] Sieg et al. 1931: 224: 'Ein Fall besonderer Art ist die Verbindung des Kollektivums *śoṣi* „Leute" mit dem Plural *wrasañ* „Lebewesen, Menschen"…'.

[22] Cf. Schmidt 1974: 187.

[23] Cf. Geng et al. 1988: 332.

[24] Cowell and Neil 1886: 292 etc.

[25] Vaidya 1958: 55, 78 etc.

[26] Senart 1882–1897: I 36, II 68 etc.

[27] Waldschmidt 1950–1951: 102, 104, 304.

[28] Senart 1882–1897: I 271f.

[29] Nobel 1937: 74, 96, 123.

[30] Cf. SWTF I: 225.

[31] The word *vasiṣṭhavat* 'like Vasiṣṭha' in *Saundarananda* 1.3 (Johnston 1928: 1) does not count as an occurrence of the name Vasiṣṭha.

[32] Johnston 1928: 46.

corresponds to TA *talkeyaṃ* in A 97 b3; and the Sanskrit name Ambarīṣa-in 7.51[33] corresponds to TA *ambariṣe* in A 97 a3. All these words indicate that A 97 belongs to the 7th canto Nandavilāpa ‘Nanda's Lament’, but the contexts in which these names occur are quite different in the Sanskrit and the Tocharian versions, and so is the order of these words, which shows that the original Sanskrit poem has been modified in Tocharian. For example, the Sanskrit equivalent of TA *kṣatriñ* ‘warriors’ in A 97 a2, namely Skt. *kṣatriya-*, occurs in 1.27 in *Saundarananda*, its only appearance in the whole poem. In *Saundarananda* the assumed Sanskrit equivalent of TA *māk śoṣi* in A 97 a2, namely Skt. *bahujana-* ‘many people’ is indeed attested, but it occurs only once in 3.15.

Another piece of indirect evidence comes from the comparison of two Tocharian phrases, namely *māk śoṣi śominā(s)y(o)* in A 173 b2 and *māk śomināsyo* ‘with numerous girls’ in A 110 a1. It is tempting to interpret TA *māk śoṣi śomināsyo* as an example of Gruppenflexion, but the members in Gruppenflexion usually have the same number if they can be either singular or plural, e.g. *kuklas yukass oṅkälmāsyo* ‘with chariots, horses and elephants’ in A 253 b2.[34] Therefore, TA *māk śoṣi* functions in fact as an adjective and is synonymous with TA *māk* ‘numerous’.[35] Since most of the Tocharian Buddhist texts are translations and adaptations of Indian texts, the origin of this phenomenon lies in the Sanskrit corpus. In fact, Skt. *bahujana-* ‘many people’ is synonymous with Skt. *bahu-* ‘many’, as recorded in the dictionaries,[36] and Skt. *bahujana-manuṣya-* ‘having many people’, which occurs frequently in the Buddhist corpus, has a synonym *bahu-manuṣya-* ‘having numerous people’ attested in Kar-p.[37] Similarly, TA *māk śoṣi wrasañ* ‘a great multitude of people’ has the synonym TA *māk wrasañ* ‘numerous people’ in A 341 b7. A similar

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[33] Johnston 1928: 49.

[34] Cf. Krause and Thomas 1960: 91. Due to its very fragmentary state, the translation ‘zusammen mit Frau, Söhnen (und) Töchtern’ for TA /// *syak śäṃ sewā(s) ckācräsaśśäl* /// in A 350 a3 by Krause and Thomas 1960: 91 cannot be considered as secure, because TA *ṣyak* ‘together (with)’ is placed after the noun in comitative in all the other examples (‘Postpos. u. Präv.’ in Thomas and Krause 1964: 151). Even if their translation is correct, it would not become a counterexample, because the number of *śäṃ* ‘wife’ cannot be plural here. The example in A 21 b5 *śla pācar mācar pracre(s) śäṃ sewāsaśśäl ṣyak* should be syntactically analysed as *śla pācar mācar pracre(s) śäṃ* ‘with (his) father, mother, brother(s) and wife’ + *sewāsaśśäl ṣyak* ‘together with the sons’, where the first part is an example of TA *śla* + accusative, and not of Gruppenflexion, cf. Krause and Thomas 1960: 86 §78 Anm.

[35] TA *māk* derives from the collective noun *$*móǵ-h_2$* ‘multitude/a lot’, cf. Hackstein 2012: 154f.

[36] Cf. the translation for *bahujana-* in pw: ‘die grosse Menge’, and the corresponding Chinese translation 眾 *zhong* ‘numerous’, 眾生 *zhong sheng* ‘numerous beings’ recorded in the Sanskrit-Japanese dictionary by Wogihara 1986: 916. In BHSD, Skt. *bahujana-* is rendered by ‘many people, a multitude’.

[37] Yamada 1989: 4.

case is found in Eng. *hundred* and NHG *hundert* '100', which originally are compounds of '100' and 'reckoning, number'.[38]

4. Morphology of TB *śaiṣṣe* and TA *śoṣi*

TA *śoṣi* and TB *śaiṣṣe* are derivatives of the PIE noun *$g^u ih_3$-*u̯o-s*- 'liveliness, life' (cf. Ved. *jīváse* 'to live', EWAia I: 594), and they go back to *$g^u ih_3$-*u̯-es-i̯en-/-i̯on-*,[39] whose nom. sing. *$g^u ih_3$-*u̯-es-i̯ē(n)* regularly yields TA *śoṣi* and TB *śaiṣṣe* via Proto-Toch. **k̑a-u̯i̯äs-i̯æ* (cf. Ved. *ukṣā́* 'ox' < PIE *h_2*uks-ḗ(n)*).[40] TA *ārkiśoṣintu* 'worlds, people (in the world)' acc.plur. is an *-nt*-stem, as in the case of TA *ārki*, whose nom./acc. plur. f. is *ārkyant* and nom. plur. m. is *ārkyaṃś*.[41] This coexistence of *-n-* and *-nt-* stems is well attested in Tocharian and other Indo-European languages,[42] cf. TA *ākrunt* ~ TB *akrūna* 'tears'; Gr. ἄκοντες 'javelins' ~ ἄκαινα 'spike'.[43] The zero grade *-*in-* of *-*i̯e/ on-*suffix is generalised in Indo-Iranian, and '[the] formation in *-ín-* can be used partly – so in proverbs – as substitutes of participles in *-á(n)t-*'[44] according to Lühr and Matzinger 2008: II 177, 256.[45]

5. The Indian origin of TA *ārkiśoṣi*

Pinault 2008: 234f. offered a detailed explanation of TA *ārkiśoṣi*: 'le composé *ārki-śoṣi* ne repose pas sur un composé déterminatif dont le premier membre était l'adjectif *ārki* (B *ārkwi*) « brillant, blanc » : « monde brillant ». Il continue en fait un binôme, devenu composé dvandva, de termes complémentaires pour désigner deux aspects du monde'. So according to Pinault, TA *ārki-śoṣi* is a dvandva compound, in which TA *ārki*

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[38] Cf. EWAhd IV: 1239; Pfeifer 1993: 563, 1097.

[39] This transponat may be an *n*-individualisation of the *-(i)i̯o*-adjective from the abstract noun *$g^u ih_3$-*u̯o-s*- 'liveliness', namely in the sense of 'the lively one' (Neri, pers. comm. 25 May 2020).

[40] The possibility that TA *śoṣi* derives from *$g^u ih_3$-*u̯-es-i̯ō(n)* via Proto-Toch. **k̑a-u̯i̯äs-i̯u* cannot be excluded, cf. Gotō 2013: 38f.

[41] Cf. Hilmarsson 1996: 40f.

[42] The *-t*-form probably originates from the nominalisation of the local adverb ending in *-en*, cf. Ved. *héman* 'in winter' and *hemantá-* 'winter' (Neri, pers. comm. 25 May 2020). Cf. further the Anatolian forms in *-ant-*, which appear to be extensions of the individualising suffix *-*on-* (Melchert 2000: 69).

[43] Cf. Schwyzer 1939: 526: 'Sekundär sind wohl einige andere Stämme zu ντ-Stämmen geworden: ἄκοντ- δράκοντ- λέοντ- θεράποντ- waren wegen ἄκαινα δράκαινα usw. in älterer Zeit ν-Stämme'.

[44] The original German text is: '[die] Bildung auf *-ín-* kann zum Teil – so in der Spruchliteratur – als Konkurrent des Partizips auf *-á(n)t-* zum Einsatz kommen'.

[45] Cf. AiGr II 2: 347–349 and Hoffmann and Forssman 2004: 146.

is a substantivised adjective meaning '« [monde] brillant » (visible parce qu'éclairé par le soleil)'[46] and TA *śoṣi* means '« monde » comme ensemble d'êtres vivants'. Based on his explanation, TA *ārki* designates the bright part of the world, which is illuminated by the sun. However, this meaning and the claimed semantic transition from 'shining, bright' to 'shining world' is never attested in the Tocharian corpus.[47] Furthermore, if TA *śoṣi* means 'the world, ensemble of living beings' and is synonymous with TB *śaiṣṣe* 'world', the situation in SHT 4438 becomes unexplainable. Pinault proposed no Sanskrit equivalent of TA *ārkiśoṣi* in the Buddhist corpus, which further weakens the credibility of his hypothesis.

As in the case of numerous idiosyncratic Tocharian compounds, most of which are in fact loan translations of the underlying Sanskrit compounds, e.g. TB *ñäkte-yok* 'having the colour of a god, similar to a god'[48] ← Skt. *devavarṇa-* 'id.'[49] and TB *swese ysaraṣṣe* 'blood rain'[50] ← Skt. *rudhira-varṣa-* 'id.',[51] TA *ārkiśoṣi* goes back to an Indian compound as well. In the Buddhist context the world of living beings is called Skt. *sahāloka-* 'world of endurance' or *sahālokadhātu-* 'world realm of endurance' (Tib. *mi mjed kyi 'jig rten gyi khams* 'world realm of endurance/sufferance' in *Mahāvyutpatti*),[52] which is

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[46] Pinault 2008: 234: 'le premier membre était en fait l'adjectif en question, mais substantivé, et l'ensemble signifiait *ārki* « [monde] brillant » (visible parce qu'éclairé par le soleil)'.

[47] Whether the Tocharians were aware of the connection between Skt. *loka-* 'world' and the etymologically related verbal root *roc-* 'shine' (EWAia II: 481) and coined the Tocharian counterparts accordingly, is difficult to prove and in any case is not supported by the textual evidence, although the semantic development from 'white, shining' to 'world' is indeed widely attested in the Indo-European languages, cf. OCS *světъ* 'light; world' and PIE *$d^heĝ^h$-om-'earth' from the root *$d^heĝ^h$- 'to shine' (cf. Pedersen 1941: 262; Hilmarsson 1996: 40; Neri and Ziegler 2012: 80).

[48] This compound is only attested in the *Araṇemijātaka* fragments, namely *(ñä)kte-yokäṃ* in PK NS 355 a4, *ñäkte-yok* in PK NS 36+20 a3 and probably *(ñäkte)-yok* in B 90 as well. In CEToM the assumed Indian basis is Skt. *devarūpa-*, but Skt. *rūpa-* means 'form, body', not 'colour'.

[49] Skt. *devavarṇa-* is attested in MV (Senart 1882–1897: III, 117) and *Samādhirājasūtra* (Vaidya 1961: 145).

[50] It is attested as *sw(e)se ys(a)r(a)ṣṣ(e)* in PK NS 36+20 b1. The parallel is found in B 93 b3, but this phrase is unfortunately located in the missing part. The emendation *swese tsainwäṣṣe* 'weapon rain' by Schmidt 2001a: 324 goes back to Couvreur 1964: 242, but the trace after *(s)e* cannot be '*tsai*' (cf. the photo in https://gallica.bnf.fr and plate III b in Couvreur 1964 as well); it is more likely '*ysa*', cf. the tiny fragment with the *akṣara r(a)ṣṣ(e)*, which is missing on the plate of Couvreur 1964. The London fragment H 149.240 (= IOL Toch 69) is wrongly cited as 'H 149.290' by Schmidt 2001a: 323, 325, but correctly given in the title.

[51] Skt. *rudhiravarṣa-* is attested in *Mahābhārata* 6.2.30c and *Mūlasarvāstivādavinayavastu* (Bagchi 1967: 179).

[52] Cf. Ishihama and Fukuda 1989: 156 and the definition by Buswell and Lopez 2014: 736: 'sahāloka: In Sanskrit, lit. "world of endurance," in the Mahāyāna, the name of the world system we inhabit where the buddha Śākyamuni taught; the term may also be seen written as *sahālokadhātu*'.

widely attested in the Buddhist corpus: 20 times in *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*;[53] once in Vkn;[54] once in Saddh-p;[55] once in Divy[56] etc. In pw, PW and MW the entry word is written as *sahalokadhātu-* 'die von den Menschen bewohnte Welt, die Erde' or 'the world inhabited by men, the earth', which is attested, for example, in MV.[57]

6. *sahā-*, *saha-* or *sabhā-*?

The highest divinity in the *sahāloka* is Brahmā, and one of his epithets is *sahāṃpati* 'Lord of the Sahā World'.[58] Both *sahālokadhātu-* and *sahāṃpati-* have variant forms in the Sanskrit corpus, which is analysed in detail in the following section, in order to clarify the development of these terms.

6.1. *sahāloka(dhātu)-*

Neither Skt. *sahāloka-* nor *sahālokadhātu-* is attested in the Vedic texts, and both are essentially elements of Buddhist terminology. The variants can be summarised as follows:

(1) **sahā***lokadhātu-*: This is the prevalent form; cf. some of its occurrences above.

(2) **saha-** *lokadhātu-*: The phrase *saha-* + *lokadhātu-* occurs frequently in place of *sahālokadhātu-*: 14 times in Kar-p;[59] 19 times in Saddh-p;[60] 14 times in Vkn[61] etc.

(3) **saha***loka-*: In the Buddhist texts it is attested twice in MV: *sahalokadhātu-*[62] and *sahalokanātha-*.[63] Otherwise, in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* Skt. *sahaloka-*[64] and *sahalokapāla-*[65] are attested.

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[53] Vaidya 1960a: 6, 7, 8 etc.
[54] Takahashi et al. 2004: 386.
[55] Wogihara and Tsuchida 1934: 341.
[56] Cowell and Neil 1886: 293.
[57] Senart 1882–1897: II 380.
[58] Cf. Buswell and Lopez 2014: 736.
[59] Yamada 1989: 26, etc.; with *sahālokadhātu* on p. 132 and p. 237.
[60] Wogihara and Tsuchida 1934: 210, 227 etc.
[61] Takahashi et al. 2004: 360, 362 etc. These 14 occurrences are found only in the 9th (10 times) and 11th (4 times) chapter.
[62] Senart 1882–1897: II 380.
[63] Senart 1882–1897: II 385.
[64] In *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 10.86.10, cf. Shastree 1997: 301.
[65] In *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 8.20.32, cf. Shastree et al. 1998: 67. In the text edition, *saha* and *lokapālāḥ* are separated, which must be a misprint.

(4) **sabhā**loka-: It is attested 6 times in *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*[66] and 5 times in *Mokṣopāya*.[67]

In contrast to classical Sanskrit, *dhātu-* 'element' is used both as masculine and feminine in Buddhist Sanskrit,[68] while in Pāli it is essentially feminine.[69] Therefore *sahālokadhātuḥ* can easily be analysed as *sahā* nom.f. + *lokadhātuḥ*, which gives rise to the phrase *saha- lokadhātu-*, from which a new compound *sahaloka(dhātu)-* came into being. Sometimes both *sahalokadhātu-* and *sahālokadhātu-* can occur in the same text; cf. these two words in MV (SENART 1882–1897: II 379, 380). Instead of *sahālokadhātu-*, *lokadhātu-* is used much more frequently in the Buddhist corpus, e.g. in Saddh-p Skt. *sahālokadhātu-* occurs only once, while *lokadhātu-* has 224 occurrences.

6.2. *sahāṃpati-*

In the Vedic texts only *sabhāpati-* is attested, while in the Buddhist corpus several variants are recorded, which can be summarised as follows:

(1) **sabhā**pati-: In the Vedic texts *sabhāpati-* is attested only in two case forms, namely a) *sabhāpatibhyas* in *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* 17.3.3 (Kāṇva) and 16.24 (Mādhyandinī), *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* 4.5.3.2, *Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā* 2.9.4 and *Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā* 17.13; b) *sabhāpatim* in AVP 13.7.5d.[70] It is also attested in SBhV I (7 times)[71] and the Sanskrit texts from Turfan,[72] namely CPS, MPS and *Mahāgovindasūtra*. Skt. *sabhāpati-* is attested in *Mahābhārata* (e.g. 7.24.22 and 8.65.28) as well.

(2) **sabhāṃ**pati-: attested in SBhV II (5 times)[73] and CPS 8.18.

(3) **sahā**pati-: attested e.g. in *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (15 times),[74]

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[66] *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* is a 15th-century Nepalese reworking of the Mahāyāna sūtra *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, which is about ten centuries earlier. However, in *Kāraṇḍavyūha* there is only *sahālokadhātu-* (cf. VAIDYA 1961: 290).

[67] It is attested once in the first book *Vairāgyaprakaraṇa* 1.31.23 and 4 times in the sixth book *Nirvāṇaprakaraṇa*.

[68] Cf. *saho lokadhātuḥ* in Vkn 9.6 (TAKAHASHI et al. 2004: 364), but *iyaṃ sahālokadhātuḥ* in *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (VAIDYA 1960b: 164) and *imāṃ sahāṃ lokadhātum* in Saddh-p (WOGIHARA and TSUCHIDA 1934: 210).

[69] Cf. EDGERTON 1953: II 282; CONE 2010: 480.

[70] LOPEZ 2000: 175.

[71] GNOLI 1977–1978: I 128, 130 etc.

[72] Cf. the lemma 'Sabhāpati' in SWTF IV 296.

[73] GNOLI 1977–1978: II 170, 191 etc.

[74] VAIDYA 1960a: 129, 191 etc.

Abhidharmakośavyākhyā (3 times),[75] Divy (4 times),[76] Kar-p (once)[77] and LV (19 times).[78]

(4) **sahāṃpati-**: attested e.g. in AVŚ (19 times),[79] Divy (once),[80] LV (once),[81] MV (twice),[82] Saddh-p (thrice),[83] Suv (twice),[84] *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (thrice)[85].

(5) **sahaṃpati-**: attested in MV (once).[86]

Based on the epic Sanskrit *viśāṃ-pati-* and other similar words, *sahāṃpati-* was built from *sahā-pati-*,[87] and such is also the relationship between *sabhāṃpati-* and *sabhāpati-*. The form *sahaṃpati* in MV is due to the law of two morae in Middle Indic (cf. Pāli *sahaṃpati-*). The form *sahapati-* listed in PW and MW is just a variant in chapter 5 recorded only once on manuscript T2 of LV, which is adopted in the edition by MITRA 1877 and later cited by Böhtlingk and Roth, from whom Monier-Williams had adopted the form.[88]

The god Brahmā is the personification of the neuter Ved. *bráhman-* 'formulation, forming', and is first attested in the younger Vedic texts, namely in the Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad.[89] The epithet *sabhāpati-* 'owner of the assembly hall'[90] for Brahmā probably originates from its occurrence in the *brahmodya* 'speech about Brahman, rivalry in sacred knowledge' verse in AVP 13.7.5: *indraṃ tvānu pṛchāmi sākṣāt sabhānāṃ ca sabhāpatiṃ* 'I ask you about Indra before my eyes and the lord of the highest assembly (of gods)'.[91]

The oldest form of the epithet for Brahmā is thus *sabhāpati-* with Skt. *sabhā-* 'assembly, society', and this is also the dominant variant in the Sanskrit manuscripts from Turfan. The regular sound change in Prakrit *-bh-* > *-h-*, e.g.

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[75] WOGIHARA 1971: I 103.

[76] COWELL and NEIL 1886: 613, 652.

[77] YAMADA 1968: 4.

[78] HOKAZONO 1994: 398f., 416f. etc.

[79] VAIDYA 1958: 121, 132 etc.

[80] COWELL and NEIL 1886: 638.

[81] HOKAZONO 1994: 356f.

[82] SENART 1882–1897: II 63, 136.

[83] WOGIHARA and TSUCHIDA 1934: 3, 67.

[84] NOBEL 1937: 84, 91.

[85] VAIDYA 1961: 258 line 20 and 27 etc.

[86] SENART 1882–1897: III 381.

[87] Cf. AiGr II 1: 46, 246, 248.

[88] HOKAZONO 1994: 264, 356f. For all the other occurrences of *sahā(ṃ)pati-*, it is always written with *-hā-* on manuscript T2.

[89] Cf. KEWA II 452; EWAia II 236.

[90] Cf. EWAia II 701.

[91] LOPEZ 2000: 175, 202, 208.

Skt. *ābhā-* 'splendour', *prabhā-* 'radiance' > Pkt. *āhā-*, *pahā-*, gives rise to the forms *sahāpati-* and *sahāṃpati-* widely attested in the Buddhist texts,[92] whence the new interpretation of Brahmā as 'the lord of the earth' taking the first member to be *sahā-* 'earth ← the bearing one' (cf. *sarvaṃsaha-* 'all-bearing' in Pāṇini 3.2.41 and *sarvaṃsahā-* 'earth' in *Amarakośa* 2.1.5[93]). However, in Pāli and Gāndhārī words with -*bhā-* 'light' always keep the labial element, e.g. Gāndhārī *pravha-* or *prabha-*, Pāli *pabhā-* 'radiance' (= Skt. *prabhā-*) and Gāndhārī *abha-* 'splendour', Pāli *ābhā-* 'splendour' (Skt. *ābhā-*).[94] The Gāndhārī epithets *sahaṃpati-* and *sahapati-* of Brahmā in the inscriptions are therefore more likely derived from Skt. *sahāṃpati-* and *sahāpati-*.

6.3. The evidence of Chinese translations

In the Chinese Buddhist corpus, the world-system in which living beings dwell is called Chin. *suo po shi jie* (娑婆世界), where Chin. *suo po* /sâ buâ/ is the transliteration of Skt. *sabhā-*[95] and Chin. *shi jie* 'world' corresponds to Skt. *loka-* 'world' or *lokadhātu-* 'world-region'. It is widely attested since the beginning of 5th cent. AD: 35 times in the Chinese Saddh-p by Kumārajīva (405–406) from Kucha; 6 times in the Chinese Vkn by Kumārajīva; twice in *Fo shuo guan ding jing* (T.1331[1] and T. 1331[11], 5th cent.); 35 times in the Chinese Kar-p by Dharmakṣema (419), an Indian monk who had stayed in Kucha for some time; and so on.

In order to clarify the detailed situation of the Chinese translations, two cases are selected, namely the Chinese Saddh-p by Kumārajīva (T.262) and Dharmarakṣa (286, T.263); and Chinese Vkn by Zhi Qian (T.474) and Xuanzang (602–664, T.476), both of which have well-preserved Sanskrit texts.

In Saddh-p there is no occurrence of Skt. *sabhāloka-*, and the phrase **saha-** *lokadhātu-* corresponds to Chin. **suo po shi jie** (= Skt. **sabhā**lokadhātu-*) by Kumārajīva[96] and Chin. **ren shi jie** 'world of endurance'[97] (= Skt. **sahā**lokadhātu-*) by Dharmarakṣa.

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[92] Cf. von Hinüber 2001: 161.

[93] The feminine gender is probably due to the influence of other Sanskrit words for 'earth', e.g. Ved. *pṛthvī́-*, *urvī́-* (since RV) and Skt. *medinī-* (since *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*).

[94] Cf. von Hinüber 2001: 161f.

[95] Cf. Karashima 2001: 261.

[96] Cf. *sahāṃ lokadhātum* in chapter 11 (Wogihara and Tsuchida 1934: 210 line 23) corresponds to Chin. 娑婆世界 *suo po shi jie* (T.262, 9.33a8).

[97] Chin. 忍世界 in T.263, 9.103b10. It is also attested three times in Zhi Qian's translation of Vkn (T.474, before 250?).

In Vkn, the phrase *saha- lokadhātu-* occurs only in the 9th and 11th chapter, and *sahālokadhātu-* occurs once in the 9th chapter.[98] In the 9th and 11th chapter instead of the phrase *saha- lokadhātu-*, the compound *lokadhātu-* alone occurs many times,[99] which is used as a synonym of *saha- lokadhātu-*.[100] In Vkn, Skt. *saha- lokadhātu-* or *sahālokadhātu-* corresponds to Chin. **suo po shi jie** 'sabhā world' or simply *shi jie* 'world' by Kumārajīva[101] and Chin. **kan ren shi jie** 'world of endurance' (= Skt. **sahā**lokadhātu-)[102] by Xuanzang. Another Chinese rendering is Chin. **suo he shi jie** '**sahā** world', which is used e.g. by Paramārtha (499–569)[103] and Amoghavajra (705–774),[104] where Chin. *suo he* is simply the transliteration of Skt. *sahā-* 'the enduring one'.

Skt. *sabhā(ṃ)pati-* corresponds to Chin. **suo po shi jie zhu** 'master of the **sabhā** world' by Kumārajīva[105] and Narendrayaśas,[106] while Chin. **suo he shi jie zhu** 'master of the **sahā** world' is adopted by Xuanzang,[107] Amoghavajra[108] and Yijing (635–713).[109] Chin. *suo he zhu* '*sahā* master'[110] is very rarely attested, which is probably an abbreviation of Chin. *suo he shi jie zhu* 'master of the *sahā* world'.

Based on the detailed information above, it is clear that the translators connected with Kucha consistently use the Chinese terms whose underlying Indic words contain *sabhā-*, independent of the attested forms in the extant manuscripts, which means that these Chinese terms had become fixed terminologies transmitted from earlier periods in certain contexts. This may be compared with the case of Skt. *śramaṇa-*, on which see the discussion below in section 9.1.

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[98] Takahashi et al. 2004: 386.

[99] Takahashi et al. 2004: 356, 358 etc.

[100] Skt. *asya ca lokadhātor* in chapter 9.6 (Takahashi et al. 2004: 364) corresponds to Chin. *ci tu* 此土 'this earth/land' (T.475, 14.552b15 by Kumārajīva and T.476, 14.579c7 by Xuanzang), which refers to *saho lokadhātuḥ* 'the enduring world' (= Chin. 堪忍世界 *kan ren shi jie* by Xuanzang, but 娑婆世界 *suo po shi jie* by Kumārajīva) in the same passage.

[101] Cf. Takahashi et al. 2004: 360 [= T.475, 14.552b1] and 386 [= T.475, 14.553a28].

[102] Chin. 堪忍世界 in T.476, 14.579b14–15, b23, etc.

[103] Cf. Chin. 娑訶世界 in T.669, 16.469a17–18.

[104] Cf. Chin. 娑訶世界 in T.404, 13.614b22.

[105] Cf. Chin. 娑婆世界主 in T.262, 9.2a18 and T.227, 8.540a9.

[106] Cf. Chin. 娑婆世界主 in T.397 (14), 13.299a1. On the authorship of this part, cf. https://dazangthings.nz/cbc/text/4240/ (accessed 9 November 2021).

[107] Cf. Chin. 娑訶世界主 in T.1545, 27.890a3.

[108] Cf. Chin. 娑訶世界主 in T.404, 13.646a17.

[109] Cf. Chin. 索訶世界主 in T.665, 16.425b25.

[110] Cf. Chin. 索訶主 in Chin. *Yogācārabhūmi* (T.1579) or 娑訶主 in *Guan cha zhu fa xing jing* (T.649).

The reason why Kumārajīva and Dharmakṣema abandoned the earlier rendering Chin. *ren shi jie* 'world of endurance' by Dharmarakṣa and Chin. *ren jie* 'id.' by Zhi Qian (fl. 223–253),[111] whose Sanskrit basis *sahālokadhātu-* or *saha- lokadhātu-* is the dominant variant attested in the extant manuscripts, and chose the translation Chin. *suo po shi jie* (= Skt. *sabhālokadhātu-*), which is only rarely attested in the extant manuscripts, is that the Sanskrit words in the manuscripts used by Kumārajīva and Dharmakṣema are probably different from the ones in the extant Sanskrit texts. This possibility is indirectly supported by the fact that **sabhā***pati-* 'master of *sabhā* world' is attested almost exclusively in the Sanskrit manuscripts from Turfan, and **sabhā***loka(dhātu)-* was probably the widespread form in the Kucha area, which was motivated by **sabhā***pati-*. Even if Skt. *sabhāpati-* and *sabhāloka(dhātu)-* were transmitted into the Tocharian region via Gāndhārī, as in the case of Skt. *śramaṇa-*, the hybrid Buddhist Sanskrit based on Gāndhārī would not change *sabhā-* to *sahā-*, because *-bh-* of *bhā-* 'shine' is usually preserved in Gāndhārī.[112] On the other hand, Skt. *sahāloka(dhātu)-* was probably created based on **sahā***pati-* (cf. section 6.2 above), and instead of a compound with *sahā-* 'the bearing one, earth', it is interpreted as 'the world of endurance of suffering, the world that must be endured' in the Buddhist context, both of which (*sahā-* as 'the bearing one' and 'endurance of suffering') belong to folk etymology.[113] Therefore, the history of the Chinese renditions can be summarized as: *sahā-* (Dharmarakṣa and Zhi Qian) → **sabhā-* (Kumārajīva and Dharmakṣema) → *sahā-* (Xuanzang etc.). Kumārajīva's deviation is probably attributed to his etymologisation in terms of 'hall'/'light'.

7. The meaning of TA *ārkiśoṣi*

In the Sanskrit corpus of the Turfanfunde, Skt. *sabhā-* 'assembly hall' is not a common word. As simplex it is only attested twice, and the only compound, Skt. *deva-sabhā-* 'assembly hall of the gods', occurs twice in one single fragment.[114] Instead of Skt. *sabhā-*, the word Skt. *śālā-* 'hall, house' is used

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[111] Cf. *ren jie* 忍界 in his translation of Vkn (T.474, 14.532b1). On the authorship of T.474, cf. HE [RADICH] 2019: 16–18, according to whom the 'extant text of T.474 is a revision of a Zhi Qian original text by Dharmarakṣa or someone very closely associated with Dharmarakṣa's circle'.

[112] Cf. von HINÜBER 2001: 161f.

[113] In the Buddhist lexicographical works compiled in the Tang Dynasty, Chin. *suo po* is even considered to be the incorrect form, while Chin. *suo he* (= Skt. *sahă-*) is regarded as the correct word meaning 'capable of enduring', because the people in this world can endure suffering, cf. the explanations in *Yi qie jing yin yi* 'The Sounds and Meanings [of the words in] the Scriptures', a Buddhist dictionary completed in 807 by uilin (T.2128, 54.356c10) and in *Fa yuan zhu lin*, a Buddhist encyclopaedia compiled by Daoshi in 668 (T.2122, 53.278a18–20).

[114] Cf. SWTF II 492, IV 296.

much more frequently, and in the Sanskrit texts from Turfan, beside the simplex the following compounds are attested: *upasthāna-śālā-* 'Versammlungshalle (eines Klosters) [assembly hall (of a monastery)]', *kūṭāgāra-śālā-* 'Halle mit Spitztonnendach [hall with pointed tunnel vault roof]', *catuḥ-śāla-* 'mit vier Hallen versehen [equipped with four halls]', *dīrgha-śāla-* 'ausgedehnte Räume habend [having broad space]', *dvāra-śālā-* 'Eingangshalle [entrance hall]', *mahā-śāla-* 'dessen Haus groß ist [having a big house]'.[115]

In the *Mahāgovindasūtra* preserved in the Sanskrit fragments SHT 32/61–64 and SHT 165/18–19 from Qizil (MQR), the epithet 'Sabhāpati' of Brahmā is attested twice, and in the manuscript SHT 32/64 V3 it is written *sābhāpati-*: /// *(b)r(a)hm[ā] sābhāpa(tir bra)hmaloke*. In section 15 the missing part about the appearance of Brahmā is preserved in the Pāli parallel *Janavasabhasūtta* (DN II: 209): *yathā … uḷāro āloko sañjāyati obhāso pātubhavati brahmā pātubhavissati brahmuno h' etaṃ pubbanimittaṃ pātubhāvāya yadidaṃ āloko sañjāyati obhāso pātubhavati* 'When such eminent light arises and such radiance shines forth, Brahmā will appear. The appearance of such radiance is the first sign of Brahmā's approaching manifestation'.[116] Furthermore, in the manuscript SHT 32/64 V3 Brahmā's epithet is written as *sābhāpati-*, so this variant, if not attributed to scribal error, is evidence for the reinterpretation of the original title *sabhāpati-* as containing *-bhā-* 'light, radiance', from which the hypercorrect form *sābhāpati-* (< *sa-ābhā-pati-*) 'the lord with radiance (*ābhā-*)' was built. The uncommonness of Skt. *sabhā-* 'hall' against *-śālǎ-* 'id.' and other divine names such as Ābhāsvara and Ābhasvara in the Tocharian region must have contributed to this new interpretation as well.[117]

Based on the detailed analysis above, a new explanation for TA *ārkiśoṣi* can be suggested. TA *ārkiśoṣi* is very likely a loan translation of Skt. *săbhāloka(dhātu)-*, which is preserved in the Chinese translations by Kumārajīva and other translators connected with Kucha. In the Tocharian region, the first part *săbhā-* was understood as containing *-(ā)bhā-* 'radiance', which is supported by the evidence of the Sanskrit manuscripts from Kucha, and therefore TA *ārki-* 'having radiance, shining, white'[118] and *śoṣi-* were used to render the whole compound. TA *ārkiśoṣi* literally means 'the world with radiance, the shining world'.

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[115] Cf. SWTF IV 197 etc.

[116] Cf. Schlingloff 1963: 40: 'Ein Lichtglanz verkündet das Erscheinen des Gottes Brahmā'. The English translation is based on that of Walshe 1995: 295 with modification.

[117] Cf. SWTF: I 266f.

[118] It is perhaps unnecessary to suppose that for the Tocharians TA *ārki-* from *h₂erĝ-u-i̯on-* still has the possessive nuance 'having radiance', where *h₂erĝu-* is a substantivised adjective meaning 'the shining thing' (cf. Hitt. *harki-* 'white, bright' and as a neutral noun 'the white (of eyes)', Wodtko et al. 2008: 317).

8. The gloss TB *śaiṣṣe* in SHT 4438 explained

In the Tocharian B corpus there is no exact equivalent of TA *ārkiśoṣi*, whose hypothetical form would be TB †*ārkwiśaiṣṣe*. In view of the much greater extent of the Tocharian B corpus,[119] the accidental loss of this compound is not very convincing. As long since observed by Tocharian scholars, the Tocharian A corpus contains almost exclusively Buddhist texts[120] and is more closely connected with Buddhism than Tocharian B, which has borrowed numerous Buddhist words from Tocharian A.

Historically, TB *śaiṣṣe* and TA *śoṣi* go back to the same Proto-Tocharian word built from PIE root *$g^u ieh_3$- 'to live', and this Proto-Tocharian word can mean both 'living beings, people' (= Skt. *jana*-) and 'the world as ensemble of people and animals' (Skt. *jagat*- or *loka*-), both of which are still preserved in TB *śaiṣṣe*. Due to close contact with the Sanskrit Buddhist texts TA *ārkiśoṣi* was created as a loan translation of Skt. *sǎ(b)hāloka(dhātu)*-, for which Skt. *loka(dhātu)*- can be used as a synonym (cf. section 6.3 above). The existence of TA *ārkiśoṣi*, which literally means 'the world with radiance, the shining world' referring to the world inhabited by human beings[121] and later simply 'the world', narrows the original semantic field of TA *śoṣi*, namely both 'living beings, people' and 'the world', so that only the meaning 'person, people' (= Skt. *jana*-) is preserved, as reflected in the preserved Tocharian A corpus.[122]

Although the content of SHT 4438 has not yet been determined, the incomplete sentence *kāmair anāry[ai]r jagat* in SHT 4438 Rb, where TB *śaiṣṣe* is written under Skt. *jagat* as explanation, is similar to the verse *lokasya kāmair na hi tṛptir asti* 'For the people/the whole world there is no more satisfaction other than the sensual pleasures' in *Saundarananda* 5.23.[123] The commentator of SHT 4438 must have been well-versed in Sanskrit, because

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[119] According to the statistics in CEToM, there are 1744 manuscripts containing TA and 8072 containing TB; cf. https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?statistics&show=manuscripts (accessed 21 September 2021).

[120] Cf. Malzahn 2007b: 290 fn. 48 and Ogihara 2014.

[121] Despite the distinction in form, when using Chin. *suo po shi jie* (= Skt. *sabhālokadhātu*-), the Buddhist exegesis of 'the world of endurance of suffering' (Skt. *sahālokadhātu*-) is probably meant as well, since the Sanskrit parallels all contain *sahālokadhātu*- or *saha- lokadhātu*-. Such is probably the case with TA *ārkiśoṣi*. As words with multiple semantic fields are often difficult to translate, such words are frequently loaned (e.g. Chin. *suo po shi jie*) or transmitted by means of loan translation (e.g. TA *ārkiśoṣi*).

[122] This kind of semantic development is widely attested, cf. Eng. *meat* vs. *sweetmeat*. The general sense 'nourishment, food' is preserved in the compound, while *meat* alone is used in a narrow sense and designates only one kind of nourishment, namely 'flesh', cf. OE *mete* 'nourishment', OHG *maz* 'food' (EWAhd: VI 218).

[123] Johnston 1928: 31; Matsunami 1981: 38.

some of the glosses are even written in Sanskrit (e.g. the gloss Skt. *aprameyaṃ* for *atulaṃ* in SHT 4438 Ve). Therefore, he must have known that TA *ārkiśoṣi* corresponds to Skt. *sǟ(b)hāloka(dhātu)-* in the strict sense and not *jagat-*, while TA *śoṣi* only means 'person' as the equivalent of Skt. *jana-*. One possible solution would be the resort to TB *śaiṣṣe* (= Skt. *jagat-* or *loka-*).

9. Excursus: Further examples of Chinese Buddhist vocabulary influenced by Tocharian

9.1. Chin. 沙門 *sha men* 'monk'

It remains the case that mainstream scholars of Buddhism and Tocharian specialists normally work independently, although the former group is aware that numerous Chinese Buddhist texts were translated by those closely related to the Tocharian region or more precisely the vast region from Kucha to Turfan, probably with Kumārajīva being the most prominent example. Therefore, for the Buddhist scholars unfamiliar with the Tocharian historical phonology and Tocharian Buddhist vocabulary, it is no wonder that the *communis opinio* would be that a Chinese Buddhist term such as *sha men* 'monk' is borrowed directly from Gāndhārī (Gāndh. *ṣamana* or *ṣamaṇa*).[124]

Chin. *sha men* (沙門) 'Buddhist monk' is the standard translation of Skt. *śramaṇa-* in all the above cited Sanskrit texts, but strictly speaking Skt. *śramaṇa-* or Gāndh. *ṣamana* should be transliterated[125] as Chin. *sha men na* (沙門那), which indeed is attested. However, the token frequency of Chin. *sha men* against *sha men na* is 71915 : 191 in the whole CBETA corpus,[126] which makes the latter simply a minor variant. Chin. *sha men* MC /ṣaɨ mwən/ is in fact the transliteration of TA *ṣāmaṃ* 'Buddhist monk', which itself is borrowed (probably directly from Khotanese *ṣṣamana*) via Gāndhārī *ṣamaṇa-* from Skt. *śramaṇa-*, namely Chin. /ṣaɨ mwən/ ← TA *ṣāmaṃ* ← (Khot. *ṣṣamana* ←) Gāndh. *ṣamaṇa-* ← Skt. *śramaṇa-* 'Buddhist monk'. The reason for the absolute prevalence of Chin. *sha men* is that since its early introduction from Tocharian by the pioneer translators,[127] it has become the fixed and standard *terminus technicus*.[128]

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[124] E.g. Boucher 1998: 477 fn. 38: 'A common example that could be cited is *shamen* (Early Middle Chinese: *ṣa-mən*) 沙門, which transcribes *śramaṇa* but appears to reflect the particular Gāndhārī development of *śr > ṣ*, (*ṣamaṇa*).'

[125] In such cases 'translation', 'transliteration' and 'transcription' are all in use, but 'transliteration' is the most suitable term, cf. de Jong 1981: 111–112; Boucher 1998: 477 fn. 38.

[126] Cf. https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw (accessed 21 September 2021).

[127] Cf. 沙門 in the translations by Lokakṣema (2nd cent. AD).

[128] Cf. Boucher 1998: 477 fn. 38: 'Once these terms became part of the indigenous Chinese Buddhist vocabulary, translators often defaulted to them even if their Indic text may not have reflected the same phonology or exact meaning.'

Another important detail which speaks against the assumption of a direct borrowing from Gāndhārī must be brought to the fore. The 32nd chapter of the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* is called *Bhikṣuvarga* (BERNHARD 1965: 431) and throughout the whole chapter the Sanskrit keyword is *bhikṣu-*. However, in the Chinese translation of *Udānavarga* by Zhu Fonian (4th cent., T.212), the title is called 沙門品 *sha men pin* 'chapter on *sha men*', but throughout the whole chapter Chin. 比丘 *bi qiu* 'bhikṣu' occurs almost exclusively. The same situation is encountered in the Chinese translation of *Udānavarga* T.210 by Zhi Qian and [Zhu] Jiangyan (3rd cent.): the title of *Bhikṣuvarga* is called Chin. *sha men pin*, but the main text contains almost exclusively Chin. *bi qiu*. In the 10th century translation by Tianxizai (active 980–1000), the title is 'normal', namely Chin. *bi qiu pin*.

The 'directly from Gāndhārī' theory certainly could not explain this strange circumstance, because in the Gāndhārī Dharmapada Gāndh. *ṣamaṇa-* and *bhikhu-* are clearly distinguished, cf. verse 80d: *so bramaṇo so ṣamaṇo so bhikhu* 'a Brahman, an ascetic, a monk' (BROUGH 1962: 130), cf. further the Pāli version in verse 142d of *Dhammapada*: *so brāhmaṇo so samaṇo sa bhikkhu* (von HINÜBER and NORMAN 1995: 40).

This peculiar translation is very likely to be attributable to Tocharian influence, since it is exactly the case in Tocharian, where TB *ṣamāne* and TA *ṣāmaṃ* are used to translate Skt. *bhikṣu-* 'Buddhist monk', which are etymologically unrelated, cf. *sa(manvā)gato* **bhikṣu • kekenu ṣamāne** 'the monk endowed with' in B 547 a1–2 and **bhikṣur na tāvatā bhavati | ṣāmaṃ mā täppreṃ ṣolār mäskaträ** 'he becomes a monk not to that extent' in a *Saṃyuktāgama* fragment A 360 a11 (= Uv. 32.18a). Skt. *bhikṣu-* is only preserved in the compound TA *pis-saṅk* ← Skt. *bhikṣu-saṅgha-* in e.g. A 428 a5.[129]

The same situation is attested in Khotanese, where Khot. *ṣṣamana* 'monk' is used to translate Skt. *bhikṣu* (cf. SKJÆRVØ 2004: II, 348), and this translational convention is very likely the origin of the Tocharian practice mentioned above, which is not surprising in view of other Khotanese loanwords into Tocharian, cf. TA *pissaṅk* < Khot. *bïṣaṃga-** < Skt. *bhikṣusaṃgha-*; TA *mātār* TB *mādār* 'sea-monster' < Khot. *mādara-* < Skt. *makara-* 'id.' (TREMBLAY 2005: 434).[130]

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[129] According to TREMBLAY 2005: 434 the borrowing process should be: Skt. *bhikṣusaṃgha-* > Khot. *bälsaṃg(h)a-* > Khot. *bïṣaṃga-** > TA *pissaṅk*.

[130] Although it cannot be excluded for sure that instead of the Tocharians the Khotanese translators had first introduced this peculiar usage into the Chinese translations, the preserved early Chinese translations by the translators in Khotan provide no supporting evidence, cf. for example the Chinese translation of *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* produced by

9.2. Chin. 和尚 *he shang* 'teacher, monk'

Chin. 和尚 *he shang* MC /ɦwa dzi̯aŋ/ has several variants including Chin. 和上 *he shang* /ɦwa dzi̯aŋ/, 和闍 *he she* /ɦwa dzi̯a/, 和社 *he she* /ɦwa dzi̯a/, 殟社 *wen she* /ʔwən dzi̯a/, 鶻社 *hu she* /ɦwət dzi̯a/ and 烏社 *wu she* /ɦwət dzi̯a/. According to the lexicographical work *Yi qie jing yin yi*, Chin. 和上 *he shang* /ɦwa dzi̯aŋ/ is an older and mistaken *hu* 'foreign' rendition, and the correct form is Chin. 鄔波柂耶 *wu bo duo ye* MC /ʔu̯o p(w)a da ya/, namely Skt. *upādhyāya-* 'teacher' (T.2128, 54.384c1).[131] It is further recorded that Chin. 鶻社 *hu she* /ɦwət dzi̯a/ is used in Khotan and Shule (Kashgar).[132]

However, in the Khotanese textual corpus there is no trace of Skt. *upādhyāya-* 'teacher': the standard word for 'teacher' is Khot. *āśäria-/āśiria-* < Gāndh. *ayariya-/aśariya-*[133] < Skt. *ācārya-*, which is also used to translate Skt. *bhikṣu-* 'monk'; another popular word is Khot. *pīsaa-* 'teacher' < *upa-/pati-daisaka-* from Iran. *dais-* 'to show' (Skjærvø 2004: II, 304); other less frequent words for 'teacher' are: Khot. *uysdīśāka-*, *kṣī'a-*, *nyūjāka-*, *nvaḍūdva-*, *śāstāra-* (← Skt. *śāstar-* 'teacher'), *ācārī-* (← Skt. *ācārya-*).

That the Tarim Basin region was highly multilingual during the early transmission of Buddhism is confirmed by the manuscripts in numerous languages unearthed there.[134] As in the case of Chin. *sha men*, Gāndhārī, which is significant for the development of early Buddhism, very likely functioned as a crucial mediator. Skt. *upādhyāya-* 'teacher' corresponds to Gāndh. *uvajaya-* (cf. Pāli *upajjhāya-*), and taking into account that the initial *uva-* may be written *va-* in Gāndhārī, the word for 'teacher' would be *vajaya-**, cf. Gāndh. *vaśada* for *uvaśada-* 'calmed; Skt. *upaśānta-*' (Brough 1962: 87), Gāndh. *vasapaḍa-* = *uvasaṃpada-* 'full ordination; Skt. *upasaṃpadā-*'; cf. further Khot. *vavaj-* 'to be reborn' translating Skt. *upapadya-* 'id.' (e.g. Khot. *vavajīndä* 'they are

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Wuluocha in Khotan in 291, i.e. *Fang guang ban ruo jing* (T.221), where Chin. 沙門婆羅門 *sha men po luo men* and 沙門被服 *sha men pi fu* correspond to Skt. *śramaṇabrāhmaṇa-* and *śramaṇaveṣa-* respectively while Chin. 比丘 *bi qiu* to Skt. *bhikṣu-*.

[131] Chin. 鄔波柂耶，梵語唐云親教師，古譯云和上，本是胡語訛略 *wu bo duo ye, fan yu tang yun qin jiao shi, gu yi yun he shang, ben shi hu yu e lüe*. According to Boucher 2000: 11 when used to describe the Indic manuscripts, Chin. *hu* very likely refers to the '*kharoṣṭhī* manuscripts'. The variant Chin. 鄔波馱耶 *wu bo duo ye* MC /ʔu̯o p(w)a da ya/ is attested several times in the Chinese Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya T.1442.

[132] Cf. Chin. 和上，謂之塢波地耶，然其彼土流俗謂和上殟社，于闐疏勒乃云鶻社，今此方訛音謂之和上 *he shang, wei zhi wu bo di ye, ran qi bi tu liu su wei he shang wen she, yu tian shu le nai yun hu she, jin ci fang e yin wei zhi he shang* (T.2128, 54.441b14).

[133] On the sound change in Gāndhārī *-y- > -ś-* and 'aus der chinesischen Übersetzung rekonstruierbar …: Skt. *vinaya* : *vināśa*', cf. von Hinüber 2001: 174 § 213.

[134] Cf. the map on page 20–21 of the brochure 'Turfan Studies': http://turfan.bbaw.de/bilder/Turfan_engl_07.pdf (accessed 25 April 2021).

reborn' in Khot. Suv 12.50, Skjærvø 2004: I, 246), which is borrowed from Gāndh. *vavaj-* (cf. Gāndh. *vavajadi* < Skt. *upapadyate* 'is reborn').

If the 3-syllabic word Gāndh. *vajaya-** [waːʥaːyə] was borrowed into Tocharian A, it would surface as TA *wājāya** > *wājā** (TA *-āya-* > *-ā-*, cf. Winter 1965: 128), which would be borrowed into Chinese as 和社 *he she* /ɦiwa dzi̯a/, Chin. 鶡社 *hu she* /ɦiwət dzi̯a/ etc.; cf. Toch. A *wasāṃpāt* ← Gāndh. *(u)vasaṃpada-* ← Skt. *upasaṃpadā-* 'full ordination', Toch. A *wāsak* ← Gāndh. *(u)vasaga-* ← Skt. *upāsaka-* 'lay-disciple', cf. further the attested variants TA *upādhyā*/*opādhyā* and ᵤ*pādhyā* (Poucha 1955: 36). Within the Tocharian corpus both early and late loanwords can coexist, cf. TA *waśir* ([← Khot. *vaśära-*] ← Gāndh. *vayira-*/*vaśira-** ← Skt. *vajra-*) vs. TA *vājär* (← Skt. *vajra-*); TA *kantarw* (← Gāndh. *g(h)a(ṃ)dharva-* or Skt. *gandharva-*) vs. TA *gandharv* (← Skt. *gandharva-*); TA *tārme* vs. TA *dharm* (both from Skt. *dharma-*); TB *tarmarakṣi(te)e* in THT 2689 a2 vs. TB *dharmarakṣite* in B 440 a2 (← Skt. *dharmarakṣita-*).

In fact, the Chinese materials testify to two variants, namely Chin. 和社 *he she* /ɦiwa dzi̯a̯/ with a final vowel *-ă̯* and Chin. 和上 *he shang* /ɦiwa dzi̯aŋ/ with a final nasal *-n*. This again may be connected with the inner-Tocharian development by which proper names with vocalic stems frequently become nasal stems with individualising meaning after being borrowed into Tocharian. Among the numerous examples, the following ones are sufficient to elucidate this development: TA *devadatte* (← Skt. *devadatta-*) with abl. sing. *devadattenäṣ* (acc. sing. TA *devadatteṃ**);[135] TA *bādhari* (← Skt. *bādhari-*) with acc. sing. *bādhariṃ*. Like the development from Latin to Romance languages, instead of nominative the accusative or oblique form is used as the 'Universalkasus' form,[136] Chin. 和上 *he shang* /ɦiwa dzi̯aŋ/ could continue the accusative form of the *n*-stem, namely TA *wājāṃ**.[137]

The statement in *Yi qie jing yin yi*, that Chin. 鶡社 *hu she* /ɦiwət dzi̯a/ is used in Khotan and Kashgar, does not necessarily speak against the theory above, since Tocharian was in wide use in the Tarim Basin region, and in addition to the northern Silk Road from Kucha to Turfan Tocharian texts have

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[135] The origin of Tocharian A nouns in *-e* is unclear, but 'there are indices that it somehow reflects an *n*-stem final' (Hilmarsson 1996: 71, 85), cf. further Pinault 2008: 480.

[136] 'It is conventional to cite the accusative of all Latin noun types, except the 1st declension, as the virtual proto-form for the Romance reflexes' (Weiss 2020: 544). However, proper names often retain the nominative, cf. Spanish *Carlos*, *Marcos* or French *Charles*, *Jacques* with the old nom. sing. ending -s.

[137] The accusative form with its final nasal was probably sufficiently frequent that it could be (mis)interpreted by Chinese speakers as the underlying stem.

also been discovered in Tumshuq (TREMBLAY 2001: 37; SCHMIDT 2018: 1–47) and along the southern Silk Road (e.g. Endere and Miran). Cf. further the so-called Kucha-Kharoṣṭhī script (SCHMIDT 2001b: 7–27).[138]

9.3. Direct borrowings from Gāndhārī?

Concerning the origins of Chin. *sha men* 'monk' and Chin. *he shang* 'teacher, monk', the proposed borrowing processes above can be summarised as follows:

Chinese	← Tocharian A	(← Khotanese)	← Gāndhārī	← Sanskrit
sha men /ṣaɨ mwən/	← *ṣāmaṃ*	(← *ṣṣamana*)	*ṣamana-*	← *śramaṇa-* 'monk'
he shang or *he she* /ɦwa dzi̯aŋ/ or /ɦwa dzi̯a/	← *wājāṃ** (acc. sing.)/*wājā**		← *uvajaya-*/ *vajaya-**	← *upādhyāya-* 'teacher'

If Chin. *sha men* was borrowed 'directly' from Gāndhārī *ṣamana*, it would have to be assumed that the stem vowel of Gāndh. *ṣamana* was reduced or simply not transcribed. Further analysis based on other examples will prove this explanation to be simplistic and not in line with the reality.

In both inherited words and loanwords, final *-æ* in Proto-Tocharian is dropped (> ø) in Tocharian A and turns into *-e* in Tocharian B. For inherited lexemes, cf. PIE *$\hat{g}omb^hos$ 'row of teeth' > Proto-Toch. *$k\alpha m\alpha$ > TB *keme* TA *kam* 'tooth' and PIE *$h_2e\hat{g}omh_1no$-* > Proto-Toch. *$ak\alpha man\alpha$ > TB *akémane*, TA *ākmāṃ* 'leading' (HACKSTEIN 2017: 1311); for loanwords, cf. TA *kaṣ* TB *keṣe* 'fathom' < Proto-Toch. *$k\alpha\bar{s}\alpha$ < OIran. *$ka\check{s}a$-* 'armpit'; TA *parāṃ* TB *perne* 'glory' < Proto-Toch. *$p\alpha rn\alpha$* < OIran. *(s)farnah-* (TREMBLAY 2005: 425). TB *ṣamāne* 'monk' besides TA *ṣāmaṃ* confirms that when the Gāndhārī word became known to the Tocharians, the final vowel of Gāndh. *ṣamaṇa-* (sing. nom./acc. *ṣamaṇa/ṣamaṇo/ṣamane*) was preserved and still pronounced.[139]

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[138] LIN 1995: 440 traced Chin. *he shang* back to Khot. *āṣana-* 'worthy', which is phonologically and semantically impossible.

[139] But the exact quality of the preserved final stem vowel of the Gāndhārī word is unclear, 'since the Tocharian ending might have been assigned according to a rule of morphological equivalence by speakers that knew both languages well' (RINGE 1996: 92). It is, however, quite arbitrary to assume that approximately during the same period another group of Gāndhārī speakers in direct contact with the early Chinese translators tended to drop the final *-a*/-*o*/-*e*, if no other evidence exists.

Therefore, the claimed development that the stem vowel was reduced or simply not transcribed must be attributed to the habit or convention of the ancient Chinese translators or speakers, who allegedly tended to drop the final *-a*/*-o*/*-e* in borrowing the Indic Buddhist terms. But the final *-a*/*-o*/*-e* in Middle Chinese of native Chinese words were apparently not subject to such reduction.

Chin. 波逸提 *bo yi ti* corresponds to Skt. *pātayantika-*/*pāyattika-*/*pāyantika-*/*prāyaścitta-* 'transgression' (Pāli *pācittiya-*, Gāndh. *payati-*). Chin. *bo yi ti* MC /p(w)a yit dei̯/ is certainly a loanword, and Gāndh. *payati-* seems to be the source. However, in this case there are two problems with the hypothesis of direct borrowing from Gāndhārī: (1) the stem vowel *-i* of Gāndh. *payati-* is preserved and the third syllable *-ti-* corresponds to Chin. 提 *ti* MC /dei̯/; (2) the second syllable *-ya-* in Gāndh. *payati-* could hardly correspond to Chin. 逸 *yi* MC /yit/, cf. Chin. 夜叉 *ye cha* MC /ya(eH) tʂʰai̯/ borrowed from Skt. **yakṣa**-(Gāndh. **yakṣa**-). In fact, Gāndh. *payati-* has been borrowed into Tocharian as TA/TB *pāyti*, and TB *pāyti* must come from TA *pāyti*, because according to the accent rule in Tocharian B,[140] Gāndh. *payati-* would surface as TB †*payắti* if borrowed directly into Tocharian B (cf. TA *ākāś* TB *akắśe* ← Skt. *ākāśa-* 'open space'). TA/TB *pāyti* matches the Middle Chinese reconstruction /p(w)a yit dei̯/ of Chin. *bo yi ti* perfectly, since the consonant group *-yt-* in TA *pāyti* (from TA *pắyäti**[141] with reduction of *ä* in the post-accentual open syllable) was very likely pronounced with an epenthetic schwa /-yət-/.

Therefore, the hypothesis of direct borrowing from Gāndhārī would inevitably lead to the conclusion that in borrowing Gāndhārī words, the Chinese translators would drop the final vowel of *a*-stems but keep the stem vowel *-i-*. This theory would make more sense if someone could explain why the *a*-stems and *i*-stems were treated differently by the Chinese translators. However, in Tocharian A *a*-stem and *i*-stem loanwords indeed undergo different sound changes, cf. TA *saṅghāṭi* (← Skt. *saṅghāṭi-* 'waist-cloth') vs. TA *saṅghāt* (← Skt. *saṅghāta-* 'multitude').[142]

Furthermore, if Gāndh. *uvaǰaya-*/*vaǰaya-** (← Skt. *upādhyāya-* 'teacher') had been borrowed directly into Chinese by reducing the stem vowel, instead of MC /ɦwa dẓi̯a/ it should be †/ɦwa dẓi̯ai̯/, and the variant with final nasal

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[140] 'The default accent rule for words with more than two syllables in West Tocharian is that the peninitial syllable hosts the accent' (HACKSTEIN 2017: 1306).

[141] In the second syllable of Tocharian A words, 'both *ā* and *a* are weakened to *ä*/Ø in words of three or more syllables, if the first syllable contains *ā*, *a*, *e*, or *o*', cf. TA *ākamāṃ > *ākmāṃ* 'leading' and TA *pāplāntu > *pāpläntu* 'delighted' (HACKSTEIN 2017: 1308).

[142] Cf. KRAUSE and THOMAS 1960: 42–43. It is not useful to assume that the *i*-stem loanwords were borrowed from Tocharian but *a*-stems loanwords came directly from Gāndhārī, since such a differentiation itself needs justification.

MC /ɦwa dzi̯aŋ/ becomes equally inexplicable, since for *a*-stems in Gāndhārī 'the distinction between nominative and accusative singular had already been lost at the time when the Dharmapada manuscript was written' (100–200 AD) 'and examples were quoted of *-o*, *-u*, and *-a* used apparently indifferently for nominative and accusative masculine and neuter' (Brough 1962: 113).

9.4.   Borrowing of Buddhist terminology from Tocharian A into Tocharian B

Concerning the lexical interchange between Tocharian A and B, the *communis opinio* is that the lexical borrowing is predominantly from Tocharian B to A.[143] The identification of Buddhist Chinese vocabulary of Tocharian A origin opens the door to a renewed investigation of the transmission of Buddhist terminology between Tocharian A and B. Based on the word pair TB *ṣamāne* and TA *ṣāmaṃ* 'monk' from Gāndhārī *ṣamaṇa-* 'id.', it is reasonable to draw the conclusion that if Gāndh. *niṣidana-* (← Buddhist Skt. *niṣīdana-* 'sitting mat', cf. Pāli *nisīdana-* 'id.') was borrowed into Tocharian, it would likewise surface as TB *niṣǐdane** and TA *niṣīdaṃ**. In fact, the Tocharian B word for 'sitting mat' is indeed attested, and four times alone in the Pātayantika fragment IOL Toch 247 a3–5 (parallel in IOL Toch 210).[144] The TB form is not TB †*niṣǐdane**, but *niṣīdaṃ*, which must therefore have been borrowed from Tocharian A after apocope in the latter language. TA/TB *niṣīdaṃ* 'sitting mat' is then very likely the direct source of Chin. 尼師壇 *ni shi tan* MC /ni ṣi dan/ 'id.'.[145]

This list can be extended by numerous Buddhist terms in Tocharian B, cf. TB *andhávaṃ* in IOL Toch 247 a3 pre-TA *andhāvaṃ** ← Middle Indic *andhavana*,[146] TB *ārth* (not †*ārthe*) ← TA *arth* ← Skt. *artha-* 'meaning', TB *cākkär*[147] ← TA *cākkär* ← Skt./Gāndh. *cakra-* 'wheel', TB *wasámpāt*[148] ← TA *wasāmpāt* ← Gāndh. *(u)vasaṃpada-* ← Skt. *upasaṃpadā-* 'full ordination'. With respect to the Buddhist terminology of Indo-Aryan origin, it is thus

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[143] For the abundant examples, cf. Winter 1961.

[144] On this Vinaya rule in IOL Toch a3–5, cf. Pan 2021: 126–131.

[145] Chin. *ni shi tan* is widely attested in the Taisho corpus (714 times in 312 volumes in CBETA database https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw, accessed 21 September 2021), but not used in the Chinese MSV. However, the marginal variant Chin. 尼師但那 *ni shi tan na* /ni ṣi dan na/ (75 times in 29 volumes in CBETA) from Buddhist Skt. *niṣīdana-* or Gāndh. *niṣidana-* 'sitting mat' occurs almost exclusively in the Chinese MSV.

[146] Cf. Malalasekera 1937–1938: 111. Thomas and Krause 1964: 163 ('*Andhave* skt. Andhava') did not recognise the original Indic form and even misread the syllable on the manuscript. This mistaken interpretation was adopted by Schmidt 1974: 400. Cf. Ogihara 2009: 395–397, who has offered the correct reading and interpretation.

[147] Instead of TB †*cākre-*, cf. TB *sākre** vs. TA *sākär* 'blessed'.

[148] Instead of TB †*wasámpata*, cf. TB *nắnda* ← Skt. *nandā* and TB *nandắbala* ← Skt. *nandabalā*.

necessary to distinguish earlier borrowings of (pre-)Proto-Tocharian date such as TB *ṣamāne* and TA *ṣāmaṃ* from later ones discussed here, and further investigation of such borrowings from Tocharian A into B is a desideratum.

9.5.   A note on textual chronology

It is true that the earliest identified Tocharian A manuscripts were written later than the earliest Tocharian B manuscripts, but if based on this circumstance someone tries to argue that Tocharian A could not have had any influence on Buddhist terminology in Tocharian B or Chinese texts, this would be a naive mode of thinking. Following this logic, the *Ṛgveda* must be later than the Aśoka inscriptions and could not have any influence on the Middle Indic and Classical Sanskrit texts, because the earliest preserved Vedic manuscripts were written around the 12th cent. AD,[149] whereas the Aśoka inscriptions are dated to the 3rd cent. BC. In fact, Chin. 沙門 *sha men* occurs already in the translations by Lokakṣema, which means that already in the 2nd cent. AD people using Tocharian A were in contact with Chinese translators. Furthermore, it is well known that Buddhist, Vedic, Jaina and Avestan texts were transmitted exclusively orally before scripts and writing instruments became available. Even after the invention of scripts and writing materials these texts continued to be transmitted orally for many centuries, in some cases even down to the present day.

10. Conclusion

The results from the philological and linguistic investigation above can be summarised as follows. Different from TB *śaiṣṣe* meaning both 'world' and 'people', TA *śoṣi* designates only 'person' (= Skt. *jana-*). Furthermore, just as Skt. *bahujana-* and Skt. *bahu-* 'many (people)', the phrase TA *māk śoṣi* 'many people' (= Skt. *bahu-jana-*) is interchangeable with TA *māk* in the phrases TA *māk śoṣi śomināsyo* and *māk śomināsyo* 'with many girls' as well as in TA *māk śoṣi wrasañ* and TA *māk wrasañ* 'numerous people', and this circumstance furnishes thus an indirect evidence for the equivalence of TA *śoṣi* and Skt. *jana-*.

The Buddhist terms *sahāloka(dhātu)-* and *sahā(ṃ)pati-* are later than *sabhā-pati-* 'lord of the assembly', an epithet of Brahmā attested in the younger Vedic texts. Due to the sound change of *-bh- > -h-* in Middle Indic, the latter then came to be reinterpreted as *sahā-pati-* 'lord of the earth (← the bearing, enduring one)', whence *sahāloka(dhātu)-* 'world (realm) of endurance', i.e. the world-system of living beings, originated. This is further corroborated by

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[149] Cf. WITZEL 2018.

the Chinese evidence, where the first part of the compound is rendered either with *-bh-* phonetically as Chin. *suo po* (*shi jie*) '*sabhā* (world)' and *suo po* (*shi jie zhu*) '(master of) the *sabhā* (world)' or with *-h-* as Chin. *ren* (*shi jie*), *kan ren* (*shi jie*) '(world of) endurance (*sahā*)' and *suo he* (*shi jie*) 'the *sahā* (world)'. Remarkably, the translators associated with Kucha (Kumārajīva and Dharmakṣema) consistently use the former, showing that the older variant with Skt. *sabhā-* was prevalent there. Therefore, TA *ārki-śoṣi* is very likely a loan translation of Buddhist Skt. *sǎbhā-loka(dhātu)-* around Kucha, where the uncommon word Skt. *sǎbhā-* was understood as containing *-(ā)bhā-* 'radiance' and thus rendered with TA *ārki* 'radiant, shining, white'. This would then explain the singular Tocharian B gloss *śaiṣṣe* for Buddhist Skt. *jagat* in the fragment SHT 4438: since TA *śoṣi* 'person' corresponded to Skt. *jana-* and TA *ārkiśoṣi* to Skt. *sǎbhāloka(dhātu)-*, the commentator opted for TB *śaiṣṣe*, which can mean 'world' and is suitable for glossing Skt. *jagat-*.

The excursus offers a glimpse into the complicated interaction of languages at play in the transmission of Buddhism from India through Xinjiang to China. This is exemplified by Chin. *sha men* 'monk', which must have been borrowed not 'directly' from Gāndhārī *ṣamana-*, but from Tocharian A *ṣāmaṃ*. Chin. *he shang* 'teacher, monk' and its variants serve as another example. The Gāndhārī form *uvajaya-*/*vajaya-** (< Skt. *upādhyāya-* 'teacher') must have been borrowed into Tocharian A as *wājā**, whence the Middle Chinese variants /ɦwa dzɨa/ or /ɦwa dzɨaŋ/ (the latter presumably from the accusative form TA *wājāṃ**) originated.

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Abbreviations

A	manuscripts written in Tocharian A, published in SIEG and SIEGLING 1921.
AiGr	*Altindische Grammatik*. See WACKERNAGEL 1905; WACKERNAGEL and DEBRUNNER 1954.
AVP	*Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā Paippalāda*. See LOPEZ 2000.
AVŚ	*Avadāna-Śataka*. See VAIDYA 1958 and SPEYER 1906–1909.
B	manuscripts written in Tocharian B, published in SIEG and SIEGLING 1949; 1953.
BHSD	*Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. See EDGERTON 1953.
CBETA	Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association.
CEToM	A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts (https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian)
Chin.	Chinese
CPS	*Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*. See WALDSCHMIDT 1952–1962.
Divy	*Divyāvadāna*. See COWELL and NEIL 1886.
DN II	*The Dīgha Nikāya*. Vol. II. See DAVIDS and CARPENTER 1903.
Eng.	English
EWAhd	*Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen*. See LLOYD, LÜHR et al. 1988–2021.
EWAia	*Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. See MAYRHOFER 1986–2001.
Gāndh.	Gāndhārī
Gr.	Greek
Hitt.	Hittite
IDP	International Dunhuang Project
IOL	India Office Library
Kar-p	*Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra*. See YAMADA 1989.
KEWA	*Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. See MAYRHOFER 1956–1980.
Khot.	Khotanese
LV	*Lalitavistara*. See HOKAZONO 1994.
MaitrHami	*Maitreyasamitināṭaka* from Hami. See GENG et al. 1988.
MC	Middle Chinese reconstruction.
MPS	*Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. See WALDSCHMIDT 1950–1951.

MSV	Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya. See Bagchi 1967.
MV	*Mahāvastu*. See Senart 1882–1897.
MW	Monier-Williams, Monier 1899. *A Sanskrit-English dictionary: etymologically and philologically arranged with special reference to cognate Indo-European languages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
NHG	New High German
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
OE	Old English
OHG	Old High German
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PK NS	Pelliot Koutchéen Nouvelle Série
Pkt.	Prakrit
PW	Böhtlingk, Otto von and Rudolph von Roth 1855–1875. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. 7 vols. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
pw	Böhtlingk, Otto von 1883–1886. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
RV	*Die Hymnen des Ṛigveda*. See Aufrecht 1877.
Saddh-p	*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. See Wogihara and Tsuchida 1934.
SBhV	*Saṅghabhedavastu*. See Gnoli 1977–1978.
SHT	Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden as catalogue and the 12-part publication by Ernst Waldschmidt, Lore Sander et al. 1965–2017.
SI B	SerIndia Berezovsky collection
Skt.	Sanskrit
Suv	*Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*. See Nobel 1937.
SWTF	Waldschmidt, Bechert et al. 1994–2018.
T	Takakusu, Junjiro and Kaigyoku Watanabe 1924–1934. *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō, The Tripiṭaka in Chinese*. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taisho Issaikyo Kankokai.
TA	Tocharian A
TB	Tocharian B
Tib.	Tibetan
Toch.	Tocharian
Ved.	Vedic
Vkn	*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. See Takahashi, Maeda et al. 2004.

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Fig. 1. Manuscript picture of SHT 4438 b containing TB *śaiṣṣe* ©Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz / Photograph
Left: TA *kärpisyo* 'with the vulgar (desires)' (= Skt. *anāryaiḥ*);
Right: TB *śaiṣṣe* 'world' (= Skt. *jagat*)

A New House for the God in Tenkasi: Divine Dreams and Kings in 15th–16th-century Pāṇṭiya Inscriptions and Sanskrit Courtly Production

David Pierdominici Leão

Abstract: This paper is devoted to a parallel study of the 15th-century Tamil inscriptions from the Kāśīviśvanātha temple in Tenkasi (Tamil Nadu), describing the circumstances and building phases of this shrine, together with a modified retelling of the same episode by a 16th-century *mahākāvya*, the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*. The comparative study of these passages aims to highlight significant changes in the traditional institution of Indian royal patronage. It will also enable considerations on the revolutionary transition in the description of the Pāṇṭiya kingship in the 16th century, marked by the rise of a new ideological idiom expressed by the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*.

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1. Historical coordinates

After the collapse of the imperial line of Madurai, the Pāṇṭiya dynasty ceased to play a fundamental role in the political scenario of Tamil Nadu. In the 14th century, the Muslim invasion of the South led by Malik Kāfūr, a general of the Sultan of Delhi 'Alā' ud-dīn Khaljī (1267–1316), deeply destabilised the politics of the southern reaches of the Indian sub-continent, already aggravated by the precarious balance of the Hōysaḷa kingdom in Karnataka, after the diarchy of Narasiṃha III (1263–1292) and his brother Rāmanātha. In concomitance with this scenario, the Tamil stronghold represented by the powerful Pāṇṭiya dynasty suddenly experienced a fatal breakdown: Māṟavarman Kulacēkara I (1268–1308) was murdered by his son, the co-regent Jaṭāvarman Cuntara III (acceded 1304), who started a civil war against his brother, Jaṭāvarman Vīra II (acceded 1297; Nilakanta Sastri 1958: 208–209; Derrett 1957: 151). This disastrous internecine conflict escalated with the Islamic conquest of Madurai

(Tamil Maturai), and the foundation in 1335 of an independent Sultanate by Jalāl ad-dīn Aḥsan Ḳẖān, an officer with Muḥammad bin Tuġluq (1325–1351; Derrett 1957: 171). The collapse of the Hōysaḷa kingdom, the death of Ballāḷa IV in 1346 and the rise of the Vijayanagara empire (1336–1565) sanctioned the end of Pāṇṭiya influence in the South. Having irremediably lost the capital, Madurai, the Pāṇṭiyas drew back in the Western regions of the Tamil land, establishing a small political centre at the borders with Kerala.

Around the last decades of the 14th century, a family of rulers claiming direct descent from the Madurai Pāṇṭiya reign organised a centre of power around the Tirunelveli area, in a subordinated position to the Vijayanagara. The dynastic connection between this obscure family – perhaps a collateral branch – and the principle line of Madurai still remains uncertain (Branfoot 2012: 371); nevertheless, the new dynasty of Tenkasi (Tamil Teṉkāci) undoubtedly represented a surprising – yet decaying – ruling continuum after the havoc of the 14th century.[1]

Arikēcari Parākkiṟama (1422–1463 ce) ruled the kingdom of Tenkasi during the Vijayanagara domination of the whole Southern parts of the Indian sub-continent. Compared to his predecessors, Arikēcari's reign marked indeed the apogee of the later Pāṇṭiya dynasty.[2] The epigraphical documentation ascribable to this monarch records his full royal titling as Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanacakravarti Aḻakaṉ Poṉṉiṉ Pērumāḷ Arikēcari Parākkiṟama.[3] A Sanskrit *biruda* registered in the inscriptions – especially in the genealogical *praśasti*s of the 16th–17th century – was Mānābharaṇa or, as a variant, Mānabhūṣa.[4]

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[1] Nilakanta Sastri 1972: 217–218: 'The history of the later Pāndyas of Tinnevelly is the story of a more or less steady decline, punctuated by a few feeble attempts at revival, ending the final disappearance of the dynasty towards the close of the sixteenth or early in the seventeenth century.'

[2] For the chronological division of Pāṇṭiya history I refer to the canonical periodisation in 'early', 'medieval', 'imperial' and 'later' phases theorised by Nilakanta Sastri and Sethuraman (Nilakanta Sastri 1972; Sethuraman 1978, 1980).

[3] For a complete list of Arikēcari's record in the Tirunelveli district the reader may consult Rangacharya 1919: 1482–1489.

[4] The Pudukkottai plates of Civaladeva and Varatuṅkarāma (Ś.1505; Gopinatha Rao 1910: 61–88) refer to Arikēcari Parākkiṟama with the same *biruda*. The Pāṇṭiya king named with this sobriquet is referred to in the Kṛṣṇapura copper plates (EI IX, no. 52) dated to the reign of the Vijayanagara emperor Sadāśivarāya (1543–1567). Sadāśiva acceded the throne in 1543, after the demise of his uncle Acyutadevarāya (1529–1542) and the murder of his son Cinna Veṅkaṭādri I (1542). He was held hostage by his powerful minister, the *de facto* ruler Aḷīya Rāmarāya (1542–1565), Kṛṣṇadevarāya's son-in-law, till the havoc of the empire in 1565. According to the inscription, one of Sadāśiva's predecessors mentioned in the genealogical account, Narasa Nāyaka (1491–1503), is said to have defeated a Pāṇṭiya king named Mānabhūṣa

Arikēcari acted at first as a co-regent of King Māṟavarman Tribhuvana-cakravarti Kōṉērinmaikoṇḍāṉ Śrīkaliyugarāma Tirunelvēli Pērumāḷ Vīra (1421–1448?), whose access to the throne in 1421 is calculated based on two inscriptions: the first (ARE 1905, no. 86), issued in the 12th regnal year of the ruler, 1433; the Tiruvaikuntam record (ARE 1895, no. 178), dated to the 19th year of reign, 1439.

The Tenkasi ruler built the majestic complex of the Kāśīviśvanātha temple (Tamil Kācivicuvaṉātar); three important Tamil inscriptions of Arikēcari Parākkiṟama in this *śaiva* complex furnish interesting and fundamental details about the sovereign and his kingdom.[5] This paper is devoted to a comparative analysis of this epigraphical material concerning the circumstances of the foundation of the Viśvanātha temple and a re-elaboration of the same episode as narrated in the Tenkasi Pāṇṭiya literary production in Sanskrit.

2. The God and the King

The first record of the Kāśīviśvanātha complex (no. II), dated to the 30th regnal year of the Arikēcari (1452), is engraved on the western and southern bases of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the temple; it registers two cases of land granting by the King, together with incidental mentions of the various architectural structures erected by the monarch together within the main shrine. More interesting is the introductory section of the record, which gives a lengthy depiction of the Pāṇṭiya monarch, celebrated in highly extolled terms, referring to his royal majesty, prestige and his role as a perfect *śaiva* devotee; as quoted in this passage:[6]

(stanza 11). Gᴏᴘɪɴᴀᴛʜᴀ Rᴀᴏ 1910: 52 claimed that this sovereign was identifiable with Arikēcari Parākkiṟama; quoting his words, 'we know that Narasa Nāyaka lived about the first usurpation of the Vijayanagara kingdom by Sāḷuva Narasiṃha about A.D. 1470 and distinguished himself in the latter's service. The period agrees very well with that of Parākrama Pāṇḍya.' In reality, Sāḷuva Narasiṃha usurped the throne in 1485 and not in 1470, after having murdered the last of the Saṅgama rulers, Prauḍhadevarāya. Even supposing that Narasa defeated Arikēcari as a *senādhipati* of the Vijayanagara emperor, Arikēcari ruled until 1463, almost two decades before the beginning of the reign of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha and three before Narasa acceded the throne. This easy calculation shows that Gopinatha Rao's identification of the Mānabhūṣa of the Kṛṣṇapura plates with Arikēcari Parākkiṟama presents some chronological problems; it would be cautious stating that the king mentioned in the Vijayanagara plates can be identified with one of his predecessors.

5   These three records were published and partially translated in issue no. VI of the *Travancore Archaeological Series* as nos. II, III and IV (Gᴏᴘɪɴᴀᴛʜᴀ Rᴀᴏ 1910: 89–102).

6   I quote here Gopinatha Rao's translation for the relative part of the inscription (Gᴏᴘɪɴᴀᴛʜᴀ Rᴀᴏ 1910: 93).

Be it well! The year…opposite the twenty-eight of the reign of
Parākrama Pāṇḍyadeva *alias* Ari…deva, – who was born in the
chandra-kula so that the damsel seated on the (lotus) flower (Lakshmi)
might glow on his chest; the lady of learning (Sarasvati) might shine
resplendent on his tongue and the goddess of victory might embrace
his mountain-like shoulders; while the dual carps were bright like the
(two) eyes of the world; who grew as though he were the seedling of the
virtue of (all) his ancestors; who had understood the Southern (Tamil)
and the Northern (Sanskrit) sciences; who was crowned with a jewelled
crown for the purpose of protecting humanity; who wore the lotus feet
of Śaṅkara; who was wielding the just sceptre and making his white
umbrella shelter (of the world); who gave his people without failure
the water of the rain, the food of his favour and the water of libations
(poured on the occasion of making gifts); who rooted out the weeds of
sin and raised the crops of virtue; who saw the hacks of kings […] and
established the lamps of his fame in all directions…

The second inscription (no. III) consists of sixteen verses in Tamil engraved
on the walls of a ruined *gopura* in front of the Viśvanāthasvāmin temple.
This document is of the foremost importance because it gives a detailed and
dated record of the construction process of the shrine and exact chronological
references to establish Arikēcari Parākkiṟama's death. The first four verses
of the inscription register the building of specific architectural elements,
with its relative temporal reference, while stanza 13 records the death of
the monarch:[7]

> *aṉpiṉuṭaṉ cakāttamāyirattu muṉṉuṟṟarupatteṭṭataṉ mēl vaiykācit tiṅkal
> maṇtiyatiyīraintiṟ pūṟuvapakkamanuvu tecamiyil veḷḷi vārantaṉṉil
> miṇtikaḻuttiranāl mīṉattil vākai vēlarikēcari parākkiṟama makīpaṉ teṉ
> ticaiyiṟ kācinakar kkōyilkāṇac ceṉṟu niṉṟu karḻcaṇai[8] tāṉ ceyvittāṉē || 1 ||*

In the Śaka year 1368, on Friday, the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of the
month Vaikāsi, the fifteenth day on that month on the Uttara *nakṣatra*
and Mīna *rāśi*, the glorious King Arikēcari Parākkiṟama began to
perform the *karṣaṇa* [ceremony] for the establishment of the temple in
the Benares of the South (**6th May 1446**).

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7   I refer to the edition of the record by Gopinatha Rao; if not otherwise stated all the translations
     from Tamil and Sanskrit are mine.

8   As stated in GOPINATHA RAO 1910: 96, note no. 8, this term in accusative case should be read
     as *karṣaṇai*. The word seems to be a Tamilised version of *karṣaṇa*; another variant is *kariḻcaṇa*
     (ORR 2013: 336).

*aṭaivutikaḻ cakāttamāyirattu muṉṉūrrarupattoṉpatiṉ mērcel mituṉa
ñāyarriṭaimanuvu tiyatipati[ṉ]e* [*lacuna*] *vir caṉivāramataṉil
mīṇattil maṉa* [*lacuna*] *ṭaiyavarait teṉkācic civālapattiṉuḷḷamaittut
teḷḷamutamūṭṭiṉāṉē* || 2 ||

In the Śaka year 1369, on the seventeenth-eighteenth [day] of that month
in which the Sun stood in the middle of the Mithuna constellation, Mīna
rāśi […] Saturday, [King Arikēcari] offered pure *amṛta* nectar, having
consecrated the image of Śiva in Teṉkāci (**10th June 1447**).

*paṉru kaliyuka nālāyirat taiññur raimpatteṭṭiṉ mēlevarum paṇintu
pōrra[c] ceṉṉel vayar teṉkāci nakaril narkarattikaittiṅkaḷ ttiyati yaintir
cempoṉ vāramaṉṉiya mārkaḻināḷil maturai vēntaṉ vaṭiveḻutoṉāta
parākkirama makīpaṉ coṉṉavaraipōr tirukkōpuramuṅkāṇat
tūṭiyiṭaipāyupāṉamutal tūṭakkiṉāṉē* || 3 ||

In the Kaliyuga year 4558, on the fifth day of the month Kārttikai, on
Thursday, on the Mārgaśīrṣa *nakṣatra*, the King of Maturai Parākkiṟama,
having bowed to worship in the city of Teṉkāci of superior paddy fields,
began [to build] the basis of the foundations to see the auspicious
gopura similar to Mount Meru.

*erāruñ cakāttamāyirattu muṉṉurreḻupat toṉpatiṉmēr karattikai
māttatir cirānuntiyatiyaintir kuruvārattir ciṅka mukurttattil
mirukacīriḻcattaṉṉila raṉaruḷāl vaḻuta parākkirama makīpaṉ kurāpāṉa
mutal kōṭṭiṉāṉē* || 4 ||

In the Śaka year 1379, on the fifth day of month Kārttikai, on Thursday,
in the Siṃha *muhūrta*, Mṛgaśīrṣa *nakṣatra*, King Parākkiṟama, the
vaḻuti, erected the beginning of the majestic foundation with the favour
of Śiva (**3rd November 1457**).

The record states that six years after the beginning of the construction
of the front *gopura*, King Arikēcari Parākkiṟama died on the Citra *nakṣatra*,
which occurred on the *purṇima* of month Mṛgaśīrṣa of Ś.1385, and which,
according to the calculations, corresponds exactly to the 24th December 1463.
The last three stanzas of the inscription (14–16) contain a kind of elegiac
lamentation of the poet who composed the record, who wondered if Arikēcari
Parākkiṟama, at the moment of his earthy demise, had reached the abode of the
sixty-three *śaiva* saints, or the feet of the God represented by the golden hall of
the Chidambaram temple, the *Veda*s, the *Śivaloka* or the feet of Viśvanātha, the
patron deity of the Tenkasi ruling line (stanza 13; GOPINATHA RAO 1910: 98).
As stated by the inscription, Arikēcari died in 1463 when the stone basement

of the *gopura* was finished; the structure was completed by his younger brother
Aḻakaṉ Pērumāḷ Kulacēkara (1430–1477), whose Tamil inscription is engraved
next to no. III.[9]

The epigraphical documentation gives further interesting detail. Luckily,
apart from the phases of construction, we possess little data about the directors
of the works of the Kāśīviśvanātha temple. An inscription issued in the reign
of Arikēcari's nephew, Jaṭilavarman Parākkirama Kulacēkara (1480–1508),
(ARE 1918, no. 503), dated to Ś.1412–1490 CE – refers to two Brahmins,
Taṇḍaiyuṅkālumaḻagiyāṉ Kumārasvāmin and Mudaliyāṉ Parākkirama Pāṇṭiya,
who were versed in rituals (*tantra*) and architecture (*māna*) and under whose
direction the building of the Kāśīviśvanātha temple was carried out.

The last inscription (no. IV) in Tamil language – with a mixture of Sanskrit
words in Grantha alphabet[10] – is engraved on a pillar in front of the ruined
gopura. It is dated to Ś.1384, in the 40th regnal year of Arikēcari, which
corresponds to 1462, one year before the death of the King as registered by the
previous document. This epigraph is highly important because it gives valuable
data about the circumstances under which the Pāṇṭiya sovereign erected the
Viśvanāthasvāmin shrine. Lines 15–24 on the east face of the pillar retell how
God Śiva appeared in a dream (*svapna*) to Arikēcari, asking him to build a new
temple, given the dilapidated status of his Viśvanātha complex in Benares:[11]

> *viśvanātha uttarakāśīyileḻuntaruḷi irunta civālayam jīrṇamākaiyālē*
> *teṉṉarināṭṭu ccitranadī uttaratīrattilē namakku dakṣiṇakāśiyāka*
> *ālaiyañceytu taravēṇūm eṉru eṅkaḷuṭaiya karttar pērumāḷ*
> *arikēsaridevar eṉru tirunāmamuṭaiya poṉṉiṉ pērumāḷ parākrama*
> *pāṇḍyadevar iruntaruḷiya iṭattiṉ uṭaṉē* **[sva]pnattilē** *tiruvuḷḷamparri*
> *aruḷukaiyālē…* (ll.15–24)

In accordance to God's will **from a dream**, saying: 'Having constructed
for us the temple of Dakṣiṇakāśī on the northern bank of the Citranadī
river in the southern lands due to the decayed *śaiva* shrine which
graciously rose in the Northern Kāśī – Benares –, the Viśvanāthasvāmin,
you should offer [us]', the creator, our glorious King called with
a sacred name, Arikēcaridevar Poṉṉiṉ Pērumāḷ Parākkiṟama Pāṇṭiya,
[began to build]…

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[9]　This epigraphic document was edited and translated in GOPINATHA RAO 1910: 103.

[10]　For the admixture of Sanskrit and Tamil expressions in the Southern epigraphical domain the
　　interested reader may refer to ORR 2013.

[11]　I quote the text of the record according to the edition in GOPINATHA RAO 1910: 96–97.

Starting from line 25, the record states that the King began the building of the structure in Ś.1368, 1446, as registered by inscription no. III, with the *karṣaṇa* ceremony. Lines 32–56 enumerate all the religious structures erected by Arikēcari in his complex. Lastly, line 57 states that the overall building process took seventeen years, starting from the 24th to the 40th regnal year of the sovereign, approximately from 1446 to 1462.[12]

The same circumstance of the building of the Kāśīviśvanātha temple is retold in a 15th–16th-century Sanskrit *mahākāvya* (lit. 'great poem'), the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*. This work is an incomplete 'historical' poem in 12 *sarga*s narrating the origin and establishment of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom. The poem, in its actual form, retells the history of the dynasty from the mythological accounts of the Tamil 'Madurai cycle' – drawn from the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam* of Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr Nampi (late 13th century) and a Sanskrit rendering of this material, the *Hālāsyamāhātmya* (14th–15th century) – to the times of King Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanacakravarti Kōnērinmaikoṇḍāṉ Parākkiṟama Kulacēkara (c. 1480–1508 CE).[13]

About the author of the *mahākāvya*, Maṇḍalakavi, nothing is known, except for what he stated in each colophon of the poem; for instance, the ending of *sarga* I:[14]

|| *iti kuṇḍinakulamaṇḍanasya maṇḍalakavīśvarasya kṛtau pāṇḍyakulodaye prathamaḥ sargaḥ* ||

Here [ends] the first canto in 'The resurgence of the Pāṇṭiya race', composed by the Lord of poets Maṇḍala, the jewel of the Kuṇḍina clan.

In canto IX, Maṇḍalakavi extensively dealt with the reign of Arikēcari, celebrating his royal majesty and retelling the same building activities of the monarch, but introducing a slightly different scenario compared to the frame offered by the official narrative of the inscriptions. The first four stanzas of the poem introduce the King, with standard depictions of his power and munificence; for instance:

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[12] An inscription on the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine of the Kāśīviśvanātha complex issued in the 44th regnal year of Aḻakaṉ Pērumāḷ Kulacēkara (1474 CE; SII V, no. 762) confirms the data of record no. IV.

[13] The reign of Jaṭilavarman Kulacēkara is testified to by a dozen of unpublished records (ARE 1918, nos. 502–505, 508–510, 516, 524, 527, 534, 618); this epigraphical documentation gives the King's access to the throne in 1480. Record no. 618 attests to the great patronage the monarch dedicated to the temple building, just like his maternal uncle Arikēcari Parākkiṟama. This inscription, dated to 1508, involves donations and maintenance of the Aḻagiya Cokkanār and Varamturam Pērumāḷ temples in Kadayanallur (Tirunelveli district).

[14] Here and later on, I quote the text of *Pāṇḍyakulodaya* according to the critical edition (SARMA 1981).

tasyānu pāṇḍyanṛpater dharaṇīśakoṭī-
koṭīrakoṭigṛhamedhipadāravindaḥ |
hastānubhāvahasitāmaralokaśākhī
bhartā bhuvo 'jani parākramapāṇḍyadevaḥ || 1 ||

After this Pāṇḍya sovereign [Vīra; last sovereign of *sarga* VIII], Parākrama became the Lord of the Earth; his lotus-feet were [as] a host for numberless crowns of numberless kings and his hand mocked at the Divine Tree for munificence.

yad gandhasindhurakarabhramitāribhūbhṛd-
unmuktaraktapayasā pariṣicya hṛṣyan |
pratyarthisainyam asipāṭitam āhavorvīṃ
pātrārtham abhyavajahāra paretarājaḥ || 4 ||

Death, sprinkling in ecstasy the enemy soldiers slain by swords with the water of blood, shed by enemy kings whirled around by the trunks of [Parākrama's] elephants, took her food [using] the battlefield [as] a vessel.

The poet represented Arikēcari Parākkiṟama as a munificent and benevolent monarch, with the depiction of submissive kings bowing at his feet and honoured by his compassion, with imagery that somehow recalls passages from the Tamil *praśasti* in his Tenkasi record (no. II). The warrior-like temperament of the Pāṇṭiya sovereign is described in stanza 4, where we find the sinister image of the *paretarāja*, 'Death', enjoying the slaughtering perpetrated by the army of Arikesari on the battlefield, which is conceived as her food-plate.

Closing this descriptive introduction, Maṇḍalakavi described the circumstances of the construction of the Kāśīviśvanātha temple, but with slightly different particulars from the inscriptions, which, as we shall see, are of the foremost importance. The poet, in stanza 5, represented the Pāṇṭiya King sitting on his throne, at night, having accomplished his religious duties; all of sudden, he received an unexpected visit:

sāyaṃ kadācid akhilaṃ niyamaṃ samāpya
bhadrāsane prakaṭitasthitir eṣa pāṇḍyaḥ |
kāśyā dadarśa kam api dvijamājihānaṃ
sākaṃ saroruhadṛśā tanusambhavābhyām || 5 ||

On an evening, this Pāṇḍya was sitting on the throne, having performed his religious observances; he saw then a certain Brahmin coming from Kāśī, together with his lotus-eyed wife and two children.

bhasma praśastam avanīramaṇasya phāle
yacchan natucchakaruṇāvaruṇālayasya |
ābhāṣya kiñcid ayam ātmatanūbhavābhyām
haste phalaṃ vipulam asya vibhor adāsīt || 6 ||

Bestowing sacred ashes on the forehead of the King, who was an ocean of infinite compassion, and saying something to this two sons, [the Brahmin] gave the King a large fruit.

The mysterious Brahmin from Benares, after having honoured Arikēcari with the sacred ashes and offering a precious fruit, informed the King of the purpose of his visit. In the next stanzas, the identity of the religious man is disclosed as well, to the great surprise of the Pāṇṭiya Lord:

duṣṭair aluṇṭhi sakalaṃ dravinaṃ tuluṣkaiḥ[15]
harmyaṃ ca ramyam avadāritam asmadīyam |
kāntaṃ niśāntam upakalpaya dabhrasindhos
tīre mameti kathayan sa tirobabhūva || 7 ||

After having said: '[Our] whole wealth was plundered by the evil Muslims and our lovely mansion burst to the ground. Build for us a beautiful house on the bank of Dabhra river!' he disappeared.

kāśīm apāsya karuṇānidhir īśa eva
skandena sindhuramukhena dharendraputryā |
mām abhyupeta iti bāḍavasārvabhaumam
antarhitaḥ kṣitibhṛd ākalayāñ cakāra || 8 ||

On the disappearance, the King reckoned the Brahmin: 'Indeed [He was] the Lord of the ocean of compassion, Śiva, who, having left Kāśī, has come to me together with Skanda, Gaṇeśa and Pārvatī – the Daughter of the Mountain.'

As the King realised, the Brahmin was the God Śiva himself, who had reached Arikēcari Parākkiṟama with his divine family to ask the monarch to build a new house for them, after the Muslim plundering of Benares, which had destroyed his mansion there, the famous Viśvanātha temple. The Pāṇṭiya King then, after the disappearance of his divine visitor, commenced the erection of a new great sanctuary – described in very vague connotations in stanza 10 – in a completely new city:

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[15] The term seems to be a graphical variant for the more usual *turuṣka*, 'Turk' (MONIER-WILLIAMS 2005: 451).

āsādya dabhrasaritas taṭam abhralaṅgha-
jaṅghālasālagahanaṃ gahanaṃ vilūya |
viśveśvarasya bhavanair vividhair vicitrāṃ
cakre purīṃ sapadi dakṣiṇakāśiketi || 9 ||

Reaching the banks of the Dabhra river and having cut the dense forests
of *sāla* trees that reached up unto the sky, [the King] quickly built a city
adorned by divers mansions of Śiva called Dakṣiṇakāśī – Benares of
the South.

prāsādagopuramahāmaṇimaṇḍapāni
bimbaṃ ca śāmbhavam anekavidhaṃ vidhāya |
nityotsavān api nirargalavikramo 'sau
kālaṃ nināya kam api kṣapitārivargaḥ || 10 ||

Having established several Śiva idols, large jewelled halls, towers and
palaces, and even regular festivities, [that monarch] of unbarred power
and defeated enemies spent some time there.

Compared to the epigraphical material we examined in the first part of the
essay, Maṇḍalakavi has modified the episode in several aspects. First of all, the
most immediate difference between this passage of the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya* and
the inscriptions is that the poet attributed the construction of the capital city
Tenkasi to the Pāṇṭiya King, while, as we have seen, one of the records (no.
IV) mentioned only the erection of the temple.[16] Moreover, the same Tenkasi

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[16] N. Sethuraman in his summary of the inscription no. IV, claimed that Arikēcari Parākkirama,
before erecting the Kāśīviśvanāthasvāmin temple, built the capital city of Tenkasi as well
(Sethuraman s.d.: 5). The record (lines 28–31) reads […] *dakṣiṇakāciyākat tiruppaṭaivīṭum*
uṇṭu ākki uṭaiyār viśvanāthaṉaiyum nācciyār ulakamūtumuṭaiya nācciyāraiyum (…), 'The
Lord built in Dakṣiṇakāci the temple [of Tenkasi] and installed [the idols of] God Viśvanātha
and the Goddess Ulakamumūtumuṭaiya Nācciyār'. In reality, the inscription does not make
any kind of explicit reference to the building of the Pāṇṭiya capital, only to the main shrine
and its subsidiary structures. This ambiguity may also be explained taking into consideration
that in South Indian religious traditions the shrine and the god that resides in it are often
identified with the place. Specifically, the Kāśīviśvanātha temple may be thought of as the city
of Tenkasi itself. The Sanskrit Dalavāyagrahāram copper-plates of Varatuṅkarāma (Gopinatha
Rao 1910: 126–133), dated to Ś.1510 (approximately 1589 CE), attributed the building of the
capital city of Tenkasi to Arikēcari Parākkirama as well:

svapne svālayakḷptyai viracitarūpeṇa viśvanāthena |
dattānugrahaśālī dakṣiṇakāśīti yaḥ purīm akarot || 11 ||

The one, who obtained favour by Viśvanātha who had appeared in a dream to
command the building of his abode, built the city called Dakṣiṇakāśī.

Given that the inscription is over one century later than Arikēcari, it be possible to suggest that
after the erection of the Kāśīviśvanātha temple in the 15th century the city evolved around this
holy shrine. So, in the later Pāṇṭiya tradition Arikēcari must have been perceived as the founder
of both the capital and its iconic religious centre.

document gave fundamental details about the occasion of the construction of the temple: in the inscription's narrative, Śiva appeared to the monarch in a dream to ask to build a new temple in the South.[17] In the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*, on the contrary, the God and his family reached Arikēcari themselves, in an undefined place, for the same purpose.[18]

Given the absence of the dream mechanism in the *mahākāvya*, the modification operated by Maṇḍalakavi seems, indeed, to have the function of lessening the divine intervention as stated in the epigraphical record and to stress the royal effort in the prestigious task of giving a new home to the distressed Śiva, even under his direct request (*upakalpaya*, stanza 7). In the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*, King Arikēcari Parākkiṟama is not a passive instrument guided by the divine will of the Tenkasi record, but an active re-establisher of lost welfare for the God. In this passage of *sarga* IX, Śiva, Pārvatī, Skanda, and Gaṇeśa, having suffered during the invasion of the *tuluṣka*s in North India, re-acquired their divine status and their right to be worshipped – exemplified by the image of a new temple – thanks to the Pāṇṭiya sovereign. The king is now not only the one who supports the divinity with the usual mutual dynamic

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[17]   A similar parallel for the motif of the divine appearance in a dream can be traced in the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya* as well, namely, in the mythical episode of the foundation of Madurai (II, 40–60), which, of course, finds precedent in both the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam* (3) and *Hālāsyamāhātmya* (*adhyāya* 7). At night, in the Nīpavana forest, a Vaiśya merchant has a vision of a 'phantom city' appearing before him and reaches the Pāṇṭiya royal palace to inform the monarch. In the same night, King Pāṇḍa, the eponymous hero of the dynasty, receives the visit in a dream of Śiva (stanzas 49–51), who commands to erect an 'enduring city' (*śāśvataṃ puram*, verse 50) with temples for him, God Viṣṇu and the Devī. The King reaches the Nīpavana site and builds a magnificent city called Madhurā, or Madurai (stanzas 57–60).

[18]   In stanza 5 of the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*, Maṇḍalakavi portrayed King Arikēcari sitting on his throne before receiving the visit of Śiva and his family, but without a precise spatial coordinate. At the closing of the narrative sequence concerning Varakuṇavarman II (862–880), in VIII, 17, the Pāṇṭiya King was ruling from the city of Madurai. From stanzas 18–58 of the same canto, the poet stopped mentioning the historical capital. Obviously, this data is mirrored, in the historical reality, by the Pāṇṭiya political situation at the advent of the Cōḻa interregnum. Even when the narration reached King Jaṭāvarman Kulacēkara II (1237–1266), son of Māṟavarman Cuntara I (1216–1241), the establisher of the 'Second Empire', the poet did not specify the existence of any centre of power of the Tenkasi dynasty. Before the foundation of the new capital in *sarga* IX, as described by the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*, it seems that the Pāṇṭiya sovereigns exercised their power from a 'no-place', undefined and deprived of specific spatial and historical coordinates. It is only with the edification of the second capital that Maṇḍalakavi referred once again to a dynastic and political place. It may be suggested that in the general plan of the *mahākāvya*, the foundation of Tenkasi assumed the function of what we could define as 'implementation of spatial absence'. After the historical loss of Madurai, Arikēcari 'implemented' the absence of a gravitational point building a new legitimising political and religious abode, both for the Tenkasi Pāṇṭiya power and for the God who once occupied the throne of the first capital as Cuntara Pāṇṭiya and who now received a new worship centre exemplified by the Kāśīviśvanātha complex.

of the religious patronage but also the one who grants it its heavenly status. The *Pāṇḍyakulodaya* seems then to express somehow a direct dependence of the divinity on his human patron.

As the reader may recall, the standard relation between the institution of kingship and the temple donation can be summarised as a mutual and interdependent one. Bestowing gifts or concessions on a given shrine was the tool to gain political legitimisation and temporal authority sanctioned by the divinity and, by extension, the Brahmanical class. Such a dynamic has been perfectly described by James Heitzman with the notion of 'gifts of power' in relation to the Cōḷa polity. Quoting his words,

> The driving force behind donations was the concept of legitimization of authority, whereby gifts to the gods or their representatives on earth resulted in a transfer of divine sanctity and merits to the givers. The primary purpose of eleemosynary grants was, then, to tap into the power of the divine, to enhance sanctity and then to demonstrate it to society. (Heitzman 1997: 1).

This institutional paradigm of Indian kingship presupposed then the presence of a 'servant' – the monarch acting in favour of the God – 'the served one'. Even given the mutuality of the process, the divine 'served' occupied always the foremost focal point in the religious and ideological aspect of the 'gifts of power'.

In relation to the issue of the royal patronage, Narayana Rao, Shulman and Subrahmanyam have analysed the particular changes in the matter of the courtly sponsorship, in the framework of their study on the conflation between kings and gods, and, by extension, the royal court and temple in 17th-century Nāyaka Thanjavur. The scholars claimed that a symptomatic turning point had to be located in the vernacular literary production of the period. Taking into account literary sources in Telugu dated to the times of the last ruler of the dynasty, as the *Hēmābjanāyikāsvayaṃvaramu* by Mannārudeva (c. 1670), the scholars proposed a shifting in the ideological balance of the patronage institution, recreated through a rhetorical superimposition of the emblematic places of the ritual giving, the temple and the court. Analysing a fundamental scene of patronage in this *yakṣagāṇa*, during which the God himself speaks to the Nāyaka king, defined as 'you are my son, minister and general; my friend, devotee and trusted companion… you seek my welfare in all things' (Narayana Rao et al. 1998: 181), they concluded that 'in a sense the traditional patronage has been inverted, the servant has risen to mastery… the king is son, servant, commander to the god, but also superior in power; he is

the source of gifts to the temple' (Narayana Rao et al. 1998: 180–181). After having taken into consideration further evidence, such as the *maṅgalaśloka* from the *Rājagopālavilāsamu* of Ceṅgalva Kāḷakavi, which states a rhetorical equation between the God Rājagopālaśauri and the King Vijayarāghavaśauri through 'the endless wealth' given by the latter, Narayana Rao, Shulman and Subrahmanyam concluded that

> [T]he god's new name, indeed his entire status in this temple… has emerged out of Vijayarāghava's gifts. There is still some sense of mutuality… but there is an equally powerful claim to equality; both god and king are, not by accident, Śauri… here service marks the dependence of the served on the supposed servant. (Narayana Rao et al. 1998: 182–183).

To my contention, the ideological revolution which supposedly took place in the Nāyaka era, if perhaps not fully developed, was already present *in nuce* in 16th-century *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*. The scenario of royal patronage offered by Maṇḍalakavi in *sarga* IX is, in reality, different and more powerful than that presented in the successive vernacular sources. Arikēcari Parākkiṟama is not represented in the act of bestowing 'gifts of power' in the temple but building the temple itself. The descriptive framework presented by the *mahākāvya* introduced moreover a considerable difference compared to the official narrative of the Kāśīviśvanātha record no. IV, completely centred on the mechanics of the divine dream. Taking into consideration the important changes, the poet portrayed the Pāṇṭiya sovereign hosting the distressed divine family of Śiva, who, after the Muslim incursion in the North, lost the abode in the holy city of Benares. Maṇḍalakavi described the God as a wandering Brahmin, seeking Arikēcari's benevolence and patronage.[19] It can be reasonably stated that such a modality for the poet's depiction is far from coincidental. Maṇḍalakavi subtly drew out the polar tension of the patronage dynamics exemplifying it through the dialogue between the sovereign, a member of the *kṣatriya* caste, and Śiva, disguised as a Brahmin, in search of support. The meeting of the King and the divine Brahmin in *sarga* IX of the *mahākāvya* incorporates symbolically the interdependent relationship between the temporal and sacral power, which assure royal legitimisation through its Brahmanical sanction.

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[19] The final scene of the meeting between the Pāṇṭiya sovereign and the Brahmin/God is open to several interpretations. For instance the narrative sequence of the bestowing of sacred ashes and the fruit to the King may suppose the treating of the monarch as a deity; or, the act may be simply read as an exemplification of the mutual exchange, a blessing for the temple construction. It is my contention that both possibilities are conceivable.

A probable shift in patronage can be observed also in the ideological results of the building of the Tenkasi complex. Following the data given by Maṇḍalakavi about the construction of the city itself (stanza 9), Arikēcari not only bestowed a new abode to the distressed divinity, but granted a new political and legitimising centre to the new Pāṇṭiya line as well. Apparently, the support given to the legitimising god and the construction of a new historical capital could have led to an ideological shift in the patronage balance in favour of royal power, conceived as both religious and political focal points of the dynamic.

As a last point, we may also note how the monarch in the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya* re-created Śiva's lost abode in the North in the Tamil land, building it and bestowing it to the divinity who only then regained his natural right to worship. In a sense, Arikēcari, erecting a new Viśvanātha temple, reconfigured the identity of the God as well, who was transformed from the old Viśvanātha of Benares into the 'imported' Viśvanātha of the Kāśīviśvanātha temple,[20] who guaranteed a powerful claim of political and religious legitimisation for the Tenkasi Pāṇṭiya dynasty.

In the *mahākāvya*, the traditional concept of patronage seems then to be completely reconfigured. The 'servant' – the sovereign – has gained 'mastery' over the 'served', the God, who now is dependent on the former not only for the religious patronage but also to have a worship centre which can exemplify its mutual relation with the royal power.

3. Conclusions

As we briefly noted at the beginning of the historical survey, by the 14th century, the Pāṇṭiya dynasty lost control over its historical capital Madurai, in the context of one of the most delicate periods in the history of South India. An obscure line of rulers, claiming direct descent from the imperial Pāṇṭiyas, founded a small kingdom in the Tirunelveli area, with their capital at Tenkasi. Arikēcari Parākkiṟama, the most important sovereign of this later dynasty, erected the majestic complex of the Kāśīviśvanātha, whose building process is attested to by several pieces of inscriptional evidence. Among this epigraphic material, documents nos. III–IV have occupied a relevant part of our analysis. While the former is undoubtedly valuable for its careful dating of each step in the building process, the latter attested to the Tenkasi official

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[20] The motif of the God Śiva coming to the Southern lands from the North is a recurrent topos in the Tamil religious tradition. It is enough to think about the myths of Naṭarāja coming to Chidambaram or Śiva in the form of Sundareśvara (Tamil Cuntarēcuvarar) finding his abode in Madurai.

ideological narrative for the building of the temple. God Śiva, the patron deity of the Pāṇṭiya line, appeared in a dream to Arikēcari Parākkiṟama, asking him to build a new shrine in the South due to the dilapidated conditions of its Viśvanātha complex in Benares. The same episode was retold a few decades later in the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya* by Maṇḍalakavi. In the *mahākāvya*'s framework, the narrative of the Kāśīviśvanātha inscriptions has been modified for precise finalities: as we have evidenced, the author lessened the mechanism of the dream revelation to emphasise the royal effort in the construction of the temple. Arikēcari Parākkiṟama, portrayed in the inscriptions as the passive performer of Śiva's will, became the active restorer of the divine welfare in Maṇḍalakavi's poem and the bestower of a new ruling centre to the Tenkasi kingdom as well. This modification had significant consequences in the representation of the patronage dynamics within the new Pāṇṭiya ideology. As we have seen, the sovereign in the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya* restored the God's position with the construction of a new temple. The polarity between the 'servant' and the 'served' has been tightened and restructured with an emphasis on the role of the kingship institution, upon which the divine authority is now completely dependent. The poet subtly exemplified the ideological balance of the patronage dynamic with the meeting between the King, a *kṣatriya*, and Śiva, disguised as a Brahmin.

The study of these descriptive passages from the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya* has shown also how the Tenkasi political narrative of the 15th–16th century projected powerful claims of legitimisation with the building of the Kāśīviśvanātha temple. This secondary dynasty recreated within its Tamil realm the holiest of shrines, the Viśvanāthasvāmin temple of Benares, reshaping the identity of the God, who, from its Northern aspect, was readapted as the patron deity of the new city of Tenkasi. The import of the deity from the North not only sustained the claim of legitimisation of this obscure ruling line, but realigned it within the *śaiva* and, of course, the political tradition of the Madurai Pāṇṭiyas.

As a last point, the episode of the building of the Kāśīviśvanātha temple and Arikēcari's role represented the second step of an ascending climax running throughout the structure of the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*, impacting the representation of Pāṇṭiya kingship. In *sarga* V, in the mythical episode drawn from the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam* of the war between Indra and King Ugra, the latter, considered the ancestor of the new Tenkasi ruling line,[21] defeated the

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[21] In *sarga* VI of the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*, Maṇḍalakavi interrupted the drawing from the mythological section of the Pāṇṭiya past, in order to introduce the proper historical matter. Modifying the genealogical tables of the Tamil cycle, Maṇḍalakavi connected the two parts stating the end of the rule of Ugra and the access to the throne of his son Varakuṇa Pāṇṭiya (VI, 40), while in the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam* and *Hālāsyamāhātmya* Ugra's successor was his

Lord of the Gods, hitting his crown. Modifying the source passage from the Madurai cycle, Maṇḍalakavi portrayed Ugra crowning Indra and restoring his authority[22] – which suggests an unprecedented depiction of the legitimisation of the divine supremacy by the royal power. The next step, represented by *sarga* IX, impacted further the representation of the Tenkasi kingship; in the narrative sequence of IX, 5–9, we have read how Arikēcari Parākkiṟama saved the distressed Śiva and his family, building the Kāśīviśvanātha temple and restoring both the lost welfare of the God and his right to the cult. The dynamic of the 'served' and 'servant', inverted by Maṇḍalakavi and transformed into a univocal mechanism in which the God was completely dependent on his royal patron, was sublimated into the portraiture of the poet's patron – Jaṭilavarman Parākkiṟama Kulacēkara (1480–1508) – as a God and his first genuine divinisation,[23] completing then this progressive climax in the structure of the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*. This ideological turning point in the *mahākāvya* impacting the representation of the Tenkasi kingship, together with the official narrative of the Kāśīviśvanātha temple, are symptomatic evidence of powerful claims of legitimisation and succession by a circumscribed dynasty – such as the Tenkasi

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son Vīra Pāṇṭiya. This King, according to SARMA 1981: L, is to be identified with Varakuṇa II (862–880), the foremost monarch of the 'medieval' period. Altering consistently the genealogy from the mythological matter of the Madurai cycle and making this King the supposed son of Ugra, the poet ingeniously unified the two *axis* of the *mahākāvya*, the divine past and the first imperial phase of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty. The connection of the mythical matter to the historical 'reality' – represented by King Varakuṇa II – implies also other consequences. Unifying the two polarities, Maṇḍalakavi not only shaped the dynastic identity of the Tenkasi rulers as the legitimate successors of the Madurai Kings, but directly created a clear claim of descent from the gods Śiva, Mīnākṣī and their son Ugra (as the father of Varakuṇavarman).

[22] *Pāṇḍyakulodaya* V, 68:

apacaraṇam idaṃ kṣamasva me
valamathaneti vadan mahīpatiḥ |
mukuṭam adhiśiro marutvato
nyadhita mumoca nīradacchadam || 68 ||

The King, saying: 'O Destroyer of Vala! Please forgive this imprudent action of mine!', replaced the crown on Indra's head and released the imprisoned clouds.

The section of the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam* and the *Hālāsyamāhātmya* devoted to the fight of Ugra and Indra (XVIII, 49–81) presents a different scenario comparing to the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*: after the breaking of Indra's crown in stanza 65, Indra ran away in fear, Ugra worshipped the *somasundaraliṅga* (66) and returned to Madurai with his army (68).

[23] In *sarga* X, 67–74, Maṇḍalakavi portrayed the physical appearance of his patron Parākkiṟama Kulacēkara violating the canonical *kāvya* dynamic for the representation of the human beings, *nakhaśikhavarṇana* ('description from the toe-nails to the head'), employing instead the style of representation for the description of the gods, starting from the head and finishing to the feet. The interested reader may refer to PIERDOMINICI LEÃO 2020 for the matter of the divinisation of kingship in the *Pāṇḍyakulodaya*.

one at the dawn of the 16th century – struggling for survival and the political recognition in a Southern scenario ruled by the last great Hindu empire India ever had, Vijayanagara.

Funding

Abbreviations

ARE   *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy* 1895, 1905, 1918. Madras: Archaeological Survey of India.

EI   Hultzsch, Eugen and Sten Konow, eds 1981. *Epigraphia Indica IX*. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.

SII   Krishna Sastri, Rao Bahadur, ed. 1925. *South Indian Inscriptions volume V*. Madras: Government Press.

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The Tomb Inscription for Liu Zhi at the End of the Qing Period (1910).
Commemoration of an Islamic Scholar by a Traditional Inscription to Support Modernisation

Barbara Stöcker-Parnian

Abstract: In 1910, a new stone stele engraved with a commemoration inscription was erected near the tomb of Liu Zhi 劉智 in Nanjing. The reason for establishing such a classical stele for this famous Muslim scholar of the 17th/18th centuries will be discussed in this article, and also the intention of the initiators of the stone inscription and of Jin Ding 金鼎 (died 1922), the composer of the text. For a better understanding of the text and in view of the lack of English translations of Chinese Islamic inscriptions, the whole text is finally translated and commented upon.

Keywords: Liu Zhi, tomb inscription, Islam in China, educational reform movement

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1. Introduction – history and meaning of a Muslim tomb

In the final stage of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), at the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries, there were great political and social changes in China, influencing all parts of the society. One important topic in the revolutionary plans was education of the people, to raise them from ignorance and poverty. Young Muslim intellectuals also tried to promote modern education in their religious communities. In order to support their aim of modernisation and also to combine tradition with modernity they used historical personalities. One of them was Liu Zhi, a famous Muslim scholar of the 17th/18th centuries, who wrote many books on Islam in Chinese. To commemorate and remember Liu Zhi some Hui scholars organised the composition and construction of a stone stele, which was finally erected in 1910 near his tomb in Nanjing.

In the early years of the People's Republic of China (PRC), in appreciation of culturally relevant sites, the government raised money in 1957 to repair the tomb of Liu Zhi. Later in 1982, after years of political turmoil and disturbance, the tomb was restored by the Islamic Association of Nanjing.[1] This was commemorated by a short inscription *Chongxiu Liu Zhi muji* 重修劉智墓 記 (Record of the reconstruction of the tomb of Liu Zhi). In the same year the Chinese government classified the tomb as a cultural relic worthy of protection at the provincial level. The graveyard and the tomb have been repaired several times and are still kept in good condition; moreover the place is still visited by Chinese Muslim pilgrims, who can pay their respect to the great scholar. Already Isaac Mason, who translated Liu Zhi's Biography of the prophet Muhammad,[2] had written in his preface:

> His tomb is still to be seen outside the south gate of the city of Nanking and is a spot to which Mohammedan pilgrims go for prayer and the reading of the Koran. No other writer's name is so well known or highly respected by the Chinese Moslems of to-day as that of Liu Chai-lien.[3]

The tomb foundation is placed in north-south orientation. Behind the grave there is an arched screen wall in which five stone steles are embedded. The central stele, being over two meters high, has two inscriptions; on top the Basmala in Arabic, written in horizontal line. In vertical Chinese script is engraved: *Qingdai Yisilan xuezhi Liu Zhi zhi mu* 清代伊斯蘭學者劉智之墓 (The tomb of the Islamic scholar Liu Zhi of the Qing dynasty), Guangxu, 29th year (1903). On both sides of the central stone there are two smaller steles with antithetical characters:[4] *Dao xue xian jue* 道學先覺 (right) (Being first aware of the study of the Dao) and on the left side *Xue guan tian ren* 學貫天 人 (Being well versed in heavenly and human affairs). These three stone steles were erected at the end of the Qing period, in the year 1903.

On the outermost left hand side is situated the above mentioned last reconstruction inscription of 1982, *Chongxiu Liu Zhi muji* 重修劉智墓記 (Record of the reconstruction of the tomb of Liu Zhi), and on the outermost right side we find the stone stele of Jin Ding from the year 1910, bearing the title *Chongxiu Liu Jielian xiansheng mubei ming* 重修劉介廉先生墓 碑銘 (The inscription on the stone tablet of the reconstruction of the tomb

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[1]   Ma 1985: 31.

[2]   *Tianfang zhisheng shilu* 天方至聖實錄 (Veritable records of the Most Sagely of Islam) is the Chinese biography of Muhammad composed by Liu Zhi. Mason translated the title 'The true annals of the Prophet of Arabia'. Mason 1921: VI.

[3]   Mason 1921: XI.

[4]   Ma 1985: 31.

of Master Liu Jielian). The latter is the text which is investigated and translated in this article.

2. Jin Ding – the composer of the inscription

Jin Ding 金鼎, the author of the inscription, with his personal name Zhisheng 峙生, came from Nanjing. He died in 1922 though his date of birth is unknown.[5] When he was young he began his career as an official and travelled to many places.

In 1908, he was elected President of the Association of East Asian Islamic Education 東亞清真教育總會 Dongya qingzhen jiaoyu zonghui in Zhenjiang, Jiangsu.[6] This cultural organi-sation for Muslims had already been founded in 1906 by the reformer and scholar Tong Zong 童琮 (1864–1923).[7] As the name of the association implies, its aim was to propagate and promote education among the Hui,[8] the Sino-Muslims. Therefore the organisation was supported by many Hui intellectuals and merchants, who saw the necessity of modern western education to overcome China's technical and scientific inferiority. Influenced by the great reforms and western modernisation taking place in Meiji Japan (1868–1912), many Chinese scholars also tried to change the traditional educational system and were active in founding new schools, which used modern curricula including natural sciences and foreign languages.

Already in 1905, Tong Zong had opened the first modern Muslim school, the Muyuan School 穆原學堂 in Zhenjiang, and moreover he founded a printing house to publish books and journals for discussions on modern education.[9] When in 1912 the interim government in Nanjing had been established, Jin Ding and other Muslim personalities, like Ma Defu 馬德甫 submitted a request to the government for the organisation of a new Confederation of the Hui People; however they did not receive authorisation for this. Later, Jin Ding assumed the post of the president of the Islamic Federation of Nanjing, and was very active in his position. The construction of the stone stele for Liu Zhi in 1910, and also the organisation of the repair of his tomb in Nanjing were managed by Jin Ding during his time as president of the Association of East Asian Islamic Education.

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[5]   ZHD 1992: 704.

[6]   ZHD 1992: 993.

[7]   ZHD 1992: 704–705; CEI 1994: 136; LI et al. 1998: 739.

[8]   There are about 21 Mio Muslims living in China, belonging to ten different nationalities having their own language and culture. These are Bonan, Dongxiang, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Salar, Tajik, Tatar, Uzbek Uyghur and the Chinese-speaking Hui, the so-called Sino-Muslims.

[9]   On the reform of the traditional Islamic education and the foundation of modern schools by the Chinese Muslims, see STÖCKER-PARNIAN 2003: 62–69.

But what was the reason for Jin Ding to arrange the carving and erection of a new stone stele for Liu Zhi and the repair of his burial side? Considering the life and activities of Jin Ding it is obvious that the Qing scholar Liu Zhi was an important symbol and model for progressive Hui scholars, who were trying to modernise education at the turn from the 19th to the 20th centuries. Two hundred years earlier Liu Zhi had done a great deal for Islamic education in China, by translating Arabic and Persian books and creating Chinese Muslim literature as part of the literary canon known as the *Han kitab*.[10] Jin Ding and many combatants wanted to do the same for the Hui, modernising education and creating new literature. Especially the publication of journals and newspapers was of great importance. One of the earliest journals were the *Xinghuipian* 醒回篇 (Wake up Hui)**,** published by oversea Chinese students in Tokyo in 1908, and in 1915 Muslims of Yunnan promulgated the *Qingzhen yuebao* 清真月报 (Muslim Monthly).[11] Thereafter the publication of Islamic journals and newspapers rose significantly nationwide. Moreover, Islamic associations were established in Hui communities, supporting the reform project by establishing schools and pushing the Hui into modern times.[12] Their religion was not a hindrance, but an identity to find a common way of moving forward into a modern, educated Hui society. In this sense Liu Zhi was a guide for the forward-looking reformers and could be used as a model for the young students in a time of change. So, at the end of the inscription Jin Ding mentions why he composed the inscription for Liu Zhi, whom he saw as a great figure of the past and a model for future generations.

> Therefore I recorded the main deeds and achievements (of his life) on the stone stele, so that the people know the location of the tomb of the great virtuous man of our religion; and further I intend to give the later generations something that can be modelled on and pondered upon. (lines 17–18).[13]

On the one hand he wanted to honour the most important author of Chinese Islamic literature, and on the other he also intended to strengthen the memory

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[10] Han Kitab 漢克塔布 *Han ketabu*, a combination of *Han* (Chinese) and *kitāb* (arab. book) is a collection of Islamic books, written in Chinese between the 17th and 19th centuries by Chinese Muslims using Neo-Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist terminology to explain Islamic doctrine. Famous authors are Wang Daiyu, Ma Zhu, Ma Dexin and especially Liu Zhi. See WANG 2001: 46, MURATA et al. 2009: 3–4, BEN-DOR BENITE 2005: 5, STÖCKER-PARNIAN 2003: 193, PETERSEN 2018: 6.

[11] LI et al. 1998: 748. These early journals however had only limited editions, *Xinghui* only one and *Qingzhen yuebao* five numbers. Later many journals and newspapers have been published by Muslims.

[12] YANG 1991: 68.

[13] The stone has altogether 23 vertical lines of characters.

of Liu Zhi for the young generation; in order to remember this eminent scholar forever and save him from oblivion, Jin Ding composed an inscription, which was carved in stone in the traditional, cultivated Chinese way.

3. Liu Zhi – a man devotedly reading and writing Islamic books[14]

Liu Zhi 劉智 (style name: Jielian 介廉; assumed name: Yizhai 一斋), who lived in the early Qing dynasty, was one of the most famous Islamic scholars of China. There are no exact dates of his life.[15] He was probably born during the Kangxi reign (1662–1722) and died in the beginning of the Qianlong reign (1735–96).[16] On the stone inscription Jin Ding makes the following statement on this uncertainty of Liu Zhi's lifetime:

> The dates of the vitae of the Master can neither be known. Estimating from his generation sequence, his lifetime started from the middle of Kangxi and ended in the beginning of Qianlong, his lifespan covered about 50 or 60 years. (lines 15–16).

According to this inscription Liu Zhi was born in the middle of Kangxi, (1662–1722) i.e. around the year 1680 to 1690, and died at the beginning of Qianlong (1735–1796), i.e. around 1740.[17] The reason that we have no exact dates is the destruction of all material due to political upheavals long after the death of Liu Zhi. Nanjing, Liu Zhi's hometown became the capital of the Taiping rebels. During the capture of Nanjing in 1853 many inhabitants were killed and the city was destroyed in the course of fighting. Jin Ding writes:

> The tomb of the Master is located outside of the Qubao gate. In the upheaval of the bandits of Yue[18] the whole family was wiped out. Neither genealogy nor official documents can be found; the generations before Master Hanying[19] cannot be inquired. (lines 14–15).

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[14] On the life and works of Liu Zhi see the monographies by JIN 1999 and SUN 2006, also the works OF BEN-DOR BENITE 2005: 144–153, MURATA et al. 2009: 4–7, FRANKEL 2011: 5–10, STÖCKER-PARNIAN 2003: 114–122, and the articles of BAI 1983: 16–19 and MA 1985: 31.

[15] The dates of his life vary between 1655, 1660, 1662, 1664, 1671 for his birth, and 1730, 1736, 1739, 1745 for his death. There are also speculations that he was over 60 years old when he passed away. See SUN 2006: 210.

[16] BAI 1983: 18, MA 1985: 31.

[17] According to the inscription Liu Zhi died in the beginning of Qianlong (around 1735–40), and his lifespan was about 50–60 years. So his birth was around 1670–80, which is not in accordance to the generally accepted birthdate of 1660 by most scholars.

[18] Yue Fei 粵匪 refers to the Taiping Rebellion, which lasted from 1850 to 1864 and caused millions of victims. The leader Hong Xiuquan had some visions, whereby he identified himself as the younger brother of Jesus. With his Christian influenced ideology he wanted to destroy the power of the Manchus, Confucianism and change the society.

[19] Master Hanying is the father of Liu Zhi, Liu Hanying 刘漢英.

Personal information about Liu Zhi is transmitted through his own writings, particularly his personal notes in the preface *Zhushu shu* 著書述 (On writing books) of his biography of the Prophet Muhammad, the *Tianfang zhisheng shilu* 天方至聖實錄 (Veritable records of the Most Sagely of Islam). The main source of this biographical book, which is also called *Zhisheng shilu*[20] 至聖 實錄, *Zhisheng lu* 至聖錄 or *Zhisheng shilu nianpu* 至聖實錄年谱 was the Persian translation *Tarjuma-i Mawlūd-i Muṣṭafa* from the Arabic biography *Sīrat al-Nabī al-Muntaqā* written by al-Kāzarūnī.[21]

The phrases in which Liu Zhi depicted his life were later adopted by many authors doing research on the great scholar. Jin Ding also took direct citations from the preface, especially where Liu Zhi gives us information on his life, his education and his studies, and the troubles and labours he experienced while searching for original Islamic books. As Jin cites:

> When he was fifteen years old, he sincerely set up his aim in diligent learning. He studied through the books of the classics, histories, and of philosophies of the various schools for altogether eight years. Then he began to read the Arabic scriptures, for another six years. (lines 3–4).

However, his study of books for fourteen years was not enough for Liu Zhi to do adequate translations and compose Islamic literature in Chinese and so he went on to further years of study:

> As he was about to engage himself in translation, he felt suddenly again that he did not have enough self-confidence. Therefore he began to study the Buddhist canons and commentaries for further three years, and the Taoist scriptures for one year. After that he forwarded to study 137 Western books. (line 4).

The fact that Liu Zhi read and was familiar with 137 Western books has also been mentioned by Paul Pelliot in his review of Mason's translation of Liu Zhi's biography on Muhammad and he writes: 'Il est intéressant de noter cette familiarité de Lieou Tche avec les publications des missionnaires.'[22]

Even if it is not quite clear which western books Liu Zhi was reading, they were almost certainly of Jesuit origin and written in Chinese, according to Pelliot. More than 200 oeuvres had been published by the missionaries at this time. The books are on different topics of the Christian religion, but also

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[20] Jin 1999: 18.

[21] The original Arabic biographical work was written by the Persian Sufi scholar Sa'īd al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Mas'ūd al-Kāzarūnī (died 1357) and in the year 1383 it was translated into Persian by his son 'Afif. See Ben-Dor Benite 2005: 151, footnote 89.

[22] Pelliot 1922: 415, footnote 2.

on sciences, geography and cartography, astronomy and philosophy. This Christian literature certainly had a strong influence on Liu Zhi, notably on the religious terminology of his Islamic treatises.[23]

During the process of searching, reading and writing, Liu Zhi became aware of his shortcomings concerning authentic Islamic literature. So he started on a long journey throughout China in search of original Islamic literature and for intellectual exchange with learned scholars. In Henan he luckily could find a Persian scripture about the life of the prophet Muhammad. Jin Ding writes:

> When he was looking for the original Islamic scriptures 天方經典, he received a complete version of the *Zhisheng lu* 至聖錄[24] from the Sai family 賽氏[25] in the town of Zhuxian 朱仙 in Henan, and he obtained scriptures of the Wu family 吳氏 in several dozen volumes from a person in Beijing. (All these texts) were written in Western horizontal script, and came to China during the Yuan dynasty, and were stored in the secret archive (imperial library), until the period of turmoil of bandits during Ming times did (these scriptures) start to spread into the world. (lines 8–9).

So, according to Jin Ding, this original Islamic literature, written in Persian or Arabic, had already been in China for a long time, since the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), when Muslims held high official positions under the Mongols. Because of turbulent times these books were scattered and by chance came into private Muslim libraries, where they were finally found by Liu Zhi. These books became sources for his comprehensive writings on Islamic theology, philosophy, law and rites, and the biography of the Prophet.

> From his youth until old age the Master wrote altogether several hundred volumes. (line 10).

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[23] One famous book of the time was the *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實义 (*The true meaning of the Lord of Heaven*) by Matteo Ricci (1552–1610). This theological work discusses the meaning of the Christian god, Christ, Holy Spirit etc. The book was first published in 1603 in Peking, later also in Canton (1605) and Hangzhou (1607). So it is quite possible that Liu Zhi had one of these editions among his 'western books'. The *Tianzhu shiyi* was translated by Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen: *Matteo Ricci, S.J. The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (T'ien-chu Shih-i)*, St. Louis, Taipei 1985.

[24] *Zhisheng* is the Chinese translation for the Prophet Muhammad, literally meaning the Most Wise, that is the nabī or Prophet. ZHD (1992: 817). The original text on the stone has only the three characters *Zhisheng lu* 至聖錄 and not the four characters *Zhisheng Shilu*, which has been incorrectly printed by Yᴜ 2001: 646.

[25] Sai is a Muslim family name in China; and may be a hint that he was a Sayyid, a descendant of the Prophet.

Towards the end of his life Liu Zhi retreated and lived like a hermit in the Qingliang Mountain.

> In the later part of his life the Master returned to Jinling 金陵, he lived in the Saoye House 掃葉楼 (House of Sweeping Leaves) in Qingliang-Mountain 清凉山 for more than ten years. There he closed his doors and delved into deep thoughts. At that time all famous lords, high ministers and wise men knew about the hermit Liu in Jinling. (line 13).

Despite his fame he did not receive any special burial stone after his death. The stones near his tomb were all erected in later times by the Hui community in commemoration of the great Master. The stone inscription of 1910 (Xuantong, 2nd year) was composed by Jin Ding.

The inscription has been published by Weng Changsen 翁長森 and Jiang Guobang 蔣國榜 in their *Jinling Congshu* 金陵叢書 (Collected Writings of Jinling). In 2001, Yu Zhengui adopted the text in his *Zhongguo huizu jinshilu* 中國回族金石录 (Record of inscriptions on metal and stone of the Hui nationality in China).[26]

4. Translation of the stone inscription[27]

The inscription on the stone tablet of the reconstruction of the tomb of Master Liu Jielian *Chongxiu Liu Jielian xiansheng mubei ming* 重修劉介廉先生墓碑銘

The (late)[28] Master, with his taboo name ZHI 智, and his style name JIELIAN 介廉**,** called himself Yizhai 一斎 in his late years. Generations of the LIU family 劉氏 of Shangyuan 上元 district (in Nanjing) practiced Islam studies[29]. His father Master HANYING 漢英, a man of cultivation and virtue, once sighed and lamented: 'The Islamic scriptures 天方經典 analyse the doctrine 理 to its

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26 The inscription has been published under the title *Liu Jielian xiansheng mubei* 劉介廉先生墓碑. YU 2001: 646–647. The correct title of the inscription is *Chongxiu Liu Jielian xiansheng mubei ming* 重修劉介廉先生墓碑銘 (The inscription on the stone tablet of the reconstruction of the tomb of Master Liu Jielian). The text has many misprints and uses modern *jiantizi* (simplified characters), which makes reading quite difficult. Yu Zhengui does not give any publisher; however there is one publication from Nanjing by Shangyuan jiangshi zhenxiu shuju上元蔣氏慎修書屋, 1914–1916.

27 For the translation I used the rubbing, which was published by NANJING 2011: 223 and YU 2001: 646–647.

28 The words in parentheses are my additions for a better understanding of the text.

29 天方之學 Islamic learning/Islam studies. The term *Tianfang* 天方 can variously mean Islamic lands, Arabia, Mecca and Islam in general. Jin Ding also uses *Tianfang* for these geographical and religious expressions – Arabia and Islam – in his inscription.

very essence. It is a pity that there are no Chinese translations available, so that they (can) spread in the Eastern lands (China).'[30] At this time the Master was still in childhood and had just received books (to begin his learning). He secretly heard these words and then silently took note of them. When he was fifteen years old, he sincerely set up his aim in diligent learning. He studied the books of the classics, histories and of philosophies of the various schools for altogether eight years. Then he began to read the Islamic scriptures for another six years. As he was about to engage himself in translation, he felt suddenly again that he did not have enough self-confidence. Therefore he began to study the Buddhist canons and commentaries for a further three years, and the Taoist scriptures for one year. After that he proceeded to study 137 Western books. Thereupon he was at ease (with his knowledge) and free from misapprehension, and therefore he took up the brush and began to write. As he was translating, he was also reciting (the Islamic texts). He wrote in the morning and thought deeply in the evening. He rejected human affairs, and regarded all things such as worldly temptations and reputation, as well as profit and office, as floating clouds passing the sky, and like a breeze (that) came fluttering through his ear (and of which he did not take notice). After a long time, he considered again that his (knowledge) was not enough. Once more he packed up food and carried his book box, and went through Qi[31] (North Shandong), Lu (South Shandong), Yan (North Hebei), Zhao (South Hebei), and came to the capital (Beijing). There he kept company with court scholars and wise officials, and together they had academic discussions. (Then) he changed his direction and went to Xiang (Hunan) and Chu (Hubei), then entered Qin (Shaanxi) and Long (Gansu), in order to search for handed down scriptures and learned scholars. To the south he went first to Wulin (Hangzhou), then to Kuaiji (Shaoxing). There he visited the Goulou stele.[32] Afterwards he ascended Tiantong and Zhu Mountain[33] in Dasong, and from there he looked down at the blue ocean, and his learning and knowledge increased immensely. In the Gengzi year of the Yongzheng reign (1724) he accepted the call of the governor Ma of Yanzhou (Shandong). He visited the monuments and temple of Confucius, his heart was filled with

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[30] Nearly the same words can be found in the foreword of Liu Zhi in his *Tianfang xingli* 天方性理 (Nature and Principle of Islam).

[31] All the following names of places and provinces were also mentioned in the *Zhushu shu*, the foreword of the biography of the Prophet, *Zhisheng shilu*.

[32] There is a misprint in the collection of Yᴜ 2001, the word *Xunlou bei* 峋嵝碑 is in the original inscription Goulou-bei 峋嵝碑. This stele also called *Shen Yu bei* 神禹碑, is a very old inscription, which according to tradition dates from the times of Xia Yu 夏禹 or Great Yu 大禹, the legendary founder of the Xia dynasty (ca. 21st–16th cent. ʙᴄᴇ). The characters are cut in old seal script, having the form of tadpoles and are difficult to decipher. The text reports on the water regulation of the Great Yu. See Cʜᴇɴɢ 2019: 2.

[33] Tiantong mountain and Zhu mountan in Dasong are situated in the Chinese province of Zhejiang.

emotion, and thereupon he departed and returned. At this stage the wealth of his vast reading and (knowledge through his) great distances of travelling, sufficed him to honour the words (of his father) and to aid him to follow his own aim! When he was looking for original Islamic scriptures[34], he received a complete version of the *Zhisheng lu* 至聖錄 (Biography of the Prophet) from the Sai family in the town of Zhuxian in Henan and he obtained scriptures from the Wu family in several dozen volumes from a person in Beijing. (All these texts) were written in Western horizontal script,[35] and came to China during the Yuan dynasty, and were stored in the secret archive (imperial library), until the period of turmoil of bandits during the late Ming dynasty (when these scriptures) started to spread into the world. These books explain extensively the heavenly calculations, geography, and are rarely seen in the world (China). Later on he again obtained the *Renjing* 人鏡 (Human Mirror) and *Gezhi quanjing*[36] 格致全經 (The Underlying Principles to Acquire Knowledge) (being) all books from Qin (Shaanxi); thereupon most of the old scriptures and historical works of this religion were brought together and collected. From youth until old age the Master wrote altogether several hundred volumes. His first publications are *Tianfang dianli* 天方典禮 (Law and Ritual of Islam) in twenty volumes and *Tianfang xingli* 天方性理 (Philosophy of Islam) in five volumes. Then he also wrote *Wu gong shiyi* 五功释義 (Explanation of the Five Merits) in one volume and *Zimu jieyi* 字母解義 (Explication of the Meaning of Arabic Letters) in one volume. When he was older he started to write the book *Zhisheng shilu nianpu* 至聖實錄年谱 (Veritable Records of the Most Sagely of Islam), in which he extensively adopted (information) from all Islamic books, and listed the lifetime achievements of the Prophet (Muhammad). This work resembles much the category of the book *Ziyang Outline*[37], in which the years were set as warps and incidents as weft. It goes through all (fields like) politics and education, law and punishment, rites and music, Yin and Yang, the Five Elements, customs, territory and people; he compiled comprehensively and forgot nothing. The book was the result of several decades of intensive work, and was (finally) finished when he was getting old. At the later part of his life the Master returned to Jinling 金陵, he lived in the Saoye House 掃

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[34] *Tianfang jingdian* 天方經典；Here *tianfang jingdian* means Islamic scriptures in Arabic or Persian, these languages Liu Zhi could read.

[35] *Western horizontal script* 西文旁行 refers here to Arabic or Persian books. During Mongol Yuan times many Muslims (soldiers, merchants) came to China, and so Islamic religion spread in the East.

[36] The *Gezhi quanjing*, also translated as *The complete classic of investigating and extending*, is a book on dogmatic theology, originally written in Arabic. See Murata et al. 2009: 50.

[37] *Ziyang gangmu* 紫陽綱目 (Ziyang outline) is the short form of the work *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 资治通鉴纲目 (Outline and Digest of the General Mirror). Ziyang is the epithet of the philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), who is also called Ziyang xiansheng 紫陽先生.

葉楼 (House of Sweeping Leaves) in Qingliang Mountain 清凉山 for more than ten years. There he closed his doors and delved into deep thought. At that time all famous lords, high ministers and wise men knew about the hermit Liu in Jinling.

In the middle of the Qianlong period, the emperor started the *Siku* (project)[38] and the lost books from the past to the present were collected in China, and thereupon the *Tianfang dianli* (Law and Ritual of Islam) was included in the catalogue. The commentary praises it: 'being acquainted with Confucian scriptures, quoting the classics (to complement religious doctrine) and the wording is elegant and admirable', alas, how true! The tomb of the Master is located outside of the Qubaomen gate. In the upheaval of the bandits of Yue[39] the whole (Liu) family was wiped out. Neither family genealogy nor official documents can be found; the generations before Master Hanying cannot be inquired. The dates of the vitae of the Master cannot be known either. Estimating from his generation sequence, his lifetime started from the middle of Kangxi (1662–1722) and ended in the beginning of Qianlong (1735–1796); his lifespan covered about 50 or 60 years. There is a distant descendant of him, Dekun 德坤, who is today the religious leader of the Jingjue Mosque in Jinling. He has the ability to succeed the will of the Master and to carry the teaching of Master Jielian forward, so that his words will not diminish. In the year Bingwu year of Guangxu (1906), the commoners and the learned of the village raised money to repair the tomb of the Master. Altogether they built a tomb areal of several zhang wide, there are two ornamented columns, one stone-way, one stone stele, and they urged me, Ding, to compose a text to commemorate it. Therefore I recorded the main deeds and achievements (of his life) on the stone stele, so that the people know the location of the tomb of the great virtuous man of our religion; and further I intend to give the later generations something that can be modelled on and pondered upon.

The eulogia says:

The lofty Zhong Mountain – is full with spirits and strange beings
The referent Great Master – truly descended here
The lost books are dispersed among bushes – he sought them all and put them into order
Islam came from the West – more than 1,000 years ago
It is neither Buddhist nor Daoist – it was turning the decadent stage of the schools and declined

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[38] *Siku Quanshu congmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Annotated Catalogue of the Complete Imperial Library) was commissioned by the Qing emperor Qianlong (reigned 1735–1796).

[39] Yue fei 粵匪 refers to the Taiping Rebellion, see footnote no. 18.

The West praises philosophy – we in China honour the Confucian classics

The wrong is not beautiful – then falls darkness down

Shaking hands is the end – love develops its light

He elucidated the religion and explained the principle – and read it in euphoric tones

As the tumulus was shovelled even – who was to re-erect his memorial archway and stone

After the tomb was filled up and trees were planted – his fellow countrymen paid him homage

It admonishes our later generations – model on this outstanding behaviour

2nd year of Xuantong, in 2nd month of Gengxu, on the 1st day of the lunar month, Yihai, on the 16th day of Gengyin. Composed by Jin Ding 金鼎, registered in Shangyuan, the coloured feather second degree rank in the salt and law administration of Wuchang Prefecture, Hubei, recorded in the Military Secretariat, Prefecture Magistrate Candidate in Hubei Province.

Writing by Li Zhenghua 李正花 of Wujin.

Heading line by Jin Sifen 金嗣芬 from Buyongzhi county in Jiangxi.

Stonecutter Hou Renji 矦仁继 from Shangyuan.

5. Conclusion

More than 160 years after his death, the famous Muslim scholar Liu Zhi was honoured and commemorated by a new tomb inscription in 1910. The political and social changes at the end of the Qing dynasty and beginning of the Republic (1911–1949) forced Muslim communities to answer the needs of the time. Therefore Islamic associations were founded, whose aim were to push forward modernisation and reform education. Jin Ding, president of the Association of East Asian Islamic Education was fully engaged in this project and composed a new tomb inscription for Liu Zhi. This great scholar of the 17th/18th centuries, who was comprehensively educated in Islamic theology, Arabic and Persian, as well as in Chinese philosophy and other religions, had composed many Islamic books in Chinese by using Neo-Confucian terminology. Hence Liu Zhi was considered a symbol and figurehead in the educational reform movement, and so a new stone inscription in classical style was created. By erecting this stone stele near the tomb of Master Liu the Muslims of the early 20th century expressed their Chinese way of life and culture using traditional Chinese forms filled with Hui Islamic content in the hope for a better future.

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Fig. 1. Liu Zhi's tomb in Nanjing. Photo by B. Stöcker-Parnian.

The original inscription

重修劉介廉先生墓碑銘/先生諱智字介廉晚自號一齋上元劉氏世習天方之學父漢英先生有文行嘗喟然歎曰天方經典析理甚精惜未有漢譯俾廣/其傳於東土也時先生方總角受書竊聞緒論已默識之年十五篤志劬學於經史百家之藉靡不研究凡八年乃進而讀天方經/典又六年將從事於繙譯忽復不敢自信則又進而讀釋藏經傳三年道經一年又進而讀西洋書百三十七種由是怡然渙觧乃/捼筆著述且譯且誦朝作夕思屏棄人事舉凡當世聲色利祿之途視之若浮雲之過太空而飄風之入吾耳也久之又以為未足/復裹糧負笈歷齊魯燕趙走京師與朝士賢大夫游相與討論學術折而至湘楚入秦隴訪求遺經宿學南下武林上會稽尋岣嶁/碑再登天童及大嵩珠山觀滄海而學識益大進雍正庚子應兗州太守馬公之招謁孔林心愀然有所感遂辭而歸盖至是而涉/獵之富登覽之遠足以尊所聞而副所志矣方其求天方經典原本也淂至聖錄全帙於河南朱仙鎮賽氏淂吳氏蔵經數十冊于/京師某氏皆西文旁行自元代入中國蔵於秘府至明季流宼之亂始流傳人間其書多言天算輿地之學為世所罕覯既又淂人/鏡格致全經諸書於秦中於是本教中故藉雅記集略眘備矣先生自少至老所著書數百卷其先刊行者曰天方典禮二十卷天/方性理五卷既又著五功釋義一卷字母觧義一卷晚年始著至聖實錄年譜一書博採天方群藉臚列至聖生平事蹟頗仿紫陽/綱目之例年經事緯凡涉於政教刑法禮樂陰陽五行風俗疆域人物輯錄無遺盖數十年心力之所萃垂老而後成之者也先/生晚歸金陵居清凉山掃葉樓十餘年閉戶覃思一時名公賢士無不知金陵劉居士者乾隆中/天子開四庫採訪天下古今遺書而天方典禮遂淂收入存目中提要稱其習儒書援經義文頗雅贍嗚呼信矣先生墓在聚寶門外粵/匪之亂全家殲焉譜牒無徵其世自漢英先生以上殆不可考先生生卒歲月亦不能詳以年輩計之自康熙中葉迄乾隆初年享/壽盖五六十歲有遠孫德坤今為金陵淨覺寺掌教能善承先志繼介廉先生之學於不朽云光緒丙午鄉人士集貲葺先生墓凡/為壙若干丈華表二石坊一碑一而属鼎為文以志之乃即其犖犖可紀者著於碑俾知吾教中大賢邱壠之所在又欲使後之人/有所考鏡觀感焉銘曰/峩峩鍾山孕靈毓奇穆穆先生寔降於茲遺編榛莽廓而清之㞐教西來歷年逾千非釋非道末流渙焉西稱哲學我宗儒經非是/不羨乃墜晦暝手振墜緒爰檠其光明教闡理厥聲琅琅坏土既夷坊表誰正既封既樹楸梓是敬告我後人式此卓行/宣統二年歲在庚戌二月朔乙亥越十六日庚寅建/花翎二品銜署理湖北鹽法武昌道軍機處存記湖北補用道上元金鼎撰 武進李正華書/江西補用知縣金嗣芬篆額 上元矦仁繼刻石

The Twilight Language of Siddhas and Sanskrit Figures of Speech in *Viśākha Ṣaṣṭi*

Hanna Urbańska

Abstract: The paper is an attempt to analyse the *Viśākhaṣaṣṭi* – the collection of sixty stanzas praising Lord Murukan of Paḷani temple composed by Nārāyaṇa Guru – the mystic, philosopher and social reformer from Kerala. Several stanzas of this mysterious hymn (22, 37, 39, 52, 55) have been selected as representative of Guru's style of writing characteristic of compositions devoted to Subrahmaṇyan. Nārāyaṇan introduces to his works the twilight language of Siddhas supported with a variety of figures of speech borrowed from Sanskrit *kāvya* literature. An elaborate and highly sophisticated mixture of these two literary and philosophical traditions became the means by which Guru releases the liberating power of each independent literary construction.

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This paper analyses several stanzas of the Malayalam poem *Viśākha Ṣaṣṭi* – 'Sixty Stanzas on Viśākha', praising Murukan (Tam. Murugaṉ) of the Paḷani (Paḷani; Tam. Paḻaṉi) temple in Tamil Nadu, which was composed by Nārāyaṇa Guru – the philosopher and social reformer from Kerala.[1] The mystical work is included in only one edition of Guru's works, supplemented with a commentary by Prasād,[2] who provides an English translation of this intriguing composition.[3] The selection of six stanzas of *Viśākha Ṣaṣṭi* given

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[1] Nārāyaṇa Guru (1856–1928) – a saint, philosopher and social reformer born in South India. He is the author of over sixty works composed in Malayalam, Sanskrit and Tamil. The majority of his poetical compositions were aimed at bringing about social reformation in Kerala. Cf. Balachandran 2015; Jayakumar 1999; Krishnan 2018; Kumaran 2014; Nataraja 2003; Sanoo 2017.

[2] Prasād 2006: 204–231.

[3] Prasād 2015a: 240–274: prosaic commentary; Prasād 2019: 587–668: the same prosaic commentary with a word-by-word explanation. The latter commentary has been published as

below may be treated as representative of the style of composition used by Guru in mystical poems devoted to Subrahmaṇyan,[4] a mixture of the twilight language used by Tamil Siddhas depicting the mystical union with the Lord, which is attained by means of the *Kuṇḍalinī* experience[5] and the elaborate language of Sanskrit *kāvya* literature.

An excellent example of the repetition of similar letters and syllables – alliteration – mingled with the Siddhas' vision of *Śakti Manōṉmaṇi* residing in *ājñā cakra* (between the eyebrows) and imagined in the form of a golden or flowery creeper can be found in stanza 22 of *Viśākha Ṣaṣṭi*:

> *allīśarāntakanum allīsutāpatiyum allīviśēṣabhavanum*
> *yal līlayā bahula sal līlayōṭati jagallīlarāyituṭanē*
> *allīśarātiruci vallīśanāyū paḷani collīśanāya bhagava-*
> *ccillīvilāsamaya cillīlayen manasi telliṅṅudiccu varaṇam //22//*

O, the One who keeps the [Eternal] Union[6]
As the One whose Game makes the destroyer of the one
Who uses the lotus as an arrow [Śivan],
The consort of the lotus flower's daughter [Viṣṇu],
And the one born gloriously of the lotus flower [Brahmāvŭ]

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a separate book: PRASĀD 2013, first published in 2006. As stated by Prasād in his introduction, he limited himself to three topics, namely the usage of language, the devotional aspect and the philosophy of *Advaita* (PRASĀD 2019: 588). The hymn has been translated by Prasād into English and included in the following book: PRASĀD 2006: 204–231. As Prasād states, the work was discovered by Priyadarśanan, who attached the text as the appendix within a collection of Guru's works published by SNDP (*Śrī Nārāyaṇa Dharma Paripālana*) *Yōgam*, as the Guru's authorship seemed to be in doubt. However, Prasād examines the usage of several figures of speech which the author introduced into the poem, namely the *anuprāsa*, the *upamā* and the *yamaka*, and firmly states there is not the slightest doubt that the poem, which proves proficiency in three languages, namely Sanskrit, Malayalam and Tamil, was indeed the work of Nārāyaṇa Guru (PRASĀD 2019: 587).

4   The other hymns devoted to Subrahmaṇya composed by Nārāyaṇa Guru are *Guha Aṣṭakam* – 'Eight Verses on Guha or Subrahmaṇya' (1884); *Navamañjarī* ('A Bouquet of Nine Verses') – 1884; *Ṣāṇmātura Stavam* or *Navamañjari* ('The Hymn to the One Mothered by Six' or 'the Bouquet of Nine Flowers') – 1884; *Subrahmaṇya Stōtram / Kīrttanam* ('Hymn in Praise of Subrahmaṇyan') – 1888; *Ṣaṇmukha Stavam / Stōtram* ('The Praise of the Six Faced God') – 1887–1897; *Ṣaṇmukha Daśakam* ('Ten Verses on the Six Faced God') – 1887–1897; *Bāhuleya Aṣṭakam* ('Eight Verses on Bāhuleya') – 1887–1897. Cf. BHĀSKARAN 2015: 44–114.

5   According to Ganapathy, 'the twilight language is a clothed language in which the highest truths are hidden in the form of the lowest, the most sacred in the form of the most ordinary, the transcendent in the form of the most earthly and the deepest knowledge in the form of the most grotesque paradoxes' (GANAPATHY 2006c: 295).

6   Tam. *uḍaṉ* means 'together with, altogether, at once'; similarly Mal. *uṭaṉ*. *Uṭantai* (*uṭanta*) – 'union, alliance, relationship'. Cf. EMENEAU and BURROW 1961: 69–70; PADMANĀBHAPIḶḶA 2016: 337; DAKṢIṆĀMŪRTTI 2002: 248–249.

Extremely engaged in the games of the [changeable] universe
Which spread abundantly when united
With the Game of [permanent] *Sat* –
The game of Pure Consciousness (*Cit*) which is the play of the eyebrows
Of such a Master who remains the Lord of Paḻaṉi 's glory
As the Consort of the [Divine] Creeper that displays charms
Of the one who uses the lotus as a weapon [Kāman] –
May [such a Game] arise to shine just a little within my mind![7]

The leading concept of the stanza can be described as follows: the games
(*līla*) of the phenomenal world (*jagat*) along with the Game of permanent
Existence (*Sat*) have their reversed version in the Game of Pure Consciousness
(*Cit*) performed by the pair of creepers – in this instance Murukaṉ's eyebrows.
As the embodiment of the Ultimate Reality (*paramporuḷ*), Subrahmaṇyan
represents the union of all games played by the trinity of gods, namely Śivan,
Viṣṇu and Brahmāvŭ. The game of the changeable universe, comprising
creation, sustenance and dissolution – the three forms of activity these Gods

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[7]   *alliye śaramākkiyiṭṭuḷḷavaṉṟe antakanum* (*puṣpatte astramākkiyiṭṭuḷḷavaṉṟe – kāmaṉṟe –
śatruvum, atāyatŭ śivanum*) *alliyuṭe sutaykku patiyāyiṭṭuḷḷavanum* (*tāmarappūvil ninnu
janiccalakṣmiyuṭe bharttāvāyiṭṭuḷḷavanum, atāyatu viṣṇuvinum*) *alliyilninnu viśēṣarītiyil
bhaviccavanum athavā saviśēṣamāya alliyil bhaviccavanum* (*patmasambhavanum athavā
brahmāvinum*) *yātoruvaṉṟe līla mukhāntiramāṇō vyāpakamāya, atāyatŭ ōrōruttarum
avaravaruṭētāya tarattil sadvastuvine vaccukoṇṭu sattāya tarattiluḷḷa līlayōṭukūṭi* (*orē
sadvastuvine vaccukoṇṭu sṛṣṭi sthitilayaṅṅaḷākunna līlakaḷ naṭattikoṇṭŭ*) *ī jagattākunna
līlayil ativēgam muḻukuvāṉ iṭayāyatŭ, aṅṅaneyuḷḷavanum vaḷḷiyuṭe bharttāvāyirunnukoṇṭŭ
paḷaniyennu pēruperṟa sthanattinŭ īśānāya bhagavāṉṟe kāmadēvanu cērnna tarattiluḷḷa
atyadhikamāya bhaṁgiyōṭukūṭiya* (*allīśaran – pūvine śaramākkiyiṭṭuḷḷavan = kāmadēvan;
atiruci = atyadhikamāya bhaṁgi*) *cillikkoṭi vilasunnatinṟe rūpattiluḷḷa citsvarūpamāya
paramporuḷinṟe līlāvilāsam enṟe manassil alpamiṅṅu teḷiññu varēṇamē* – 'May the Game of
the Ultimate Substance, which is the essential form of *Cit* in the form of the shining eyebrows'
creeper of the Master who is the Lord of the famous place of Paḷani, while remaining the husband
of the Creeper [i.e., *Parvvāti*], endowed with extraordinary grace which is characteristic of the
god Kāman (the Lotus Arrowed One – the one who makes the flower his arrow means the god
Kāman; the extreme splendour means the extraordinary grace) – [may such a Game] enter to
shine a little bit within my Heart. [He is the one] through whose game the room is made for
the extremely rapid absorption in the game of this phenomenal world [performed] along with
the Game, which is Reality in essence, i.e., bound with the [permanent] Substance of *Sat* (i.e.,
along with the performance of games, which are creation, sustenance and dissolution, the one
and one only Substance of *Sat* is kept). [Such is the game] which spreads all around, i.e., which
[is performed] by each of the Gods, namely the destroyer of the one who uses the lotus flower
as an arrow (the foe of Kāman – the one who has made the blossom his weapon, i.e., Śivan),
the one who remains as the Lord of the daughter of the lotus blossom (the husband of Lakṣmi,
born from the lotus flower, i.e., Viṣṇu), and the one who was born in a particular way from the
lotus or the one who was born from the lotus that is the special one (the Lotus Born One, i.e.,
Brahmāvŭ) – in his own way' (PRASĀD 2013: 51–52). All translations of Guru's works are made
by the author of the article.

are responsible for – cannot be undertaken or accomplished until it becomes associated with the play of *Sat*. On the other hand, *Sat*, i.e., permanent and immutable Existence, is not capable of being involved in games until it becomes associated with another aspect of Reality – *Cit*, i.e., Consciousness. The inseparability of all these games (*līla*) with the trinity of Śivan – Viṣṇu – Brahmāvŭ and Subrahmaṇyan has been emphasised with the use of alliteration (*anuprāsa*):[8] *trimūrti*'s names contain the term *allī,* which denotes the lotus flower, whereas within the compound defining Murukan, the term *vallī* (creeper) has been included. Not only is *trimūrti* associated with *allī;* the same compound element constitutes the epithet of Kāman (*allīśara*). In other words, the term *līla* ([cosmic] game) corresponds here with the term *allī* – meaning 'lotus' in the following context: *līla*, played by the Supreme Deity, results in various forms of *allī* pertaining to the trinity of Gods, as well as to Kāman. Again, the connection between the *Cit* game (*cillīla*) and the play of Subrahmaṇyan's eyebrows (*cillīvilāsam*) has been suggested with the same figure of speech. However, there is an indication of the difference here between these two groups of games: the latter – *cil-līla* – can be performed by the eyebrows of the Lord alone – the husband of the divine Creeper.[9] Such an emphasis on the capability of the particular God for an extraordinary performance by means of alliteration can be found in Tamil *Tirumandiram* (TM) 2 386;[10] the same work depicts the Mahēśvaraṉ (Paramēśvaraṉ) as the embodiment of the Substance (*poruḷ*) which controls the activities of the *Trimūrti* (TM 2 389).[11]

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8 Alliteration is a repetition of similar letters, syllables or sounds (Gerow 1971: 102 nn.).

9 The reason is Subrahmaṇyan (identical to Śivan) is the only one Deity who undertakes a task of *anugraha* – the bestowal of divine Grace (cf. Arumugam 2006a: 64–65).

10 Cf. TM 2 386: *bhuvanam paṭacciṭum oruvanum oruttiyum bhuvanam paṭacciṭum avarkku putrarañcŭ / bhuvanam paṭacciṭum 'bhum' iśayārnna āsān bhuvanam paṭacciṭum puṇyanallē* (Nāyar 2019: 114): 'He and She (as the concentration of mind) together create the Universe (*puvaṉam = bhuvanam*); for them, creators of the Universe, five sons are there. [The *Brahmā*] is the One who creates the Universe [*pu-vaṉam*] – as the One who is elevated at the top of the [Lotus] Flower [*pū-micaiyāṉ*]; He creates the Universe as the One who is Virtuous by Himself [*pu-ṇṇiyyaṉ-tāṉē*]'.
All translations of TM made by the author of the article are based on the 10-volume edition of Ganapathy (cf. References – TM). The original text given here is the Malayalam translation by Nāyar 2019 or Nāyar 2007.

11 TM 2 389: *uṇṭulakēḻum umiḻnnavanōṭu aṇḍattilamaradēvanum ādiyumāya paran / paṇṭu caturmukhan, kāraṇan tannōṭum kaṇṭu ninnu paṭaccatāṇipppārāya pārellām* (Nāyar 2019: 115): 'Along with the One who devoured and spat out the seven worlds, with the Primeval One (*ādi*), the Lord (*talaivaṉ*) of immortals within the Egg of the Universe (*aṇḍattu*), and with the one who is the Source [of the World] (*kāraṇaṉ*), the Four Faced One (*Brahmā*), Lord – the Substance (*poruḷ*) created the world in ancient times (*paṇḍu*).' The Lord identical with the Substance is – in accordance with Śaiva Siddhānta – Maheśvaraṉ responsible for the process of manifestation. The one who leads the Souls to liberation is *Sadāśiva*, corresponding with the Murukan in Guru's poem. Nārāyaṇan differentiates between these two aspects in his

In Siddhas' tradition, the space in between the eyebrows constitutes the sphere of the *ājñā cakra* – the sixth energy centre, which starts and represents the moon region of the human body. TM 3 589 mentions a divine dance in the joint of the eye-bows (sic) which results in the flow of heavenly waters from the top of the central channel (*suṣumnā*). Along with that, yogi can experience the effulgence of bliss.[12] The same space of burning consciousness (*terivu*) is the abode of Lord *Śivaṉ* and His consort – *Śakti Manōṉmaṉi*[13] in the form of a flowery twig (*pūṅkombu*). Tirumūlar refers to such a place in TM 4 1112 with the term *cilaittalai* – 'the top of the [eye]-bows – *cilai*' or 'the top of the mountain', whereas Śakti is defined with the compound *kaṇṇuḷ* – 'the One who remains within the Eye (or as the Heart of the [third] Eye) [of the Lord]'.[14] In another mystical poem devoted to Subrahmaṇyan – *Ṣaṇmukha Daśakam* 1 – Nārāyaṇan provides us with a vision of the heart or the inside of the creeper of the eyebrows that shines brilliantly with the fire of awakened wisdom while bringing the flow of *amṛtŭ*.[15]

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poem *Śiva Śatakam,* stanza 27 (*Paramaśivan* responsible for granting grace) and stanza 29 (*Paramēśvaran* responsible for manifestation). Cf. VENKATARAMAN 2010b: 484.

[12] *malayārnna śirassiṭa vānanīr aruvi nilayārnnu pāyum neṭunāḍi īṭēpōyŭ – cilaṅka / oliyārnna sabhayatil tirunaṭanamāṭum polivārnnatoru ānandajyōtiyokkaṇṭu ñāṉ* ('The heavenly waters that crown the mountain top spring to flow down [out from the mouth of the river at the top of the pillar]; through the central channel I could see the unceasing effulgence of bliss [*āṉanda-c cōdi*] after the performance of the divine dance in the joint of the bows [eyebrows – *cilaiyār poduvil*]' – NĀYAR 2007: 202). With the end of the *suṣumnā nāḍī* (pillar)*,* as soon as the *ājñā cakra* opens, the yogi can experience the bliss along with the stream of heavenly *amṛta*. The mouth of the river denotes the top of *suṣumnā nāḍī*. Cf. VENKATARAMAN 2010c: 708–709.

[13] Cf. TM 4 1147: *anbārakkaṇṇi ariva manōnmaṇi konbāra nuṇṇiṭakkōta kulāvum / cembonnoḷi cceḻum gātri nāḷoṟum nambiye nōkkiyē naviluvōḷ* – 'Her eyes are like arrows; She is the young virgin – *Maṉōṉmaṇi*; She is like a twig, the slender-waisted one, entwined with a flowery garland. Her body is a ruddy gold, in union emitting fragrance; looking at the Trustful (Beloved) One, She keeps conversing [with Him] every day' (NĀYAR 2019: 344).

[14] *kalattala neṟṟikkaṇṇoṭu mukkaṇṇuṭayōḷ mulattala maṅkayāyŭ muyaṉṉi irippōḷ / śilattalayām eriyatu nōkkiyē alacca pūṅkombu pōḷāṭi nilpōḷ* ('She remains as the playful virgin ready for performance with her breasts – She is the Heart of the Lord's Eye – the One who bears the Eye on the forehead and the crescent in the crown; as soon as the Burning Heat (*eri* – Mal.) of Consciousness (Tam. *terivu*) appears at the top of the bows [eyebrows] (or at the mountain top), She remains there as the ecstatically swaying flowery twig' – NĀYAR 2007: 356). The Śakti is ready to undertake activity with her breasts which bestow the milk of Grace on devotees; for that, She remains united with the Lord in *ājñā cakra* in between the eyebrows. It is the sphere where the *suṣumna* channel, identified with Meru Mountain, ends.

[15] *jñānaccentīyeḻuppitteḻuteḷe vilasum cillivallikkoṭikkuḷ maunappūntiṅkaḷ uḷḷūṭurukum amṛtoḷukkuṇṭirunnuḷḷaliṅñum / ñānum nīyum ñerukkakkalaruvatin aruḷ ttanmayām ninnaṭittārttēnuḷttūkunna muttukkuṭam aṭiyanaṭakkīṭum accil kkoḻuntē //1//* ('The heart of the creeper of the eyebrow bows shining brilliantly with the blazing fire of wisdom awakened, having melted what remains within into the flow of the *amṛtŭ,* softening the inner essence of the tender crescent moon that is Silence – for squeezing and uniting me and You [like that] bring under the control of (or for) [Your] humble servant the pearly pot showering inside the

The aspect of *Cit* permits the individual being to transcend the sphere of the phenomenal world for the sake of the *sallīla* – the game of Existence, which leads the soul to liberation. The game of Consciousness, seen as being equal to effulgence – as stated by Nārāyaṇan – comprises the process of descent, i.e., taking the steps which are necessary in order to enter the path of ascension. Accordingly, TM 4 1091 compares the Śakti – the tender creeper (*iḷaṅkoḍi*) – to the smoke that rises as the great effulgence (*peruñcuḍar*) during the fire sacrifice that is performed in the lowest *cakra* – *mūlādhāra*. The same smoke releases the flow of *amudu* [*amṛtŭ*] in the moon region of the body.[16] On the other hand, in TM 4 1142 the Creeper-Lady (*peṇkoḍi*) – the ultimate effulgence and the consort of the Supreme Lord (*Paramaṉ*) – keeps the world moving forward in the process of manifestation.[17]

Thus the game of *Cit* provides the individual soul with the possibility and capability of entering the path of liberation, which can be called the game of *Ānandam* – Bliss. The trinity of aspects which is well-known in *Vedānta*, namely *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānandam*, constitutes the level that is rooted within the Sole and Transcendent Reality. The same Meta Substance remains the centre, the top (*tuṅga*) and the peak of such a trio. Once again Nārāyaṇan introduces alliteration (the repetition of -*tt*-) as well as the figure called climax (*sāra*)[18] to build up the gradation of these three aspects: the first one – *sattum* – plays the role of *Gradus Positivus*, the *para-cittum* remains the *Comparativus*, which is crowned with the *Superlativus* of *parama-muttum*. The whole trinity,

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honey of the flower of Your feet that is Grace and Truth or sameness (the best quality of grace), o Tender Sprout [rising] within the [Primeval] Mould!').

[16] *tāmakkuḷali dayākkaṇṇi uḷḷilnilkkum ēvaliruḷ aṟaṭṭiṭum iḷaṅkoṭi / hōmapperum cuṭar uḷḷileḻum nuṇpuka mēviya amutoṭu mīṇṭatu kāṇuvin* – 'The woman with curled hair adorned with a garland of flowers, her eyes [filled with] compassion, remains within the Heart; She is the tender creeper (*iḷaṅkoḍi*), which blows away the darkness spread within the loom [of the universe]; the soft smoke that rises within as the great effulgence (*peruñcuḍar*) of *ōma* [fire-sacrifice], when united [there] with *amudu* [*amṛtŭ*], comes back here – Oh! see!' – Nāyar 2007: 351). Cf. commentary: 'The inner murk is *āṇava mala*. The *homa*-fire burns in the *mūlādhāra*. The smoke is the power that blends with the vital air (*prāṇa-vāyu*); it reaches the *sahasrāra* and then descends with the elixir of immortality' (Ramachandran 2010: 1253).

[17] *paintoṭiyum paraman iṭattilaṉṉu tiṇkoṭiyāyŭ tikaḻunna jyōtiyāyŭ / viṇkoṭipōle viḷaṅṅi varumatāl peṇkoṭipōle naṭanniṭum lōkavum* ('The lovely bracelet wearer remains on the left-hand side of *Paramaṉ*, as a strongly fixed creeper, as the shining effulgence, like a heavenly creeper – when it appears manifesting around – the universe keeps proceeding in accordance with this Creeper-Lady' – Nāyar 2007: 365). The dynamic Śakti, identical to Grace (*aruḷ*) remains inseparable from static *Paramaṉ* (*poruḷ*). As the *Ādi Śakti*, She manifests Herself assuming the form of the visible universe.

[18] 'Sāra – a figure wherein is expressed a concatenated series such that each succeeding term expresses a characteristic improvement in relation to the preceding' (Gerow 1971: 322). Cf. Mammaṭa X 43: 'Climax is the successive rising in the excellence of things to the highest pitch' (Jhā 1967: 437).

accompanied by plenty of -*tt*- words (*kattum; svattum*; *bhṛttum*) is finalised with the expression *upaniṣatt-uḷḷilēpparaporuḷ* – with the first part referred through -*tt*- to the trio mentioned above and the conclusion and goal of the last part, emphasised by the repetition of *l/ḷ*, which corresponds with the name of *Paḷani* (note that the noun selected by Guru to define bliss is *muttŭ*, i.e., it can be classified as the -*tt*- group). Since both figures of the word (*śabda*) and sense (*artha*) are involved in such a case, the whole figure can be defined as *śabdārthavarti*.[19] Moreover, the gradation of the trio, suggesting an up and down or vertical orientation, has been set in opposition to the inside or within orientation of the final *uḷḷilē*, which can be treated as a direct allusion to the famous Śaiva myth of *liṅga*.[20]

Nārāyaṇan defines this Ultimate Source with the Dravidian term *paramporuḷ*, i.e. Ultimate (or Meta) Substance in stanza 52 of *Viśākha Ṣaṣṭi*, although it is claimed to remain within the heart of *Upaniṣad*s (*upaniṣattuḷḷilē pparaporuḷ*):

> *cattum piṟannumulakattuḷḷa jīvikaḷakattum puṟattum aniśam*
> *sattum tathaiva paracittum punaḥ paramamuttum nijākṛtiyumāyŭ*
> *kattum vibhāvasu samīpattum aṅṅatha puṟattum yathaiva sakala-*
> *svattum paḷanyavani bhṛttumgabhūvupaniṣattuḷḷilē pparaporuḷ //52//*

> The worldly beings who are born to be dead,
> Remain incessantly within and beyond [the birth-cycle],
> While blazing with their essential form of *Sattŭ* – Reality,
> Higher (transcendent) *Cittŭ* – Consciousness
> And again supreme *Muttŭ* – Bliss,
> Just as the One Abounding in Light (Sun – *vibhāvasu*)
> Keeps blazing nearby and far from [its Core];
> Thus all the self-possession is owned by the earth of Paḷani;

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[19] *Śabdārthavarti* – 'involving both figures of word and sense: a type of multiple *alaṁkāra* (*saṁsṛṣṭi*) in which are mixed both *śabda* and *artha alaṁkāra*s' (GEROW 1971: 311).

[20] The process of interiorisation of the famous *liṅga* myth can be traced back to Śaiva Siddhānta literature: Śiva is searched for by Gods when turned into a fiery pillar. The vertical orientation (from top to the bottom) symbolises the sphere of deceptive logical recognition, since Śiva should be recognised as the innermost Substance placed within one's heart. Cf. Nārāyaṇa Guru's adaptation in *Śiva Śatakam* (cf. PRASĀD 2016: 42): *haribhagavānaravinda sūnuvum nin tiruviḷayāṭalaṟiññatillayonnum; hara, hara pinneyitāraṟiññiṭunnū karaḷilirunnu kaḷicciṭunna kōlam? //6//* ('Neither for Lord Hari, nor for the One who is Son of the Lotus, Your divine dance (or game) could become that which is to be recognised; O Hara, Hara! All the more, who [else] would be able to experience that Form, who keeps playing eternally, having seated within the heart [of each being]?').

That peak abode (*tuṅga-bhū*) is the Meta-Substance
Contained within (or which is the Heart of) *Upaniṣad*s[21].

TM 8 2437 identifies the supreme state called *Parāparam* with the liberation attained by means of Vedāntic knowledge of the *Tat Tvam Asi* kind. Beyond that, as soon as one becomes *Parāparam* itself, the cycle of birth and death ceases for the sake of final Perfection. When the physical body is rejected, the liberated one shall be *Śivam* – the ultimate Bliss identical in the Siddha tradition to *paramporuḷ*.[22] The term *Parāparam* can be understood as 'that which is deprived of any aspect of *Param*, represented by the *Parai-Paraṉ* (*Para Śivaṉ-Parā Śakti*) level', as suggested in TM 8 2285.[23] The lack of any *Śakti* (*Parai*) influence protects the liberated soul from the descent into the lower stages of the Path of Self-Realisation. The same supreme state can be defined as *poruḷ* –

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21 *nirantaram mariccum janiccumkoṇṭŭ samastalōkaṅṅaḷileyum jīvajālaṅṅaḷ āntarikatayuṭe rūpavum bāhyatayuṭe rūpavumārnnŭ iṭamuṟiyātē sattum atupōle paramāmya cittum atupōletanne paramāmya ānandavum ākunna svantam svarūpattōṭukūṭi athavā ī jīvajālaṅṅaḷuṭeyellām ākṛtiye svantam ākṛtiyākkittīrttukoṇṭŭ kattijjvaliccukoṇṭēyirikkunnu. ētupōle ennāl agni athavā sūryan toṭṭaṭuttum atupōletanne puṟameyum prakāśikkunna svabhāvattōṭukūṭiyatāṇallō; itālōciccu nōkkiyāl sanbattennu paṟayāvunna sakalatum saccidānandasvarūpamāya paḷaniyākunna avaniyāl bharikkappeṭunnatāṇŭ. ā unnatabhūmikayāṇŭ upaniṣattukaḷuṭeyellām sāramāyirikkunna paramporuḷ* – 'The net of sentient beings, along with the [cycle of] birth and death everlasting across all the [created] universe, keeps shining incessantly in the form of interiority as well as in the form of exteriority, when associated with the essential form of *Sattŭ* – Existence as well as *Cittŭ* – ultimate Consciousness and *Ānandam* – ultimate Bliss, or [keeps shining] while assuming an essential form which is the form of all sentient beings. Similarly, Fire or Sun remains associated with its self-manifestation, which shines outside as well as nearby. When considered like that, all that can be called wealth is governed by the earth of Paḷani, which is the essential form of *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānanda.* Such an elevated earth is the Ultimate Substance, which remains the very essence of all *Upaniṣads*' (PRASĀD 2013: 111–112).

22 *tōnniṭum tvam padam tat ppadam cūḷavē ēṉṉiṭum asi padam immūnnōṭŭ eytuvōṉ / āṉṉa parāparamākum; piṟappaṟṟu ēṉṉa tanatātmā; śivamāyaṅṅirikkum* ('One, who attained liberation along with these three experienced words: *tom* (= *tvam*), *taṟ* (= *tat*), and encompassing all that *aci* (= *asi*), will become excellent *Parāparam*; released from birth, he shall remain as *Śivam* (*civam*) when united with death' – NĀYAR 2007: 745). Cf. KANDASWAMY 2010: 2735: '"Tvam" means "you", denoting the soul. The word "tat" means "that", denoting Lord Śiva. The word "asi" is a verb, meaning "is". Putting it together, the whole sentence indicates that the soul is Śiva.' Cf. GANAPATHY 2006b: 267–283.

23 *paramśivam mēlām brahmam [paramam] parattil parambrahmam [paramparaṉ] mēlām; parabōdham viriñña svapnaṅṅaḷakaṟṟiṭum suṣupti uramtarum mānanditan satyapporuḷē* (NĀYAR 2007: 695): '*Paramam* is above both *Param* and *Śivaṉ* (*Paramam* goes above *Para Śivaṉ*, being beyond both the *Parai* and *Paraṉ*); *Paramparaṉ* is what goes beyond [any] *Param* (i.e., it goes beyond any *Param* state as deprived of any *Param* aspect); [the states are]: *Parabōdham* [*naṉavu* – the Awakened State], blossomed [from that] *Svapnam* [*kaṉavu* – the Dream State], after completing [that] – *Suṣupti* [*suḷuṉai* – the State of Deep Sleep], and the Aloneness of Reality by Itself (*uṇmai tāṉē*) which bestows the hard core – *Mā Nandi* [*Para Mahā Śivam* – the Great Bliss] State'.

when accompanied with its polarised, kinetic version called *aruḷ* (Grace) – or *paramporuḷ*, representing the sharp (sic) top and goal of such a Path, attainable only after death. The suggestion is that the famous Vedāntic scheme of the process of liberation, crowned with the state of *tūriya*, can be supplemented and improved by the Śaiva [Siddhānta] philosophical system with the ultimate state of *tūriyātīta,* which is called by Nārāyaṇa Guru *atiśuddha nirvāṇa*[24] – such a state of Permanence, Purity and Transcendence (*nittam parañcuttam = nityam param śuddham*) remains – according to Tirumūlar – the ultimate goal of the extremely pure Śaivas (*parañcutta caivar*).[25]

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[24] Cf. *Darśana Mālā* X (*Nirvāṇa Darśanam*) (cf. Prasād 2007: 284–297): *nirvāṇaṁ dvividhaṁ śuddham aśuddhaṁ ceti tatra yat / śuddhaṁ nirvāsanaṁ tadvad aśuddhaṁ vāsanānvitam //1//* ('*Nirvāṇa* is of two kinds, namely the pure and the impure. Of these, pure *nirvāṇa* is devoid of *vāsanas*, while the impure is endowed with *vāsanas*'). *atiśuddhaṁ śuddham iti śuddhaṃ ca dvividhaṃ tathā / aśuddhaśuddhaṁ cāśuddhaṁ aśuddhāśuddhaṁ ucyate //2//* ('Pure *nirvāṇa* is also of two kinds, namely pure [*śuddha*] and the extremely pure [*atiśuddha*]. Similarly, the impure *nirvāṇa* is named twofold, i.e., impure-and-pure [*aśuddhaśuddha*] and impure-and-impure [*aśuddhāśuddha*]'). *atiśuddhaṁ tridhā paścād vare caikaṃ varīyasi / ekamekaṃ variṣṭhe 'tha śuddhaṁ brahmavidi sthitam //3//* ('The extremely pure *nirvāṇa* is composed of three levels; the first is fixed in the great knower of *Brahman*, the second, in the greater knower of *Brahman*, whereas the last one – in the greatest knower of *Brahman*; thus the whole pure *nirvāṇa* is based on the knower of *Brahman* [*brahmavid*]'). *aśuddhaśuddhaṁ virajas tamo 'nyat sarajas tamaḥ / mumukṣau prathamaṁ vidyāt dvitīyaṁ siddhikāmiṣu //4//* ('The impure-pure *nirvāṇa* is devoid of *rajas* and *tamas*, whereas another [impure-impure one] is endowed with *rajas* and *tamas*. The former can be found in the seekers of liberation, whereas the latter – in those who are desirous of magic powers'). *dagdhvā jñānāgninā sarvam uddiśya jagatāṁ hitam / karoti vidhivat karma brahmavid brahmaṇi sthitaḥ //5//* ('The knower of *Brahman* settled in *Brahman*, having burned down everything in the fire of wisdom, performs actions in accordance with destiny, having dedicated it to the welfare of the people'). *saṁnyasya sarvakarmāṇi satataṁ brahmaniṣṭhayā / yaś caratyavanau dehayātrāyai brahmavidvaraḥ //6//* ('The one who moves about the world for the sake of maintaining the body (or for the sake of death), who has abandoned all deeds through eternal fixity in *Brahman* itself, is the excellent knower of *Brahman*'). *anyena vedito vetti na vetti svayam eva yaḥ / sa varīyān sadā brahma-nirvāṇam ayam aśnute //7//* ('The one who becomes conscious of something only when informed by others, who is unconscious by himself, is the more excellent one; he always enjoys the *Brahma-nirvāṇa*'). *svayam na vetti kiñcin na vedito 'pi tathaiva yaḥ / sa variṣṭhaḥ sadāvṛttiśūnyo 'yam Brahma kevalam //8//* ('The one who is not conscious of anything by himself, and he is not so even when informed by others, is the most excellent one; he is devoid of any modifications of mind forever (or is devoid of return [from transcendence] forever); he is the *Brahman* alone'). Cf. Yati 2004: 427–453.

[25] Cf. TM 5 1420: *sattum asattum sadasattum tān kaṇṭu siddhum asiddhum cērnniṭā mēlninnŭ śuddhum aśuddhum kalarnniṭātuyarnnŭ nityam paraśuddham śaivartam prēmamē* ('Having realized the Existence, Non-Existence and Existence-Non-Existence alone, after breaking the connection with consciousness and unconsciousness; having remained with no immersion in the pure as well as impure – that what is eternal (*nittam* = *nityam*) and transcendent (*param*) is the loving grace (*nēyam*) of [extremely] pure Śaivas ([*parañ*]*cutta caivar*)' – Nāyar 2007: 439). Some commentaries explain the term *param* as *paramporuḷ* (Bālacubramaṇiyaṉ 2017: 320; Vaḍarājaṉ 2014/2015: 223), whereas Nāyar 2007: 439 and Arumugam 2010: 1526 associate it with the term *cutta* (*paracutta*).

Nārāyaṇa Guru depicts the sphere of the *ājñā cakra* once again in stanza 55, by means of several Sanskrit figures of speech. The first can be defined as a double *pratīpa*, i.e., a type of *upamā* (comparison or simile) in which the *upameya* (the object which is being compared) appears to be superior to the *upamā* (the standard of comparison).[26] The latter is represented here by the crescent, mentioned through its Sanskrit equivalents: *pañcamī* – 'the fifth-night-crescent'[27] and *vidhukalā* – 'the digit of the Moon'. The fifth-night-crescent – the famous cool-maker (*anuṣṇakaran*) – is put to shame by the forehead space of Subrahmaṇyan. Simultaneously, the [same] digit of the Moon – the well-known example of brightness (*sphurat*) – remains dimmed with the mark made of fragrant musk in the centre [of the eyebrows].[28] The point is that the irony (*vyāja*)[29] of such degradation of the Moon for the sake of a 'stained' musk spot is based on the philosophical concept of Śaivism: the crescent or the digit, especially the last sixteenth (*amā kalā*) or the additional – seventeenth digit (*nirvāṇa kalā*), – are the 'famous' *amṛta* makers of the Kuṇḍalinī Yoga system.[30] Moreover, the central point of such an ironic composition, i.e., the spot of fragrant musk, is called *kaḷaṅkam*, 'the dot, mark or stain, impurity and defamation':

> *pañcamyanuṣṇakaranañcunna phālabhuvi cañcal sukuntaḷabharaiḥ*
> *kiñcitsphurad vidhukalāñcatkaḷankamatu tañcunna nanmṛgamadam*

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[26] '*Pratīpa* – against the grain – a simile in which an affected pity or blame is directed at the subject of comparison in the presence of the object, or vice versa' (Gerow 1971: 208).

[27] Cf. *Kāḷi Nāṭakam* 32–38 (cf. Prasād 2008: 20–22): *parampañcamiccadranum tōṟṟupōyi tiraykkappuṟam kuṟramillennu tēṟi tiṟamviṭṭu kappam koṭukkunna neṟṟikkuṟikkuḷḷil vīṇāḻiyēḻāmarañ ñāñaraykkanvaham cārttumurvīmaṇāḷan mahādēvanum brahmanum munparāyōrahō! māyayilpeṭṭirikkunnu citram!* ('The fifth-night-crescent, having regarded [its descent as natural], having transgressed the wave (or veil), while thinking there is no fault in that, having rejected its firmness, fell into the spot marked on Your forehead while paying tribute [to its brightness]; the Lord of the spacious Earth, whose waist is decorated with a garland of seven oceans, *Mahādevan* and *Brahman*, as well as other Gods – oh! – all of them are trapped by *māya*'s magic – what a wonder!).'

[28] Prasād compares the musk mark to the spot seen in the Moon: 'The forehead region that makes the fifth night crescent stand aghast, is beautified by the dangling curls and also by the vaguely seen musk-mark in its middle, like the black spot seen in the moon. If, o mind, within you melt down these into your being, then you surely will be graced by the God whose bedstead is Palani' (Prasād 2006: 227). However, since the crescent, and not the Moon is mentioned by Nārāyaṇan, it seems to be quite unusual to think of the spot seen in the slender digit.

[29] *Vyāja* is a type of *śleṣa* (pun) in which 'one meaning may be flattery, the other – reproof – ironic praise' (Gerow 1971: 294).

[30] *Amā kalā* is said to be placed in the moon sphere within the triangle symbolising Kailāsa placed within *sahasrāra* (or beyond), and described 'as thin as the hundredth part of the lotus-fibre', lustrous, in a shape like the crescent moon turned downward, discharging a stream of nectar. In the lap of this *kalā* is the *nirvāṇa kalā*, subtler and also turned downward, bestowing divine knowledge (Avalon 1950: 446–449; 457–458).

neñcil poliññurukil āñcitta tē paḷani mañcasthitanṟe kṛpayu-
ṇṭeñcolppaṭittaram udañcikil ninkaloru pañcatvavum piṭipeṭā //55//

> Within the forehead space adorned with loads of lovely,
> Dangling ringlets which puts to shame
> The Cool Maker (*anuṣṇakaran*) – the fifth night crescent,
> The charming [fragrant] musk – 'The Beast-Ruttishness' –
> Rests as the stain [in the centre] that puts to shame
> The Moon's digit flashing just a little;
> O mind, once you become condensed within the Heart
> And dissolved [finally into That],
> The mercy of the One who ascends the throne of Paḷani is yours;
> If you become elevated by obediently following my words
> You will never attain the five-fold state of dissolution.[31]

The whole figure of speech becomes comprehensible when analysed in the context of the *Bindu* concept in the Śaiva system. First of all, *Bindu* represents the source of power for the origin of the universe; such a *Bindu* shines while entering into the exterior and interior (*puṟam agam eṅgum pukund-oḷir vindu* – TM 7 1929[32]). TM 7 1923 states that *Kuṇḍalini* power arises from

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[31] *pañcamicandran añcippōkunna mātiriyuḷḷatum, tōṟṟupinvāṅṅippōkunna tarattiluḷḷatum cañcalamāya, iḷakiyāṭunna nalla kuṟunirakaḷōṭukūṭiyatum āya neṟṟittaṭattil vidhukalaye, candrakalaye alpamonnu teḷiññukāṇunna tarattiluḷḷa kaḷankamennapōle cērnniṇaṅṅiyirikkunna nalla kastūrikoṇṭuḷḷa kuṟiyum. allayō cittamē, ninṟe uḷḷil pūrṇṇamāyi teḷiññu ninnu nī atil urukiccērukayāṇeṅkil ninakku paḷaniye mañcamākkikkoṇṭŭ sthiti ceyyunna subrahmaṇyanṟe kṛpa labhikkukatanne ceyyum. enṟe ī upadēśatte paṭittaramākkikkoṇṭŭ naṭappu mārggamākkikkoṇṭŭ nī atanusariccŭ uyarukayāṇeṅkil ninakku maraṇamennatu sambhavikkukayē illa* – 'On the surface of the forehead which stays in touch with charming, shaking or dangling curls of hair and which is of such a kind that it puts to shame the defeated five-night-crescent, there is a mark of sweet-smelling musk which remains adhered, just like a stain that makes the Moon digit shine just a little. O mind, if you remain dissolved within such a state, having illuminated wholly your inside – the mercy of Subrahmaṇyan, who resides while ascending the throne of Paḷani can be attained by you. As soon as you transform this instruction of mine into your own conduct and when you make such conduct your own Path, in accordance with that – if you remain dissolved [within such a state] – there will be no more death for you' (PRASĀD 2013: 117–118).

[32] *puṟamakam eṅṅum pukunnoḷirum vindutan niṟam atu veṇma, nikaḻnādam cemmŭ / uṟum unba śakti śiva pādamāyŭ āyur ttiṟam tannoṭu gēhavumaruḷum ceyal koṇṭē //* ('The hue of the *Vindu* that shines forth to enter all around – within and beyond – is silvery white, whereas that of the spreading *Nādam* is golden-red; while rejoicing in union, the *Catti* (*Śakti*) appears as the descending Grace of Śiva (*Civapātam*); along with excellence, they shower their grace and final release' – NĀYAR 2019: 564). Almost the same phrase, defining the primeval source of the universe, was used by Guru in his most important philosophical work – *Ātmōpadēśa Śatakam 1: aṟivilum ēṟiyaṟiññiṭunnavantannuruvilum ottu puṟṟattum ujjvalikkum karuvinu kaṇṇukaḷañcumuḷḷaṭakkiterutere vīṇuvaṇaṅṅiyōṭiṭēṇam* ('To the mould – the Core which shines forth outside and inside as the essential form of the knower who transcends each act

the primeval *Bindu* ([*para*] *vinduvil ōṅgu kuṇḍaliyum*). Another aspect of *Bindu* is contained within the body, and becomes transformed into the *bindu* of the mind; when associated with wisdom, it becomes the *kalā* or portion of the mind (*maṉamāguṅ kalāvindu* – TM 7 1935).[33] When absorbed by the kindled fire of the *mūlādhāra cakra,* it moves upward through the *suṣumnā* to the moon region of the yogi's body; here he is able to drink the ambrosia of the Moon (*matiyatt-amudai* – TM 7 1949).[34] In TM 7 1959, Tirumulār calls it the *Vindu* of the ambrosial Moon (*amudac-cacivindu*).[35] *Bindu* is also said to rise together with *Nādam* in order to commingle with the Moon and release an *amṛta* rain as a response to a fire oblation (TM 7 1971).[36] The union of the *Bindu* and *Nādam* can be depicted by the image of the dot and the crescent in Tantric literature.[37] Thus the union of the musk dot (*mṛgamadam*) and the crescent (*vidhukalā*) mentioned by Guru can be interpreted as the gradual transformation of the *Bindu* of the body into that of the mind (*kalā vindu*), and

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of knowledge – one should bow to That [Core] while chanting, having prostrated oneself repeatedly after restraining the five senses within'). (Cf. Yati 2013: 1–7).

[33] *kāyattilatu mūdinattil kalarnneṅṅumāyŭ kāyattiṉuḷ tan manādi kalāvinduvākum / nēyattil ninnōrilatu nīṅṅā viṭātākil, māyattil ccērttōr manassōṭaḷivōr* ('The *Vindu*, when mingled for three days in the body, will become the mind of the person within the same body – the *kalā* (the portion of the mind); as for those who remain in loving grace (*nēyam*), it will not leave them; as for those who wander in delusion (*māyam*), it will perish along with the mind' – Nāyar 2019: 566). Cf. Somasundaram 2010: 2126: 'In association with mind it gains wisdom and becomes the *Bindu* of wisdom (*jñāna bindu*)'.

[34] *varrumāṟaṉal kōṟttu maṟiccuyartti tuṟṟaccuḷiyanal corukiccuṭaruṟṟu / muṟṟu matiyamṛtamatu muṟayōṭu eṟṟiyuṇṇuvōr śivayōgikaḷē* ('As soon as the dried fire is kindled, reversed and strengthened, the condensed whirling fire caused to enter [the *suṣumnā*] will appear as Effulgence (*cuḍar*); those who can control and drink the *Amuda* of the Moon-Mind ripened – again and again – are *Civayōgis* (*Śivayogis*) indeed' – Nāyar 2019: 570–571).

[35] *amṛta śaśivinduvilā, vindu māññatu amṛtappunalāyōṭi agniyil ppulki / amṛtaśivabhōga māyayākumatāl siddhicērnnu amṛtakkala śaktiyārnniṭum yōgiyum* ('When *Vindu* perishes to appear as the *Vindu* of the Ambrosial Moon, and when the flow of *Amuda* perishes within the fire, there is a state of *Śiva-Bhoga* (*Civabōgam*); hence – along with *Siddhi* – for the *yogi* shall appear the preservation (or joy) of the *Amuda*-fruit [*amuda-p(h)alāvaṉam*] there' – Nāyar 2019: 573). The *Vindu* of the Ambrosial Moon leads to the ultimate state of *Śiva Bhoga*, in which the yogi can enjoy the permanent *Amṛta* flow.

[36] *vinduvum nādavum mēvi uṭal kūṭi candranōṭaṅṅu talayārnnu ninnāl / antara vānattamṛtam vannūṟum aṅṅudi mantram āhūtiyākum* ('As soon as the *Vindu* and *Nādam* rise together, in union – and join at the top with the Moon, *Amudam* will rain down from the distant (or: inner – *antara*) heaven, and the *mandiram* (*mantram*) from there will become the fire oblation (*ākuti* = *āhuti*)' – Nāyar 2019: 578). According to Somasundaram, the *Bindu* and *Nādam* refer here to the *iḍā* and *piṅgalā* channels (Somasundaram 2010: 2163).

[37] Woodroffe 2014: 2: 'The *Parabindu* is represented as a circle the centre of which is *Brahmapada*, wherein are *Prakṛti-puruṣa*; the circumference of which is encircling *māyā*. It is in the crescent of *nirvāṇakalā* the seventeenth, which is again in that of *amākalā* the sixteenth, digit of the moon circle (*candramaṇḍala*), situated above the sun-circle (*sūryamaṇḍala*), the Guru and the *Haṁsaḥ* in the pericarp of the 1.000 petalled lotus (*sahasrārapadma*)'.

finally into the *Vindu* of the ambrosial Moon (*amudac-cacivindu*). Hence the second part of the stanza addresses the Mind (*citta*), which should perish and become dissolved within the chest or the Heart (*neñcil poliññurukil āñcitta*) in order to experience the Lord's compassion (*kṛpa*) resulting in the lack of *pañcatvam* (death), i.e., immortality (*amṛtatvam*). The figure called *virodhavat* (contradictory)[38] – which states that the musk dot, though it appears in the form of the stain or defamation, brings prosperity and bliss, as rooted in the Śaiva concept of *Bindu*, approves the real process of transformation of the impure *Bindu* of the body into the pure *Bindu* of the Mind within the moon region of an individual being. This is accompanied by the image of a waning Moon with only one digit left, or possibly by the vision of a tiny flash of the additional seventeenth digit, which is to grant *amṛtatvam* through the Lord's Grace. As soon as one considers the type of quality and action of a particular object, i.e., the musk dot, to be contradictory in nature (*mṛgam* – '[wild] beast'; *madam* – 'intoxication; ruttishness; exhilaration drink'; *kalaṅkam* – 'impurity' as opposed to its charm or fragrance), one can find the figure called *guṇakriyā* [*virodha*] (a type of contradiction) there.[39] Such a contradiction, however, can be easily explained and understood by means of the twilight language of *Tirumandiram*: the fragrant musk symbolises here the scent of the Lord's Grace emitted within the central channel of *suṣumna* of the awakened, motionlessly 'self-centralised' yogi who is capable of transforming the impure *tattvas* into pure Śakti thanks to such a Grace.[40]

The whole process of such a transformation which is aimed at the moon region of the body proceeds by means of opening the lower *cakras* situated below the head realm; the highest of them – *viśuddhi* or the throat *cakra*, constitutes the border between two regions: the dark one (the body below throat level) and the bright one (the sphere of the head, symbolising space or

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[38] '*Virodhavat* – "contradictory" – a type of *arthāntaranyāsa* in which a seeming paradox is justified'. Cf. 'The orb of night, though covered with blemishes, delights the whole world; even if he has faults, confers favours upon others' (Gerow 1971: 120).

[39] '*Virodha* – "contradiction" – a figure in which contradictory properties are expressed of the same subject'. '*Guṇakriyā* – a type of complex *virodha* where incompatibility is shown between actions and qualities or traits of the same subject' (Gerow 1971: 265–267).

[40] TM 5 1459: *pūvinuḷḷil gandham porunnuka pōl jīvanil śivam pūttirikkum / ōviyam pōl uṇarum vallārkkatu nābhi aṇañña naṭutaṟiyē* (Nāyar 2019: 428): 'Within those self-realized motionlessly in awakening like a still painting, the Heart [of such *Jīvas*] is blossomed with the fragrance of *Civaṉ / Civam* (*civamaṇam*), like the scent within the flower (*pūviṉil kandam = gandham*) remains united; it is [like] a stick set up in the centre (*naḍu taṟi*) and embraced by a musk-deer (*nāvi = nābhi*)'. The term *nābhi* introduced by the author of *Tirumandiram* here means also the centre or the middle point, which corresponds with the idea of the stick set up in the centre (*naḍu taṟi*) symbolising the activated *suṣumnā* channel.

the ether).[41] As stated by TM 7 1974, the latter alone is conducive to yoga.[42] In order to mark the boundary line, the Lord's throat was blackened.[43] Guru makes an allusion to this concept in stanza 29:

jñānapradan tridaśasēnapradhāni kulayānattalānujanumay-
kkānandadan paḷaniyānandavāsi gaḷabhūnandiyōrkka manamē
phēnaprabhāhasita vēnal prabhāta ruci dīnapradīna paramām
yānapradēśamatu dānasthalasmaraṇa dīnakṣayattinutakum //29//

O heart, please remember the ultimate happiness
(Or *Nandi*[44]) of the throat-spacious [Lord],
Who resides in the bliss of Paḷani; who bestows bliss on Uma;
Who is the younger brother of the Elephant-Headed One [Gaṇapati];
The commander-in-chief of the army of the Gods;
The one who grants wisdom.
Such space of pilgrimage (or the Path [of *Kuṇḍalinī*; breath])
Is the ultimate point of the destruction of misery –

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[41] '[…] the body-space below the throat stands for darkness or ignorance. When the sex-energy (*śukla*) is directed below in this body-space it is dark. When the *śukla*-energy is sublimated above the throat, it stands for the *amṛta* and it illuminates the body-space above the throat' (GANAPATHY 2006d: 214).

[42] *uramaṭi mēdini, untiyilappŭ viraviya tanmula mēviya kīḻŭ agni / karumula mītiliśayum kaikkīḻŭ kālŭ viraviya sundaramēl mēni veḷiyumē* ('The firm feet [represent] the earth; there is water up to the navel; the neighbouring area spread below the breast is fire; above the scorched breast and below the shoulder (neck) there is wind; the neighbouring area of the throat (*kanda* = *kaṇṭha*[*ra*]) and beyond is space' – NĀYAR 2019: 578–579).

[43] ARUMUGAM 2006b: 132. Cf. TM 2 521: *aṇḍamoṭu eṇḍiśatāṉṉum adhōmukha kaṇṭham kaṟutta karuttuṇarunnilla nērāyŭ / uṇṭatu nañcennuracciṭuvōr uṇarvvillātōr veṇṭala māla viri jaṭayōneyaṅṅē* ('The Downward-Faced Lord (*adōmugam* = *adhomukham*) supports eight directions along with the egg of the universe (*aṇḍamoḍu*); His darkened throat, nobody knows the purpose of that. "He consumed the poison" – the non-awakened ones would quarrel like that; He is the One who bears reddish matted hair and the garland of white skulls' – NĀYAR 2007: 182–183).

[44] The *Nandi* may denote the mediator between the Ultimate Reality (Subrahmaṇyan) and the devotee or Grace itself, in accordance with TM 4 948: *ninniṭum cakram nīḷ bhūvi ellām. mannatāyŭ ninna māya nalnāthanum / kannatāyŭ kkaṟanniṭum nandipōle kunniṭa ninnū niṣṭha koṇṭōnē* ('The fixed *cakra* extends throughout the whole universe; it is the golden hall [of *Cidambaram*] for the great Lord of the *Māyā* which remained flourishing into that [space]; great *Nandi* milking (or yielding) the milk of the grace-bearer as a calf (or as melted within), staying at the mountain top, remains as the receiver of [devotion]' – NĀYAR 2007: 308). He can be also treated as the One who bestows bliss, as in TM 7 1804: *akam pukkavan aṭiyanil aruḷatāl akam pukkum aṟiyilla aruḷillōr / akam pukkŭ ānandamākki śśivamākki akam pukkavan nandiyānandiyāyŭ* ('Thanks to the grace (*aruḷāl*) He entered the Heart (*agam*) of His servant; for those who did not experience [His] Grace, He is not to be known even after entering the Heart; He entered the Heart having brought bliss [*āṇandam*] as Bliss – *Śivam* [*civam*]; He entered the Heart being the Blissful One [*Ā-ṇandi*] bringing bliss [*āṇandi*]' – NĀYAR 2007: 548).

The bright dawn of the summer [season]
Mocked for (or expanded with) the brightness of the foam;
Remembrance of that region of boons
Would be helpful for the annihilation of suffering.[45]

The throat sphere is the utmost limit for the *sūrya-maṇḍala* associated with *anāhata*, and constitutes the lowest level of *candra-maṇḍala*, which extends from *ājñā* up to *sahasrāra* and beyond.[46] The lowest sphere of the body is called *agni-maṇḍala*, spreading upward from the *mūlādhāra cakra*. As the *viśuddha cakra* sphere (*gaḷabhū*) becomes the turning point in the liberation process, it is associated with the annihilation of suffering and the remembrance of ultimate happiness (*nandi*). Guru calls this space the holy area of pilgrimage or the goal of the path of liberation (*yānapradēśam*), which leads through the central channel of the body. It is the final point of the destruction brought upon the disease – the dawn light of the summer season, ridiculed for (or blossomed with) the brightness of foam. Nārāyaṇan's concept evokes two simultaneous pictures, namely the vision of the dark ocean of the body churned with the pestle of *suṣumnā* or *prāṇa* and the vision of the sacrificial fire kindled in the *mūlādhāra* pit in order to burn the *Bindu* and lift it to the sphere of the Sun (*anāhata cakra*). As soon as all these elements are elevated by the burning fire

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[45] *jñānatte pradānam ceyyunnavanum tridaśanmāruṭe sēnaykku pradhāniyāyiṭṭuḷḷavanum (dēvanmāruṭe sēnādhipatiyāyiṭṭuḷḷavanum) kolayānayuṭe talayōṭukūṭiyavanṟe anujanum umaykkŭ ānandatte dānam ceyyunnavanum paḷanimalayil ānandattōṭukkūṭi vasikkunnavanum āya subrahmaṇyanṟe kaṇṭhapradēśam nandippikkunna (ānandippikkunna) svabhāvattōṭukūṭiyatāṇennu manassilākkikkoḷḷuka. allayō manassē, vēnal prabhātaruciyuṭe phēnaprabhaye hasitamākkikkaḷayunna (vēnalkkālatte prabhātasamayattu peṭṭennu peṭṭennu varddhiccu varunna prakāśattinṟe bhaṁgiye niṣprabhamākki kaḷayunna tarattiluḷḷa) ā gaḷapradēśam dainyataykkŭ nallavaṇṇam dīnatvam nalkunnatine lakṣyamākkikoṇṭuḷḷa (duḥkhatte tīre illātākkikkaḷayunnatine lakṣyamākkikoṇṭuḷḷa) tīrtthayātraykku lakṣyamākkāvunna pradēśamāṇatŭ (dhyānaviṣayamākkāvunna pradēśamāṇatŭ) ellā abhīṣṭaṅṅaḷeyum dānam ceyyunna ā pradēśatte sambandhiccuḷḷa dhyānam jīvitattile dīnatakaḷellām illātāyi ttīrunnatinŭ upakarikkum* – 'Please realize within your heart that the realm of the throat of Subrahmaṇyan who dwells with bliss (blissfully) at the hill of Paḷani, who bestows the gift of bliss on *Uma*, who is the younger brother of the one endowed with the Elephant head, who is the commander-in-chief of the army of gods and who grants knowledge as a gift – is associated with [His] self-manifestation which brings happiness (bliss). O mind, that region of the throat which turns the foamy-white light of the dawn's brightness in the summer season into a laughing stock (i.e., which turns into gloom and obscurity the charm of the brightness that comes suddenly at dawn during the summer season) is the region which could have become the goal of holy pilgrimage (that is the region which might have become the object of meditation), which makes the proper destruction of suffering the ultimate goal (or which has for its goal the bringing about of the extreme annihilation of grief). The meditation upon that realm which brings whatever is desired as a gift – may be used for the annihilation of all miseries in a devotee's life' (Prasād 2013: 65–66).

[46] Ganapathy 2006d: 204.

of *Kuṇḍalinī* to reach the moon region of the body, as stated in TM 7 1958, the cool ambrosia will manifest itself there.[47] Secondly, the brightness of foam brings to mind the concept of the ocean, limited by the atmosphere and dark clouds, compared to the sphere of the body and throat space in two stanzas of Guru's hymns devoted to Śivan (*Śiva Prasāda Pañcakam* 4[48] and *Sadā Śiva Darśanam* 2[49]). In both of them Nārāyaṇan makes an allusion to the famous myth of poison swallowed by God which stained his throat with darkness.[50] However, the very same accident is recalled in the context of the Lord's grace or mercy, which brings down the *amṛtŭ*-flow. Consequently, both visions have been composed based on a figure of speech called *vyatireka* (distinction).[51] Each stanza introduces the contrast between the darkness of the Lord's neck and the brightness of His Grace or ambrosia, with the limit of the two-way transformation represented by Śivan's throat.

In the case of the stanza given above, the contrast between these two spheres (below and above the neck) is based on the opposing results brought

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[47] *vinduvām bījam mēviya mūla nandiyatine agniyāl nayamārnneri / ccantamillā [ati] bhānuvatine kaṇṭham mēlākki ccandranil ccālikkil taṇṇamṛtē* ('Having lovingly burnt (*nayam*) with increased fire the seed of *Bindu* laid in the abode of the root [*cakra*], having lifted it to the endless Sun (*bāṉu = bhānu*) and above the throat [*cakra = kaṇṭha*], as soon as one unites with the Moon [region], the cool *amuda* [appears]' – Nāyar 2007: 307).

[48] *kaḷamuṇṭu kaṟuttatu nī garaḷam kaḷamuṇṭatukoṇṭu kṛpānidhiyē / kaḷamuṇṭoru koṇṭalōtotta kaṭalkkaḷavuṇṭoru sīma ninakku nahi // 4 //* ('O the ocean of compassion! Your neck is black, since you swallowed the blackness of poison; there is a limit for the ocean equal with the dark raincloud (which is the mark of an open space, or which seems to be the upper border of the ocean – but there is no limitation for You'). (Cf. Prasād 2015b: 30–32).

[49] *kaḷam kaṟutta koṇṭaluṇṭiruṇṭa koṇṭakaṇṭeḻum kaḷankamuṇṭa kaṇṭanenkilum kaniññukoḷḷuvān / iḷampiṟakkoḷunnirunnu minnumunnatattalakkuḷam kaviñña kōmaḷakkuṭam cumanna kuñjaram //2//* ('Having seen Your tuft of hair which has darkened, as if containing a raincloud which is of the blackness of Your throat (or defilement), although You are the one whose throat is stained with double [extreme] darkness (or dirt), [You shine like] the dark reddish mountain, being the charming vessel which has overflowed with the pond raised high at the top of the head illuminated with the Tender Sprout of the crescent – in order to contain (or bestow) grace'). (Cf. Prasād 2001: 13–16).

[50] It is quite interesting that in another mystical poem – *Svānubhava Gīti* – Guru introduces the vision of the one ocean covered with moss which symbolises impurities (*malas*). As soon as such a moss (*śaivalam*) is removed, the Ocean appears to be the perfect purity (*vaimalyam*). Cf. stanza 20: *kaivalyakkaṭalonnāyŭ vaimalyam pūṇṭiṭunnatoruvaḻiyām jīvitvam keṭumennē śaivalam akalunnatinu paragatiyām //20//* ('The ocean of soleness attains its perfect purity in such a union; it is itself the proper path; it is the ultimate path [as well as goal] for removing the moss – as soon as the state of life becomes extinguished.') In reference to the stanza given above, the term *pheṇa* denotes the scum as well. Cf. Nāyar 2010: 397–399; Prasād 2002: 67–69.

[51] '*Vyatireka* – a figure wherein two notoriously similar things are said to be subject to a point of difference; usually the subject of comparison is stated to excel the object, surpassing the norm of its own comparability, hence, an inverted simile' (Gerow 1971: 276).

to the devotee by each of them. The throat region results in bliss (*ānandam*; *nandi*), whereas the region below bestows suffering or disease (*dīnam*). On the other hand, as they are inseparably connected and interchangeable, the pun [*phēna*] *prabhāhasita* can be interpreted in four ways. From the perspective of the lower stage, the whole process of transformation brings the positive result of the blossoming of the foam's brightness, i.e., the *amṛtŭ* obtained as a result of the churning of the ocean. From the perspective of the highest stage, where the ambrosial moon shines, the extreme brightness (*phēnaprabhā*) emitted by the summer Sun of *sūrya-maṇḍala* can easily be ridiculed (*hasita*). Again, from the lower perspective, the transformation of the silver *Bindu*, as compared to the red and golden hue of fire and the sun, respectively, evokes a positive association with blossoming whiteness or foamy brightness; from the perspective of the moon region which extends beyond *sahasrāra*, such an initial stage would not be impressive enough. In such a way, the point of transformation is indicated by the ambiguity of the three terms, a kind of pun which becomes the mark of inner pilgrimage, constituting the movable border between two spheres: the one granting joy (above the throat) and the other resulting in grief (below the throat).

One can find an extremely elaborate example of the figure of speech called *prahelikā* (a riddle or puzzle)[52] in the stanza 37 of *Viśākha Ṣaṣṭi*:

> *dēhattil ñāniti dṛḍhāhanta marttyanatimōhattināspadamatar-*
> *kkōham vivēkamoṭe rōham vināpi nijasōham nilaykkiṭa varā*
> *āhanyamānam api lōkattin-ammṛdu tadāhatte viṭṭu variki-*
> *llāhanta tan paḷani gēhasthavahni mayilēhattilēṟi varaṇam //37//*

The fixed I-ness [which appears to be the conviction]
That 'I am identical with this body',[53]

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[52] '*Prahelikā* – a riddle, puzzle, conundrum, a phrase, statement or question constructed deliberately so that its meaning shall be misconstrued, but in some way intimating a solution to the difficulty thus created' (Gerow 1971: 210).

[53] *dēhamāṇŭ ñān ennuḷḷa uṟappuḷḷa ahanta manuṣyanŭ atiyāya mōhattinŭ (satyāsatyaṅṅaḷ tiriccaṟiyātirikkunna avasthayuṭe paramakāṣṭhaykkŭ) aṭisthānakāraṇamāyirikkunnu. ikkāryattil enikkŭ yātoru saṁśayavumilla. ī vivēkattōṭukūṭi svayam uddharikkunna sādhanakūṭāte 'sōham' enna nila kaivarunnatinŭ (paramamāya satyamtanneyāṇŭ ñān ennŭ sākṣātkarikkunnatinŭ) avasaramuṇṭāvukayilla. ī lōkam naśiccupōkunna svabhāvatt ōṭukūṭiyatāṇeṅkilpōlum ā lōkattiṉṟe ā eṟṟavum sūkṣmāṁśamāya ñān bhāvatte appōḻtanne upēkṣicciṭṭu varukayāṇeṅkil (upēkṣiccu varumbōḷ) entorāścaryam! ā paḷaniyākunna gēhattil sthiti ceyyunna jyōtiḥsvarūpam mayilinumēl etrayum tātparyapūrvvam kayaṟi (ēham = valiya tātparyam) anugrahikkān ettaṇam – 'The confirmed I-ness of "I am the body" conviction becomes the main reason for the extreme delusion of human beings (i.e., for the extremity of the state devoid of proper recognition between what is real and what is unreal). There is no doubt in that for me. Along with this [power of] discrimination, without self-liberating practice and worship, there is a chance to achieve the state of "I am He" (i.e., to experience the state*

Becomes the basis for the extreme delusion in mortal beings;
Such a conclusion is free from any doubts.
Indeed, without the ascension by means of the power of discrimination
There would be no space (or chance) for the state 'I am Him myself';
As soon as one abandons that I-sense [*aham*] –
The most subtle and sweet aspect of the world
Even as the not dead yet – the I-ness [*ahanta*] will not approach then;
Thereafter the fire – effulgence which remains in the abode of Paḻaṉi
Should come and rise within me in the form of medicine for licking
(Or: Should come, having violently mounted the back of the peacock).[54]

The first part of the stanza becomes the exposition of a logical statement which cannot be questioned (*atarkkōham = attarka + ūham*), namely 'The firmed I-ness that *I am identical with this body*, becomes the basis for the extreme delusion in mortal beings'. Is it the case that such an inference (*ūham = anumānam*) cannot be questioned (*atarka*), if Nārāyaṇan includes the most essential question, i.e., '*kō'ham*' ('Who am I'), within the very same definition? He gives us a direct answer in the next part of the stanza: *vivēkamoṭe* **rōham** *vināpi nijasōham nilaykkiṭa varā* – 'without **ascending** through the power of discrimination, there is no chance for the inborn state ***I am Him***'. Thus the final solution assumes the form of the sequence: *kō'ham – rōham – sōham.* Still it constitutes the theoretical aspect of the whole matter. The real answer can be found in the second part of the stanza, where Guru provides us with a vision of the practical aspect of *vivēkamoṭe* **rōham**, i.e., ascension by means of *vivēkam.* In the twilight language of the Siddhas, the ascending fire (**vahni**... **ēṟi** *varaṇam*) symbolises *Kuṇḍalinī* power kindled in the *mūlādhāra cakra.* Although Guru introduces the well-known image of Subrahmaṇyan, who vehemently mounts the peacock (*mayil ēhattil ēṟi*),[55] the final solution

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[54] The second method of translation is accepted by Prasād; he also interprets the phrase v*arikillāhanta* as *varikil ā hanta* – 'if it comes to reject, what a wonder'. Cf. translation: 'The self-identity strong that "I am this body" is the cause of utter confusion for humans, no doubt there is as to this. Without uplifting oneself with this discrimination clear no attaining the state of "I am That" is reached. As you give up then and there the I-sense, the subtlest part of this perishable world, what a wonder, then should come that fire residing at Palani riding on his peacock with all concern for you' (Prasād 2006: 220).

[55] Here the form *ēhattil* – Loc. of *ēham* meaning *valiya tātparyam* – as stated by Prasād, could be the Mal. version of Sanskrit *ehas* – 'anger, emulation', *eha* – 'desirous, wishing'. (Monier-Williams 2011: 233).

of "I am the ultimate Reality or Truth"). Although this world remains in connection with the perishable self-manifestation, after the state of myself as an extremely subtle aspect of such a world becomes rejected, if it comes back, it would be strange indeed! That essential form of effulgence which resides in the abode of Paḻani, having mounted with great impetus the back of the peacock, should come in order to grant grace' (Prasād 2013: 81–82).

is revealed through a different reading of these constituent words. As soon as one is capable of reading such a statement (and being capable of doing so is equal to direct experience) as [*vahni*] *mayi lēhattil ēṟi varaṇam*, i.e., '[the fire] should come as rising within me in the form of medicine', the process of unraveling a mystery comes to an end. Such a multi-levelled riddle has been crowned with *samāgata*;[56] however, the whole vision operates on a variety of levels, which renders univocal classification impossible. For example, the first part of the stanza provides the reader with more or less Vedāntic concepts, whereas within the second part the Śaiva Siddhānta, Kuṇḍalinī Yoga etc. is preferred. Accordingly, the method of ascension (*rōham*) by means of *vivēkam* (power of discrimination) has been changed for the yogic practice, such as kindling the *Kuṇḍalinī* fire, along with the use of herbal medicines as well as presumably the *Kecarī Mudra* of Haṭha Yoga, suggested by the term *lēham*, 'medicine; licking'.[57]

The medicinal herb or medicine as the alternative version or equivalent of wisdom, recognition or liberation (which is the popular concept in the Siddhas' texts[58]) can be depicted with the help of another figure of speech, namely a pun (*śleṣa*), as in stanza 39:[59]

> *vanbārnnahaṅkaraṇa, konbārnna durviṣaya kanbārnna mōhanirayā*
> *kinbāka dāruvatil vanpāpa duṣṭaphalamanbā vaḷarnnu varavē*
> *canbā śatacchavi nilinbādi sēvyamiha nin pādabhakti muḷuvan*
> *sanbādyamākumoru tunbākkaṇam paḷani munbālayādhipa vibhō //39//*

> That 'Ignorant One'[60] – the *Nux vomica* tree,
> Which has the I-sense for the pride-power,
> The vile sense objects for branches, the series of delusion for twigs,
> Wondrously bears the rotten fruits
> Of [one's own] serious sins when growing [here];

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[56] '*Samāgata* – conjoined – a conundrum whose solution is already contained in the statement of the conundrum and is revealed by a different reading of the constituent words' (Gᴇʀᴏᴡ 1971: 216).

[57] Nārāyaṇa mentions this *mudrā* in chapter IX of *Darśana Mālā* (*Yoga Darśanam* – cf. Pʀᴀsᴀᴅ 2007: 277–280): *dhyānam antar bhruvor dṛṣṭir jihvāgraṁ lambikordhvataḥ / yadā syāt khecarī mudrā nidrālasyādi nāśinī //9//* ('When the gaze in meditation is fixed in between the eyebrows, and the tip of the tongue touches above the uvula (the soft palate), then it is *khecarī mudrā* (the "moving about in the sky" position), the destroyer of drowsiness, fatigue and the like').

[58] Cf. Nᴀɴᴅᴋᴜᴍᴀʀ 2004: 195–216.

[59] Cf. Gᴇʀᴏᴡ 1971: 288.

[60] Nārāyaṇan selects in such a case the Sanskrit name of the *Nux vomica*, which means 'immature; ignorant; stupid' (*kiṁ-pāka*).

May the devotion of Your feet, shining like hundreds of lightning bolts
Which are to be worshipped here by all, starting from the gods,
Become totally transformed into the tip
(Or: the power of discrimination; medicinal herb),
Which becomes the complete fulfillment [perfection],
Lord of temples, headed by the one at Paḻaṉi![61]

The image of the tree representing the phenomenal world or the individual soul (*jīvātman*), which is well known in Sanskrit literature, can be found respectively in *Bhagavad Gītā* XV 1–3[62] and Śaṅkara's *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* 145.[63] The former concept refers to the famous idea of the *aśvattha* tree growing in circles; however, stanza 3 states its essential form is not to be grasped here (*na rūpamasyeha tathopalabhyate*), hence it should be cut down with the strong sword of detachment (*asaṅgaśastreṇa dṛḍhena chittvā*). The latter vision is based on the Upaniṣadic image of two birds dwelling on the same tree,[64]

[61] *valiya   valippattōṭukūṭiyatum   ahaṅkāramākunna   valiya   konbukaḻōṭukūṭiyatum durviṣayaṅṅaḷākunna kanbukaḻōṭu kūṭiyatum mōhaṅṅaḷuṭe nirakaḷākunna ilakaḻōṭukūṭiyatum āya   kāññiramarattil   vanpāpaṅṅaḷākunna   duṣṭaphalaṅṅaḷ   āścaryakaramāmvaṇṇam vaḷarnnu varunna sandarbhattil nūṟu minnalppiṇarukaḷ onniccuṇṭāyāl ennatupōleyuḷḷa jyōtissākunna svarūpattōṭukūṭiyavanum dēvanmār tuṭaṅṅiyavarāl sēvikkappeṭunnavanumāya ninṟe pādattiluḷḷa bhakti ihajīvitattil muḻuvanum svantamāyittīrunnatinuḷḷa vivēkam nī uṇṭākkittaraṇam paḻani tuṭaṅṅiya ellā kṣētraṅṅaḷkkum adhipanāyirikkunna vibhō – 'As it happens to the *Vomica* tree endowed with the Great Pride, the great branches which are I-sense, the twigs which are the vile senses and the leaves which are a series of delusions – to grow and bear miraculously the rotten fruits of great sins, may You grant the discrimination power so I may make all my own the devotion of Your holy feet worshipped by those [beings] starting from the gods and associated with the essential form of effulgence which is like a hundred lightning bolts put together – O Lord, who is Master of all the temples starting from the Paḻani' (PRASĀD 2013: 85–86).

[62] *ūrdhvamūladhaḥ śākham aśvattham prāhuravyayam / chandāṁsi yasya parṇāni yāstam veda sa vedavit //1//* ('They say that the fig-tree has its roots above and its branches below. Its leaves are the texts of sacred hymns, and the one who knows that is the knower of *Vedas*'). *adhaścordhvam prasṛtāstasya śākhā guṇapravṛddhā viṣayapravālāḥ / adhaśca mūlānyanusantatāni karmānubandhīni manuṣyaloke //2//* ('Its branches spread upward as well as downward, they have grown thanks to three *guṇas*; the shoots are the objects for senses, whereas the roots having deeds as their consequence, extend in all directions downward, in the human world'). (Cf. ZAEHNER 1969: 359–361).

[63] *bījaṃ saṃsṛṣṭi bhūmijasya tu tamo dehātmadhīr aṅkuraḥ rāgaḥ pallavam ambu karma tu vapuḥ skandho 'asavaḥ śākhikāḥ / agrāṇīndriyasaṃhatiś ca viṣayāḥ puṣpāṇi duḥkhaṃ phalam nānākarmasamudbhavam bahuvidhaṃ bhoktātra jīvaḥ khagaḥ //145//* ('Taking this world as a tree, the seed of this tree of the world is *tamas*; the idea of the Self as the body is the sprout of that tree; the attachment is the twig and actions the water, whereas the body is the trunk; the different senses are the different branches; the objects of the senses are flowers; pain is the fruit, and the human soul is the bird that lives on that tree and eats the fruits of various sufferings which rise from different kinds of actions.') (Cf. MADHAVĀNANDA 1944: 63; 49–50).

[64] *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* 3 1–4; *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 1 3 1. RADHAKRISHNAN 2010: 622, 686 in both cases mentions the Ṛgvedic source.

although it remains incomplete, as the Ṛgvedic source (I 164 20–22) mentions the sweet fruit [of immortality] grown at the top of the tree, eaten by those who had recognised the Father.[65]

The vision of the Siddhas in which the *Nux vomica* (Strychnine tree) has been appointed to the role of the earthly life symbol on account of its bitter, poisonous fruits, restores the ancient scheme of the *vṛkṣa*, which has immortality and the process of liberation as its essential and immanent aspect. Such a scheme may be repeated in many stanzas of TM along with exchange of *personae dramatis*; the constant aspect is the immanence of the liberating elements included within the cycle of self-realisation. An excellent example can be found in TM 9 2887, where the palmyra palm tree (symbolising *suṣumnā*), sheltered in the neem tree (the body), becomes depicted as hiding the snake within (*Kuṇḍalinī Śakti*).[66] TM 9 2901 mentions both the strychnine and the neem tree growing in the water lily pond; those who do not eat the sweet plantain mixed with honey will waste their life for the bitter fruit of the *Nux vomica* tree.[67] In Śaiva Siddhānta tradition, Grace (*aruḷ*) along with

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[65] *dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā samānaṁ vṛkṣaṁ pariṣasvajāte / tayoranyaḥ pippalaṁ svādvattyanaśnannanyo abhicākaśīti //20//* ('Two fair-feathered friends joined together, are clinging to the same tree; one of them eats the sweet fruit, the other looks on without eating.') *yatrā suparṇā amṛtasya bhāgam animeṣaṁ vidathābhisvaranti / ino viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ sa mā dhīraḥ pākamatrā viveśa //21//* ('Where these two fair-feathered ones vigilantly sing the praises of wisdom about their share of immortality, the mighty herdsman of the whole universe, the steady one, entered me, the ignorant one.') *yasmin vṛkṣe madhvadaḥ suparṇā niviśante suvate cādhi viśve / tasyedāhuḥ pippalaṁ svādvagre tan non naśad yaḥ pitaraṁ na veda //22//* ('On that tree, where all these birds eating honey nest and procreate, at the top of it there is a sweet fruit; no one who has not recognized the Father, eats it.'). Cf. MÜLLER 1965: 146.

[66] TM 9 2887. Cf. NATARAJAN 2018: 443–444 ('From the Bamboo Shoot arose a Margosa tree, close to the Margosa was a Palmyra, in that Palm is a Snake; knowing not to drive that Snake and eat it, the Margosa tree withered away'). *mūnkil muḷayil muḷaykkumoru vēnbuṇṭŭ, vēnbil ccērnnu vaḷarum panayiloru / pāmbuṇṭŭ; pāmbine tturatti ttinnātatāl vēnbu kiṭannu veṭikkunnahō* ('From the bamboo shoot arose the neem tree; within the palmyra palm which found shelter in the neem tree, there is a snake; when there is nobody to chase out and eat the snake, the sheltered neem tree would explode to blow away' – NĀYAR 2007: 888–889).

[67] *koṭṭiyum āmbalum pūkkum kuḷamatil eṭṭiyum vēnbum itināyoru vāḷayum / kaṭṭiyum tēnum kalarnnuṇṇātōr eṭṭippaḻattināyŭ iḷiyunna mūḍhar* ('Within the pool with water plants, where water lilies blossom there is the strychnine tree and the neem tree; those who do not eat sweet plantain mixed with coagulated honey, become exhausted for the fruit of the strychnine tree' – NĀYAR 2019: 888). 'In the tank of water-plants where the water-lily blossoms (are) the strychnine and the neem; those who do not eat the sweet plantain along with the plentiful honey hanker after the fruit of the strychnine tree' (GANAPATHY 2010c: 3288). 'The different meanings of the terms are: 1. Water-plant – useless things, anger, jealously, a name, the twenty-four external principles, knowledge, *ātman*; 2. Water-lily – afflictions; desires, form, the body of the five senses, *Pati*; 3. Tank – the human body; *saṁsāra-sāgara*; earthly life, the world; 4. Strychnine – poison, *āṇava-mala*, worldly enjoyments; 5. Neem – bitter, earthly life; *māyā*;

the nectar of immortality (*amuda*) which brings liberation can be granted by the Lord's feet alone; from the *bhakti* perspective, Nārāyaṇan follows such a concept while pointing at Subrahmaṇyan's holy feet (*ninpādam*) in the second part of stanza 39. In fact, the pair of lotus-feet can be treated as the means by which one attains the final goal – the ultimate stage of transcendent Substance (*paramporuḷ*). Hence Guru mentions the necessity of *bhakti* transformation into the *tumb*[*a*] (*tunbākkaṇam*) – a pun which means '[ultimate] consciousness (*aṟivŭ*), brightness or clearness (*teḷivŭ*); the tip (*aṟṟam*)' – or 'the medicinal herb' (*Leuca indica*).[68] Such a tip (*aṟṟam*) represents the point of transgression from the sphere influenced by Śakti (*Parai*) into the realm of Śiva (*Paran*) protecting the soul from descent and leading to the sphere of *paramporuḷ*,[69] defined as the complete Fulfillment or Perfection (*muḻuvansanbādyam*). It is worth emphasising here that in Tamil literature the poisonous properties of strychnine are attributed to women as being extremely attractive and bitter at the same time,[70] whereas Nārāyaṇan selects in this case the Sanskrit term for *Nux vomica*, i.e., *kiṁpāka* – 'the ignorant one, immature'.[71]

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6. Sweet plantain – ambrosia, eternal life, *jīvātman, tirodhāna śakti*; 7. Plentiful honey – juice, liberation'. *Nux vomica* symbolises passions, earthly life (TM 9 2901) – Gᴀɴᴀᴘᴀᴛʜʏ 2006a: 554.

68   This medicinal plant has its equivalent in the Tamil language (*tumpai* – white dead nettle; Leucas [*Leuca aspera*]). Eᴍᴇɴᴇᴀᴜ and Bᴜʀʀᴏᴡ 1961: 218.

69   The same sequence of consciousness-brightness-medicine-tip appears in stanza 49, wherein the tip defines the borderline of Śivan's soft clothes framed with small bells, covering the Lord's holy feet. The sound of these bells symbolises *Para Nāda* in Śaiva Siddhānta, whereas the lotuses of the feet bestow Grace on devotees: *tumbaṟṟa samsaraṇa vambaṟṟu nōkkilitil ambuṟṟu pōkayarutē munbaṟṟatāya katha pimbatra vannatinu pimbum yathaiva tathā / enpakṣaminnitinu kanbaṟṟu pōm paḷani vanbuṟṟa dēvapadamām sambattilē maṇi cilambaṟṟamārnna mṛdu ponpaṭṭilē smaraṇayāl //49//* ('The world of *saṁsāram,* devoid of any knowledge (or medicine), if considered, appears to be deprived of any greatness of power. Do not set any deep affection on that! After the story which is devoid of "before", the coming [of yours] appears here, and again after that – just as it goes on – and so on. My share in today will move on as freed from that binding stick, thanks to the remembrance of wealth – God's feet endowed with the greatness of Paḷani – as well as the soft golden cloth, the tip of which is made of gem-filled jingling bells').

70   TM 1 204: *ila nallatākilum eṭṭipaḻuttāl kulayatil nallakanikaṇṭu bhujikkalākā, mulamulla moṭṭēnti mandahasippōr tam valayatil cittamatu vilakki vāḻēṇamennum* ('Beautiful it is, although the leaf is of the strychnine tree; when ripened, do not consume its attractive fruit shot forth in bunches; the lovely-breasted ones, who throw charming smiles: please step aside! Do not heat up your heart for them!' – Nᴀ̄ʏᴀʀ 2007: 87–88). Cf. Vᴇɴᴋᴀᴛᴀʀᴀᴍᴀɴ 2010a: 252.

71   On the other hand, Nārāyaṇan ironically depicts coquettes in *Śiva Śatakam* as carrying a cloth money bag (*kiḻi*) instead of their breast: *miḷimunakoṇṭu mayakki nābhiyākum kuḻiyiluruṭṭi maṟippatinnoruṅṅi kiḻiyum eṭuttuvarunna maṅkamār tanvaḻikaḷil iṭṭuvalaykkolā mahēśā! //69//* ('Having made me soft with a side-glance, having rolled [me] inside the pit of the navel, ready for turning [everything] upside down, carrying a cloth bag [as their breast], coquettes are coming – o Mahēśan! May I not become entrapped while dropped on their paths!'). The same term can also denote a cloth bag with medicinal substances used in the Ayurvedic system of

The language of Nārāyaṇa Guru, although deeply influenced by the twilight language of the Tamil works of the Siddhas, might have been reorganised and revived in accordance with the rules of the Sanskrit theory of poetics. Or, is it so that Guru's profound knowledge of *kāvya* literature enabled him to compose riddled, multi-levelled mystical poems based on metaphorical concepts of the Siddha*s*, rewritten with the help of elaborate Sanskrit figures of speech? In other words, would Guru's style of composition be of Tamil or Sanskrit derivation? Nārāyaṇan introduces to his mystical poem plenty of Sanskrit compounds, such as *vibhāvasu* (the One Abounding in Light = the Sun) or *anuṣṇakaran* (the Cool Maker = the Moon) which play a key role in the construction of the complex figures of speech. On the other hand, the author of *Tirumandiram* exhibits a great proficiency in Sanskrit language; apart from the loan words (such as *bōdam = bodham*; *cōdi = jyotis*) introduced in a purely philosophical context, he uses Sanskrit expressions while building the deeply mystical structures with both the philosophical and poetical means of expression.[72] However, one should consider another option: Guru's mother tongue – Malayalam – is a mixture of Sanskrit and Dravidian by itself, hence for the author of *Viśākha Ṣaṣṭi* the employment of both the Sanskrit and Tamil style of composition is a natural process. As preferred by Nārāyaṇan, the main idea included in the majority of the stanzas can be defined as the riddled exposition of so-called transition points (I hesitate to use the term *aṟṟam* in such a case) – the climax that symbolises the very moment of transformation of both the macro- and microcosmic dark sphere – *iruḷ* – as opposed to the sphere of Grace (*aruḷ*). Thus the essential solution of each stanza, riddled by means of both Sanskrit poetics and the twilight language of Tamil tradition, might have been perceived (or experienced) as an activation of liberating power – as soon as such a stanza has been deciphered in one's mind.

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treatment. Thus women – as associated with sensual love – represent the opposite aspect of the process of liberation here. *Śiva Śatakam* 24 mentions the three remedial herbs (*marunnumūnnu*) – most probably the *sat*, *cit* and *ānandam* trinity – which can be found at the top of the mountain (*malayatil*): *malayatiluṇṭu marunnu mūnnu pānbum puliyumatinnirupāṭumuṇṭkāval / pulayaneṭuttubhujiccupātiyinnum vilasati nīyumeṭuttukoḷkaneñcē //24//* ('At the mountain top there are three remedial herbs, guarded on both sides by snake and tiger; the untouchable one, having attained and taken half [of such a medicine], shines again [with purity]; o heart! May you grasp and taste [the same]').

[72] An excellent example can be stanza 5 1459: *pūvinuḷḷil gandham porunnuka pōl jīvanil śivam pūttirikkum / ōviyam pōl uṇarum vallārkkatu nābhi aṇañña naṭutaṟiyē* (NĀYAR 2019: 428): 'Within those self-realized motionlessly in awakening like a still painting, the Heart [of such *Jīvas*] is blossomed with the fragrance of *Civaṉ / Civam* (*civamaṇam*), like the scent within the flower (*pūviṉil kandam = gandham*) remains united; it is [like] a stick set up in the centre (*naṭu taṟi*) and embraced by a musk-deer (*nāvi = nābhi*)'. The usage of the Sanskrit loan word *nāvi = nābhi,* which is the pun ('musk-deer' and 'the centre; middle point') is adapted to the philosophical context: the vision of the central stick of *suṣumnā* becomes perfumed with the musk-deer or the Middle State [of Grace].

Abbreviations

Mal.   Malayalam
Tam.   Tamil

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Breaking an Eagle and Pick-Up Artists in a Chinese Context

Aiqing Wang

Abstract: In this paper, I analyse a thought-provoking 1986 novella concerning falconry from a contemporary perspective. *Breaking an Eagle* depicts a process during which a recalcitrant and adamantine wild falcon is tamed into an acquiescent hunting tool through a series of manoeuvres that annihilate its willpower. I propound this is analogous to a phenomenon dubbed 'PUA' that is permeating every section of contemporary Chinese society. As a cultural import from the US, the terminology PUA (Pick-up Artist) in the Chinese context preserves its original meaning regarding heterosexual courtships and entanglements, yet more significantly, it constructs novel connotations pertaining to emotional coercion and exploitation in the workplace. Parallel to the mentally manipulated and physically abused falcon depicted in the novella, the confidence and assertiveness of victims of interpersonal and workplace PUA are extirpated, bombarded with perpetual censure and nefarious carrot-and-stick approaches.

Keywords: *Breaking an Eagle*, emotional coercion, workplace PUA, contemporary China

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1. Introduction

There is a civilisation where eagle worship among ethnic minorities in north China can be traced back to the prehistoric era.[1] The extant records of hunting facilitated by eagles can be attested in the poetry anthology 诗经 *Shi Jing* 'Book of Songs' cumulating poems composed in the Zhou (1046–256 BC) dynasty, as well as the narrative historiographical masterpiece 左传 *Zuo Zhuan* 'Commentary/Chronical of Zuo' of the Spring and Autumn (circa 770–476 BC) period (Across China 2012, Zhang et al. 2018). As documented by a court scribe and astrologer Sima Qian (circa 145–90 BC) in the iconic

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[1]   Jiang 2013, Ma 2013, Song and Zhang 2016.

classic 史记 *Shi Ji* 'Records of the Grand Historian' circa 90 BC (Allen 1981, Kern 2015), the prowess of eagle training was fully fledged during the Qin (221–206 BC) dynasty and the privilege of eagle hunting was enjoyed by the upper classes as a preponderant entertainment. During the Tang (618–907) dynasty, eagle hunting was particularly prevalent among the aristocracy, so top-rank trained eagles were deployed as tributes paid by the Jurchen ethnicity to the feudal Tang and the following Liao (907–1125) sovereigns (Ma 2013, Fan et al. 2013), as recorded in an early medieval classic 北史 *Bei Shi* 'The History of the Northern Dynasties'. Emperor Yang of Sui (r. 604–618) used to summon over ten thousand falconers, and since the Tang dynasty, there had been dedicated royal institutions nurturing and catering for various birds of prey, both of which indicate the popularity of eagle hunting in pre-modern China prior to the demise of the imperial Qing (1644–1911).[2]

The orthodoxy and ethos regarding falcon taming and falconry can still be attested among Manchus in Inner Mongolia and Jilin Province,[3] the Naxi ethnic group in Yunnan Province (He 2015, Song and Zhang 2016), as well as Chinese ethnic monitories in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (Cao 2013, Zhu 2018). For instance, the mysterious Akqi County, resided by the Kyrgyz, is dubbed 'the home of falcons' where extant four-millennia-old falcon-training customs and prowess still prevail;[4] similarly, the Kazakh ethnicity has been hosting competitions for trained golden eagles, the entries of which entail predating hares, foxes and wolves.[5]

Eagle taming and falconry have been recounted by a myriad of fictional works such as 猎鹰 *Lie Ying* 'Hunting Eagle' (Chapter 6. Ma 2010), 熬鹰 *Ao Ying* 'Training an Eagle' (Laoteng 2015) and 鹰奴 *Ying Nu* 'Eagle Slave' (Chapter 16. Feitianyexiang 2017), as well as documentaries and interviews.[6]

In this paper, I investigate a 1986 novella 熬鹰 *Ao Ying* 'Breaking an Eagle'[7] (trans. Wu 1990), which has its setting in Inner Mongolia and as indicated by its title, concerns eagle taming and falconry. *Breaking an Eagle* (henceforward *Eagle*) was composed by a prolific Manchu writer and screenwriter 赵大年 (1931–2019) (Zhang 2019), and was later compiled in his novel collection

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[2]   Zheng 2007, Ma 2013, Song and Zhang 2016.
[3]   Across China 2012, Jiang 2013 and Cai 2015.
[4]   Akqi Tourism Bureau 2018, He 2018 and Guangming Daily 2019.
[5]   Liu et al. 2017, Xinhua News 2017 and Zhang et al. 2018.
[6]   Hou 2010, Across China 2012, Cao et al. 2016, He 2018 and Guangming Daily 2019.
[7]   The animal in the novella is a 猎鹰 *lieying* (Lit. 'hunting eagle'), viz. a falcon, yet the translator adopts an umbrella terminology 鹰 *ying* 'eagle'. In this paper, I use both terminologies to denote the animal.

entitled 西三旗 *Xisanqi* in 1992. Being a Beijing-born ethnic minority and descendant of the Aisin-Gioro aristocratic clan (BEIJING EVENING NEWS 2019), a substantial proportion of Zhao's writing concerns Manchu bannermen from both ends of the social spectrum dwelling in this city, exemplified by an award-winning novel entitled 公主的女儿 *Gongzhude Nüer* 'Princesses' Daughters' (trans. mine) that chronicles the travails of late Qing princesses over three generations and demonstrates the bannermen's incompetence and degeneration, embedded in an elaborate and comprehensive depiction of Manchu precepts and ethos (RAO 2019). In terms of linguistic aptitude, Zhao exhibited an adept adaptation of Beijing vernacular in writing to characterise ancient Peking and its Manchu banner inhabitants in a humorous fashion, as well as innovative integration of colloquial expressions derived from both Manchu and Han dialects (HAO 2005, WANG 2017). I postulate that the salient attributes regarding the themes and language styles of Zhao's writing can also be indicated by a leading television serial 皇城根儿 *Huangcheng Genr* 'At the Foot of the Imperial City' to which he contributed as a screenwriter (GAO 1993), as well as the title of his compilation, viz. *Xisanqi*, a local area in Beijing named within the Qing framework of 八旗*baqi* 'Eight Banners'. Therefore, Zhao's fiction is in a sense analogous to works such as 正红旗下 *Zhenghongqi Xia* 'Beneath the Red Banner' (trans. COHN 1981) composed by another iconic Manchu writer 舒庆春 Shu Qingchun (1899–1966) (WANG 1986), who was illustriously renowned for his pen name 老舍 Lao She and splendid literary prominence.[8]

2. PUA in China

PUA, an acronym for Pick-up Artist, denotes heterosexual men who are self-identified as dating coaches and their acolytes striving for sexual success with women (STRAUSS 2005, BAKER 2013) and cultivating a sexual work ethic in intimate enterprises (O'NEILL 2018: 1–23). Individual PUAs may be members of the highly organised Community of Practice (ECKERT and McCONELL-GINET 1992, WENGER 1998), which originated in the US and which emphasises interaction and skills as the quintessential means of seduction, rather than physical attractiveness, social status or wealth, yet contains issues of im/politeness and in/equality (SPENCER-OATEY 2008, HAMBLING-JONES and MERRISON 2012). A preponderant ingredient of pick-up artistry lies in establishing confidence via fostering self-aggrandising conduct and recurrent practice (DAYTER and RÜDIGER 2014; 2016: 65, 2019), whereas PUA communities also harness purposely-designed imitation, personal

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narrative and success/failure vocabulary and frames to attain reverence, nurture expectations and preserve authenticity (Dayter and Rüdiger 2014; 2016, 2019). Cyberspace abounds in PUA movements propagating expeditious seduction and selling imposter identities, as well as detrimental PUA-owned and PUA-run businesses in diverse forms of marketing, the techniques of which are comprised of so-called 'seduction scripts' and rely on 'misappropriating science' to promote talk-in-interaction (Denes 2011: 414–418, O'Neill 2018: 151–152). In addition to online platforms that mediate an array of functions such as exchange of experiences and phatic communication, self-proclaimed PUA gurus are active beyond the virtual realm: by means of initiating training in the form of face-to-face seminars, written materials and 'sarging' sessions, PUA practitioners successfully enrich the industry with a financial component (Dayter and Rüdiger 2019, Rüdiger and Dayter 2020).

The concept of PUA was imported into China in 2008 from the US, with an initial aspiration to facilitate Chinese males to establish interactions or relationships with the opposite gender by means of accumulating strategies and psychological tactics (GETChina Insights 2018). Nonetheless, in the following decade, it subsequently degenerated into to abhorrent conduct intent exclusively on sexual intercourse. Currently, the English-language acronym PUA refers to both this cohort of lascivious men and their persistent harassment and emotionally manipulative techniques such as secret photography, urging suicide and annihilating women's self-esteem.[9] Worse still, PUA has developed into an enormous, highly profitable industry, in which the widely permeated PUA programmes provide step-by-step guides to dominating women, endeavouring to capitalise on social and gender inequality and openly promulgating misogynistic remarks (Li 2019, Li and Zuo 2020). Nevertheless, given the fact that the PUA business is Internet-based (although a series of government crackdowns have been conducted) (Du and Yuan 2019), eradication of this illicit industry chain is gruelling (Bu 2019, Zhao and Lu 2021b).

By virtue of the surging visibility of PUA, the English-language terminology has been adopted into the Chinese language as a neologism, the function and connotation of which have been adapted accordingly. Apart from heterosexual (and presumably homosexual) relationships, the construal of PUA has been applied to the field of interpersonal interaction to refer to emotional abuse in a broad sense; moreover, under occupational circumstances, PUA becomes synonymous with exploitation and suppression, dubbed 职场PUA *zhichang PUA* 'workplace PUA'. Notwithstanding being newly coined terminologies,

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9   Xu and Yao 2019, Zhou 2019, Zhao and Lu 2021a.

'PUA' and 'workplace PUA' are widely employed not only at the grassroots in oral and written communication, but also in online entertainments such as 奇葩说 *Qipa Shuo* 'I Can I BB' (IQIYI 2021a, 2021b), and even mainstream media such as the state-owned newspaper Legal Daily and China's official state-run press agency, Xinhua News Agency (Yang 2020, Zhao 2020a, 2020b). It is noteworthy that PUA can be used either under its initial word class as a noun, or alternatively, under a derivational category of verbs, as in Example (1) extracted from the entertainment show 'I can I BB'.

(1) A: 不是, 他在PUA我。
Wait, he was PUA-ing me.

B: 听说过, 没见过。喔, 这就是PUA。
I've heard but never seen it before. Ah, this is PUA.

A: 你就是这样PUA完了别人, 然后就是甩身一走, 非常洒脱。
You're always like this: you PUA others and walk away, freewheeling.

C: 我没有PUA你, 但是你扣帽子给我了。
I didn't PUA you, but you put words in my mouth.

(*I Can I BB*. Season 7. IQIYI 2021a. Trans. mine).

3. Discussion

At the beginning of the novella *Eagle*, the protagonist in Lao Chen's film script is subject to a prodigious amount of animadversions, rendering him physically and mentally fatigued, as shown in Example (2). The protagonist's experience in the 1980s coincides with the phenomenon of workplace PUA pervading contemporary China. In the 2020 Chinese workplace, approximately 63.65% of employees have experience of being exploited and/or bullied in a PUA manner, ranging from degradation, abasement as well as suppression of entrepreneurial and innovative vigour, to unmanageable workloads, deprivation of time and resources as well as sexual harassment (Global Times 2020, Zhaopin 2020). On Weibo, a Chinese Twitter-like microblogging application with approximately 550 million monthly active users in the first quarter of 2020 (Lai 2020) and the most popular social media platform functioning as an interest-based social network, an ideological arena and a strategic tool for empowerment of grassroots advocacy by virtue of its robust attributes of spreadability, connectivity and civic engagement,[10] a hashtag #职场PUA# *zhichang PUA* '#workplace PUA#' had garnered over 670 million

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[10]   Han and Wang 2015; Han 2016, 2019, 2020; Han and Jia 2019.

views and attracted more than 78,000 posts by April 2021. In terms of the causes of workplace PUA, they lie in the expeditious economic surge and fierce competition in China, accompanied by relatively underdeveloped institutions and regulations (Lɪ and Zᴜᴏ 2020, Zʜᴀᴏ 2020a).

(2)   剧作家老陈终于累病了。他写的电影剧本一共经过九十九个人的审阅、挑剔、批评、讨论、协商、折磨、通过、否定、篡改、合作、复苏、再通过、又变卦、变脸、变戏法、再否定、告状、打官司、撕破脸、冷处理、热加工、否定之否定，历时三年三月零三天, 大改小改二十七稿, 编剧由一人增至六人, 东南西北上下六方努力, 最后才荣获批准, 投入拍摄。然而老陈终于累病了，身心交瘁，躲到遥远的内蒙古大草原来换换空气，看看蓝天白云，自由翱翔的雄鹰, 一望无垠的绿草。

The playwright Lao Chen was so tired that in the end he became sick. His film script, after having been gone over, picked at, criticised, discussed, consulted upon, worried at, passed, rejected, tampered with, cooperated on, resuscitated, passed again, reneged upon again, turned against, rejuggled, rejected again, indicted, taken to court, scrapped over, given the cold shoulder and sweated over by 99 people over three years, three months and three days, with 27 revisions, big and small, screenwriters increased from one to six, and combined efforts from north, south, east, west, above and below, had had the rejection rejected, finally been approved and gone into production. However, Lao Chen was so tired that in the end he became sick. Both physically and mentally exhausted, he went to recuperate on the remote Inner Mongolian grasslands. There he could get a change of air, and see blue skies, white clouds, soaring eagles and boundless stretches of green grass.

(*Breaking an Eagle*. Zʜᴀᴏ 1986. Trans. Wᴜ 1990: 132).

I posit that the neologism 'workplace PUA' is correlated with other newly-coined expressions exemplified by 打工人 *dagong ren* 'gig person' and 内卷 *neijuan* 'involution', both of which are listed among the ten 'Words of the Year 2020' released by the journal 咬文嚼字 *Yaowen Jiaozi* (Cʜɪɴᴀ Nᴇᴡs 2020, Sʜɪ 2020). *Neijuan*, in particular, which is a multifaceted construal implying internal competition and conflict, substantially contributes to the all-pervasive PUA phenomenon in the Chinese labour market. Additionally, PUA in the workplace can be embodied by neologisms appertaining to job anxieties of victimised employees, such as 社畜 *shechu* 'corporate slave' borrowed from Japan as self-mockery, as well as '996' that denotes a working hour system forcing employees to work from 9am to 9pm for six days per week, and its deteriorated version '007'.

In Example (2), Lao Chen resorts to Inner Mongolia for convalescence, in that he fantasises the less urbanised grasslands to be a utopia where he can attain healing through appreciating eagles soaring freely in the sky. Nonetheless, in stark contrast to his surmise, the supposed free, untamed predators fall prey to quasi-PUA falconry. The falcon training portrayed in *Eagle* is constituted of a series of indispensable manoeuvres. As illuminated in Example (3), the wild eagle is initially recalcitrant and adamantine, and it is urged by biological need, viz. hunger, so is intransigent to abnegate the bait, which eventually leads to its doom. In terms of workplace PUA, frolicsome jobseekers and employees are enticed and thus harnessed in a way similar to the audacious yet innocent eagle. Furthermore, parallel to the hungry eagle, employees pressed for career prospects and income would be disinclined to resort to resistance or resignation, which further escalates PUA and gets themselves trapped in a vicious circle.

(3) 年轻的雄鹰上了一连串的当。先是它的双爪扣了环，爪趾上的鳞片又被麻纰麻线牢牢缠住，再也撒不开手了；按照它好强的性格和辘辘饥肠的实际需要，也决不肯撒手；提着大笆箩飞，真累人啊！更糟糕的是它看不见脚下的山川和草原，树木和村庄，不敢降落，只敢拼命往上飞…飞呀飞呀汗流浃背，气喘如牛，眼冒金星，口吐白沫，双翅与笆箩之间的气流是一种乱流、涡流、反流、对流、混流，请空气流体力学专家钱学森博士来也要研究三十年才能摸清规律，遑论一羽雄鹰乎！它的尾巴就失去了掌握平衡和方向的舵手作用，前途岌岌可危。

The young eagle had been thoroughly taken in. First, its feet were knotted up, and the talons themselves were tangled in the rope, so it couldn't let go. Besides, it was so stubborn and hungry, it wouldn't let go anyway. But trying to carry a basket aloft was really tiring. Even worse, it couldn't see the hills, prairies, trees and villages below, so it didn't dare descend, but could only go on desperately trying to fly upwards. It flew and flew, the sweat pouring off its back, panting like an ox, seeing stars before its eyes and foaming at the beak. The air between its wings and the basket included irregular currents, eddies, counter-currents, updrafts and mixed currents. Even if you had invited the air current expert Dr Qian Xuesen, it would have taken him 30 years to figure out the laws governing those currents. The eagle was failing. Once its tail lost the ability to maintain balance and steer, it was in great danger.

(*Breaking an Eagle*. ZHAO 1986. Trans. WU 1990: 133–134).

The following step of falcon taming is to extirpate the eagle's confidence and assertiveness. As expounded in Example (4), the eagle is deprived of not only freedom, but also sleep and food, which bears similitude with PUA. I propound that the trainer's barbarous conduct in Example (4) is intent on annihilating the falcon's 狼性 *langxing* 'wolfology', i.e. a terminology denoting a quasi-wolf trait and valour, which is dubbed by 姜戎 Jiang Rong in his award-winning fictional semi-autobiography 狼图腾 *Lang Tuteng* 'Wolf Totem' (2004).[11] With its setting on the steppes of Inner Magalia in the throes of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) and describing an interaction between humans and wolves, the novel *Wolf Totem* reflects on agricultural collectivisation and environmental sentimentalism regarding wildlife conservation.[12] Nonetheless, the ethos 'wolfology' is harnessed as a construal promulgating perseverance, venturesomeness and assiduousness by Chinese enterprises,[13] and is even twisted into a manoeuvre to exploit employees (Chai 2020). For instance, a technology enterprise in Sichuan bludgeons employees into submitting a 'voluntary' application to abnegate overtime payment and annual leave, which imposes overwork and hence physical and mental fatigue on staff (Xiong 2020, Yang 2020).

(4) 扎木林让它站在鹰架子上，拴住一只脚。这鹰架子就是屋里的两条麻绳吊着一根木棍，很像小小秋千。他不时地推一把，那秋千就晃荡几分钟。老鹰脚下不稳，再困也不敢睡觉，还得使劲攥紧木棍，用酸疼的翅膀扑楞着找平衡。入夜，扎木林把电灯挂到秋千旁边。老鹰悚然，害怕火烧羽毛，更不敢睡。正式的熬鹰开始了。第二天，老鹰的眼皮直打架，刚要打盹儿，扎木林的柳条鞭子就抽到了身上—雄鹰何曾受过这份儿窝囊气哩！立刻瞪圆了双眼，想跟柳条鞭子搏斗…第三天，鹰眼睛熬红了，原本饥饿的肚肠也熬到了忍无可忍的程度，开始啾啾哀鸣，张嘴乞食。

Zamrin put it on a perch, and tied one talon down. The perch consisted of a wooden stick hanging like a swing from two lengths of hempen rope in the room. He gave it a push very now and then, and it would swing back and forth for a few moments. Because it was not stable, the eagle didn't not dare to sleep, exhausted thought it was. Instead, it gripped the perch tight, and flapped its aching swings in an effort to balance itself. At night, Zamrin hung an electric light by the perch. The eagle was terrified, scared that its features would be burned, and so it dared even less to sleep. The real breaking in had begun. The next day,

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[11] Hoad 2015, Li 2018: VIV–XI and Wang 2019.

[12] He 2014, Lee 2014: 106, Huang 2014, Li 2015, Wang 2015, Zhu 2016, Dang 2017 and Zhao 2017.

[13] An 2006, Zhang 2013 and Hung 2020.

it couldn't keep its eyes open, but every time it dozed off, Zamrin lashed it with a switch of willow. The eagle had never been harassed like this before! It stared with wide-open eyes, wanting to take on the switch. On the third, day, its eyes were bloodshot and it was beside itself with hunger. It began to cry pitifully, and open its beak, begging for food.

(*Breaking an Eagle*. Zhao 1986. Trans. Wu 1990: 134–135).

Moreover, as shown in Example (4), owing to imprisonment and physical abuse, the eagle's self-determination and self-possession are impinged upon, undermining its self-confidence. I posit that the act of sabotaging the eagle's self-esteem is analogous to a contentious incident regarding workplace PUA, which was fiercely debated on Weibo in July 2020: a 28-year-old rapper and member of a popular girl group was anathematised by her manager in front of other employees for her inferior appearance, fashion taste and singing ability and hence responsibility for the company's declining performances, which provoked an intense backlash and ignited a firestorm among an enraged public against workplace harassment.[14] Nevertheless, albeit illicit (Lin and Yu 2020), such euphemised mind control and brainwashing is often disguised as diligence, perseverance and stamina and when accompanied by reverie it is barely distinguishable from justified and legitimate commitment for inexperienced employees (Chen 2020, Yang 2020).

The final step to completely tame a falcon is a carrot-and-stick approach: the falconer integrates punishment conducted by neighbours and reward bestowed by himself, so as to induce the eagle's loyalty (Example (5)). Similarly, in the workplace, PUA-oriented employers deploy censure and personal attacks to strengthen their own authority and make staff labour under the illusion that they would be unemployed elsewhere, while simultaneously they forge pious hope by means of promising promotion, permanent contracts, career prospects, material benefits, etc, so that staff voluntarily stay disadvantaged (Zhao 2020a, 2020b).

(5) 扎木林的邻居出面帮忙了。他拿来一个鸡蛋大小的麻线团, 浸了香油喂老鹰。饿鹰饥不择食, 一口吞下, 谁知线头儿还牵在人手里。过了片刻, 这位邻居便开始往外拽麻线绳, 哎呀呀, 老鹰揪心扯肝的难受啊, 疼得直翻白眼, 那条麻线把它肠胃里的油和血都刮出来了。鹰眼认人。这位邻居再喂兔肉它也不敢吃了。于是, 换一位邻居来, 喂的又是麻线团, 吞了之后又往外拽…事过不三, 老鹰开始绝食斗争, 谁喂什么也不吃了。直到这时, 扎木林才亲自出面, 掰开鹰钩嘴, 塞一些带血的羊肉进去, 味道鲜美而又不往外拽

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14   Jiang 2020, Jung 2020, Li and Zuo 2020, Wang and Wu 2020.

什么心绞痛式的麻线绳子。老鹰毕竟大脑欠发达， 它给上帝磕了
三个响头, 淌着热泪认准了自己的救命恩人。

A neighbour of Zamrin's came to help. He took a ball of hemp string
about as big as an egg, soaked it in sesame oil and fed it to the eagle.
The starved bird didn't care what it ate anymore, and swallowed it right
away. However, one end of the string was still in the neighbour's hand.
After a moment, he started to draw the string out. Ow! The eagle's eyes
rolled white with the gut-wrenching pain as the string clawed the fat
and blood out of its innards. Eagles can distinguish people. When that
neighbour came to feed it again, it didn't dare eat. A different neighbour
came, but fed it a ball of string again, and pulled it out again. After a few
repetitions, the eagle began to refuse food no matter who tried to feed
it. Only at this point did Zamrin take the stage, parting the eagle's beak
and stuffing a piece of bloody mutton in. It tasted good and there was no
excruciating pulling out of hemp string. Eagles are not over-intelligent,
so it gave thanks to God, and tearfully recognised its saviour.

(*Breaking an Eagle*. ZHAO 1986. Trans. WU 1990: 135).

The aftermath of the training is that the eagle becomes devoted to, and only
devoted to, its falconer, and it has lost itself and any aspiration for freedom, as
in Examples (6–7). Additionally, the eagle fails to perceive its own competence
and value, degenerating into a dependent and acquiescent tool.

(6) 扎木林天天骑马架鹰去打猎。他豢养的这只猎鹰非常凶猛, 不
但能抓野兔、狐狸、黄鼠狼， 而且还能用它的利爪抓破黄羊的眼
睛。老陈感到纳闷的, 是这只雄鹰为啥不飞走? 抓获了猎物自己不
吃掉, 而是回家之后等待着扎木林喂食呢? "我喂的食, 它为啥不吃
呢?" 老陈问。"熬鹰熬驯了呀!" 扎木林得意地回答。

Zamrin rode his horse out hunting everyday, talking his eagle with him.
His hunting eagle was very ferocious. It could not only catch hares,
foxes and weasels, abut also claw out the eyes of Mongolian gazelles.
What puzzled Lao Chen was why the eagle didn't fly away. And why
didn't it eat its prey once it caught it? Why did it wait to be fed by
Zamrin after coming home? 'Why won't it eat the food I offer it?' asked
Lao Chen. 'It's broken in!' replied Zamrin proudly.

(*Breaking an Eagle*. ZHAO 1986. Trans. WU 1990: 132–133).

(7) 从此, 年轻的野鹰被熬成了又一只驯服的猎鹰, 天天跟着主人扎木林出来抓兔子、狐狸、黄鼠狼。它越饿越要赶快飞回家——只有主人喂的食物才不是麻线团!

From then on, the young wild eagle was broken in as a tame hunting eagle, following its master Zamrin out to catch hares, foxes and weasels everyday. The hungrier it got, the keener it was to fly back home, because only the food master gave it was not a ball of hemp string.

<div align="center">(<i>Breaking an Eagle</i>. ZHAO 1986. Trans. WU 1990: 135).</div>

At the end of *Eagle*, the aged falcon is fully exploited – even its corpse is made into a specimen and sold, yet fortunately, Lao Chen comprehends through the taming process (Example (8)), and the author leaves the novella open ended suggesting that Lao Chen might take action to address the PUA deeds in his own career after returning to work.

(8) 不久, 原先那只衰老的猎鹰老死了。它被制成动物标本卖给了什么展览馆。剧作家老陈的病好了之后也若有所悟, 离开了辽阔的大草原。

Soon, the old hunting eagle died and was sold to an exhibition hall as an animal specimen. Once he was better, Lao Chen the playwright also seemed to have understood something, and left the vast grasslands.

<div align="center">(<i>Breaking an Eagle</i>. ZHAO 1986. Trans. WU 1990: 135–136).</div>

4. Conclusion

Although *Eagle* concerns falcon training in the grasslands in the 1980s, the taming strategies bear similarity to interpersonal and workplace PUA in a contemporary context. Derived from a terminology that originated in the US to exclusively appertain to heterosexual courtships and entanglements, PUA in China evolved into a neologism denoting mental abuse and emotional manipulation in a circumlocutory manner, and it is applied to social interaction in a broad sense. More significantly, PUA in the workplace triggered by competition is prevalent and conspicuous. Spiritually and physically exploited employees can be compared to the previously recalcitrant and adamantine eagle that is deprived of self-esteem and self-possession by virtue of perpetual animadversions and reveries as well as nefarious carrot-and-stick approaches. Nonetheless, owing to lack of experience or financial independence, employees consciously or subconsciously resign themselves to workplace PUA, analogous to the tamed eagle depicted in the novella.

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