



Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures
Polish Academy of Sciences

ACTA ASIATICA
VARSOVIENSIA

No. 35

Warsaw 2022

Editor-in-Chief

MAŁGORZATA
WIELIŃSKA-SOLTWEDEL

Editorial Secretary

Central & East Asia Department
NICOLAS LEVI

South & South-East Asia Department

OŁENA ŁUCYSZYNA
MAŁGORZATA GLINICKA

English Text Consultant

JO HARPER

Technical editing, layout and typesetting

JANUSZ R. JANISZEWSKI

Board of Advisory Editors

AGATA BAREJA-STARZYŃSKA

MAX DEEG

HIROMI HABATA

BEN KIERNAN

PETRA MAURER

MAREK MEJOR

KENNETH OLENIK

ABDULRAHMAN AL-SALIMI

JOLANTA

SIERAKOWSKA-DYNDÓ

LIDIA SUDYKA

MONIKA ZIN

Publication co-financed by the programme of the Polish Ministry
of Education and Science entitled ‘Development of Scientific Journals’
for the years 2022–2024 (project no. RCN/SP/0163/2021/1)

© Copyright by Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures,
Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw 2022

ISSN 0860-6102

eISSN 2449-8653

Contents

- **Ewa DĘBICKA-BOREK:** On Poetic Modes of Glorifying a Ruler and Telling His Past: The *Sāḥuvābhyudaya* Narrative on Sāḥuva Narasiṃha the Ahobilanarasimha Incarnate 5
- **Jens-Uwe HARTMANN und Dieter MAUE:** Ein sanskrit–uigurisches Fragment der *Tridaṇḍamālā* in Brāhmī-Schrift: Reedition des Texts TT VIII D 39
- **Stanisław Jan KANIA:** How Do the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas Fit into Udayana’s Statement of Universal Worship?
On *Nyāya-kusumāñjali* 17,3: *loka-vyavahāra-siddha iti cārvākāḥ* 131
- **Zhen LIU:** New Manuscript Evidence for *Suprabhātastava* by Śrīharṣadeva: The Drepung Texts Critically Examined 155
- **Maurizio RIOTTO:** Notes on a Lost Book: Philological Questions and Symbols of the *Sui-jōn* 201
- **Johannes SCHNEIDER:** Synonyme in der *Mahāvvyutpatti*.
Zum Verständnis der mit (*ma*) ’dom na gebildeten Einträge 233
- **Anna TRYNKOWSKA:** Pigeons and Doves in Classical Sanskrit Literature 263
- **Aiqing WANG:** Cliché-ridden Online *Danmei* Fiction? A Case Study of *Tianguan ci fu* 281
- **Monika ZIN:** Nagarjunakonda: Monasteries and Their School Affiliations 315
- Editorial Principles 346

On Poetic Modes of Glorifying a Ruler
and Telling His Past
The *Sāḷuvābhyudaya* Narrative on Sāḷuva Narasiṃha
the Ahobilanarasimha Incarnate

Ewa DĘBICKA-BOREK

Abstract: This paper discusses the poetic modes of recounting the past in a Sanskrit *mahākāvya* titled *Sāḷuvābhyudaya*, authored by Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima ca. 1480 AD, to eulogise Sāḷuva Narasiṃha, the soon-to-be founder of the Sāḷuva dynasty of Vijayanagara. Focusing on the poem's second canto, which is built on the theme of divine intervention culminating in the miraculous conception of the future, I argue that depiction of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha as the Ahobilanarasimha incarnate – a rather locally known form of Narasiṃha presiding over a Vaishnava religious centre in Ahobila (currently Andhra Pradesh) – was aimed at enunciating his martial power and justifying his claims to the Vijayanagara throne, while simultaneously revealing the growing interests of Vijayanagara rulers in cooperating with temples and religious institutions.

Keywords: *Sāḷuvābhyudaya*, Ahobila, Narasiṃha, Vijayanagara, Sāḷuva Narasiṃha, recounting the past

Ewa DĘBICKA-BOREK, Jagiellonian University in Krakow; debicka.debicka@uj.edu.pl;

 0000-0001-6398-9432

1. Introduction

In this paper, I discuss the Sanskrit literary motif of a god who promises a successor to a childless royal couple in terms of a medium which serves not only to glorify the ruler but also to poetically recount his exploits. The narrative I investigate is intertwined within the little known historical *mahākāvya* titled *Sāḷuvābhyudaya* (SA). Authored by an eminent poet, Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima, ca. 1480 (KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR 2003: 30; SHASTRI 1996: 350; LIENHARD 1984: 22), the poem praises Sāḷuva Narasiṃha (r. 1485–1491). At the time of

its composition, Sāḷuva Narasiṃha was a general under the Saṅgama emperors with the title of the Governor of Candragiri. After seizing the throne in 1485, he started a dynasty which turned out to be the shortest lived and to date the least explored in the history of the Vijayanagara Empire.

My approach to the SA as purposefully imbued with historical facts chiefly draws on hints at a deliberate use of recognised motifs to deal with the eye witness accounts dropped by Phyllis Granoff in the context of modes of employing the *avatāra* theme in historical *kāvya*s (GRANOFF 1984). The issue of ‘translating literature into memory’ also became an essential part of Lidia Sudyka’s inquiries in her book on a Vijayanagara poetess, Gaṅgādevī, and the ways she depicted the victories of her husband, Kampana (SUDYKA 2013). In a yet larger context of Sanskrit narratives of the Muslim past, the use of poetical modes of expression to tell history has been recently investigated by Audrey TRUSCHKE 2021. As the narrative I scrutinise belongs to the genealogical material, besides the concepts presented by the three above authors, in my research I refer as well to theories concerning the ways of reading royal genealogies as an ideological tool, particularly when enriched with a narrative (SHARMA 2011; SIMMONS 2018).

Although composed in Sanskrit, the SA belongs to the era of South Indian literary production, which, as Sheldon Pollock remarks, opted more and more often for vernacular languages. Designed to conventionally narrate the ‘success’ or ‘exaltation’ (*abhyudaya*) of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha, the poem fits the aesthetic of, in Pollock’s quite radical opinion, ‘exhausted’ Vijayanagara Sanskrit literary culture, which, contrary to the growing body of literature in regional languages, was soon reduced to the ‘historicist-political’ dimension aimed at serving the Empire through recounting royal campaigns. In Pollock’s view, the Vijayanagara poets’ tendency to stay within the context of the kingdom led to a decrease in the range of their works’ circulation, disinterest of commentators in their contents, and so on (Pollock 2003: 94–95). As he remarks, the Sanskrit works produced in this milieu raise the question as to how they survived at all (Pollock 2003: 94). The SA did survive, but indeed hardly noticed either by contemporaries or recent scholarship. The poem remains still in manuscript form, extant to the best of my knowledge in only a couple of copies. The copy I refer to here (SA), is preserved at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (GOML), Chennai.¹ As I shall demonstrate,

¹ I would like to thank Lidia Sudyka for sharing the photos of the manuscript (manuscript DC Nos. 11818 and 11819, on paper, in Devanagari script). Some excerpts from the text are given in KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR 2003: 30–31, 92–102, who remarks that the GOML copy is most likely the only one extant. However, the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol. XXXIX, pp. 15–16, instead of this copy mentions manuscripts preserved in Mysore, which I could not consult so far.

despite its conventionality in terms of composition, selection of themes and modes of poetic expression, the SA offers valuable material to study the past of the Sāḷuva dynasty, mostly in regard to its engagement with temples and religious institutions, the cooperation aimed at extending power.²

The SA consists of thirteen cantos. In brief, the issue which prevails in the cantos 3–13 is Narasiṃha's conquest aspirations (CHATTOPADHYAYA 1998: 45–46). They are conventionally described through the *digvijaya* motif (i.e. conquest of the world) and thus reach far to the North, that is include territories that have never actually been in the orb of Vijayanagara influences. In the following, I focus on the narrative which constitutes the second canto of the poem, and in which Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima equates his patron with Ahobilanarasimha (Narasimha of Ahobilam), namely a rather locally known form of god Viṣṇu presiding over Ahobilam (currently in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh). Conforming to a pattern known to Sanskrit literary production, the poet depicts the deity's appearance in a dream of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's father, Guṇḍa, after he and his wife undertook austerities in Ahobilam to procure a son. In the subsequent sections I discuss this narrative as the means consciously applied by Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima to fashion Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's identity as a victorious leader who deserves the throne, but also as the expression of how the poet perceived and understood his patron's activities against the backdrop of the changes in the political-cum-religious milieu of the Vijayanagara Empire towards the end of the 15th century.

2. The SA and the ways of narrating genealogy

According to Sudyka, the SA was modelled on the genealogy passages of the Sāḷuva family, which are appended to the first canto of the *Rāmābhyudaya* (RA), another historical *mahākāvya* eulogising Sāḷuva Narasiṃha and his deeds. The authorship of the latter is still disputed. Although it has been usually attributed to Sāḷuva Narasiṃha himself, recently scholars pointed rather to another poet of the Ḍiṇḍima family, that is Rājanātha's father, Aruṇagirinātha Ḍiṇḍima, who was the court poet of Devarāya II of the Saṅgama Dynasty (r. 1424–1446) (POLLOCK 2003: 94; SUDYKA 2013: 127–133). Perhaps, Sudyka argues, the final touch to the RA, originally written in the first half of the 15th century, was given by the author's son, Rājanātha, who was supposed to urgently praise his patron to surround him with 'an aura of kingship' before he actually usurped the throne from the Saṅgama dynasty. The quickest way to fulfill this wish might have been to reuse Aruṇagirinātha's retelling of the

² On the beginnings of Sāḷuvas' cooperation with temples and religious institutions, see APPADURAI 1977.

Rāmāyaṇa. Barring several interpolations, which display the true author's identity, its core was left intact. The Rāma's story itself opened possibilities to play with the concept of a ruler named Narasiṃha as Viṣṇu's incarnation, and his reign as equal to that of Rāma.³ What required a serious reworking was just its opening canto, to which pieces of information on Sāḷuva Narasiṃha and his ancestors were added, and the subsequent colophons. Sudyka posits that only later, with more time at his disposal, did Rājanātha compose the SA from scratch, having included, however, the threads that make up the genealogy of Sāḷuvās presented in the RA (SUDYKA 2013: 128–132).

In both poems, the way of presenting Sāḷuvās' previous generations adheres to a typical paradigm of royal genealogy. The family's origin is traced to the lunar dynasty, and after enumerating several mythical figures, the chain of successors focuses upon 'recent' chiefs. Their line begins with Sāḷuva Maṅgi. Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's direct line of descent comprises one of Maṅgi's sons called Gautama, whose son's name is Guṇḍa/Guṇḍaya. The name of Guṇḍa's wife is Mallāmbikā. In both poems, next is a narrative in light of which, after unsuccessful attempts at producing a successor, the couple decides to undertake penance in Ahobilam. Soon, Mallāmbikā becomes pregnant and delivers a son whom, out of gratitude to the god who presides over this site, they call Narasiṃha. Thus, Sudyka's hypothesis that SA's content is based on the genealogy passages, which were earlier integrated into the RA appears to be further corroborated by the way of intertwining the narrative on Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's miraculous conception into its framework. In the case of the RA, the narrative is embedded in its first canto and covers just a couple of stanzas (RA 1.43–51) (DĘBICKA-BOREK 2015). They are inserted between the chain of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's predecessors and praise for the perfect ruler he had become. In the SA, the narrative gains a fuller treatment as it becomes the main topic of the second canto. Its occurrence after the presentation of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's ancestors praised in the initial canto, and before the consecutive cantos, where various aspects of the ruler's career are depicted, makes the episode structurally in line with the pattern known from the RA. In the SA Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima poetically develops most of the RA's narrative threads. In addition, he enriches it with episodes absent in RA, such as the description of Ahobilam. Moreover, unlike in the RA passage, he enhances the genealogical character of the narrative by closing it with a decision

³ A connection to the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition was important for Vijayanagara rulers from the very beginning. Local beliefs have linked the territory of Vijayanagara with Kiṣkindha, the kingdom of epic monkey-kings, where Rāma allied himself with Hanumān and Sugrīva. Although during the reign of the first Vijayanagara dynasty the site became a centre of Virūpākṣa cult, in the early 15th century the Rāmacandra temple was built in the royal zone, as if to highlight a ruler's homology with Rāma. See VERGHESE 2004: 421–424.

of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's father to retire to the forest and pass the power to his son (see below).

Situating the motif from the outset within the framework of genealogical material entails its interpretation in terms of crafting the ruler's identity. Contemporary scholarship offers several views on how to read royal genealogies, regarding royal inscriptions and narratives, produced either for large imperial powers or small kingdoms (see, e.g., ALI 2000; SHARMA 2011; SIMMONS 2018). Despite their variegated setup, all these approaches agree that the primary aim of genealogies was to create the image of a king and to provide an ideological sanction for his rule. This was achieved by a number of strategies often related to situating a king in his times. Basically, the origin of kings was traced to Brahmā's cosmic creation. Kings were linked to gods and heroes through association with either the solar line of Ikṣvāku related to Rāma or the lunar line of Yadu related to Kṛṣṇa. Involved in this way in a cyclic time, rulers were portrayed as born to restore *dharma* in the times of their reign depicted as Kaliyuga. On the other hand, showing a given king as the last in a line of successors underscored his role from a chronological perspective, as he embodied the culmination of all of virtues of his predecessors (SIMMONS 2018: 602–604).

According to Caleb Simmons, the range of strategies employed in South India to fashion a ruler with the help of genealogy material broadened with the emergence of new kingdoms, which replaced the major early medieval dynasties (SIMMONS 2018: 604). A similar trend in reference to North India is observed by Mahesh Sharma in his article on the western Himalayan kingdom of Chambā (SHARMA 2011). Both scholars point in this context to a growing role of additional narratives, which were inserted within the genealogies, usually between the list of Purāṇic and legendary or quasi-historical ancestors. Their aim was to explain how a certain lineage, and often also a site, became powerful in the region (SIMMONS 2018: 604). What seems especially helpful for interpretation of the genealogy that belongs to the RA and SA, in Sharma's opinion such integrated narratives were a tool which was exceptionally useful at the early stages of establishing a new dynasty for with their help one king could be differentiated from another. Sharma considers genealogies 'a part of the process that not only forged links with the hegemonic political and socio-cultural cosmos, but also contrived a specific sacred-cultural space by establishing cultic affiliations' (SHARMA 2011: 407). In addition, he considers geographical peripheries of a given territory as a special target of 'manipulations' to confirm a new king's rule (SHARMA 2011: 406). Remarkably in this context, in the time of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's service for the Vijayanagara

army, Ahobilam was indeed situated on its ‘perennially contested northern border’ (STOKER 2016: 97). If we add that a poet who aptly linked his patron with his ancestors and mythical lore presented the patron’s glorious past, but also, in order to spread his fame among contemporary and future generations, he wrote about what he witnessed (SUDYKA 2013: 14), this could mean that by mentions of distant Ahobilam, the narrative about Sāḷuva Narasiṃha as the incarnation of its presiding deity aims as well at establishing his influences over the disputed area, an issue I come back to below.

An ideologically influenced character of Sāḷuvas’ genealogy has been already treated by Sudyka in reference to the mode of presenting Sāḷuva Narasiṃha’s great-grandfather, Sāḷuva Maṅgi, in the Gaṅgādevī’s historical *mahākāvya*, the *Madhurāvijaya*. The poetess composed it in the second half of the 14th cent. to describe, as expressed in the title, ‘the conquest of Madhurā’ (Madurai) by Kampana (Kamparāya, the son of Bukka I). As one of the queens of Kampana, Gaṅgādevī must have been an eye-witness to the events she dealt with in the poem. Serving as a general in Kampana’s campaign against the Madurai Sultanate, Sāḷuva Maṅgi was an important historical figure that joined the dynasties of Saṅgamas and Sāḷuvas. However, as Sudyka demonstrates, the way of introducing him into the royal lineage of Sāḷuvas departs from the events as preserved in other sources and is apparently more faithfully described by Gaṅgādevī. In brief, the genealogy of Sāḷuvas ascribes the triumphs of Kampana and his commander-in-chief, Gopaṇṇa, to the ancestor of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha. Both RA and SA show Sāḷuva Maṅgi as a close friend of the prince Kampana, whom he accompanied on his campaign to the South. Moreover, in their light it is Sāḷuva Maṅgi who overcomes the Sultan in the decisive battle. Maṅgi erects a pillar of victory over the sultanate forces on the banks of Tāmrapaṇi river, visits Srirangam temple and donates riches to the god.

From inscriptional evidence of Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanams (TTD 2) it follows that the Sāḷuvas were indeed a powerful family that comprised of several branches. Their rise to power began in the times of Mallikārjuna (r. 1447–1465) and eventually led to Sāḷuva Narasiṃha’s ascension to the throne after usurping it from Virūpākṣa (r. 1465–1485). The branch to which Sāḷuva Narasiṃha belonged included his elder brother Sāḷuva Timmarāja Uḍaiyar, and their father, Sāḷuva Guṇḍarāja Uḍaiyar – alternatively called Guṇḍayadeva Mahārāja – who most likely headed the clan at that time. Another member of the family was a son of Guṇḍarāja’s brother, Sāḷuva Parvatarāja, namely the first cousin of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha. The second cousin of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha was Tripurāntaka, a grand-son of Tippa, another brother of Guṇḍarāja. Tripurāntaka’s father, Gopa/Goppa, was married to a daughter of Devarāja II (SASTRY

1998: 138). The name of their ancestor, Maṅgideva Mahārāja, occurs in the record of his services in the Veṅkaṭeśvara temple in 1359 CE. Most probably, his headquarters were in Candragiri, that is the fort in which later Sāḷuva chiefs, including Sāḷuva Narasiṃha, also stationed their army. According to Burton Stein, the governorship of Candragiri was given to Maṅgi as a reward for conquering the chiefdoms of Yādavarāyas and Sambhuvarāyas. Due to his commitment during the military operations against the latter, under Sāvaṇṇa, the cousin of Kampana who supervised military operations, Maṅgi, was also given the title of the founder of Sambhuvarāyas (*sambhuvarāyasthāpanācarya*). Soon, the general and his descendants extended the newly constituted territory around Candragiri he obtained, both northward, towards southern Andhra, and to the south, in the latter case using the matrimonial connections with Devarāya II, into whose family the descendants of Maṅgi's were married (STEIN 1989: 55). The title Sāḷuva [a hawk], under which his descendants were known, is mentioned in two inscriptions of a slightly later production, found in Kanchi (1361) and Dalavanur (South Arcot district) (1363). As Sastry suggests, assuming this title might be connected to respect for Sāḷuva Maṅgi's determination in his fight against sultanates and other, Hindu, rivals (SASTRY 1998: 130–131). Inscriptions corroborate that Maṅgi served as general in the campaign against the Madurai Sultanate. However, there is no inscriptional evidence which would confirm Maṅgi's decisive role in overcoming sultanate powers, killing the Sultan and reestablishing the Hindu practice in the Srirangam temple. According to Sudyka, it seems that the poet/s serving under Sāḷuva Narasiṃha appropriated the accomplishments of Kampana (and the poets who praised him) to their own needs. This strategy, focused on peripheral treatment of Saṅgama's achievements, proved successful in producing the legend of the Sāḷuva dynasty. The praise of Maṅgi was soon repeated in other compositions and contributed to the creation of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's image as seizing the throne in the name of continuing the old lineage of victors.⁴ Not without meaning in this context would have been also Sāḷuvas' claims of descending from the same lineage as the Saṅgama dynasty, that is the lunar race of the Yādava line (RAMANAYYA 1933: 78).

Rājanātha's account of the circumstances of his patron's conception, however, even if embedded in a mythical framework, does not seem to fulfil the function of taking the reader into the distant, quasi-mythical past of the Sāḷuva family solely to explain its claims to power. This aim appears to have been already accomplished through the legend of Sāḷuva Maṅgi. Instead,

⁴ The praise is included in the *Jaimini Bhāratamu*, another work dedicated to Sāḷuva Narasiṃha, by a Telugu poet Pinavīrabhadra who served at his court (see KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR 2003: 29–30, 85–87; cf. SUDYKA 2013: 134–139).

having been composed by a poet who most likely was a close observer of his patron's career, the account should be approached as a means by which it triggers the telling of the historical present.

Looking for reasons why, despite the growing support of Vijayanagara rulers for vernacular languages, Gaṅgādevī chose Sanskrit to write about Kampana's victory over the Sultanate, Truschke points not so much to the cosmopolitan character of the language as to its expressive potential by way of referring to motifs and metaphors rooted in this particular literary tradition. This applies to Gaṅgādevī's own sensitivity and feelings but also to the literary ways she found most congenial to grasping the ruler's exploits according to her best judgment and interpretation (TRUSCHKE 2021). As Granoff has shown, framing the birth of a ruler within a mythical plot which includes the intervention of a god was exactly one such mode used by Sanskrit poets to convey their perception and understanding of contemporary events (GRANOFF 1984: 295). The narrative about Sāluva Narasiṃha's miraculous conception by the grace of Ahobilanarasimha follows a complex Sanskrit literary theme, which according to Granoff has been operating for centuries by using, among other things, the doctrine of divine *avatāras*.⁵ This strategy relied on the assumption that the task of *avatāras* is to defend order/righteousness and fight transgression. The descent of a god to assure the royal couple that as the result of performing *tapas* they will be given an offspring means in fact that the god promises to be reborn as their son. As if to enhance the notion of the sameness between the two, in such narratives a god, who often acts as the tutelary deity of the family, shares his name with the child. Sanskrit poets used this trope to project a king's identity as divine, but also, in line with puranic and epic literature, to metaphorically equate the purpose of their rule with freeing the earth from demons. Accordingly, this paradigm employs demonisation of the concerned enemies, be they his rival Hindu kings or foreigners, most often Muslims (GRANOFF 1984: 292–295). Drawing a parallel between the victories of a king and successes of any incarnation of Viṣṇu over a demon was facilitated by the fact that conventionally the only accepted ending for a historical *mahākāvya* was the hero's victory (SUDYKA 2013: 13). Placing narration in a literary theme allowed a skillful poet to both glorify his patron and describe the events that he most likely had witnessed himself in a specific time and place

If, as scholars seem to agree, Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima wrote the SA ca. 1480, the time of its composition clearly coincides with Sāluva Narasiṃha's successes

⁵ See GRANOFF 1984: 292–295 for a brief overview of the use of the motif in the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākāranandin (12th cent.), *Raghunāthābhyaśya* of Rāmabhadraṃbā (17th cent.), *Śāhendraṇilāsa* by Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa (18th cent.?), *Vikramāṅkābhyaśya* by Someśvara (12th cent.), *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* by Bilhaṇa (12th cent.).

in the war he fought in 1478–1481, still as a generalissimo in Saṅgama's army, against the joint forces of Hamir, an Oriya nobleman, and the Bāhamanī sultan Muhammad III, who invaded the territory of Orissan King Puruṣottama Gajapati. However, defeating the sultanate troops was not the only significant victory Sāluva Narasiṃha won on behalf of the Vijayanagara Empire before he himself became its ruler. According to Sastry, his martial career took off during the reign of Mallikārjuna. Already in this period he and his kin were mighty provincial governors who enjoyed considerable independence.⁶

Sāluva Narasiṃha's wars with the Bāhamanī Sultanate were preceded by seizing Udayagiri, the fort often held by Kaliṅga's rulers Gajapatis with whom Vijayanagara had had a long military conflict and shared a border (1470), suppressing rebellion in Tamil districts and capturing eastern districts of the Empire (before 1477). Sāluva Narasiṃha was in fact the first to establish the Vijayanagara command over the Tamil plain, up to Rameshvaram (STEIN 1989: 55). The geographical location of his inherited fort in Candragiri, from which he could control northern and southern territories, was for sure helpful in this context. The importance, in turn, of conquering Udayagiri, is shown by the fact that records of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of the Tuḷuva dynasty dated 1514, that is 23 years after the death of Sāluva Narasiṃha, mention that recapturing it was one of the former's greatest military successes (STOKER 2016: 29). Remarkably, the military victories of Sāluva Narasiṃha came when the sons of Devarāya II, Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa II, quarreled (STEIN 1989: 71). Such circumstances, as Stein suggests, allowed Narasiṃha to take over even more power as the trusted commander and defender of the country (STEIN 1989: 29). Soon, after Mallikārjuna's death, supported by his general Īśvara Nāyaka from the Tuḷuva family, Sāluva Narasiṃha headed the group that eventually prevented the central government from a total fall caused by the incompetent rule of Mallikārjuna's successor, Virūpākṣa II. The wars Sāluva Narasiṃha waged and decisions he took before the final versions of the RA and SA were finished, might have indeed been considered by many as acts of rescuing the kingdom from a collapse in a way any divine incarnation does. As Stein aptly remarks, 'Narasiṃha commanded a large royal army for service against Muslim and Hindu enemies; and like the others, the army was Narasiṃha's instrument for gaining ever greater power within the kingdom' (STEIN 1989: 55).

⁶ An inscription dated 1446 (reign of Devarāya II) mentions one other member of the Sāluva clan, Sāluva Peri-Mallayadeva Mahārāja, who was perhaps a descendant of one of five brothers of Sāluva Maṅgideva Mahārāja and a cousin of Sāluva Narasiṃha. Most probably he was in charge of Candragiri then (SASTRY 1998: 135).

Let us now look at Rājanātha's usage of the theme of king as a divine incarnation for the background of Sāluva Narasiṃha path to the throne as recorded in 'professional' historical sources.

3. Historicising the narrative on Sāluva Narasiṃha as Ahobila-narasiṃha's incarnation

The narrative which constitutes the second canto of SA involves all the elements regarded by Granoff as essential for the motif of a king as a divine incarnation when applied to recounting his triumphs over the enemies: a royal childless couple, their austerities to produce a son, the descent of a god who announces that their son will be born, and, eventually, the birth of an heir. As I demonstrate below, Rājanātha additionally enriches the well-known paradigm with a number of other themes typical for Sanskrit literature, such as a description of an ideal city, or abdication of a leader in favour of his son. The poet proves his artistry by embellishing them with the help of well-known tropes, multi-layered comparisons engaging double-entendres (*śleṣa*), etc.

Rājanātha Dīṇḍima begins the narrative about Sāluva Narasiṃha's miraculous conception as the incarnated god with short characteristics of his parents, Guṇḍa and Mallāmbikā.⁷ He equates Mallāmbikā with the earth, which should be honoured as the abode of the king's wife (*mahiṣipadamānanīyām kṣoṇīm iva*) and Guṇḍa with the earth-guardian (*guṇḍyabhūmipālaḥ*) (SA 2.2).⁸ Alluding to the metaphor widely known from the ninth chapter of the *Manusmṛti*, which envisages woman as the soil and man as a farmer, the poet from the outset refers to the concept of fertility as closely connected with the kingship and the kings' utmost duty as 'growing a seed'. By means of this analogy, he also conveys Mallāmbikā's submission to her husband and his responsibility to protect her; a relationship relevant to that of a king and his land. Not limited to the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the frame of reference as was the case with the RA, in the following stanza the poet additionally reaches for elements

⁷ In the RA, the poet compares Mallāmbikā to Kauśalyā and Guṇḍa to Daśaratha, which makes the narration fit the overall intention of the poem, which is equating the deeds of the praised ruler, implicitly identified with Rāma, with the deeds of the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s hero:

mallāmbikā mahābhāgā tasyāsīt saha cārīṇī |
devī daśarathasyeva kauśalyā kulabhūṣaṇam ||RA 1.42||

His wife was eminent Mallāmbikā, a queen,
who like Daśaratha's Kausalyā was the jewel of the family (RA 1.42).

All translations from the RA are reproduced from DĘBICKA-BOREK 2015, at times slightly modified.

⁸ Since the manuscript contains many lacunas, I provide complete translation only of those stanzas which are preserved. If not otherwise stated, all translations are mine.

of a figure of speech called double-entendre (*śleṣa*) to communicate, by means of another possible reading, an imagery of Śiva's and Pārvaṭī's romance and their intense relationship (SA 2.3):

*bhūbhṛtkulāvataranām bhuvanaiṣamātrabhāvocitām
priyatamārdhaśarīrabhūtām |
sādhvīm śivām iva haras sa bhajann api drāk kṣonīm patir na bhajati
sma samam kumāram ||SA 2.3||*

Although he, like Hara, was cultivating the earth –
his gracious faithful wife (Śivā) forming part of her husband's body,
whose appearance suits all wishes of a man,
who brings continuity to the royal family –
the Lord did not get any son quickly.

The most obvious and productive usage of *śleṣa* concerns the term *kumāra*; whereas, as I propose in the translation, it may be simply rendered as 'son', 'prince', 'heir' etc., the word *kumāra* serves also as another name of Skanda, the son of Śiva and Pārvaṭī. What seems crucial in the context of praising a ruler, is Kumāra/Skanda being basically the god of war. For an experienced reader, playing with this term brings in fact a number of essential connotations: Sanskrit poets (e.g., Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhava*) happen to present Kumāra as conceived on gods' request to destroy demon Tāraka, who had threatened the world. In this way, already before the motif of Ahobilanarasimha as the divine counterpart of Sāḷuva Narasimha is introduced, Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima alludes to his patron's birth as determined by the gods' decision to eradicate demonic enemies. In addition, various shades of meaning of the term *kumāra* appear to metaphorically grasp the kinship between Narasimha, Sāḷuva's namesake, and the terrifying aspects of Śiva; they both share fierce nature and can mediate between different domains. These traits, owed to the common tribal origin of both deities,⁹ perfectly convey characteristics considered ideal for a king.

The context of Kumāra's conception, poetically described in various myths involving the episode of Śiva and Pārvaṭī passionately making love on Himalaya mountain, allows as well an alternative interpretation of the participle *bhajan*. Instead of lit. 'cultivating', the term might be translated as 'enjoying', especially 'enjoying carnally'. Consequently, the term *kṣonī*, might be taken not as the earth in the sense of soil as a metaphor for a woman, but as 'the goddess of Earth associated with Umā-Pārvaṭī'. On this level of meaning, Pārvaṭī's associations with the mother, namely the goddess of Earth

⁹ On parallels between Śiva and Narasimha in reference to their tribal substratum, iconography, mythology and cults see, for instance, SONTHEIMER 1987.

and fertility, additionally intensify the notion of the couple's – Guṇḍa's and Mallāmbikā's – endeavors at begetting a successor. As shown by Daniel Ingalls, in Kālidāsa's depiction of Umā's ascetic practice she undertook to win Śiva, she is indeed an embodiment of the Earth, with steam evaporating from her skin as it evaporates from the perched soil with the advent of the monsoon, etc. (INGALLS 1965: 27–29). However, the parallel between Mallāmbikā and Pārvatī may still convey something more than just the queen's ability to deliver a divine heir. Contrary to the brief portrayal of Mallāmbikā in the RA, where, in line with the popular assumptions of a *kāvya* genre, only her beauty and marital status are indicated, the stanza appears to additionally portray her role in the following events. Relevant in this context seem to be Gary Tubb's remarks that in the version of the Śiva and Pārvatī story known from the *Kumārasambhava*, Pārvatī's decision to undertake severe mortifications to win Śiva's love might be seen as expressing her unusual activity, which finally leads to the union with god (TUBB 1984: 233). Rājanātha hints at these features of Pārvatī by means of a double entendre in which he praises Mallāmbikā-the soil, as *priyatamārdhaśarīrabhūtā* (forming part of her husband's body).

In the next stanza, the poet turns to Guṇḍa's anxiety caused by the so far unfulfilled duty of paying off his final debt (*antima ṛṇa*) to ancestors by producing a son.¹⁰ In the simile which expresses Guṇḍa's fear of being the cause of interrupting the lunar lineage he belongs to, Rājanātha skillfully plays with the meanings rendered by the term *indu* (the Moon). The burden of not having an heir makes Guṇḍa's soul fade like the Moon in the deep dark: 'He thinks that his soul bound by the final debt is like the Moon shrouded by deep darkness' (*āśaṅkate sutamaseva grhītam indum ātmānam antima ṛṇena*¹¹ *pinaddham eṣaḥ*, SA 2.5). According to Vedic concepts, the lack of a son prevents one from obtaining immortality: it is the son in whom the family persists, as the father survives in him even after his own death (OLIVELLE 1993: 43–45). In Rājanātha's imagination, Guṇḍa 'loses his innate patience because of not raising a child' (*dhairyam sutānodayatas sahaṇam sa muñcan*, SA 2.5) and 'having felt the burden of the duties of governing and having put everything aside, he completely lost himself in thoughts, indifferent to people' (*sarvan nidhāya samavāpya ca rājyabhāram cintām agahata bhṛṣam jananirviṣeṣam*,

¹⁰ The Vedic triad of inborn debts pertaining to the twice-born men involves the debt of studying to be repaid to the sages (*ṛṣi*), the debt of a sacrifice to the gods, and the debt of procreation to the ancestors (*pitṛ*). To pay off the last debt one has to be married. Although Vedic sources are not clear whether it is only the first-born son who can perform the paying off of this debt, the later authors emphasise the role of the oldest son in this respect. See OLIVELLE 1993: 46–53.

¹¹ I assume that in this context *antima* ('final') qualifies *ṛṇa* ('debt'), therefore I treat the phrase as an incorrectly written compound (*antimarṇena*).

SA 2.5). The poet gives voice to Guṇḍa to intimate his growing concerns, imbuing the following verses with a great load of emotions. Guṇḍa despairs: ‘the lineage of uninterrupted generations starting with the Moon will end with me’ (*ārabhya candramasam askhalitaprasūtiḥ vaṁśo ’yam eṣyati mayaiva sahāvasānam*, SA 2.5) and looks for the cause of misery in his own deeds: ‘certainly a reason of discontinuance in the birth of sons lays in a wretched practice’ (*abhāgyayogān nissamśayan tanayajanmaniṣedhahetuḥ*, SA 2.5). Rājanātha continues the depiction of Guṇḍa’s longing for a son – when all other methods, including offerings, have failed – by means of a vivid description of a child he imagines raising¹² (SA 2.6–8):

*āśīrvacāṁsi mahatām aphalāni tasmād anyādṛśāny
abhimatārpaṇakalpavallyaḥ |
santoṣitā na khalu kin dharaṇīsurās te mṛṣṭāśanena niyataṁ
bahudakṣiṇena ||SA 2.6||*

Blessings of great men were fruitless,
therefore [the methods] of another kind [are needed]:
fabulous creepers granting desires procure what is wished for.
Why these gods on earth (i.e. Brahmins)
are by no means satisfied with the constantly offered lavish dainty
food?

*yadvā lalāṭataṭalolalalantikāśmabālātapadyutimanojñamukhā-
ravindaḥ |
ātmīyabimbaharaṇatvaritaḥ kadā me dṛśyeta ratnabhuvī jānucaraḥ
kumāraḥ ||SA 2.7||*

Or else, when shall I see a boy of a charming lotus face
shining with the brightness of the morning sun,
with a stony pendant dangling on the forehead,

¹² Comp. the RA’s version of this episode:

*tataḥ kadācid ekānte sa guṇḍayamahīpatiḥ |
cintām anantām atanot santānāptivilambanāt ||RA 1.43||
atarpitāgni savanam alakṣitapatam nabhaḥ |
anudgatendum ambhodhim aputraṁ māṁ pracakṣate ||RA 1.44||
anyād [antyād?] ṛṇād vimukto ’yaṁ (haṁ) yadi rājyasukhāya me |
sukhodarkam idaṁ kartum suprasanno hariḥ prabhuḥ ||RA 1.45||*

Then, once, in a secluded place, King Guṇḍa displayed an endless anxiety caused by delay in having an heir (1.43):

‘They consider me, sonless, as an offering with unsatisfied Agni,
as a cloud, which dispersed unnoticed, as an ocean, which did not bring out the moon (1.44).

If I am to pay off the last debt for the happiness of my kingdom,
this is the gracious God Hari [who may] bring happiness as a consequence’ (1.45).

who quickly steals my own image (i.e. takes after me)
and crawls on all fours on the jewel-earth?

*avyājaśuṣkaruditāntaritatmamaṇḍahāsaṇ janair asakṛd arpitam
aṅkam aṅkāṭ |
paśyanty aho sukrīṇaḥ paritas svabimbam avyaktavarṇamadhuram
sutam ālapantam ||SA 2.8||*

Ah, happy are those who see around a son
who speaks sweet indistinct syllables to his own reflection,
is often handed from lap to lap by people,
genuinely weeps without tears while inside laughing gently.

Although Rājanātha builds his narrative on the theme of Guṇḍa and Mallāmbikā's childlessness, inscriptional evidence proves that Guṇḍa had actually two sons, of whom Narasiṃha was the younger. The name of the older, as already mentioned, was Timma. Timma's payment for excavating a canal to provide water to a temple village so that daily offerings at the Veṅkaṭanātha/Veṅkateśvara temple in Tirumala-Tirupati would be appropriate is commemorated in a record dated 1463.¹³ He is also referred to in the Telugu *Varāhapurāṇamu*.¹⁴ Moreover, under the name Rāmāraja, Sāluva Narasiṃha's elder brother is mentioned in the chronicle of the Srirangam temple, the *Kōyil Oluku*. The chronicle identifies him with Kantātai Rāmānuja Aiyengar, an agent of Sāluva Narasiṃha, who for many years administrated the Veṅkaṭanātha temple (I come back to this issue later).¹⁵ Shall we assume then that the poet passed over in silence Sāluva Timma's existence for the sake of adjusting the reality into the known literary paradigm? Rather, as often happened regarding various members of royal families, there was no need to mention him, for as far as the actual exercise of royal power was concerned, he apparently lived in his brother's shadow. Another plausible explanation would be that Guṇḍa's sons were of different mothers, therefore, while focusing on the praise of his patron, Rājanātha limited the narrative to Sāluva's closest relatives,

¹³ TTD 2, no. 17, cf. SASTRY 1998: 142.

¹⁴ Annotation in HARI RAO (trans.) 1961: 170.

¹⁵ According to the Srirangam chronicle, after his pilgrimage to Ayodhya, Rāmāraja obtained from his brother the privilege of *deśāntari mudrā* at 108 *divyadeśas*, that is a seal of visitor's authority. Next, he received the title of the overseer (*śrīkāryakārtr*) of the Śrīraṅganātha temple. 'As he was the elder brother of the Rāya, he was honoured with the cap and to suit his ascetism, the sacred cloth was tied round his head. The same honours are being done to those who succeed to the mutt' (HARI RAO, trans. 1961: 165–170, cf. LESTER 1994: 44). In the opinion of Lester this account was most probably 'made up' to clarify a Srirangam inscription dated 1489, which, as the only one there, refers to Kantātai Rāmānuja's activity at the temple. In addition, no other sources corroborate that Timma was a renouncer (LESTER 1994: 45).

which, in turn, led to the exclusion of the half-brother, even though he was the older.

The content of next verses switches to Guṇḍa's decision to resort to Ahobilanarasimha (in his peaceful aspect coupled with Lakṣmī) for the sake of securing a successor¹⁶ (SA 2.10–11):

*tad duṣkaram viracayāmi tapo murārer āvāsamandiram ahobalam
abhyupetaḥ |
sadyo mameṣṭaphalado bhavitā sa eva namnābhayārpaṇaparo
narasimhamūrṭiḥ ||SA 2.10||*

Thus, after reaching Ahobalam,
the temple which is a seat of Murāri,
I will perform arduous *tapas*.
At once, he, indeed, Narasimha's manifestation called
Abhayārpaṇapara [the best procurer of peace],
will fulfill my desires.

*tasya prasādamahimā yadi tena śakyam utkulapaitṛkaṇṇāṇavam
uttarītum |
naivānyad asti śaraṇam narasimharūpāl lakṣmīpater
bhuvanarakṣaṇajāgarūkāt ||SA 2.11||*

His grace is great, if thanks to him
one is able to cross the ocean of overflowing paternal debts.
There is no other shelter than the incarnation of Narasimha,
the Lord of Lakṣmī, intent on protecting the world.

The poet depicts Ahobilam in terms of a beautiful and bustling religious centre. For instance, he sketches a mass of smoke produced during fire-offerings, which incessantly hovers over the site as if causing an eclipse of the Sun and the Moon (*sadā yajanadhūmatatis samudyan rāhubhraman dinakarasya vidhoś ca date*, SA 2.14). He also delineates Ahobilam's landscape as dominated by the inner gopura of immaculate beauty, which reaches the sky with its peak and shimmers with the reflected world (*abhramālihāgram atinirmalaśobham antaryad gopuram lasati bimbitalokalakṣyāt*, SA 2.15). Although the choice of typical imagery to evoke the site's beauty and glory¹⁷ lays grounds for

¹⁶ Comp. the RA's version of this episode:

*iti cintāparo dhyātvā nṛhariṃ kuladaivatam |
sa tayā saha cārīṇyā tapo 'kuruta duṣcaram ||RA 1.46||*
Lost in thought, having meditated upon Nṛhari, the family deity,
he, together with his wife, performed severe penances (1.46).

¹⁷ See, e.g., PONTILLO 2010 on description of a city in epics and Kālidāsa's works.

questioning the factual character of its description, it is very likely that Ahobilam drew a number of the pilgrims long before the end of the 15th cent. Neither can one rule out the possibility that the story of Narasiṃha's parents visiting Ahobilam has some grain of plausibility. Ahobilam had been known in the south of India since the times of Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār, who praised it in his *Periya Tirumoli* (ca. 9th cent.). The site's existence on the pilgrimage map of the region, for instance, is suggested by the mention of Ahobilanarasimha in the *Vihagendrasamhitā* of Pāñcarātra (14th cent.) (GONDA 1977: 106) and the copper plate inscription issued by Anavema Reddy in 1378 near Guntur, which states that he constructed steps leading to both Śrīśailam and Ahobilam for the benefit of pilgrimaging devotees. Even earlier, legends related to the site and its presiding deity might have been circulated in the region by means of texts such as the Sanskrit *Śrīśailakhaṇḍa* (12/13th cent?), which contains several chapters on Ahobilam,¹⁸ or the Telugu *Narasimha Purāṇamu* by Errapragada (14th cent.), which glorifies Ahobilam. Although the two Sanskrit glorifications, i.e., the *Ahobilamāhātmya*,¹⁹ which praises the site, and the Vaishnava *Kāñcīmāhātmya*, namely the glorification of the Varadarāja temple in Kanchi, which includes one chapter that mentions Ahobilam (DĘBICKA-BOREK 2019), so far remain undated, one cannot exclude that they, too, were composed before the 16th cent.

Basically, the uniqueness of Ahobilam arises from its hosting different aspects of Narasiṃha. These aspects are traditionally encapsulated in the pattern of nine, reflected in the nine temples built within the Ahobilam sacred complex, most likely in the pre-Vijayanagara era.²⁰ The nine temples are scattered between the so called Upper and Lower Ahobilam and governed by Ahobilanarasimha in his ferocious (*ugra*) aspect. In view of local myths, Ahobilam is the exact spot where Narasiṃha killed the demon Hiranyakaśipu. Excluded from the traditional group of nine is the temple, which is dedicated to the mild (*saumya*) aspect of Narasiṃha, called Prahādavarada ('the one who grants boons to Prahāda'), coupled with his consort Lakṣmī. Noteworthy, R. Vasantha suggests that some of its structures might have been built during the times of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha (VASANTHA 2001: 86), hence later than the other

¹⁸ On dating its manuscripts, see REDDY 2014: 16; on mentions of Ahobilam, see REDDY 2014: 109.

¹⁹ The *Ahobilamāhātmya* claims to be a part of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. Sucharita Adluri notices that this (uncorroborated) association between the two texts goes back at least to the 14th cent. For instance, Erragada states that his Telugu *Narasimhapurāṇa* is based on the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* version (ADLURI 2019: 178, fn. 74).

²⁰ These are: Ahobilanarasimha, Varāhanarasimha, Mālolānarasimha, Yogānandanarasimha, Pāvananarasimha, Karañjanarasimha, Chatravāṇanarasimha, Bhārgavanarasimha, Jvālānarasimha (see *Ahobilamāhātmya* 4.8–54).

shrines at the site. Unlike the abundance of inscriptions left by Sāluva Narasiṃha and his family in Tirupati-Tirumala, there is however no epigraphical evidence that would point to Sāluvas' influence in Ahobilam. The earliest Vijayanagara record at the site is dated 1515 and was issued by Kṛṣṇarāya Tuḷuva. This poses a question as to whether Rājanātha – when praising the peaceful form of Narasiṃha to whom Guṇḍa resorts to secure an heir – refers to a particular, localised aspect of the deity worshipped at Ahobilam. Given that Vasantha is right in dating the Prahlāḍavarada temple, does it mean that the poet, between words, legitimises his patron's architectural project aimed at paying homage to the benevolent Narasiṃha to whom he owes his life? Or perhaps Rājanātha hints at the earlier Mālolanarasiṃha shrine, one of the nine? Both indeed host the god making the gesture of peace (*abhaya*) with his right hand and Lakṣmī seated on his lap. Another possibility is that, on the contrary, Rājanātha has in mind the rather standard image of Narasiṃha, who, as often happens in regard to the terrifying gods, in order to become auspicious and accessible to his devotees has to be tamed by his consort. Due to the lack of sources, I leave this question open.

Most importantly for the development of the narrative, Rājanātha portrays Ahobilam as associated with power to heal diseases (SA 2.17–18):

*jātyandhakāṇābhadhirādijanasya bhūyo 'py aṅgāni yatra vitarann
anupādhibandhuḥ |
viśvaṃbharo vikalakarmakṛto vidhātur ātmodbhavasya kim apākurute
'pavādam ||SA 2.17||*

Will Viṣṇu, after all a friend,
in the site, where he applies a remedy
to the body of people blind from birth, one-eyed, deaf, and others,
remove the denial of a son to a father
who has committed imperfect deeds?

*snātvātha tīrthasale dayitāsakho yaṃ datvā samastam api vittajam
dvijebhyaḥ |
natvā ca tatra narasiṃham ahoba(bi)leṣaṃ putrādṛto 'sya purato
nyavasat trirātram ||SA 2.18||*

In the company of his wife, he bathed in *tīrtha*'s water,
offered the whole wealth to Brahmins,
bowed in front of Narasiṃha, the Lord of Ahobilam.
Zealous of a son,
he stayed there for three nights in his presence.

In the following stanzas the poet evokes another literary motif common in Sanskrit narratives and vernacular tales, namely the theme of the miraculous conception, which involves an application of a concrete method to overcome infertility. Based on the yoga practice, the procedure chosen by Guṇḍa and his wife seems to fall into the category of means called by Sudyka ‘psycho-physical’,²¹ and covers ascetic practices, fasts and other mortifications. Rājanātha depicts Guṇḍa meditating on his subtle body consisting of *cakras*, which leads to the abandonment of body nourishment and a common state of awakening until evening (SA 2.18). When the peerless dissolution occurred (*laye nirupame janite*, SA 2.19), Guṇḍa releases the mind focused on *bhakti* and stiffens like a branch of a tree (*viṭapavaj jaḍatām prapannah*, SA 2.20). Eventually, when he enters into the meditation-sleep denoted as the state of *samādhi*, Narasiṃha appears in his dream and instructs him on the succession (SA 2.21–22):

*ante asatsahacarīgamitaprabodham aspandagātram
atimātrasamādhiniṣṭham |
āmīlitākṣam anubhāvitayoganidram āvirbhavan naraharir nṛpam ity
abhāṇīt ||SA 2.21||*

Narahari appeared and said to the king,
whose consciousness was sent to a wife sitting nearby,
whose limbs were not moving,
who was in the state of exceeding *samādhi*,
as he was experiencing the meditation-sleep having eyes closed.

*bhaktyaiva niṣpratibhayā pṛthivīpate te pṛito smi
yogaḍṛḍhabhāvanayopahūtaḥ |
aikyaṇ tayātmani gato smayi sambhavāmi tvayyeva
purnayanṛpānvayaśikṣaṇāya ||SA 2.22||*

‘Oh! King of the earth!
Summoned by demonstration of firmed yoga
I am pleased with your devotion devoid of splendor.
Thanks to it (*bhakti*), I reached oneness [with you] in the soul.
I smile at you to teach you
on the succession of kings-managers of citadels.’

Actually, on this occasion Rājanātha puts into Ahobilanarasimha’s mouth an explanation of the reasons for his descent to earth in an extraordinary two-fold body (*vikṛtadvirūpa*): ‘from the column which was the mouth of a blazing

²¹ The other two being ‘ritualistic means (sacrifices, special rituals) engendering a male issue’ and ‘animal and vegetal remedies: special food and concoctions’. Sometimes the methods can overlap, or instead of them a son can be adopted, see SUDYKA 2016: 19.

fire, laughing at a quivering demon (*atra*), Man-Lion appeared for the sake of saying to the disgraced one (*ayaśas*), “Be afraid!” (*vikṛtadvirūpaḥ | trasya tra sātrasahasajvaladagnivaktrastambhād abhūn nṛharir ity ayaśaḥ prabhāṣtum*, SA 2.23). The allusion to Narasiṃha’s act of killing the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu is followed by other motifs associated with any *avatāra*’s manifestation – restoring Kṛtayuga and Vedic teaching – and culminates with god’s duty to protect the king, his kingdom and its inhabitants. This strategy allows the poet to aptly blur the boundaries between the ruler’s and the god’s identity and their obligations towards their subjects (SA 2.24):

*netuṃ kaliṃ kṛtayugaṃ nijaṇītimārgān nirvighnam āracayitum
nigamopadeśam |
sadvīpabhūbharaṇatatparacakraṇvartisaṃrājyayogyam avitūṇ ca
dhanena hīnān ||SA 2.24||*

‘For the sake of leading Kali[yuga] towards Kṛtayuga,
For the sake of arranging Vedic teaching as independent from a native
conduct,
For the sake of protecting a man capable of ruling as an emperor,
whose highest aim is to maintain the earth and islands,
and the abandoned ones with the help of wealth.’

Before his disappearance, Narasiṃha requests Guṇḍa inform his chaste, afflicted by fast, wife (*sādhvīm imām sahacarīm upavāsadinām*, SA 2.25) that their wish will be fulfilled.²² Again, he emphasises his satisfaction with the quality of the king’s devotion (*baddho ’smi bhaktiguṇatas tava*, SA 2.25).²³ The

²² In the RA this episode goes as follows:

*tapasā tena santuṣṭas tasya svapne puro ’bhavat |
ahobalanṛsiṃhas tam abravīd adbhutam vacaḥ ||RA 1.47||
śauryagāmbhīryasaundaryadhairyaudāryādibhūṣaṇaḥ |
tavāstu tanayo vatsa! sarvovīcakraṇāyakaḥ ||RA 1.48||
ityudīrya vaco bhaktiā harṣitasyāśya bhupateḥ |
ahobalanṛsiṃho ’yam adhitāntar dayānidhiḥ ||RA 1.49||*
Satisfied with the penances, Ahobalanṛsiṃha appeared before him
in his dream and said marvelous words (1.47):

‘My dear child, yours will be a son adorned with heroism, dignity, beauty, intelligence
and generosity,
the leader of troops of the entire earth’ (1.48).
Having said these words to the king, [whose hair] were bristling with devotion
Ahobalanṛsiṃha, treasure of mercy, disappeared (1.49).

²³ In the RA this episode goes as follows:

*atha svapnāvāsāne ’śāv ānandāmṛtatundilāḥ? |
hariprasādam ācāṣṭa devyā darśitakautukaḥ ||RA 1.50||*
Moreover, when his dream came to the end, he, who experienced the wonder,
informed the queen about the grace of god, talking with happiness (1.50).

couple bows to Narasiṃha referred to as ‘easily accessible due to devotion’ (*bhaktisulabha*) and returns to their capital city (*nijarājadhānī*) (SA 2.29).

Keeping to the norms of the *kāvya* genre, in consecutive stanzas Rājanātha Dīṇḍima describes auspicious omens that foreshadow Mallāmbikā’s pregnancy. She beholds a certain phantom consisting of a previously unseen scattered light, clothed in yellow, with a beautiful golden complexion and the emblems of *śaṅkha* and *cakra* on its arms, which enters her (*kanakābhirāmavarṇaṃ piśaṅgavasanaṃ pravibhaktarūpaṃ | sā paśyati sma karadhārītaśaṅkhacakraṃ antarviśat kim api rocir adrṣṭapūrvam*, SA 2.30). The lustre evokes the child’s royal fame, which is associated with the colour white (ALI 2000). The Vaishnava emblems hint at a baby’s divinity. And indeed, two stanzas further, Rājanātha applies a multi-layered comparison to convey that the fetus has been implanted in Mallāmbikā’s womb by Viṣṇu himself²⁴ (SA 2.32):

*tatra praviṣṭavati śārṅgiṇi garbhaśayyāṃ tannirgamaṃ bahir iva
pratipālayanīm |
lakṣmīṃ tadyavirahād iva pāṇḍurūpāṃ anyādrṣīm śriyam alabdha
narendrapatnī ||SA 2.32||*

When Vishnu entered the womb,
the king’s wife obtained a lustre (Śrī) of another kind,
in the form of a pale appearance, reminding Lakṣmī,
[pale-skinned] due to separation from him,
as if waiting for the one who left.

By juxtaposing the pallor of Mallāmbikā and Lakṣmī – in the former case, physical, as caused by pregnancy ailments, in the latter brought on by longing – Rājanātha again seems to play with the concept of royal fame traditionally expressed by brightness. On another level, when paired with Lakṣmī the goddess, the term *śrī*, which he uses to describe Mallāmbikā’s condition after conception, connotes her status as Viṣṇu’s second consort. Yet another layer of associations concerns Lakṣmī as *proṣṭabhartrikā* or *virahotkaṇṭhikā*, namely two types of heroines (*nāyikā*) characterised by theoreticians of Indian literature as languishing in love because separated from a beloved; the former suffering for her beloved is far away on a business trip, the latter cannot meet her for some other reasons (SUDYKA 2007: 132–133).

²⁴ In the RA the episode concerning conception goes as follows:

*tathā guṇḍayabhūbhartuḥ tanayo ’bhūt tataḥ phalāt |
nanagunaṅaṇas tasyāṃ narasiṃha iti śrutāḥ ||RA 1.51||*

Thus, as a result, the son of King Guṇḍaya, possessing various qualities, known as Narasiṃha, was [conceived] in her (1.51).

When the poet eventually switches to the auspicious moment of the heir's delivery, he conventionally depicts this event as accompanied by fortunate prayers/blessings of the well-disposed people of all *āśramas*, austerities of the inhabitants of the three worlds, and a feast (*āśīrbhir āsumanasām akhilāśramāṇām bhāgyais trilokatapasā ca pancelimena*, SA 2.56). The delivery takes place at the right moment distinguished by five planets in high ascent (*pañcagrahoccagatiśālīni sanmuhūrte*, SA 2.56). The boy, denoted as the ruler of the earth (*kṣitīśa*), is named after Narasiṃha (*nāmārbhakasya narasiṃha iti kṣitīśaḥ*, SA 2.67).

The canto ends with Guṇḍa's departure to the forest after realising that his son has reached adulthood and acquired knowledge appropriate to rule (SA 2.86–87):

*vidyāpāram avāpi tad gurujanair nītaṃ puro vīkṣya taṃ
sāṣṭāṅgapraṇataṃ sutaṃ savinayaṃ sasneham utthāpayan |
ālīṅgotpulakaṃ punaḥpunar asāv āghrāya mūrdhny ādarāt
antarlīna ivātmanātmani sukhād āmīlitākṣo 'bhavat ||SA 2.86||*

The ocean of knowledge has been achieved by the elders.
Having seen him brought to it,
modestly prostrating with eight limbs in front of him,
he, with affection, lifted his son.
Having embraced the one whose hair were bristling,
with care he kissed him over and over on the head.
He closed his eyes with happiness in his soul
as if he had dissolved within himself.

*sakalām upadiśya dharmanītiṃ nijasāmrājyadhuran nidhāya tasmin |
agamad vanam ātmavaṃśarītyā saha mallāmbikayā sa guṇḍyendraḥ
||SA 2.87||*

Having instructed him about the entire policy of *dharma*,
and having passed the burden of kingship to him,
Guṇḍaya accompanied by Mallāmbikā departed to the forest
in accordance with the custom of his lineage.²⁵

The final episode of the narrative seems to reflect one more popular motif, in light of which a ruler abdicates in favour of his son and chooses asceticism. However, as Sharma remarks (SHARMA 2011: 401), when uncorroborated

²⁵ The same motif closes the first canto, where it is Gauta, the father of Guṇḍa, who departs to the forest having passed the responsibilities to his son; see an excerpt in KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR 2003: 92.

it often serves as a strategy aimed at showing an uninterrupted chain of successors if there is some uncertainty regarding the details of handing over power, or, even, to euphemistically refer to a murder caused by succession fights. Although the poem was composed before Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's actual powerful overtaking of the throne from Saṅgamas, this is most likely how the poet understood Narasiṃha's right to rule, not because of blood bonds with the Saṅgamas, but due to merits, mostly martial achievements, of his and his predecessors.

The last issue I discuss refers to possible reasons behind Rājanātha Dīṇḍima's decision to equate his patron with Ahobilanarasiṃha.

4. Why Ahobilanarasiṃha?

According to Jan Gonda, what gave a basis to the concept of divine kingship was the emphasising of Viṣṇu's attributes connected to protecting all and defending the *dharma*. In epics and *purāṇas*, Viṣṇu is paralleled with a model divine ruler and the god's certain portions are absorbed by sovereigns. Through his links to the powers of nature, Viṣṇu is also responsible for fertility, which is an issue essential for a king (GONDA 1969: 164–167). The simplest answer to the question why the poet (or his patron) chose Viṣṇu's incarnation as Narasiṃha for Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's divine counterpart would be hence the Man-Lion's ferocious character that made him the most dangerous *avatāra* of the god. Over centuries, the attributes of Viṣṇu-Narasiṃha were especially appealing to kings, for whom the deity embodied all the traits required of a ruler: bravery and commitment to restore *dharma*. In puranic and epic literature the myth of Narasiṃha was presented and retold in terms of his victory over the demon Hiranyakaśipu conceptualised within the 'neither-nor' scheme. Narasiṃha, himself a hybrid entity, defeats the king of demons regardless of his boon to remain invincible both during the day, and at night; and being beyond defeat by either man or animal, etc. Only with the passing of time does the focus of the myth shift to the issue of Hiranyakaśipu's son, Prahlāda, and the role of Narasiṃha in saving him from his father through his arduous devotion to Viṣṇu (SOIFER 1991).

As essential to a narrative on a ruler's miraculous conception, Sāḷuva Narasiṃha shares the name with Viṣṇu's incarnation, which perfectly fits the old pattern of depicting a king through referring to the concept of *avatāra*. But why does the poet identify Sāḷuva Narasiṃha with a particular, local form of Narasiṃha, namely, Ahobilanarasiṃha? Does this prove Sāḷuvās' connection to Ahobīlam? In what sense can the narrative on Sāḷuva Narasiṃha as the

Ahobilanarasimha incarnate be seen as reflecting true events? How did it help him to become a king?

I propose to discuss the purpose of inserting the narrative into the SA from two, yet overlapping, perspectives. One, focused on the toponymical nature of the name of the deity Sāḷuva Narasimha, is likened with attempts at confirming the chief's influences over a certain area that was crucial for underscoring his military successes and thus useful in terms of showing him as worthy of being the emperor. The other, more general, concerns employing the motif of *avatāra* to express Sāḷuva Narasimha's identity as a brave ruler and his martial successes in a way comprehensible for the audience.

In light of the already mentioned remarks of SIMMONS 2018 and SHARMA 2011, narratives play an important role when integrated into genealogies of rulers of rising kingdoms to praise a new dynasty and to explained how it became powerful in a particular historical and geographical milieu. References to certain sites in genealogies, often by means of narratives, may point to attempts at establishing political and religious relations, and to claims of power over disputed areas. These are often the areas situated on the borders.

Accordingly, the political situation of the areas on the northern frontier of Vijayanagara on the turn of the 15th and 16th cent. suggests that the most telling feature of the narrative on the Ahobilanarasimha incarnate is locating it in Ahobilam. Although no inscriptional records seem to mention Sāḷuva Narasimha's political connection to Ahobilam, it seems very likely that pivotal for the poet's concept is the strategic value of the site. Ahobilam is situated slightly to the north of Tirupati (ca. 250 km), which, in turn is ca 16 km from Candragiri, that is the fort which had served Sāḷuvas as a military base since the times of Maṅgi, Narasimha's heroic predecessor. Building alliances in this particular region of southern Andhra was essential to control the Empire's northern territories in a Tamil area. It also provided a chance to remain far from the contested area of Kaliṅga (STOKER 2016: 88). As Stoker observes,

That Sāḷuva Narasimha, a general in Emperor Virūpākṣarāya's army, who had been made governor of this region, was able to usurp the authority of the last king of the Saṅgama dynasty and establish the short-lived 'Sāḷuva' one attests to how much military power had been placed in his hands. This, in turn, attests to the strategic significance of the Tirupati region to the empire (STOKER 2016: 88).

Given that Sāḷuva Narasimha – considered the first to use the help of religious institutions to consolidate the power to a significant extent (APPADURAI 1977:

47) – had been successfully establishing control over the Tirupati region through patronising Tirumala-Tirupati temples already while in the service of Saṅgamas, it seems plausible that his (or the poet's) ambitions reached further, towards Ahobilam, that is another religious centre situated close to the Candragiri fort in the zone of interests. Mentions of strategically important Ahobilam could thus enhance his image as proper emperor through emphasising his skill at conquering and protecting the land and his will to support temples.

Unlike the suggestion of RA 1.46 that the tutelary deity (*kuladaivatā*) of the Sāluvas was Narasiṃha – apparently serving the poet to inscribe the narrative into the popular motif of king as a divine incarnate – officially the dynasty maintained Virūpākṣa in this role.²⁶ However, inscriptions issued by Sāluva Narasiṃha show that from 1456 onwards, that is long before he seized the throne, his favourite god was Viṣṇu in the form of Veṅkatanātha/Veṅkateśvara associated with Tirumala-Tirupati, which neighboured his fort in Candragiri. In this respect, Sāluva Narasiṃha shared his religious preferences with his great ancestor, Sāluva Maṅgi, who according to the 1359 inscription in the Veṅkateśvara temple fixed a gold *kalaśa* over a *vimāna* of the shrine. Other Sāluva chiefs left their records in Tirumala in the second half of the 15th cent. That the connections with the temple were equally essential for creating the image of the proper ruler as connecting him to a strategically important place is proved by a verse from the ninth canto of SA, in which Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima states that Sāluva Narasiṃha dwelt in his ancestral residence in Candragiri to worship the god (*ārāḍhanāyaiva harer nivāsam aicchan nṛpaś candraśironagaryām*, SA 9.21) and passes in silence other advantages of the fort.

Due to Sāluva Narasiṃha's support, the temple developed into a religious complex that absorbed the territory at the Tirumala's foot, Tirupati, and gained a cross-regional fame. Since transactions commissioned by him dealt with distribution of material resources and 'honours', they were instrumental in consolidating his power and extending control over new areas and new communities (APPADURAI 1977: 47).²⁷ Sāluva Narasiṃha did it with a successful mediation of the already mentioned Kantātai Rāmānuja Aiyengar (ca. 1430–

²⁶ Before eventual replacement of tutelary deities, that is starting from the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya onwards, the name of Viṭhala was added to inscriptions as a witness of recorded events and transactions. See VERGHESE 2004: 422; STOKER 2016: 76.

²⁷ Over the years Sāluva Narasiṃha supported the Tirumala shrine with rich donations. He granted villages to the temple to procure daily offerings (1456; TTD 2 no. 4, 1467; TTD 2 no. 30, 1468; TTD 2 no. 34). Thanks to him, for instance, the *vasāntamaṇḍapa* on the *svāmipuṣkarīni* was built (1468; TTD 2 no. 31) and the Swing Festival was arranged for the deity (1473; TTD 2 no. 50).

1496), a disciple of Aḷakiyaṃaṇavāla Jīyar, who was a renunciate traditionally linked with Maṇavāḷamāmuni (1370–1445). This cooperation chiefly focused on constructing and managing the feeding houses for pilgrims built to honour Rāmānuja (*rāmānujakūtaṃ*) and administrated by Aiyengar's disciples or the non-Brahmin Śrīvaiṣṇava devotees, the so-called Sāttāda Ekāki Śrīvaiṣṇavas (LESTER 1994: 47).

Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's close links with Tirumala-Tirupati, so important for building his image as a king, are also emphasised in the SA. The theme of his visit to the Tirumala temple occupies the SA's entire ninth canto. In its first stanza, Rājanātha depicts Sāḷuva Narasiṃha as visiting the Veṅkaṭa mountain while attended by the defeated rulers.²⁸ Overtly, such a picture seems to express the seeking of divine authorisation for the freshly acquired power. However, throughout the canto, Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima frequently addresses his patron as Varāha/Mahīvarāha, which refers to Viṣṇu's incarnation as Boar. In this way the poet amplifies the *avatāra*-like nature of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha, but also, by means of allusion to the insignia of the Saṅgamas, shows him as a proper Vijayanagara ruler.²⁹ In addition, in Tirumala-Tirupati, the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu connotes the deity which was worshipped in Tirumala as the first.³⁰ Noteworthy, in the third verse of the same canto of SA, the poet identifies the god to whom Sāḷuva Narasiṃha, denoted as Mahīvarāha (the Boar with the Earth), made obeisance after reaching the Veṅkaṭa mountain, with Narasiṃha.³¹

²⁸ *atha kṣitīśair vijitair aśeṣair āsevyamāno dharaṇīvarāhaḥ
vilanḡhya mārgaṃ bahubhiḥ pravāṇaiḥ viṣṇoḥ priyaṃ veṅkataśailam āgāt* ||SA 9.1||
Then, attended by all defeated rulers,
the Dharaṇīvarāha traversed the path with many steep slopes,
and approached the mountain of Veṅkaṭa
which is dear to Viṣṇu.

(I read *pravāṇaiḥ* as *pravaṇaiḥ*).

²⁹ The boar was probably taken over from the Kākāfīyas and maintained as the symbol of royal power (RAMANAYYA 1933: 102–103; cf. SUDYKA 2013: 122)

³⁰ An episode of Varāha's and Viṣṇu's encounter in Tirupati occurs in the local Sanskrit *puṇyāṅga*, according to which Viṣṇu rented a room on the Veṅkaṭa hill from Varāha while he was searching for Lakṣmī. The contract between the two forms of Viṣṇu is to date commemorated by pilgrims who before a visit to the Veṅkaṭeśvara shrine are supposed to visit the shrine of Varāha (SHULMAN and RAO 2005: 119–120).

³¹ The stanza is incomplete:

*mahīvarāho 'tha varāhamūrtir jayaśriyāpto dayitaṃ ramāyāḥ
sa prāṇamat prāṇamayaṃ pumāṃsaṃ nṛsiṃharūpaṃ narasiṃ...* ||SA 9.3||
In the form of Varāha,
moreover, as Varāha along with Mahī (Earth),
who was approached by the Goddess of victory,
he made obeisance to a husband of Ramā,
a living man in the form of Nṛsiṃha...

A separate shrine of Narasiṃha was built within the premises of the Tirumala complex as early as the first half of the 14th century. Viraraghavacharya suggests that it was constructed with the never fulfilled purpose of storing the idol either of Sholinghur or Ahobilam in case of a raid by sultanate forces. Besides, Narasiṃha along with Varāha, were especially popular among local *arcakas* (VIRARAGHAVACHARYA 1953: 231–232). However, because of the rule followed in the Tirumala temple according to which no other *mūrti* except Veṅkatanāṭha could receive *pūjā* and food offerings, they did not gain individual recognition even though both had separate shrines (VIRARAGHAVACHARYA 1953: 215–216). First endowments for food offerings to Narasiṃha, practically offered only in his honour to Veṅkateśvara, were not made until 1469, by the already mentioned Kantātai Rāmānuja Iyengar, who was a close associate of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha (VIRARAGHAVACHARYA 1953: 231–232). It is hard not to notice that this period coincides with Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's patronage over the temple. In addition, in 1485 Sāḷuva Narasiṃha consecrated the temple of Śrī Narasiṃha in Alipiri, that is at the foot of the Tirumala hill, on the path leading to Tirumala (TTD 2 no. 82). The time of its construction suggests that its purpose was to commemorate his assuming of the title of *sarvabhauma*, the emperor. Situated outside Tirumala, its presiding deity could be worshipped on its own and thus receive respect proper to the emperor's namesake.

Even if in accordance with the rules of Tirumala temple the Narasiṃha deity could not be treated on the same terms as Veṅkateśvara, the content of the ninth chapter reveals both the poet's endeavors to homologise Sāḷuva Narasiṃha with his divine namesake and account for his growing interest towards the Narasiṃha cult,³² already then, as we can presume, associated in this particular region with the religious centre in Ahobilam.

If APPADURAI 1977: 69–70 is right, activities of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha in Tirupati indirectly led to establishment of the Ahobila *maṭha*, the monastery institution which became an important partner of the successive Vijayanagara dynasties and fostered the development of Śrīvaiṣṇavism in the region of Andhra. As he claims, as a result of Kantātai support, the importance of the Tamil Śrīvaiṣṇava school in Tirupati grew significantly towards the end of the 15th cent. Just after 1500 CE, the *jīyars* of Tirupati Vān Saṭakopan

³² As in the case of other gods associated with attributes of warriors and protectors, who were usually drawn from the marginal inland societies of hunters and pastoralists, Narasiṃha's cult happened to play an important role in the military and political structure of the empire; more so, as it allowed for the integration of such communities into the state (SINOPOLI 2000: 376). It seems, however, that the cult of Narasiṃha was the earliest Vaiṣṇava cult in the city of Vijayanagara. The worship of the Man-Lion reached its peak at the turn of the 15th and 16th century as suggested by a huge sculpture of Narasiṃha with Lakṣmī commissioned by Kṛṣṇadevarāya in 1528 and found in the capital city (VERGESE 2004: 424).

maṭha, who preferred the Sanskrit tradition, left the place to look for new opportunities in Tamil and Telugu speaking zones. They moved their headquarters to Ahobilam and within several decades gained control over local Narasiṃha temples as well as involved themselves in various transactions controlled by the Vijayanagara kings.

The importance of communicating a ruler's ability to control and expand the empire by showcasing the extension of influences over Ahobilam is implied by the site's treatment by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, the great king of the Tuluva dynasty, whose reign started in 1509, that is just eighteen years after Sāluva Narasiṃha's demise. As shown by Stoker, in contrast to the sites in the region of Karnataka, which were under Kṛṣṇadevarāya's stable patronage, Ahobilam and other sites located along the Empire's northern border, both in Andhra and Tamil countries, regularly appear in the *praśasti* (panegyric) portions of his inscriptions (STOKER 2016: 158, fn. 94). Given that inscriptions provide not only historical data but also, being a literary genre, through the usage of conventions they reveal inspirations for how a ruler wanted to self-represent (STOKER 2016: 32), what transpires from these *praśastis* is, as Stoker observes, Kṛṣṇadevarāya's 'double-sided stewardship as being rooted in both military might and constructive donations to religious institutions' (STOKER 2016: 33). Listing temples and religious donations in inscriptions was a strategy to voice the king's engagements both in conquests and supporting religious institutions – namely the true character of royal activities – and publicise his control over freshly annexed or rebellious areas. Particularly useful for this purpose were royal donations to sectarian leaders to support a *maṭha* or to establish it where a temple was already built (STOKER 2016: 34). Contrary to Sāluva Narasiṃha, however, inscriptions corroborate that Kṛṣṇadevarāya visited Ahobilam in 1515, which in turn confirms the site's importance for the state. Perhaps it was even him who contributed to the establishment of the Ahobila *maṭha*: whereas traditional claims date this event 14th cent., according to RAJAGOPALAN 2005 its first pontiff was appointed by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, which in turn seems to be supported by RAMAN 1975: 80–81. Surely, Kṛṣṇadevarāya continued Sāluva Narasiṃha's policy of patronising the area of Tirumala-Tirupati, including Ahobilam, for this area was important to him as well to monitor local communities and indocile *nāyakas* (STOKER 2016: 39).

5. Conclusions

The poem/s of Rājanatha Ḍiṇḍima is/are most likely the earliest Vijayanagara Sanskrit composition/s which refer to Ahobilam. However, it seems justified to assume that the myths associated with the site had been known to the poet's

contemporaries to such an extent that he had no doubts as to his eulogies' proper, intended, reception. At the root of these myths lay old beliefs in view of which Viṣṇu in his wrathful (*ugra*) aspect of Narasiṃha was incarnated exactly there to kill Hiraṇyakaśipu. Another set of local myths – with time passing repurposed from the tribal oral traditions as *Vāsantikāpariṇaya*, a Sanskrit drama attributed to Śaṭhakopa Yaśindra Mahādeśika, the 7th superior of the *maṭha* in Ahobilam (ca. 16th cent.) – focuses upon marriage of Narasiṃha, both the deity and the king of Ahobilam, to a girl from a local hunter-gatherer Chenchu tribe, and thus figuratively reveals reconciliation of both traditions at the site (DĘBICKA-BOREK 2016). Given how powerful a literary tool the *avatāra* myths were in their 'classic' variants in terms of metaphorically expressing ruler's victorious deeds, identifying Sāluva Narasiṃha with the deity believed to have descended to the exact spot situated on the borders of the Vijayanagara to defeat the demon certainly contributed to highlighting his kingly merits for the framing of the Empire.

In a short period of time, the narrative crafted by Rājanātha Dīṇḍima with the aim of identifying Sāluva Narasiṃha with Ahobilanarasiṃha became part of Sāluvas' dynastic legends. These were also preserved in a couple of Sanskrit inscriptions issued by Immadi Narasiṃha (r. 1491–1505), Sāluva Narasiṃha's son, shortly after the Emperor's death. However, it seems plausible that as political conditions rapidly changed, both the poet responsible for integrating the motif into the genealogical list commissioned by Sāluva Narasiṃha's successor, and the readers, might have interpreted it as rendering something else, or rather something more, than Rājanātha originally intended. After the murder of Virūpākṣa by his eldest son in 1485, which was followed by the coronation of his younger son, Praudharāya (r. 1485), Sāluva Narasiṃha commanded Tuḷuva Īśvara's son Narasa Nāyaka, to take the city of Vijayanagara. As Praudharāya appeared to be disinterested in the affairs of the state, Sāluva Narasiṃha usurped the throne. Clearly, he might have been seen as saving the Vijayanagara from disruption (SHASTRI 1996: 272–275) in the manner gods were believed to save the earth. The way he was depicted by Rājanātha Dīṇḍima must have been helpful in the public reassessment of the coup Sāluva Narasiṃha led and his status as a usurper. As the divine incarnate connected to Ahobilam, the site of a religious but, most of all, strategic value on the northern border of the Empire, for many he must have appeared a better choice to rule than the true yet incapable and feud successors of Devarāya II, Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa II. With the already earned position of the trusted and powerful generalissimo whose military forces protect the border zones and successively expand the territory, it was not difficult to present and perceive him as Narasiṃha the god.

Two records of donations commissioned by Immadi Narasiṃha, when his father was already gone and he himself was controlled by the Tuḷuvas who now laid claims to the throne they earlier helped Sāḷuva Narasiṃha to obtain, include long genealogical passages. In both cases, the list of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's titles and deeds is preceded by an allusion to Ahobilanarasiṃha's role in his conception.

The Chakenahalli (Demasamudra) copper-plate *śāsana* dated to 1492 literally calls the son of Guṇḍa 'the eleventh incarnation' of Hari, who descended to earth to fight enemies:

*tataḥ kālāt bahos taptvā tapāṃsi sa mahīpatiḥ
 narasiṃhamahārāyam lebhe naraharer varam |
 chāpakotiśamutkhātasakalārātibhūbhṛtā |
 nitā daśām aṇṣamām pṛthunā yena med[corr:medi]nī |
 samahartum iha niśśeṣam kaṇṭakān sa haris svayam |
 yāy janmacchadmanā sākṣād iyeṣaikaḍaśam januḥ |
 ahobalaśrīṇṣiṃhād āvirbhūtāt tapobalāt |
 narasiṃhamahārāyam putram lebhe sa bhūpatiḥ |³³*

After a long period of performing austerities, the king [Guṇḍa] obtained the boon from Narasiṃha – the great king Narasiṃha.

This great king, all of whose adversaries' tips of the bows were destroyed/drawn, brought the Earth to convenient conditions.

In order to entirely annihilate enemies on this world, Hari himself strived for an eleventh descent in a bodily form in as much as under the pretext of birth.

Due to powerful austerities, the king obtained from manifested Ahobalaśrīṇṣiṃha a son, the great king Narasiṃha.

The Devulapalli copper-plate, dated 1505, that is the year of Immadi Narasiṃha's murder, concisely refers to Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's birth using wording similar to that of the previous inscription. Remarkably, however, it praises Sāḷuva Narasiṃha as the one who became the emperor after fighting, and hence most likely alludes to an event of capturing the throne by him:

³³ See *Annual Report of the Mysore Archeological Department for 1924*, pp. 96–102; plate II a, lines 48–55. I adjusted the transcript to the IAST norms.

guṇāmbudher guṇdavibhos tato 'bhūn mallāmbikāyāṃ mahanīyakīrtiḥ |
nṛsihvarāyo 'yam ahovalasrīṇsihvadevasya varaprasādā[t] |
mīsaragaṃḍakaṭhārīsāluvadharāṇīvarāhabirudāṃkaḥ |
*yaḥ khadgasahāyaḥ sarvān nirjitya sārvaabhaumo 'bhūt |*³⁴

Thus, as the result of god Ahobalaśrīṇsiṃha's gracious boon,
 Mallāmbikā conceived by Mighty Guṇḍa, the Ocean of Virtues,
 the king Nṛsiṃha of illustrious fame,
 given the title of Mīsaragaṃḍa-kaṭhārī-sāluva-dharāṇīvarāha,
 who, after defeating everyone with a sword, became the Emperor.

Although, on the one hand, the rapid changes that took place in Sāluva Narasiṃha's turbulent life meant that the same motif of a king as a divine incarnation might have been used to underwrite various events, on the other, its focal point, that is confirmation of power, seems to remain the same. As I hoped to demonstrate, in the poems which were composed ca. 1480, that is before the eventual seizing of throne by Sāluva Narasiṃha, the narrative primarily rendered his military might and projected the expanding range of his influences by means of referring to a religious center in the border zone he was already able to control from the fort in Candragiri. Through equating him with Narasiṃha of that place, Ahobilanarasiṃha, the same narrative justified his decision to forcefully overtake the throne when it eventually happened, the deed hinted at in inscriptions issued by his (threatened) successor, for, if seen from such a perspective, this is what must have been done to protect the subjects.

Funding

This research was funded by the National Science Centre, Poland (NCN), on the basis of decision no. 2018/29/B/HS2/01182.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Prof. Marzenna Czerniak-Drożdżowicz and Prof. Lidia Sudyka, who read an early draft of this paper, as well as the reviewers, for their valuable suggestions. I also thank Maria Puri for correcting my English.

³⁴ See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 7 (1902–1903), pp. 80–85, plate I, lines 21–25 (all instances of *nṛsihva* I read as *nṛsiṃha*).

Abbreviations

GOML Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Chennai

References

- ADLURI, Sucharita 2019. 'Viewing Telugu Inscription at Ahobila'. *South Asian Studies* 35(2): 168–180.
- Ahobilamāhātmya = ANANTHAPADMANABHACHARIYAR, M. V., ed. 2015. *Sri Ahobila Mahatmyam (Brahmanda Puranam): Slokas – Sanskrit and Kannada Meanings in English*. Bangalore: Navbharath Press.
- ALI, Daud 2000. 'Royal Eulogy as World History: Rethinking Copper-plate Inscriptions in Cōla India'. [In:] Inden, Ronald B., Jonathan S. Walters and Daud Ali, eds, *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 165–229.
- Annual Report of the Mysore Archeological Department for the year 1924*. 1925. Bangalore: Government Press.
- APPADURAI, Arjun 1977. 'Kings, Sects and Temples in South India, 1350–1700 A.D.'. *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 14(1): 47–72.
- CHATTOPADHYAYA, Brajadulal 1998. *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims (Eighth to Fourteenth Century)*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- DEBICKA-BOREK, Ewa 2015. 'The Bravery of Sāluva Narasiṃha and the Grace of Narasiṃha Deity'. *Indologica Taurinensia* 40: 62–78.
- DEBICKA-BOREK, Ewa 2016. 'When the God Meets a Tribal Girl: Narasiṃha's Second Marriage in the Light of the Vāsantikāpariṇayam'. *Cracow Indological Studies* 18: 301–338.
- DEBICKA-BOREK, Ewa 2019. 'From Kāñcīpuram to Ahobilam and Back: Narasiṃha Chasing the Demons in the Kāñcīmāhātmya 3'. *Folia Orientalia* 56: 159–185.
- Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII (1902–1903). New Delhi: The Director General Archeological Survey of India (reprinted 1981).
- GONDA, Jan 1969. *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- GONDA, Jan 1977. *Medieval Religious Literature in Sanskrit*. A History of Indian Literature 2/1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- GRANOFF, Phyllis 1984. 'Holy Warriors: A Preliminary Study of Some Biographies of Saints and Kings in the Classical Indian Tradition'. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 12(3): 291–303.
- HARI RAO, V. N., trans. 1961. *Koyil Oluku*. Madras: Rochouse & Sons.
- INGALLS, Daniel Henry Holmes 1965. 'General Introduction'. [In:] Ingalls, Daniel H. H., transl., *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry*. Vidyākara's 'Subhāṣitaratnakośa'. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, Sakkottai 2003. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*. New Delhi: Aryan Books (1st ed. 1919).
- LESTER, Robert C. 1994. 'The Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114(1): 39–53.
- LIENHARD, Siegfried 1984. *A History of Classical Poetry: Sanskrit-Pali-Prakrit*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- New Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol. XXXIX = DASH, Siniruddha, ed. 2015. *New Catalogus Catalogorum. An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors*. Volume XXXIX: *sārāṁśa – suhodita*. Madras: University of Madras.
- OLIVELLE, Patrick 1993. *The Āśrama System. The History and Hermeneutics of a Religious Institution*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- POLLOCK, Sheldon 2003. 'Sanskrit Literary Culture from the Inside Out'. [In:] Pollock, Sheldon, ed., *Literary Cultures in History. Reconstructions from South Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 39–130.
- PONTILLO, Tiziana 2010. 'When a Magnificent City Looks Like a Heavenly Grove: The Fluttering Flags and Pennants on the Mansions in the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in Kālidāsa's Works'. [In:] Stasik, Danuta and Anna Trynkowska, eds, *The City and the Forest in Indian Literature and Art*. Warsaw: Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, pp. 53–68.
- RA = VISALAKSHY, P., ed. 2003. *Rāmābhyudayam*. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 267. Thiruvananthapuram: SB Press (P) Limited.
- RAJAGOPALAN, T. A. 2005. *The Origin and Growth of Ahobila Mutt (A Study Based on Inscriptions)*. Srirangam – Trichi: Divya Parampariya Padhukappu Peravai.
- RAMAN, K. V. 1975. *Srī Varadarājaswāmi Temple – Kānchī*. New Delhi: Shakti Malik Abhinav Publication.
- RAMANAYYA, Venkata N. 1933. *Vijayanagara. Origin of the City and the Empire*. Madras: University of Madras.
- REDDY, Prabhavati C. 2014. *Hindu Pilgrimage. Shifting Patterns of Worldview of Shrī Shailam in South India*. London/New York: Routledge.
- SA = *Sāḷuvābhyadaya*. Manuscript DC Nos. 11818 and 11819, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Chennai.
- SASTRY, Sadhu Subrahmanya 1998. *Report on the Inscriptions of the Devasthanam Collection with Illustrations*. Tirupati: Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams (1st edition 1930).
- SHARMA, Mahesh 2011. 'Lineage, Power and Perception: Comparison of the Royal Chambā Genealogy with Contemporary Epigraphs, 800–1650 CE'. *Religions of South Asia* 5(1/2): 389–408.

- SHASTRI, Nilakanta K. A. 1996. *A History of South India. From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press (1st edition 1955).
- SHULMAN, David and Velcheru Narayana RAO 2005. *God on the Hill: Temple Poems from Tirupati. Annamayya*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- SIMMONS, Caleb 2018. 'Family, God, and Kingdom. Vamśāvali as Local Royalist Literature'. [In:] Devadevan, Manu V., ed., *Clio and Her Descendants. Essays for Keshavan Veluthat*. Delhi: Primus Books, pp. 598–622.
- SINOPOLI, Carla M. 2000. 'From the Lion Throne: Political and Social Dynamics of the Vijayanagara Empire'. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 43(3), 364–398.
- SOIFER, Deborah A. 1991. *The Myths of Narasiṃha and Vāmana. Two Avatars in Cosmological Perspective*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- SONTHEIMER, Günther-Dietz 1987. 'The Vana and the Kṣetra: The Tribal Background of Some Famous Cults'. [In:] Tripathi, Gaya Charan and Hermann Kulke, eds, *Eschmann Memorial Lectures*. Bhubaneswar: Eschmann Memorial Fund, pp. 117–164.
- STEIN, Burton 1989. *Vijayanagara*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- STOKER, Valerie 2016. *Polemics and Patronage in the City of Victory. Vyāsātīrtha, Hindu Sectarianism, and the Sixteenth-Century Vijayanagara Court*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- SUDYKA, Lidia 2007. 'Abhisārikā – the Heroine Proceeding to a Tryst as Seen by Indian Theoreticians of Literature'. *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 40(2): 130–146.
- SUDYKA, Lidia 2013. *Vijayanagara. A Forgotten Empire of Poetesses. Part I. The Voice of Gaṅgādevī*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.
- SUDYKA, Lidia 2016. 'Impregnating Food. The Miraculous Conception Motif in Indian Narratives'. [In:] Pieruccini, Cinzia and Paola M. Rossi, eds, *A World of Nourishment: Reflections on Food in Indian Culture*. Consonanze 3. Milano: Ledizioni, pp. 191–200.
- TRUSCHKE, Audrey 2021. *The Language of History. Sanskrit Narratives of Muslim Pasts*. Kindle edition.
- TTD 2 = RAGHAVACHARYA, V. Vijaya, ed. *Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams Inscriptions*, Vol. 2.: SASTRY, Sadhu Subrahmanya, trans. 1998. *Inscriptions of Saluva Narasimha's Time. From 1445 A.D. to 1504 A.D.* Tirupati: Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams.
- TUBB, Gary A. 1984. 'Heroine as Hero: Pārvatī in the "Kumārasambhava" and "Pārvatīpariṇaya"'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104(2): 219–236.
- VASANTHA, R. 2001. *Ahobilam. Sri Narasimha Swamy Temple*. Tirupati: Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams.

VERGHESE, Anila 2004. 'Deities, Cults and Kings at Vijayanagara'. *World Archeology* 36(3): 416–431.

VIRARAGHAVACHARYA, T. K. T. 1953. *History of Tirupati (The Tiruvengadam Temple)*, Vol. 1. Tirupati: Tirupati Devasthanams.

Petro Zieme
diei LXXX^{mi} natalis causa
dedicatum

Ein sanskrit–uigurisches Fragment der *Tridaṇḍamālā* in Brāhmī-Schrift: Reedition des Texts TT VIII D

Jens-Uwe HARTMANN und Dieter MAUE

Abstract: The subject of this article, a manuscript rediscovered during the First Prussian Turfan Expedition, was the first sample of the then unknown Uigur variety of the Brāhmī script, whose decipherment was greatly facilitated by its bi-linguality, with Sanskrit as the source language. Though a whole series of scholars have dealt intensively with the text, it has not been possible to assign it to a specific work. Recently, however, a parallel has been found in the *Tridaṇḍamālā*, a collection of ritual texts in forty chapters, each consisting of a *sūtra* framed by stanzas. The fragmentary Sanskrit-Uigur bilingual preserves part of chapter 5. Here, the text of both languages is edited, translated and commented on (§ 3), preceded by the history of research (§ 1) and a short introduction to the *Tridaṇḍamālā* (§ 2), followed by the graphematical profile of the manuscript (§ 4) and glossaries (§ 5).

Keywords: *Tridaṇḍamālā*, Aśvaghōṣa, TT VIII D, Uigur text in Brāhmī script, bilingual Buddhist manuscript

English title: A Sanskrit-Uigur Fragment of the *Tridaṇḍamālā* in Brāhmī Script: Re-edition of TT VIII D

Jens-Uwe HARTMANN, Munich; juhartman@lmu.de

Dieter MAUE, Schwarzenborn; dmaue@t-online.de

1. Einleitung und Forschungsgeschichte
2. Die *Tridaṇḍamālā*
3. Edition
 - 3.1. Transliteration und Transkription

- 3.2. Textbearbeitung und Übersetzung
- 3.3. Kommentar
- 4. Graphematisches Profil der Handschrift
- 5. Glossare
 - 5.1. Sanskrit – Deutsch – Uigurisch
 - 5.2. Uigurisch – Deutsch – Sanskrit
- Addendum
- Danksagung
- Abkürzungen und Literatur

1. Einleitung und Forschungsgeschichte

Die Beschäftigung mit der Rückseite¹ der Handschrift Mainz 718, besser bekannt unter der Kurzbezeichnung TT VIII D², reicht in die Anfänge der Turfan-Philologie zurück, als man zu verstehen begann, welch unvermutete literarische Schätze vornehmlich buddhistischen Inhalts aus den Höhlenklöstern und dem Wüstensand des Tarimbeckens zutage kamen, darunter solche in unbekannten Sprachen, deren Entzifferung neue linguistische Horizonte öffnen sollte. Zu den frühen Entdeckungen gehörte die von H. Stöner so beschriebene:

Unter den GRÜNWEDELSchen Brāhmīhandschriften³ fielen mir gleich im Anfang meiner Untersuchungen einige zerrissene Fragmente einer Handschrift auf, deren Schrift sich durch merkwürdige Ligaturen, wie sie im Sanskrit nicht möglich sind, sowie durch einige unbekannte Buchstaben auszeichnete. [...] Bei näherer Besichtigung ergab es sich, daß der Text Sanskritwörter enthielt, die in einer unbekannten Sprache augenscheinlich glossiert waren. Nach verschiedenen vergeblichen Versuchen gelang es mir endlich, das Wort *kilmišim*, welches das Sanskritwort *ḥṛtaṃ* Zeile 22 und nochmals Zeile 40 erklärt, als türkisch durch Hrn. VON LE COQ festzulegen. Aber erst der Mitarbeit des Hrn.

¹ Das Blatt war ursprünglich Teil einer chinesischen Schriftrolle und enthält auf der Vorderseite eine Passage aus T 1566, einer Übersetzung von Bhāvivekas *Prajñāpradīpamūlamadhyamavyūtti*, s. MAUE Kat I: 75 Fn. 1.

² Nach der ersten Gesamtveröffentlichung durch A. von GABAIN 1954: 30–37 in *Türkische Turfan-Texte VIII* Text D, hierzu weiter unten S. 47; katalogisiert als Nr. 18 in MAUE Kat I: 75 f. mit Tafeln 52–54; Digitalisate der Handschrift s. Abkürzungen unter Mainz.

³ A. Grünwedel war Leiter der sog. 1. Turfan-Expedition (1902–1903). Zwar trägt die Handschrift keine Kennzeichnung, die ihre Provenienz explizit angibt. Jedoch ergibt sich auch aus dem Veröffentlichungsdatum eindeutig, dass sie der 1. Expedition zuzuordnen ist, deren Ziel ausschließlich die Ruinenstadt Xoǎo nahe Turfan war, vgl. z. B. SHT I: XV.

Dr. F. W. K. MÜLLER gelang es, weitere türkische Wörter zu belegen [...] (STÖNNER 1904: 1288).

Von den „unbekannten Buchstaben“, die man heute „Spezialzeichen“ (so hier), „Sonderzeichen“, „Fremdzeichen“ u. ä. nennt, finden sich die folgenden wenn auch nicht in allen Einzelheiten, so doch im Kern richtig aufgefasst:⁴ 1. „qa, nur einmal vorkommend⁵ Zeile 25 qoḷ [„Arm“]“, 2. γa, 3. la, 4. „ṛa, nach harten Vokalen“.⁶

Tabelle 1: Zeichen und Spezialzeichen

Nr.	Zeichenform	Umschrift Stönnner	Hier verwendete Symbole ⁷ in der	
			Transliteration	Transkription
1.		qa	ḱa, -ḱ	ka, k
2.		γa	g _i a, -g _i	ga, g
3.		la	la, -l	li, l
4.		ṛa	(ṛa,) -ṛ	(ri,) r

⁴ Die Nummerierung entspricht der in der Tabelle.

⁵ Merkwürdige Angabe, q (ḱ) ist recht häufig.

⁶ Diese vier Spezialzeichen wurden dem non-palatalen Lautbereich zugerechnet, *expressis verbis*, wenn „nach harten Vokalen“ sich nicht nur auf Nr. 4 bezieht. Im übrigen ergibt es sich bei Nr. 1 aus dem Musterwort kol und STÖNNER 1905: 420; bei den beiden anderen sprechen die Transkriptionssymbole γ, l dafür. Für „q“ (ḱ) gilt das nach wie vor. Für die anderen Zeichen gibt es Gegenbeispiele mit vorderem Vokalismus aus der Handschrift selbst, wie schon Bailey (BAILEY 1936: speziell zu g_i) und LEWICKI 1936: 202 bemerkten: γ (g_i) und l (l) in 32 ti lyā g_ii-l, *tilāgil* „strebe“; ṛ (ṛ) in 37 *eya ryu-r*, *ārūr* „ist“. Unerwähnt bleibt, dass die Zeichen Nr. 3 und 4 (nach LEUMANN 1900: 10 Fn. 10) bereits von Hoernle (HOERNLE 1901: Appendix S. 1) bestimmt worden sind aus Handschriften, deren Sprache später als Tocharisch B identifiziert wurde.

⁷ Die (eingeklammerten) Fälle kommen in unserer Handschrift oder generell im Uig. nicht vor.

5.		ša	(š <u>a</u> ,) -š	(š ₁ ,) š
6.		ka	-k	k
7.		wa	wa, -w	va, v
8.		uyu = ü	uyu	ü
9.		tk	iki	iki
10.		il	ili	ili
11.		—	-m	m
12.		—	o	o
13.		—	-p	p

In STÖNNER 1905: 420 kamen drei weitere Bestimmungen hinzu: 5. ša, 6. ka⁸, 7. wa⁹.

⁸ Nr. 5 und 6 hatte schon HOERNLE 1901: 1 mit š und k in Verbindung gebracht. Da das Uigurische nicht zwischen retroflexem und palatalem Sibilanten (š : ś) unterscheidet, ist Stönners š nachvollziehbar, ebenso (palatalisiertes) k, da <k> im Uigurischen ausschließlich in vordervokalischer Umgebung vorkommt. Auf STÖNNER 1905: 420 berufen sich SIEG und SIEGLING 1908: 919: Fn. 4 für die Zeichen, die sie mit š und k wiedergeben.

⁹ Noch falsch interpretiert bei LEUMANN (1900: 10) als kha und bei HOERNLE (1901: 1) als ḡa. „Das schon von STÖNNER aus dem Uigurischen für w festgelegte Zeichen hat im Tocharischen denselben Lautwert“ (SIEG und SIEGLING 1908: 919). Gemeint ist das dem deutschen w zugeordnete labiodentale [v] oder [β]. Das hat gelegentlich zu Verwirrungen geführt, weil

Nicht prinzipiell neu, sondern nach dem gleich zu erwähnenden „phonetischen Gesetz“ erwartbar, aber natürlich aus indischer Sicht unerhört war 8. *uyu* = *ü*. Die „zwei Ligaturen mit langem anlautenden *ī*, [9.] *īk* und [10.] *īl*“ (STÖNNER 1905: 420) waren dagegen Fehldeutungen, die Müller richtigstellte: „statt *īk* und *īl* lies: *iki*¹⁰ und *ili*“ (MÜLLER 1907: 960 Fn. 2). An derselben Stelle erwähnte er, dass „die gemeinsame Lektüre der türkisch-indischen Bilingue mit Dr. Stönnner seinerzeit die folgenden [von Leumanns Interpretation] abweichenden Lesungen gewisser Zeichen zutage[förderte] [11.] *m*, [12.] *o*¹¹, [13.] *p*¹².“¹³ Noch nicht völlig durchschaut war *Anusvāra* (*m*) ⇒ */n/*, wie einerseits die Deutung von <*sā kīṃ*> als *sakīm*– „denken“ und andererseits von <*kī lmi śīṃ*> als *kīlmiśīm* zeigt (STÖNNER 1904: 1289).

Erkannt wurde das „phonetische Gesetz“ (STÖNNER 1904: 1288)¹⁴,

daß der Buchstabe *ya* palatalisierend wirkt, aus *a* wird *ā*, aus *u* wird *ū*, aus *o* wird *ō*. Danach ist also *kya* als *kā* zu lesen usw. Auch im Anlaut wird *ā* durch eine Ligatur gebildet, aber merkwürdigerweise nicht mit *a*, sondern mit *e*: ¹⁵ (STÖNNER 1904: 1289).

das im sogdo-uigurischen Alphabet entsprechende Zeichen durch *v* dargestellt wird, während <*w*> dort das bilabiale [*w*] wiedergibt. Da in der Umschrift der Brāhmī das Symbol *v* schon anderweitig belegt ist und *w* für  (Tab. 1, Nr. 7) seit jeher nicht nur in der Wiedergabe der uigurischen und tocharischen, sondern später auch der tumschukischen und sogdischen Brāhmī verwendet wurde, ist es nicht ratsam, an die Tradition zu rühren. Das ist unschädlich, wenn sich „*w*“ auf die Transliteration beschränkt und in der Transkription als „*v*“ oder „*β*“ erscheint. Demgegenüber wurde das <*v*> der Brāhmī bilabial aufgefasst, wie aus der Transcodierung von skt. <*v*> in <*w*> sogdo-uigurischer Schrift zu ersehen ist.

¹⁰ Richtig: *ikī* (Tab. 1, Nr. 9).

¹¹ Kein Spezialzeichen, sondern ein in dieser Form damals noch nicht bekanntes Zeichen des Basialphabets.

¹² In STÖNNER 1904: 1289 noch als *ṣ* missverstanden, wie das aus Zeile 13 zitierte *eyatyusiñciṣ* (statt *°ip*) beweist, s. Fn. 108.

¹³ Damit beansprucht Müller für sich und Stönnner das Erstlingsrecht an der richtigen Bestimmung dieser Zeichen, die LEUMANN 1900: 10 noch *tha*, *khā* und *dha* hatte lesen wollen. Ebenfalls in einer Fußnote anerkennen das SIEG und SIEGLING 1908: 919 Fn. 4, die ihrerseits *ṇ*, *ṣ*, *ṣ* und *ṭ* (anfangs unter Beibehaltung der Transkription *dh*, „da eben unser [das tocharische] Alphabet nur ein Zeichen [für *dh* und *ṭ*] aufweist“ (SIEG und SIEGLING 1908: 919) als erste identifiziert und vor allem erkannt haben, „daß alle Fremdbuchstaben mit alleiniger Ausnahme des *w* [...] nur Dubletten der gewöhnlichen Konsonanten sind, sofern ihnen eben das *ā* inhäriert“ (SIEG und SIEGLING 1908: 919).

¹⁴ STÖNNER 1905: 420: „Dieses Gesetz ist von Hrn. Dr. F. W. K. Müller festgestellt worden.“

¹⁵ Tatsächlich haben andere uig. Brāhmī-Handschriften *aya*. Der darzustellende Laut [*e*] liegt zwischen [*a*] und [*e*], so dass sich im Anlaut <*a*> oder <*e*> als Trägerzeichen für *-ya* anbieten, vgl. MAUE 1997: 6 f. Die Art der Darstellung der vorderen Vokale war so überzeugend, dass sie 'Phagspa Lama in die von ihm geschaffene und nach ihm benannte Schrift übernommen hat, vgl. MAUE 2021.

Zunächst nur gemutmaßt (STÖNNER 1904: 1289), dann als sicher angesehen (STÖNNER 1905: 419) wurde das Vorliegen eines fortlaufenden buddhistischen Sanskrit-Texts, der schrittweise ins Uigurische übertragen worden war.

„Schon in nächster Zeit soll“, so lautete die Ankündigung (STÖNNER 1905: 419), „das ganze Fragment, das 40 Zeilen zählt, von Hrn. Dr. F. W. K. Müller und mir herausgegeben werden.“ Diese Edition ist nicht erschienen.¹⁶ Daher war es wichtig, dass STÖNNER 1904 eine Abbildung beigegeben hatte mit „Zeile 25–38 in natürlicher Größe“ (STÖNNER 1904: 1290). Den darin enthaltenen Sanskritteil haben wenig später unabhängig voneinander A.-M. BOYER 1906 und E. Leumann (LEUMANN 1907; revidiert 1912¹⁷) als einen im Metrum Vasantatilakā¹⁸ abgefassten Text erkannt und veröffentlicht. Leumann beschränkte sich auf die Herstellung der Strophen mit Ergänzungen, während Boyer darüber hinaus auf Einzelheiten der Handschrift einging. Er dokumentierte den handschriftlichen Befund, stellte Fehler in der Behandlung der Vokalquantitäten sowie das Fehlen des Visargas (h) fest. Er beobachtete, dass die Zergliederung des zugrundeliegenden Texts für die Glossierung keinem festen Schema folgt. Der Umfang der Exzerpte wechselt zwischen Einzelwörtern, Wortgruppen und Kompositionsgliedern. Sie sind in der Regel in Sandhiformen und unter Einhaltung der Akṣara-Grenzen gegeben; Sandhiformen werden also nicht in Pausaformen transformiert und Akṣaras bzw. Ligaturen nicht zugunsten erkennbarer Wortgrenzen aufgelöst. Das kann dazu führen, dass ein Auslautkonsonant erst zusammen mit dem Anlaut des folgenden Exzerpts erscheint. Boyer demonstrierte das u. a. an einem Beispiel aus Z. 27/28 *ḍṛpta · ścaṇḍāla eva* (< *ḍṛptaś* (< -as) # *caṇḍāla* (< -as) # *eva*), wodurch sich der uigurische Schreiber zur fehlerhaften Glossierung *ścaṇḍal* verleiten ließ. Mit einer Paraphrase des Inhalts der Strophen schließt Boyers Aufsatz. Sein Text weicht in mehreren Punkten von dem Leumanns ab. Beide Autoren haben keinen Gebrauch von der uigurischen Version gemacht bzw. machen können.¹⁹

¹⁶ Dass es zumindest von Seiten Stönners weiterreichende Vorbereitungen gegeben hat, beweist eine Passage aus dem Vorwort zu TT VIII: „Die erste Lesung dieser 8 Texte [= TT VIII A–H] war bereits durch H. Stönnert angefertigt worden und stand mir zur Verfügung.“ Eine andere editorische Konstellation deutet eine Fußnote von SIEG und SIEGLING 1908: 915 Fn. 2 an: „Eine vierte Sprache, die sich gelegentlich auch in Brāhmīschrift findet und in unseren Turfan-Fragmenten mehrfach [!] vertreten ist, war schon seit STÖNNERS Publikation in den Sitzungsberichten 1904, S. 1288–1290 als Uigurisch bekannt und kam somit für uns nicht in Betracht, da VON LE COQ und F. W. K. MÜLLER die Bearbeitung dieser Texte übernommen hatten.“ Auch dieser Plan ist, soweit er die brāhmī-ug. Fragmente betraf, nicht zur Ausführung gekommen.

¹⁷ Zu dem späteren Zeitpunkt hat Leumann Kenntnis von BOYER 1906.

¹⁸ Bei Leumann nicht ausdrücklich genannt.

¹⁹ Leumann implizit, explizit BOYER 1906: 103: „Le turc n'étant pas ma compétence, je n'ai pu m'aider du secours des gloses pour l'établissement du texte sanskrit.“

Bis das Uigurische durch M. LEWICKI 1936 Gegenstand einer Publikation wurde, sollten noch mehr als zwei Jahrzehnte vergehen, während derer weitere uigurischsprachige Brāhmīstücke in der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung zutage gekommen,²⁰ aber Lewicki nicht zugänglich waren. Mit Hilfe der durch Stöner und Müller bestimmten Eigenheiten der Darstellung des Uigurischen in Brāhmī, besonders der Spezialzeichen²¹ gelang ihm die Umschrift des uigurischen Teils, worin er die „Dubletten“ durch die von den Tocharologen eingeführte Unterstreichung (k, p usw.²²) kennzeichnete. Bei der Hilfsschreibung der Palatalvokale durch vorausgehendes y, Anusvāra für /n/, <ṇ> für n usw. folgte er der Handschrift. Das Ergebnis ging nur insoweit über eine Transliteration hinaus, als er Akṣara-Folgen zu Wörtern oder Wortformen zusammenzog und Wortgrenzen dort einführte, wo diese in Ligaturen versteckt sind. Für den Sanskritteil konnte er auf Leumanns Vorarbeit (LEUMANN 1907²³) zurückgreifen, dessen Korrekturen und Ergänzungen er nur teilweise übernahm, tendenziell scheinbar dann, wenn das Uigurische die Konjekturen stützte. Die sprachenübergreifende Betrachtung führte ihn zu einem schönen Fund: in Z. 38 ist wegen uig. *o ho ltyā-g₁, ogol tāg* „wie ein Sohn ist“ für die skt. Vorlage *sutava[t]* anzunehmen.²⁴ Lewicki hat seiner gegliederten Umschrift keine Transkription beigegeben. Eingeklammerte normalisierte Formen fügte er den Belegen in der linguistischen Analyse hinzu, die, da er sich auf Neuland bewegte, ausführlich ausfallen musste. Im Bereich des Vokalismus betonte er den durch die Brāhmī erbrachten Nachweis des geschlossenen e in der ersten Silbe, das sich assimilatorisch auch auf Folgesilben ausdehnen konnte (*yertenčö* „Welt“), und die, wie er es nannte, „Labialattraktion“²⁵ nach o in der ersten Silbe (z. B. *osoglog* für *osuglug*)²⁶ und die Darstellung der Palatalvokale

²⁰ „około 110 sztuk“ (etwa 110 Stücke), wie LEWICKI 1936: 194 nach Auskunft von A. von Gabain schreibt. In dieser Größenordnung bewegt sich auch die Angabe in TT VIII 3 („die etwa 100 Fragmente“). Es gibt keine alte Auflistung, aus der hervorgeht, um welche Stücke es sich handelt. Beiläufig hat Pelliot, worauf LEWICKI 1936: 194 verweist, eine dem Stöner-Fragment ähnliche Handschrift aus Dunhuang erwähnt (PELLIOT 1913: 453 Fn.: „dont j’ai moi-même retrouvé un spécimen dans une grotte de Touen-houang décorée à l’époque mongole.“); ihre Identität ist unbekannt.

²¹ Bei LEWICKI 1936: 202: znak dodatkowy „Zusatzzeichen“, 207: signe complémentaire.

²² Mit Ausnahme des Dentals, der auch von Sieg und Siegling durch „dh“ umschrieben wurde, s. o. Fn. 13.

²³ BOYER 1906 und LEUMANN 1912 kannte er offenbar nicht.

²⁴ Unabhängig auch BAILEY 1937: 291 mit Fn. 11. Boyer und Leumann hatten noch *sunava(h)* „Söhne“ gelesen.

²⁵ LEWICKI 1936: 200: atrakcja wargowa, 207: attraction labiale. Der Begriff ist nicht glücklich gewählt, da die angeglichenen Vokale (u, ü) bereits Labialvokale sind, s. u. 4.8.

²⁶ Gegen Radloffs „Gesetz“, dass „ö in der zweiten Silbe nur in den Dialekten auftritt, in denen ö stets auf ö folgt, wie im Altai, Teleut, Karakirg[isischen]“, und folglich nicht im Uigurischen, bringt schon Müller (Uig I 51) vor: „Die alttürkischen Texte in Brāhmīschrift zeigen dagegen

im Detail. Den sporadischen Längeschreibungen der Vokale maß er keine Bedeutung bei. Für die Darstellung des türkischen Konsonantismus, stellte er (LEWICKI 1936: 201) fest, sei der indische Zeichenbestand zu reichhaltig, ohne dass die überzähligen Grapheme, wie z.B. Retroflexe oder Aspiraten, vom Gebrauch ausgeschlossen wurden. Wenn verwendet, spiegelten sie zwar keinen linguistischen Sachverhalt wider, träten aber teilweise in komplementären Verteilungsmustern auf.²⁷ Umgekehrt fehle ein Zeichen für [z], das durch <s> vertreten wird.²⁸ Besonderes Interesse galt noch dem γ (= g_l) (LEWICKI 1936: 202 f.). Den von STÖNNER 1904 angenommenen einheitlichen Lautwert [ɣ] hatte Bailey durch Hinweis auf Verwendung in vordervokalischem Milieu widerlegt²⁹ und für das Zeichen einen doppelten Lautwert gefordert: „(1) palatal g (which may be indicated by g, g', or g γ); (2) velar g presumably fricative (which may be rendered by γ)“ (BAILEY 1936: 93). Ergänzend dazu³⁰ beobachtete Lewicki die Verwendung von <h> im Inlaut intervokalischer Wörter, woraus er auf frikative Aussprache des g in diesem Milieu schloss.³¹

Zwischenzeitlich gewonnene klarere Vorstellungen zu eben diesem Velarproblem, das speziell auch das frisch entzifferte Tumschuk-Sakische³² betraf,³³ und die fehlende Aussicht auf eine baldige Veröffentlichung des gesamten Manuskripts waren für Bailey nach eigenem Bekunden³⁴ Anlass zur Edition des seit STÖNNER 1904 bekannten Teils.³⁵ Sie enthielt außer dem

eine ganz unerwartete Vokalharmonie: *törö*, nicht *törü* ...“ (Der Plural „Texte“ irritiert, denn die sechs Belege sind ausschließlich Text D entnommen.) Darauf erwidert RADLOFF 1910: VI: „Die Anwendung des o in den auf die Stammsilbe folgenden Silben halte ich unbedingt für fehlerhaft. Ich werde diese Frage bald besonders behandeln und werde auch nachweisen, daß die Folgerungen Müller's in Bezug auf die unerwartete Vokalharmonie der Texte in Brähmischrift (Uigurica pag. 51) auf einem Irrthum beruht.“ Unseres Wissens ist es bei der Ankündigung geblieben.

²⁷ LEWICKI 1936: 201 /š/ ⇒ auslautend <-ṣ>, sonst <-ś> außer in *viṣai* nach indischem Vorbild *viṣaya*, LEWICKI 1936: 203 f. die Spezialzeichen mit Unterstrich <ḷ> usw. kommen nur in Virāma-Position am Wortende vor. Auch solche Regelungen beruhen auf Schreibkonventionen ohne sprachlichen Hintergrund.

²⁸ LEWICKI 1936: 201. Lewicki konnte nicht wissen, dass auch der Schreiber der Handschrift das Spezialzeichen <z> kannte, aber aus irgendeinem Grunde nur ein einziges Mal verwendete, Z. 21 *eya tyu-z*, *ätüz*.

²⁹ S. o. Fn. 6.

³⁰ Nicht eigentlich „contrairement à l'opinion de M. H. W. Bailey“, wie LEWICKI 1936: 208 im französischen Resümee schreibt.

³¹ Enthalten sind in dem Aufsatz fernerhin: ein Vergleich der Leistungsfähigkeit der Brähmī und anderer für das Uigurische verwendete Schriften, die Erwähnung von orthographischen Ähnlichkeiten mit Türkisch in tibetischer Schrift und der 'Phagspa-Schrift und andere Einzelbeobachtungen.

³² KONOW 1935.

³³ „the problem, which has led me to publish this excursion into Turcology“ (BAILEY 1937: 300).

³⁴ BAILEY 1937: 289.

³⁵ BAILEY 1937. LEWICKI 1936 war ihm unbekannt geblieben.

Text³⁶ die Rekonstruktion der Sanskrit-Strophen,³⁷ ein Glossar der türkischen Wörter in Transliteration, aber zusammen mit normalisierter Schreibung und Bedeutungsangaben unter Berücksichtigung der beigefügten Sanskrit-Entsprechungen, ferner einen Morphem-Index und schließlich eine sehr ausführliche Behandlung der Velare und ihrer Darstellung. Darin kommt Bailey hinsichtlich des Türkischen zu der Überzeugung, dass <h> die velaren Frikative [x, ɣ] repräsentiere, während <ɣ> (= g₁) für palatales g stehe und nur im Auslaut das <h> vertrete, weil dieses in keiner Varietät der Brāhmī in Virāma-Position verwendet werde.³⁸

Seit ihrem Erscheinen maßgeblich ist die Edition aller 40 Zeilen als Text D der Türkischen Turfan-Texte VIII,³⁹ die mit 15 Textfragmenten den publizierten Bestand an uigurischem Brāhmī-Material auf einen Schlag vervielfachten. Die Herausgeberin, Annemarie von Gabain, verzichtete darauf, „[d]ie vielen und wichtigen Fragen der Lautlehre, die durch diese Mss. aufgeworfen werden“,⁴⁰ zu behandeln; sie beschränkte sich darauf, „das Material mit größtmöglicher Sorgfalt allen Interessenten zugänglich“⁴¹ zu machen. Dies geschah in folgender Form:

1. Zeile: Transliteration,⁴² nicht jedoch bei Text D, weil die Herausgeberin nur eine Umschrift zur Hand hatte, „die nicht nach Akṣaras geteilt war“.⁴³
2. Zeile: Umschrift, die sich nur so weit von der Transliteration entfernt, dass diese aus der Umschrift wiederherstellbar ist, was sich im Fall des Texts D als Vorteil erwies. Aber grundsätzlich empfiehlt sich eine solche mit belanglosen Informationen überfrachtete Chimäre aus Transliteration und Transkription nicht zur Nachahmung.

³⁶ Wie bei LEWICKI 1936 in gegliederter Transliteration.

³⁷ Ohne Kenntnis von BOYER 1906 sowie LEUMANN 1907 und LEUMANN 1912.

³⁸ Bailey sah in der Verwendung des <g₁> in Text D die Chance, diesem Graphem die von STÖNNER 1904 beigelegte und von KONOW 1935: 776 für das Tumschukische übernommene Velarität auszutreiben und ihm zumindest in seiner Hauptfunktion Palatalität zuzuordnen, weil diese in verschiedenen tumschukischen Formen zu erwarten sei. Für die tumschukische Seite des Problems gibt es eine einfache Lösung ohne Verquickung mit dem Uigurischen, wozu MAUE in Vorbereitung; zum Türkischen vgl. MAUE 1984 und PROVERBIO 2014 (beschränkt auf TT VIII E).

³⁹ A. von GABAIN 1954.

⁴⁰ A. von GABAIN 1954: 4.

⁴¹ A. von GABAIN 1954: 4.

⁴² „Auf ausdrücklichen Wunsch von Geheimrat Lüders wird jeweils in einer obersten Zeile der Text genau so abgedruckt, wie er im Mss. [sic!] steht, d.h. in Akṣaras abgeteilt“ (A. von GABAIN 1954: 4).

⁴³ A. von GABAIN 1954: 30.

3. Zeile: Übersetzung, auch der Sanskrit-Exzerpte.

Sehr nützlich ist der Morphemindex⁴⁴ mit den unterschiedlichen Schreibvarianten und ganz besonders das Glossar, dessen Lemmata in normalisierter Schreibung stehen, während den Stellenangaben die Umschrift nach den Handschriften zugefügt ist.

Die Texte von TT VIII gaben einen ersten Einblick in das breit gefächerte Schrifttum jener uigurischen Mönchsgemeinschaften, die sich der Brāhmī-Schrift als Hauptmedium bedienten. Die ersten acht Texte (A–H) und Text N sind sanskrit-ugurische Bilinguen religiösen Inhalts, bei denen sich unmittelbar die Quellenfrage aufdrängte. Die Texte B und E hat bereits A. v. Gabain⁴⁵ dem *Udānavarga* zuordnen können. Nach und nach stellten sich weitere Identifizierungen ein.⁴⁶ Die Herkunft von drei Texten blieb unklar. Unter diesen gibt sich Text H wenigstens als Sūtra-Kommentar zu erkennen; bei den Texten F und D tappte man aber völlig im Dunkeln, bis vor kurzem auch diese ihre Identität preisgegeben haben. Text F wurde als zu dem im Sanskrit nicht erhaltenen Teil des *Buddhacarita* gehörig erkannt.⁴⁷ Fast gleichzeitig ist es gelungen, auch unser Manuskript, Text D einzuordnen. Es konnte nämlich als Parallele zu einem Kapitel eines bisher nicht erschlossenen Werkes, der *Tridaṇḍamālā*, bestimmt werden. Zwar ist dadurch noch immer nicht die ursprüngliche Herkunft der Strophen geklärt, denn die Quelle dieser Passage in der *Tridaṇḍamālā* ist unbekannt, aber zumindest der Kontext und die wahrscheinliche Funktion der Bilingue werden nunmehr fassbar. Dies erfordert zunächst eine Beschreibung der *Tridaṇḍamālā*.

2. Die *Tridaṇḍamālā*

Die *Tridaṇḍamālā* (TDM) ist in einem einzigen Manuskript erhalten, das aus dem 11. oder 12. Jahrhundert stammen dürfte und von dem bekannten Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana auf einer seiner Forschungsreisen nach Tibet im Kloster sPoskhang entdeckt wurde. Er beschreibt es in seinem dritten Bericht über die von ihm in Tibet aufgefundenen Sanskrit-Handschriften und gibt den Anfang und den Schluss der Handschrift wieder.⁴⁸ Dem Kolophon zufolge hat kein Geringerer als der berühmte Dichter Aśvaghoṣa das Werk verfasst, aber schon

⁴⁴ A. von GABAIN 1954: 77–84.

⁴⁵ Oder einer ihrer indologischen Berater (TT VIII 3); im Vorspann zu Text B (A. von GABAIN 1954: 23) ist ausdrücklich [H.] Hoffmann als Gewährsmann für die „Interpr[etation des Sankrit]“ genannt.

⁴⁶ Eine Übersicht bei HARTMANN und MAUE 1996: 150.

⁴⁷ HARTMANN, WILLE und ZIEME 2022.

⁴⁸ SĀṆKṚTYĀYANA 1938: 157–160.

1939, also lediglich ein Jahr nach dem Erscheinen von Sāṅkṛtyāyanas Bericht, ließ E. H. Johnston, damals die unbestrittene Autorität in Fragen zu Aśvaghoṣa und dessen Werken, keinen Zweifel daran, dass es sich dabei um eine bloße Zuschreibung handelt.⁴⁹ Zu Johnstons Ehrenrettung muss man sagen, dass er sich bei seinem Urteil ausschließlich auf Sāṅkṛtyāyanas Exzerpte stützen konnte; erst Giuseppe Tucci gelang es im Jahr 1939, das Manuskript zu fotografieren,⁵⁰ also gleichzeitig mit dem Erscheinen von Johnstons Stellungnahme. Seit 2018 sind Kazunobu Matsuda und J.-U. Hartmann mit der Erschließung des Werkes beschäftigt, und seither hat sich immer deutlicher gezeigt, dass die Verbindung mit dem Dichter Aśvaghoṣa keineswegs so willkürlich ist, wie es für Johnston den Anschein gehabt hatte – und Johnston selbst wäre gewiss der erste gewesen, der seiner Begeisterung darüber lebhaften Ausdruck verliehen hätte. Es hat sich nämlich herausgestellt, dass die TDM mindestens 348 Strophen aus Aśvaghoṣas beiden Epen, dem *Buddhacarita* und dem *Saundarananda*, enthält, darunter allein 136 aus dem bisher auf Sanskrit nicht erhaltenen Teil des *Buddhacarita*. Der Anlass dafür wird deutlich, wenn man die Struktur und die Funktion des Werkes genauer betrachtet.

Bei der TDM handelt es sich offenbar um einen Gebrauchstext für rituelle Anlässe, und zwar um eine Art Textbuch, das die bei einem spezifischen Anlass zu verwendende Rezitation enthält. Sie besteht aus vierzig Kapiteln, die alle gleich aufgebaut sind und aus jeweils drei Abschnitten bestehen. Der erste Abschnitt enthält ausschließlich Strophen; er beginnt fast immer mit drei Versen, in denen das Triratna, nämlich Buddha, Dharma und Saṅgha, verehrt wird, wobei diese einleitenden Verehrungsstrophen von Kapitel zu Kapitel wechseln.⁵¹ Danach folgen weitere Strophen, deren Anzahl stark schwankt; im Gegensatz zu den Verehrungsversen scheint es sich dabei häufig, vielleicht sogar immer, um Zitate zu handeln. Soweit sie sich bisher identifizieren ließen, stammen sie überwiegend aus Werken, die mit dem Dichter Aśvaghoṣa verbunden sind, darunter vornehmlich eben aus dem *Buddhacarita* und dem *Saundarananda*, aber auch aus dem *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*, einem seiner Schauspiele, sowie aus dem *Śokavinodana*⁵² und möglicherweise sogar auch aus dem vieldiskutierten *Sūtrāḷamkāra*.⁵³

⁴⁹ JOHNSTON 1939.

⁵⁰ SFERRA 2008: 48 und 71–72. Bei den Photographien in der Sāṅkṛtyāyana-Sammlung (s. BANDURSKI 1994: 79–80) handelt es sich um Abzüge von Tuccis Negativen.

⁵¹ Ausnahmen bilden die Kapitel 29, 31–32, 34 und 36, wobei die Anfänge jeweils unterschiedlich gestaltet sind: Kapitel 34 etwa setzt sofort mit dem 15. Kapitel des *Buddhacarita* ein, und Kapitel 36 beginnt mit einer Śikhariṇī-Strophe, die auch die Inschrift auf einer in Afghanistan gefundenen Kupfertafel einleitet (dazu MELZER 2006: 267).

⁵² HARTMANN, MATSUDA und SZÁNTÓ 2022.

⁵³ Zu allen diesen Zitaten s. HARTMANN und MATSUDA im Druck.

Auf diesen ersten Versabschnitt folgt ein Sūtra, das vollständig wiedergegeben wird. Der Vergleich mit Parallelversionen erweist, dass diese Sūtras dem Kanon der (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins entnommen sind.⁵⁴ Die meisten von ihnen stammen offenbar aus dem *Samyuktāgama* jener Schule, wie ein Vergleich mit den chinesischen Übersetzungen zeigt. Auf das Sūtra folgt ein dritter Abschnitt, der wie der erste ausschließlich aus einer wechselnden Anzahl von Versen besteht und mit ein bis drei regelmäßig wiederkehrenden Segensstrophen endet. Genau wie beim ersten Abschnitt gilt auch hier, dass es sich überwiegend oder ausschließlich um Zitate zu handeln scheint. Der Inhalt des Sūtras entspricht offenbar dem Anlass des Rituals, und die Verse in den beiden einrahmenden Abschnitten sind ebenfalls auf diesen Anlass abgestimmt. Keines der vierzig Kapitel enthält einen direkten Hinweis auf den Anlass, aber bei wenigstens drei Kapiteln deuten interne oder externe Indizien auf den jeweiligen Gebrauch hin. So spricht einiges dafür, dass Kapitel 11 mit dem *Anityatā-sūtra* im Zentrum bei den Bestattungsfeierlichkeiten mindestens für Mönche Verwendung fand; Kapitel 25 mit dem *Pravāraṇa-sūtra* dürfte anlässlich der jährlich wiederkehrenden Pravāraṇa-Zeremonie rezitiert worden sein, und Kapitel 16 steht ganz offensichtlich mit dem Vorgang einer Schenkung an den Orden in Zusammenhang. In Zentrum des Kapitels steht das **Sumanā-rājakumārī-sūtra*, in dem die Vorzüge von Gaben an die Mönchsgemeinde behandelt werden. Passend dazu enthält der erste Versabschnitt unter anderem sieben Verse aus dem bislang auf Sanskrit verlorenen Kapitel 18 des *Buddhacarita* (18.62–78); sie beschreiben in dichterischer Form die Antwort des Buddhas auf Anāthapiṇḍadas Ankündigung, dem Orden das Jetavana zu schenken. Anāthapiṇḍada verkörpert geradezu das Rollenmodell des ebenso reichen wie freigebigen buddhistischen Laienanhängers, und so kann das Ereignis die allgemeinen Ausführungen des Sūtras mit einem konkreten und zugleich bestens bekannten Beispiel illustrieren.

Wenn die Einordnung der TDM als eine Sammlung von Texten zur Rezitation bei religiös wichtigen Anlässen zutrifft und sie mithin einen unverzichtbaren Gebrauchstext darstellt, dann muss der Umstand überraschen, dass sie nur in einer einzigen Handschrift bewahrt ist. Dieser Befund bedarf der Erklärung, zumal der auch im Titel bereits anklingende Terminus *tridaṇḍaka*

⁵⁴ Sieben Sūtras sind bereits publiziert worden:

TDM 8.2: *Paramārthaśūnyatā-sūtra* (MATSUDA 2019);
 TDM 21.2: **Śivapathikā-sūtra* (MATSUDA 2021);
 TDM 26.2: *Āśvīṣa-sūtra* (MATSUDA et al. 2022);
 TDM 27.2: *Kṣāraṇadī-sūtra* (teilweise, HARTMANN 2022a);
 TDM 29.2: *Aṣṭākṣaṇakṣaṇa-sūtra* (UENO 2020);
 TDM 30.2: **Pañcasthāna-sūtra* (UENO 2021);
 TDM 31.2: *Āryikā-sūtra* (HARTMANN 2022b).

aus dem *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* wohlbekannt ist und offensichtlich eine solche rituelle Rezitation beschreibt.⁵⁵ Man könnte daher erwarten, dass ein derartiges Textbuch unter den Mönchen jener Schule eine gewisse Verbreitung besessen hat und in einer entsprechenden Zahl von Exemplaren überliefert worden sein müsste, umso mehr, wenn man den Titel nicht konkret versteht, sondern generisch als „eine Girlande von Tridaṇḍa(ka-Texten)“, was Varianz in der Zusammenstellung der Sūtras und der Verse erlauben würde. In der Tat gibt es Hinweise auf solche Varianz: Im chinesischen Kanon sind zwei Übersetzungen enthalten, die jeweils einem Kapitel der TDM entsprechen, aber nicht vollkommen identisch damit sind. Das ist erstens das *Wuchang jing* 無常經 (T 801 bzw. T 2912), eine etwas andere Fassung des bereits erwähnten Kapitels 11 der TDM mit dem *Anityatā-sūtra*, übersetzt von Yijing 義淨,⁵⁶ und das *Jie you jing* 解憂經 (T 804) eine späte Übersetzung von Fatian 法天 aus dem 10. Jahrhundert, die dem 14. Kapitel der TDM entspricht, das neben einem Sūtra aus dem *Samyuktāgama* auch Aśvaghoṣas *Śokavinodana* enthält.⁵⁷ Beide Übersetzungen zeigen, dass die TDM oder zumindest das von ihr repräsentierte Format einer Dreiteilung, in der ein kanonisches Sūtra von zwei Verspartien eingerahmt wird, nicht völlig singulär zu sein scheint.

Diesen beiden chinesischen Übersetzungen lassen sich seit kurzem zwei weitere Beispiele zur Seite stellen, nämlich SHT 4438 (SHT XI: 33–35), das Fragment einer Sanskrit-Handschrift aus der deutschen Turfan-Sammlung, deren Fundort leider nicht mehr zu ermitteln ist, und TT VIII D (Mainz 718) aus Xočo. SHT 4438 entspricht wörtlich einem Teil von Kapitel 19 der TDM; glücklicherweise bewahrt das Fragment nicht nur Textreste aus dem Sūtra-Zitat im zweiten Abschnitt, sondern auch aus den folgenden acht Śārdūlavikrīḍita-Strophen, die bereits dem dritten Abschnitt angehören. Damit ist der Übergang von Abschnitt zwei zu drei gesichert, und an der Zuordnung zu der oder einer TDM kann kein Zweifel bestehen. Zusätzlich interessant an dem Fragment ist der Umstand, dass es Glossen in Tocharisch A und B enthält; diese weisen mit einiger Deutlichkeit darauf hin, dass es sich tatsächlich um einen Gebrauchstext gehandelt haben dürfte.

Mit TT VIII D verhält es sich ganz ähnlich: Zwar zeigt dessen Text in der Form des Sūtra-Zitats eine interessante Abweichung von dem der TDM, aber hier sind sogar beide Übergänge, der von Abschnitt eins zu zwei und der von zwei zu drei, bewahrt, so dass an der Struktur und damit an der

⁵⁵ SCHOPEN 1992: 32–34, Fn. 62 (= SCHOPEN 1997: 231–233) und die zusätzliche Anmerkung in SCHOPEN 2010: 118, Fn. 35 (= SCHOPEN 2014: 69–70); s. auch HARTMANN im Druck (2024).

⁵⁶ Zu T 801 s. LOUKOTA im Druck (2024) und WILLEMEN 2019.

⁵⁷ Zum *Śokavinodana* s. HARTMANN, MATSUDA und SZÁNTÓ 2022.

engen Verwandtschaft ebenfalls nicht zu zweifeln ist. Außerdem geht hier die Bilingualität noch weiter; sie beschränkt sich nicht auf Glossen wie in SHT 4438, sondern umfasst einen großen Teil des Textes. Daher wird man vermuten können, dass beide Manuskripte, SHT 4438 und TT VIII D, uns nicht nur etwas über die literarischen Traditionen, sondern auch über buddhistische Praxis an der Seidenstraße verraten.

Dass die TDM zu bestimmten Zeiten und in bestimmten Kreisen eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle gespielt hat, lässt sich aus der Erwähnung des Titels in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen ablesen. Die einzige indische Nennung findet sich in einem Werk des Ratnākaraśānti (spätes 10. Jahrhundert). In seiner *Muktikāvalī*, einem Kommentar zum *Hevajratāntra*, führt er das *Avadānaśataka* und die (oder eine?) *Tridaṇḍakamālā* als charakteristische Beispiele von Werken des Śrāvakayāna an: *tac ca śrāvakayānam avadānaśataka-tridaṇḍakamālādi*.⁵⁸

Den Hinweis auf die beiden anderen, allerdings nicht ganz unproblematischen Zitationen verdanken wir Jens Wilkens (E-Mails vom 14.04. und 14.07.2022). Sie stammen wie Text D von der Nördlichen Seidenstraße, die eine aus einem uigurischen, die andere aus einem tocharischen Werk. Die erste gehört in einen von Peter Zieme edierten Text.⁵⁹ Die hier interessierende Passage⁶⁰ handelt von dem sogenannten Konzil⁶¹ von Kaschmir.⁶² Es habe „400 Jahre (scil. nach dem ersten Konzil und *eo ipso* nach Buddhas Nirvana)⁶³ auf

⁵⁸ ISAACSON 2013: 1039; zu der überraschenden Verbindung von *Avadānaśataka* und *Tridaṇḍakamālā* sowie zum Titel in der tibetischen Übersetzung der *Muktāvalī*, der dort als *spel ma gsum pa'i phreng ba* wiedergegeben wird und auf **Trimiśrakamālā* „Girlande der dreifachen Mischung“ führen würde, s. HARTMANN im Druck (2024).

⁵⁹ ZIEME 2014.

⁶⁰ ZIEME 2014: 412–414.

⁶¹ So die eingebürgerte, aber bekanntlich nicht sehr treffende Wiedergabe von skt. *saṃgīti* (vgl. z. B. FRAUWALLNER 1952: 240), das auch der Uigure in der Form *sangit* oder *sanit* verwendet. Die wesentliche Aufgabe solcher Zusammenkünfte war das „gemeinsame Rezitieren“ (*saṃgīti*) religiöser Texte sowie deren Kompilation und Kollationierung zum Zweck der Herstellung einer verbindlichen Textfassung; eine lebendige Schilderung des Vorgangs findet sich bei Paramārtha (T 2049, Bd. 50, 189a10–b1, übers. in DALIA 2002: 42 f.). ZIEME 2014 übersetzt *sangit/sanit* mit „collecting“ (so schon im Titel seines Aufsatzes).

⁶² ZIEME 2014: 412 Z. 2–3 *kaśmir uluṣṭa vidyasti kisilta* „im Land Kaschmir im Vitastā-Tal“. FRAUWALLNER 1952 referiert und analysiert chinesische und tibetische Berichte über dieses Ereignis. Mit keinem von diesen stimmt der in Rede stehende uigurische Bericht so weit überein, dass eine gemeinsame Überlieferung erkennbar wäre. In manchem noch ungeklärt, enthält er viele Details, die anderwärts nicht oder abweichend dargestellt werden. In einem wichtigen Punkt aber gibt es eine klare Übereinstimmung, s. Fn. 65.

⁶³ Die Quellen (s. die vorausgehende Fn.) geben unterschiedliche Datierungen an. Xuanzang war der erste, der 400 p. N. nennt und die Rolle des Kuṣāṇa-Herrschers erwähnt. Vor ihm hatte Paramārtha das Konzil zwar auf 500 p. N. gelegt, aber indirekt ebenfalls in die Zeit des

Veranlassung des Königs Kaniška“⁶⁴ stattgefunden, aber offenbar nicht als allgemeines Konzil, sondern als Sonderkonzil der kaschmirischen Sarvāstivādin, der Vaibhāṣikas.⁶⁵ Nach Reinigung der Texte von allen abweichenden Ansichten seien eine Anzahl von Schriften verfasst worden, darunter auch *kāvya*s, von denen eines stellvertretend namentlich angeführt ist, und zwar in der Schreibung <d’t’nt’k’m’l>. Zieme transkribiert *datantakamal*, erwägt aber auch, da <’> und <’> homograph sind, *d(a)rt(a)ntakamal*; letzteres sei, so Zieme, dem von S. Karashima rekonstruierten **Drṣṭāntaka-mālā* nahe, dem Titel des unter dem (falschen) Namen *Sūtrālaṃkāra* firmierenden Werks.⁶⁶ Jens Wilkens (E-Mail vom 14.04.2022) schlägt dagegen die Lesung *tr(i)danda-kamal* „*Tridaṇḍakamālā*“ vor. Diese Interpretation hat den entscheidenden Vorzug, ohne die Annahme einer Fehlschreibung auszukommen und mit dem in der *Muktikāvalī* belegten Werktitel direkt vergleichbar zu sein. Schwierig ist, was dem Titel vorausgeht: *swry*⁶⁷ *q’rypydy*. Da sich darin kein weiterer Werktitel ausmachen lässt, repräsentieren die beiden Formen *ṣuri harib(a)-ti* wohl mit Zieme die Dichternamen Āryaśūra⁶⁸ und Haribhaṭṭa.⁶⁹ Sie stehen

Kaniška, weil dessen Zeitgenosse, der berühmte Dichter Āsvaghoṣa, an der Ausarbeitung eines Abhidharma-Kommentars mitgewirkt haben soll.

⁶⁴ ZIEME 2014: 412 Z. 1–2 *tört yüz yıla ken kaniške eligniñ ötügiñä*.

⁶⁵ ZIEME 2014: 412 Z. 3–4 und 11–13: *beş yüz vaybaş aṇadari bahşılar ... üç ağılık nomlug körkdäş körkin körgülük bakguluk vaybaş şaştrlıg ärtiñü süzök arıg kontumış kurç közüngü yaratıp ornatıp kodtılar* „five hundred Vibhāṣa-*āṅga-dhara masters ... fabricated and established the utmost pure and clearly polished steel mirror of the vibhāṣa-śāstras through which one can see and regard the mirror image of the dharmas of the tripiṭaka“ (Übers. ZIEME 2014: 413). Die besondere Fokussierung auf den Abhidharma stellt den uig. Text an die Seite von „Paramārtha und die von Gzon-nu-dpal übersetzte indische Quelle“ (FRAUWALLNER 1952: 251). Nach deren Auffassung war das kaschmirische Konzil „eine Versammlung der Schule der Sarvāstivādin, welche sich mit dem grundlegenden Abhidharma-Werk dieser Schule [, dem *Jñānaprasthāna* des Kātyāyanīputra.] beschäftigte und einen Kommentar dazu verfaßte“ (FRAUWALLNER 1952: 251). Bei Xuanzang und anderen liest man es zwar anders. Aber Frauwallner kommt mit handfesten Argumenten zu dem Schluss, dass die Überlieferung, die Paramārtha am präzisesten wiedergibt, Zweck und Tätigkeit der „Synode“ treffend beschreibt. Zu den Konzilen s. auch den Abschnitt „After the Buddha: the recitation-councils“ in SKILLING 2009: 55–60 mit neuerer Literatur (55) und mit Überlegungen zum Verständnis dieser Ereignisse.

⁶⁶ ZIEME 2014: 413 Fn. 58.

⁶⁷ ZIEME 2014 gibt davor eine kleine Lücke an, die aber nach seiner heutigen Einschätzung (E-Mail vom 29.08.2022) „viel zu kurz [ist] für meine Emendation ... [F]alls etwas fehlt, [sind es] höchstens 1 oder zwei Buchstaben.“ In gut erhaltener Umgebung sind keine Schriftspuren zu erkennen; deshalb handelt es sich bei der Leerstelle nach der Interpunktion eher um ein *Spatium*.

⁶⁸ Ziemes Ergänzung zu [Ārya]śūra kann zwar nicht aufrechterhalten werden (s. die vorausgehende Fn.), seine Interpretation bleibt davon aber unberührt. Hier ist an Stelle von Āryaśūra die gängige Kurzform Śūra anzunehmen, die auch chinesisch 大勇 *da yong* zugrunde liegt; zu den Namensformen s. HANISCH 2005: xvii–xviii.

⁶⁹ Die Verbindung der beiden Dichter des 4./5. Jh. n. Chr. mit dem Konzil von Kaschmir ist anachronistisch.

unverbunden nebeneinander, und der syntaktische Bezug zu *tr(i)-dandakamal* ist nicht expliziert. Ist aber deren Deutung richtig, wird man in ihnen wohl am ehesten die Verfasser zweier Werke desselben Titels sehen.⁷⁰ Dieser besondere Umstand mag wohl die Namensnennung erklären, während die anderen Werke anonym aufgeführt sind. Deren Autoren werden eingangs kollektiv bezeichnet als „diverse Lehrmeister, Bodhisattvagotra-Gelehrte“.⁷¹

Die zweite Stelle, THT 429,⁷² handelt, wie in der Einleitung der Herausgeber steht, vom „Lob der *Daṇḍakamālā*, eines Werkes eines in diesem Fragment leider nicht erwähnten Dichters, der 400 Jahre nach dem Nirvāṇa des Buddha^[73] gelebt haben soll.“ Die den Titel betreffende Zeile b1 lautet: [...] *v[] trā daṇḍakamāl ñemtsa ce pāssak wāpa kavviṣṣe* [...].

Nichts hindert daran, <*tr*> nicht als Auslaut eines unvollständig erhaltenen Worts zu betrachten, sondern dem folgenden *daṇḍakamāl* zu *tridaṇḍakamāl*⁷⁴ zuzuschlagen: „er flocht diese *Kāvya*-Girlande *Tridaṇḍakamālā* mit Namen“. Wir lassen uns nicht auf Spekulationen darüber ein, ob „400 p. N.“ wie im uig. Text den Bezug zum Konzil von Kaschmir herstellen und dann *Aśvaghōṣa* der ungenannte Dichter sein könnte,⁷⁵ oder dass möglicherweise mit b3 *sutarmas eś<a>netstse* „durch die *Sūtras* sehend (*caḥṣuṣmant-*)“ auf das zentrale *Sūtra* in den *Tridaṇḍakas* angespielt ist. Unzweifelhaft aber zählt der tocharische Autor, selbst ein Dichter,⁷⁶ in Übereinstimmung mit dem uig. Text die *Tridaṇḍakamālā* zu den *kāvya*s und bringt sie mit einer preiswürdigen Dichterpersönlichkeit in Verbindung. Letzteres lässt sich gut nachvollziehen, da eine Reihe von Strophen, die der Einrahmung des jeweiligen *Sūtras* dienen, nachweislich der *Kāvya*-Literatur entnommen sind (s. o.). Diese Zitate erlauben, wie es scheint, das Werk als *kāvya* einzuordnen, auch wenn die *Sūtra*-Passagen den formalen Anforderungen dieses Genres nicht entsprechen.

Was aber die *Muktikāvalī* und der uig. Text über die Schulzugehörigkeit sagen, ist in guter Übereinstimmung mit der Annahme, dass die TDM zur Ritualliteratur der (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins gehört. THT 429 gibt darüber

⁷⁰ Etwa analog dazu, dass *Haribhaṭṭa* in der Nachfolge des *Āryaśūra* ebenfalls eine *Jātakamālā* verfasst hat, vgl. HAHN 1992. Überreste dieser beiden Werke sind auch durch die Uiguren überliefert, vgl. MAUE Kat I Nr. 20–21 und MAUE Kat II Nr. 108–109.

⁷¹ ZIEME 2014: 413 Text Z. 14–15 *ōji ōji bahsilar bodistv uguşlug bilgālär*. — Zu (*bodhisattva-*) *gotra* vgl. SEYFORTH RUEGG 1976: 341.

⁷² Publiziert in SIEG und SIEGLING 1953: 285 f.; auch in CEToM.

⁷³ a1 *kāṣṣintse kselñe ompostām śwāra kānte pik[wala]* „400 Jahre nach dem Nirvana des Lehrers“.

⁷⁴ Zu <*tr*> für /*tri*/ vgl. z. B. *tṛphāl* „*triphālā*, die drei Myrobalanen“.

⁷⁵ Vgl. oben Fn. 63.

⁷⁶ Vgl. SIEG und SIEGLING 1953: 285 Einleitung.

zwar keine Auskunft, aber die bekannte Verbindung der Tocharer mit dieser Schultradition weist in dieselbe Richtung. Alle drei Erwähnungen deuten darauf hin, dass *Tridaṇḍakamālā* als Titelform möglicherweise vorzuziehen ist. Auch auf die Frage, ob *Tridaṇḍa(ka)mālā*, wie oben vermutet, ein literarisches Genre bezeichnet, lässt sich auf der Grundlage von THT 429 und dem uig. Konzilbericht eine vorsichtige Antwort geben. Wenn die *Tridaṇḍakamālās* des Anonymus, Āryaśūras und Haribhaṭṭas nicht ein- und dasselbe Werk mit unterschiedlichen Zuschreibungen waren, ergibt sich daraus, dass *Tridaṇḍakamālā* ähnlich wie *Jātakamālā* der Titel von Einzelwerken und zugleich Bezeichnung eines literarischen Genres ist.

Der in TT VIII D enthaltene Sanskrit-Text hat sich als eine unmittelbare Parallele zu Kapitel 5 der TDM identifizieren lassen. Er bewahrt Teile des letzten Verses im ersten Abschnitt dieses Kapitels und praktischerweise auch noch eine Versziffer, nämlich 21. Anders als die zentralasiatischen Sanskrit-Handschriften geben nordindische Handschriften aus der Zeit nach der Jahrtausendwende⁷⁷ im allgemeinen keine Versziffern an, aber die Zahl 21 stimmt genau mit der tatsächlichen Anzahl der Verse in der TDM überein. Dann folgt abweichend von der TDM nicht ein vollständiger Sūtra-Text, sondern nur einige Stichwörter; diese zeigen jedoch mit ausreichender Deutlichkeit, dass es sich um dasselbe Sūtra handeln muss. Der zweite Abschnitt ist daher sehr kurz. Der daran anschließende Text der Bilingue bewahrt Teile der ersten neun Vasantatilakā-Strophen aus dem dritten Abschnitt von Kapitel 5. Auch hier sind in der Bilingue die Versziffern verzeichnet, und sie beginnen mit der Zahl 1, also mit einer neuen Zählung, die den Abschnittswechsel zusätzlich markiert. Alle diese Details lassen nur eine einzige Schlussfolgerung zu, nämlich die, dass es sich um eine Parallelversion zumindest zu Kapitel fünf der TDM handeln muss. Wie bereits gesagt, ist die ursprüngliche Quelle der Verse leider nicht identifizierbar; lediglich der Vers 21 aus dem ersten Abschnitt, der das folgende Sūtra-Zitat einleitet, ist aus einer Art Vorspann bekannt, den einige Handschriften des *Samādhirāja-sūtra* enthalten.⁷⁸ In diesem Vorspann sind eine ganze Reihe solcher Einleitungsstrophen zusammengestellt, von denen sich viele auch in der TDM finden. Da es aufgrund des Inhalts und der schulspezifischen Ausrichtung der TDM so gut wie auszuschließen ist, dass deren Kompilatoren aus einem Mahāyāna-Werk wie dem *Samādhirāja-sūtra* zitieren, darf man wohl annehmen, dass die Redaktoren beider Werke auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zugegriffen haben, wobei Āśvaghoṣas verlorener *Sūtrālaṃkāra* gerade hier eine denkbare Vorlage gewesen sein könnte.

⁷⁷ Der Schrift zufolge dürfte das TDM-Manuskript etwa aus dem 11. Jahrhundert stammen.

⁷⁸ MATSUNAMI 1975: 237.

Es ist unmöglich, anhand der nunmehr vorliegenden Textzeugen eine Art Überlieferungsgeschichte zu rekonstruieren. Eine unmittelbare Verbindung zwischen der TDM und der uig. Bilingue kann mit Sicherheit ausgeschlossen werden. Die vollständige Sanskrit-Handschrift der TDM dürfte in Nordostindien entstanden und in der Endphase des indischen Buddhismus durch Pilger oder Flüchtlinge nach Tibet verbracht worden sein.⁷⁹ Woher der Sanskrit-Text stammen könnte, auf den sich der Verfasser der Bilingue stützt, ist unbekannt. Angesichts dieser Situation ist es erstaunlich, dass der Wortlaut in beiden Handschriften relativ übereinstimmend bewahrt ist, zumal die Strophen teils erhebliche inhaltliche Probleme mit sich bringen. Gerade in diesen Fällen würde man sich eine divergente Überlieferung wünschen, die es dann erlauben könnte, eine möglichst plausible Ausgangsfassung herzustellen. Obschon TT VIII D mit dem Sanskrit-Text und dessen uigurischer Übersetzung gleich zwei Zugriffsmöglichkeiten bietet, reicht beides nicht aus, um im Verein mit der TDM alle inhaltlichen Probleme zu lösen; wie sich gleich zeigen wird, müssen etliche Fragen offenbleiben.

Der Gewinn, den TT VIII D aus dem Paralleltext zieht, liegt in der nun möglichen literarischen Einordnung, aber auch in konkreten Verständnishilfen vor allem am fragmentierten Anfang und in den Zeilen 6–7. Nimmt man neue Lesungen und Interpretationen hinzu und bedenkt die schwere Benützbarkeit der Ausgabe von 1954 mit ihrer bizarren Darstellungsform des Uigurischen, so waren das Gründe genug, es nicht bei *Addenda et corrigenda* zu belassen, sondern die nun folgende Reedition in Angriff zu nehmen. Dazu gehört die Rekonstruktion des Sanskrit-Textes zusammen mit dem Text der TDM, soweit er der Ergänzung und dem Verständnis des teilweise fragmentarischen bzw. gekürzten Texts von TT VIII D dient.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Die Handschrift der TDM wurde zusammen mit einem anderen Text aufgefunden, einer Parikathā, die von Péter-Dániel Szántó bearbeitet wird (SZÁNTÓ 2021). Gendün Chöphel, der Begleiter von Rāhula Śāṅkṛtyāyana, bemerkte am unteren Ende eines Blattes, das offenbar zu der Parikathā-Handschrift gehörte, einen Vermerk, der einen Mönch Dīpaṃkara als Besitzer auswies (*bhikṣudīpaṃkarasya pustakaṃ*), s. KANO 2015: 95. Falls es sich dabei tatsächlich um den berühmten Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (982–1054) handeln sollte, würde das eine Datierung der beiden Handschriften in die erste Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts plausibel machen. Leider enthält keines der in den Photographien bewahrten Folios eine solche Notiz, und die Originale sind anscheinend einem Brand zum Opfer gefallen (KANO 2020: 196). Daher erscheint uns die Schlussfolgerung, Atiśa habe die beiden Manuskripte nach Tibet mitgebracht (MATSUDA et al. 2022: 47), keineswegs ausreichend gesichert.

⁸⁰ Eine kritische Gesamtausgabe der TDM wird an anderer Stelle erfolgen.

3. Edition

3.1. Transliteration und Transkription

Die nachfolgende Edition gibt den Text der Handschrift in ihrem aktuellen Zustand wieder, ergänzt um die zwischenzeitlich verlorenen Teile, die nur durch die Umschrift von A. von GABAIN 1954 oder die Abbildung bei STÖNNER 1904 erhalten sind. Die Textpräsentation besteht aus Transliteration, Transkription, Bearbeitung mit Übersetzung und Kommentar.

Die Transliteration bildet den handschriftlichen Text Akṣara für Akṣara nach, so dass prinzipiell eine Recodierung möglich ist. Die Transliteration der Zeichen indischen Ursprungs folgt, wie üblich, dem IAST mit der Ausnahme, dass die Aspiraten ein hochgestelltes ^h erhalten (k^h, g^h usw., nach IAST kh, gh usw.).⁸¹ Die Virāma-Schreibung ist in Nachahmung des Originals durch einen Bindestrich zum vorausgehenden Akṣara kenntlich gemacht, aber unter Verzicht der Reproduktion des übergesetzten Punkts.⁸² Die Spezialzeichen sind gemäß Tab. 1 transliteriert.

Transliteration und Transkription werden untereinandergesetzt. Fehler der Handschrift im Sanskrit werden mit entsprechender Kennzeichnung korrigiert. Die Umschrift des Uigurischen richtet sich nach dem *Uigurische[n] Wörterbuch* (RÖHRBORN 2010) und Erdals *Grammar of Old Turkic* (ERDAL 2004). Allerdings sind assimilatorisches e bzw. o/ö⁸³ als typisch für diese Handschrift beibehalten worden.

Die Bearbeitung schließlich bietet eine nach Sprachen getrennte, gegliederte und lesbare Textform zusammen mit einer Übersetzung, Parallelen und anschließendem Kommentar. In früheren Publikationen vorgeschlagene Lesungen und Interpretationen, die von den hier vertretenen abweichen, werden im Apparat oder Kommentar berücksichtigt und durch nachstehende Siglen bezeichnet:

AvG von GABAIN 1954

Bai BAILEY 1937

Boy BOYER 1906

⁸¹ Die Entscheidung für diese Darstellung, die hier regelmäßig nur in der Transliteration angewendet wird, beruht letztlich auf der Notwendigkeit, Aspiraten wie t^h von Ligaturen aus t+h usw. zu unterscheiden.

⁸² Dieser gehört zur Normalform, daneben gibt es Schreibungen ohne Punkt oder mit Trema. Zur Wahrung der Eindeutigkeit reicht in diesen selteneren Fällen ein entsprechender Hinweis aus.

⁸³ S. u. 4.8; vgl. MAUE Kat I: XIX; UW² I.1 xxi f.

- Leu LEUMANN 1907, 1912 und zwar: Leu07, Leu12, Leu (bei Übereinstimmung beider Bearbeitungen)
 Lew LEWICKI 1936
 Stö STÖNNER 1904

Außerdem werden folgende Symbole und Hilfszeichen verwendet:

- + Platzhalter für 1 Akşara
- × Platzhalter für einen Teil eines Akşaras
- ... nicht genau bestimmbare Textmenge
- *yakçır- unbelegte rekonstruierte Form
- köñöl mit dem vorausgehenden und folgenden Wort verbunden
- anda*
 1. Kursive in Transliteration, Transkription, Glossar: unsichere Lesung,
 2. sonst nach Vorgabe des Herausgebers oder Vorlage (bei Zitaten)
- ()
 1. in Fremdsprachen: normalisierende Hinzufügung, z. B. (o)ron für handschriftliches <rom>
 2. in Übersetzungen: phraseologischer oder kommentierender Zusatz
- [[a]] interlineare oder marginale Hinzufügung in der Handschrift mit unterschiedlicher Funktion: Korrektur, Ergänzung, Interpretament, Lesehilfe
- (()) s. Fn. 84
- [], [...] Textverlust
- [ati]
 1. Wiederherstellung durch Konjekturen
 2. phonetische Umschrift
- [[a]] alte Tilgung durch Schreiber, Korrektor oder Leser
- { } Tilgung des Editors
- <a> Korrektur des Editors
- <a> Transliteration
- † † (vermeintliche) Korruptel
- a < b a ist aus b entstanden oder direkt daraus entlehnt
- a << b a ist über Zwischenstufen aus b entstanden oder entlehnt
- /a/ phonologischer Wert

°krta°	abgekürzte Schreibung, hier unter Auslassung des Texts vor und nach krta
A, I, O, U	in uig. Transkriptionen: hinsichtlich der Palatalität unbestimmter Vokal, A steht für a oder ä usw.
K, P, T	in uig. Transkriptionen: hinsichtlich der Sonorität unbestimmter Konsonant, K steht für k oder g usw.
X	in uig. Transkriptionen: Vierfachvokal
r(ecto)	Vorderseite
v(erso)	Rückseite
g ₁	indizierte Buchstaben in der Transliteration: Graphemvarianten
gut ₂	in Übersetzungen: Wiedergabe eines Hendiadyoins

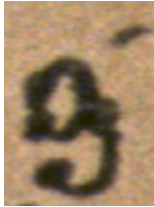


Abb. 1a
(zu Fn. 98)

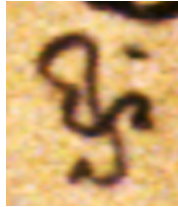


Abb. 1b



Abb. 2a
(zu Fn. 138)



Abb. 2b

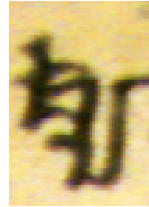


Abb. 3
(zu Fn. 259)

- v1 (1) [...]⁸⁴
 ((... tärk tavratı | **bh[<]ū[>]rjāt⁸⁵**))
- v2 (2) [...] ((... [kılı]nčlıgın | **rudhiram api** | kanın⁸⁶ ymä))
- v3 (3) [ca. 16 Akş.] []×[?]⁸⁷ s[] n[] [ca. 18 Akş.]
 [ca. 16 Akş.] []×[?] s[]η[] ((... **svadehā-** | öz ätüzindin | **-t si** |))

⁸⁴ Z. 1 und 2 sind heute vollständig verloren, Z. 3 fast ganz, Teile von Z. 4 und 5 und anderweitig einige Akşaras am rechten Rand. Soweit die Zeilen 25–38 betroffen sind, schließt Tafel XVI in Stöner 1904 die Lücke. Das Übrige ist nur durch TT VIII D dokumentiert. Da es hiervon keine Transliteration gibt, finden sich diese Textteile in (()) eingeschlossen erst in der Transkription, jedoch der hier verwendeten Transkriptions- und Darstellungsform angepasst. Aus TT VIII scheint hervorzugehen, dass das verschollene Fragment mit Resten der Zeilen 1–5 vom rechten Rand stammt.

⁸⁵ Oder °ān.

⁸⁶ qaṇṇi Stö.

⁸⁷ w[] AvG. Wegen der Positionierung unterhalb der virtuellen Schreiblinie ist oberhalb ein weiteres Konsonantzeichen anzunehmen. An Stelle von w könnte aber auch tu gelesen werden.

- v4 (4) [ca. 13 Akš.] × myu śkyā o hṣa × i [ca. 19 Akš.]
[ca. 13 Akš.] [k]^lī^lmüškā ogṣati ((... [ca]kre | kıldı ärsär |))
- v5 (5) prā gbo d^he | bo d^hi swi × [+] oya nryā | sū kta he to | eya tkyu
prāg bodhe(h) | bodisv₁ × [+] öñrā | **sūktaheto**(h) | ädgü
no mti ltā hi ndā | sa | o-l | ki l[] | × [ca. 7. Akš.]
nom tiltagında | **sa** | ol | ki^la | × ((...⁸⁸ | **munivara**(h) | ršī-))
- v6 (6) la rdhā yg, e | su tra | su tru-g₁ | me ta⁸⁹ | mu ñi | ja ga⁹⁰ da | no mla
larda y(e)ge | **s[<]ū[>]tra-** | sudrug₁ | **-m eta**(j) | muni | **jag ā[<]da** | nomla-
ti | i ti | mū ñi mu ñco la yū 20 l s[] | k[] [?]g₁yu g₁mya^{91-k}
d₁ | **iti** | muni munčolayu 2 l s[] | k(ī)g ügmāk
- v7 (7) uyu slyu ñcyu lyu-g₁ plo-ṛ | mā | oya-g₁ ñyo-ñ k̄a-ñ ñi-ñ | sú |
üzlünčülüg b(o)lor | **mā** | ögnöñ kaññiñ | (a)**śu** |
a ri hsi si | ma | u mūm d^ha ji | k̄a ya sya eya tyu sñyu-ñ | ma
arıgsızı | **ma** | umundaçı | **kāyasya** (l) | ätüzñüñ | **ma-**
- v8 (8) ṇḍa na vi d^hau | e tem mya-k̄ ya ra tim̄ ma k̄li-g₁ tyo ryo si ndyā | ki |
-ṇḍanavidhau | etenmāk yaratınmaklıg törösindā | **ki-** |
ñya g₁yu lyu-k̄ | ma si | eya ryu rsyām | pra sa kto | ilim̄ mi
nägülük | **-m asi** | ärürsän | **prasakto** | ilinmi-
- v9 (9) -ṣ̣ | mo he na | bli-g₁ si si nyu syā | na ñya-ñ | pra ya ta si | k̄a t^hi
ṣ̣ | **mohena** | b(i)ligsiziñ üzā | **na** (l) | nāj | **prayatas**(e) | kaṭi-
hlām mā ssyām | ku śa la kri yā su | eya tkyu [[lyu-g₁]]⁹² [[k̄li ñclā⁹³]]⁹⁴ i
glanmazsän | **kuśalakriyāsu** | ädgü k(i)lñclā[rda] i-
- v10 (10) ṣ̣lya rtyā | ā cc^hi dya | k̄u ñu-p | ne ṣ̣ya ti | e ltkyai | ya dai | ki-m̄ |
šlārdā | **ācchidya** | kunup | **neṣ̣yati** | eltgāy | **yadai-** | kim |
na⁹⁵ ma | mu ñi | ni tya tā | a ni tya-t | [[te]]⁹⁶ sya ñi-ñ | d^hā tr̄ |

⁸⁸ Nach kila fehlt lediglich dessen uig. Wiedergabe.

⁹⁰ Oder: na.

⁹¹ gā AvG, Fehler.

⁹² rmāk (= rmya-k) AvG, Fehler.

⁹³ Tilgung durch Überpunktierung, von Stö, AvG ignoriert.

⁹⁴ ñcli Stö, AvG, Fehler.

⁹⁵ Korrekturtext unter der Zeile in feiner Schrift. Durch einen Tuschfleck ist das zweite Akšara teilweise überdeckt und der fehlende Rest des Nachtrags unleserlich.

Oder: ta AvG.

⁹⁶ ta AvG, Fehler. Nachtrag unter der Zeile, wohl vom Schreiber selbst. Stelle der Einfügung durch ein Kreuz markiert.

-**nam a-** | muni | **nityatā** | anityat | **te** (⟨⟩) sāniṅ | **dhātrī** |

v11 (11) ā wi rd^hā | ku mā ra ka mi va⁹⁷ | o hliṃ [hliṃ]⁹⁸ tyā-g₁ | nd^ha
avīrta | **kumārakam iv^{<ā>}**- | oglin tæg | **-ndha-**
b^hū jo pa gu d^haṃ | ho yi nda k̄u cu lmi śi-g₁ | va strā |
bh^hū¹jopag^hū¹dhaṃ | koyında kuçulmıſig | **vastrā-** |
toṃ | nn[]⁹⁹ [ca. 4 Akş.]
ton | **-nn[a-]** [ca. 4 Akş.]

v12 (12) [ca. 4 Akş.] nā¹⁰⁰ sa na | tyo-**lt** rom uyu syā | sa tkṛ t[] pi | ā yā ti li-p¹⁰¹
[ca. 4 Akş.] **nāsana-** | tölt¹⁰² (o)ron¹⁰³ üzä | **-satkṛt[o]** **'pi** | ayatılıp
ymyā | snā nā¹⁰⁴ | yūṃ k̄u-k̄ | nu le pa na | tyu rtyuṃ kyu |
ymä | **snānā-** | yunguk | **-nulepana-** | türtüngü |

v13 (13) vi b^hū¹⁰⁵ ſa ṇa | e te-g₁ yrā ti-g₁ uyu syā | la li to pi | ā wi ti¹⁰⁶ li-p
vibhūṣaṇa- | eteg y(a)ratig üzä | **I^hā¹lito** **'pi** | avitılıp
ymyā | k̄a yo hi | eya tyu si űci-p¹⁰⁷ | nā ya | űya-n
ymä | **kāyo hi** | ätüz inçip | **nāya-** | nāṅ

v14 (14) po | ma kṛ ta jña ta yā | u d^hli si spo lmā k̄i uyu syā | pa ra tra |
bo | **-m akṛtajñatayā** | utlisiz bolmakı üzä | **paratra** |
ikī ndi ā ſuṃ k̄ā | yāṃ tam | pā rtā ji k̄ā | mū hu rtta ma pi | pi-r
ikinti aḷunka | **yāṃtam** | bardaçıka | **m^hū¹h^{<u>}rttam api** | bir

v15 (15) k^hye rymyā | ka űci da | ki myā rsyā-r | nu pra yā ti | eyem pā rmā-s |
ker ymā | **kañcid a-** | kim ärsär | **-nuprayāti** | eyen barmaz |

⁹⁷ vā AvG, Fehler.

⁹⁸ Unter der Zeile ist in feiner Schrift das hliṃ des Texts (mit ungewöhnlichem Sitz des -i auf dem hinteren Ende des h, s. Abb. 1a) in merkwürdiger (kursiver?) Form wiederholt: die Hasta des l kreuzt h, an ihr und nicht am h ist -i als Fähnchen angebracht, s. Abb. 1b.

⁹⁹ kt/ (= kt[]) AvG; Fehler.

¹⁰⁰ ā AvG, Fehler.

¹⁰¹ Ohne Virāma-Punkt.

¹⁰² tölät AvG, so in OTWF 425 Fn. 1 übernommen. Unzutreffend; das in Ligatur stehende l ist wie die Gesamtligatur virāmisiert, also vokallo, vgl. auch Fn. zu Z. 15 alp.

¹⁰³ Wohl apokopierte Form, nicht notwendigerweise „fehlerhaft“ (AvG).

¹⁰⁴ Ungewöhnliche Form des -ā in Verbindung mit n.

¹⁰⁵ b^hu AvG, Fehler.

¹⁰⁶ Oder: ni AvG.

¹⁰⁷ ṣ Stö; das Spezialzeichen p war noch nicht als solches erkannt, vgl. STÖNNER 1905: 420: „Zu bemerken ist ferner, daß Sanskrit -ṣa (scha) in zwei Formen, einer mehr quadratischen und einer rechteckigen auftritt.“ Vgl. dagegen MÜLLER 1907: 960 Fn. 2, zitiert oben S. 43.

- 2 ya | ki-m̄ | prā pya | plū¹⁰⁸-p | du rla b^ha | a-lp pu lku lu k̄u -g,
 2 ya(h) | kim | **prāpya** | b(u)lup | **durlabha-** | alp¹⁰⁹ bulgulukug <|>
- v16 (16) mi maṃ | mū ṇi kṣa ṇa saṃ ni pā taṃ | tya g_i ṇcṇi ṇyi hi lmā k̄im |
-m imam | muni <|> **kṣaṇasaṃnipātam** | tāginčṇiṇ yigilmakın |
 śri yo | co hya li ṇi-g_i | na | ṇya-ṇ | ciṃ ta ya ti | sā k̄im mā sā-r
śr(e)yo¹¹⁰ | čog yalınig | **na** | nāṇ | **ciṃtayati** | sakınmasar <|>
- v17 (17) k̄a ya | eya ttyu syu-g_i¹¹¹ ma [pa sya]¹¹² ve kṣya mā ṇa | kyo ryo |
kāya- | ätüzüg []¹¹³ **-m avekṣ** {y} **amāṇa**(h)¹¹⁴ | körö |
 rā jyā b^hi¹¹⁵ ṣe ka mi va | e lo ṇi li¹¹⁶ g_i ā b^hi ṣi ki¹¹⁷-g_i tya-g_i | rā ja su
rājyābhīṣekam iva | el ornılıg abışıkıg tæg | **rājasu-**
- v18 (18) to | tg_iim̄ | pa hā ya | k̄o to-p | svā r^ham̄ | oya sā si him̄ | ta de¹¹⁸ ×¹¹⁹
to | t(i)gin | **'pahāya** | kodop | **svārtham̄** | öz asıgın | **tad e**[va]
 ca | ā ṇi o-k̄ ymyā | sa | o-l̄ | k̄a ya | eya tt[] [+ +]
ca | anı ok ymä | **sa** | ol | **kāya-** | ät[üzüg]
- v19 (19) ma¹²⁰ pa sya | k̄o to-p | yā ti | pā ri[-]r̄ 3 śu śru ṣi to pi | yā rli him̄
-m ap[<]a>syā | kodop | **yāti** | barır 3 **śuśr[<]ū>ṣito 'pi** | yarlıgın
 e še te-p []myā | gu rū¹²¹ va | oy[-] [] [+] ṇpa hśi tya ×¹²² [+ +]

¹⁰⁸ plu AvG, Fehler.

¹⁰⁹ l̄p AvG, von OTWF 425 Fn. 11 so übernommen. Aber l̄ steht in virāmisierter Ligatur und ist daher nicht vokalisiert, vgl. Fn. zu Z. 12 tölt.

¹¹⁰ Notwendige Emendation „wegen des Versmaßes“ (AvG).

¹¹¹ Tuschfleck überdeckt möglicherweise die Interpunktion.

¹¹² Nicht bei AvG. Tilgung durch Überpunktierung. Es handelt sich um einen vom Schreiber bemerkten Textsprung von ätüzüg zum nächsten ätüzüg (hier Ende der nächsten Zeile). Daraus geht hervor, dass unser Blatt eine Abschrift ist.

¹¹³ Oder: <|>.

¹¹⁴ °kṣ{y}a° aus syntaktischen Gründen notwendige Emendation vom Passiv ins Medium. – °ṇa(h) Pausaform am Ende der Halbstrophe.

¹¹⁵ Der Tuschefluss war in dieser und im Anfang der nächsten Zeile ungleichmäßig. Hier ist das i- in einen Fleck zerlaufen.

¹¹⁶ i-Diakritikon als elliptischer Fleck.

¹¹⁷ Das Diakritikon -i ist in einen Fleck zerlaufen.

¹¹⁸ me AvG, Fehler.

¹¹⁹ va AvG, nach altem Zustand?

¹²⁰ ma ist in einen Fleck zerlaufen, die Umrisse sind aber hinreichend klar erkennbar.

¹²¹ ru AvG, Fehler.

¹²² Virāmapunkt oder Anusvāra.

- eṣedep [y]mä | **gur^(u)va**<t>¹²³ | ö[g¹²⁴ ka]ṇ bahšī tā[g] ((**suta-**)
- v20 (20) **va** | o ho ltyā-g₁ | dd_h to pi | i g₁ i ti li-p ymyā | dṛ ṣto pi | kyo ryo
va- | ogol tāg | **-d dhṛto 'pi** | igidilip ymā | **dṛṣto 'pi** | kōrō-
 lyo-p ymyā | b^ha rṭ¹²⁵ va | ×yā¹²⁶ g₁y[]^{127 × 128} [ca. 7 Akṣ.]
 löp ymā | **bhartṛva**¹²⁹ - | bāg[ā][r] t[ā][g] [ca. 6 Akṣ.]
- v21 (21) lji ksa wtya-g₁ | da rci to pi | ā yā ti li-p ymyā | kā ya | eya ttyu-z |
 lCık sav tāg | **-d arcito 'pi** | ayatılıp ymā | **kāya(h)** | ätüz |
 pra hṛ [+] to kī-p [+ + +] l[?]o [ca. 7 Akṣ.]
prahr[tya] (<) tokip [+ + +] l[?]o [ca. 7 Akṣ.]
- v22 (22) [+ +] × |¹³⁰ tpra yā ti | pā ri-ṭ | tya ktvā | ti tti-p | kṛ tam | ā si-g₁
 [+ +] × | **-t prayāti** | barır | **tyaktvā** | titip | **kṛtam** | asıg
 kī lmi śim | sk^ha l×¹³¹ × [ca. 12 Akṣ.]
 kılmišin¹³² | **skhal[i]t**[] [ca. 12 Akṣ.]
- v23 (23) [+ +] syā¹³³ rmyā y[]¹³⁴ [+] d[]¹³⁵ p×ā tma¹³⁶ nām¹³⁷ [ca. 5 Akṣ.]¹³⁸
 [+ +] sārmyā[ü] [+] d[ṛ]p[t]ātmanām [ca. 5 Akṣ.]

¹²³ Falls AvGs Lesung des folgenden Exzerpts richtig ist, fehlt das auslautende -t.

¹²⁴ Nach AvG war g unsicher lesbar.

¹²⁵ rte AvG, Fehler.

¹²⁶ *hā* (= *hyā*) AvG. Es ist unklar, ob ursprünglich mehr zu erkennen war; in der gegenwärtigen Erhaltung ist neben teilweise zerstörtem h- auch p- möglich.

¹²⁷ *rā* (= *rya*) AvG. r- ist wegen des Querstrichs nicht möglich; als Vokal ist nur -ū ausgeschlossen.

¹²⁸ *tā* (= *tya*) AvG; das jetzt Erhaltene ist nicht eindeutig.

¹²⁹ bharteṣa (< bhartā + iva) AvG gegen die Hs., jedoch ohne Not, weil hier der Vergleich durch -vat und nicht durch iva ausgedrückt ist.

¹³⁰ Statt × | hat AvG: *u*; nicht möglich.

¹³¹ *li* AvG; l ist sicher, -i nicht verifizierbar. S. auch Addendum.

¹³² °n: °m Stö; vgl. oben § 1.

¹³³ Oder: *rsyā*.

¹³⁴ Fehlt bei AvG.

¹³⁵ Fehlt bei AvG.

¹³⁶ tmā AvG, Fehler.

¹³⁷ n[a] AvG.

¹³⁸ Die folgenden vier Zeichen liest AvG: [k]ō[ṇ]öllög. Demnach ist ein Stück von dem unteren Rand abgebrochen, das noch vorhanden, aber an einer späteren Stelle dieser Zeile leicht verdreht fehlplatziert ist. Es zeigt *ly*, das *l*[]o zu *llyo* vervollständigt, und den unteren Teil des nachfolgenden *g*₁, dessen Virāmastrich verloren, dessen Kopf und Virāmapunkt jedoch erhalten sind. Die chinesische Seite bestätigt die Umsetzung des Kleinstfragments. Sie enthält Reste der Zeichenfolge 說如 (s. Abb. 2a und 2b), die genau an der Stelle der vorgeschlagenen Einfügung zu erwarten ist, s. auch Abb. 4.

[l]o [l]o l[o ×¹³⁹ lyā rñi-ñ ymyā | ma ×¹⁴⁰ [+ +] [l]u ×/[] [ca. 8 Akṣ.]
[k]¹ō¹[ŋ]¹ō¹[l]¹ō¹[g]lärniṇ ymā | **ma** × [+ +] [ul]ug/[ar ca. 7 Akṣ.]

v24 (24) [ca. 20 Akṣ.] × [+] [ā ma pi ca | ā mri lmi śkyo ṇyo llyo-g,
[ca. 20 Akṣ.] × [+] [**ām api ca** | amrilmīś kōṇḥōllōg-
lya [ca. 7 Akṣ.]
lā(rniṇ) » [ca. 5 Akṣ.]

v25 (25) [ca. 12 Akṣ.] × ū mu¹⁴¹ lm̃śly[] rñ[-]ñ | am te | ke ñe ndya |
[ca. 12 Akṣ.] yumulm/śl[ā]rñ[i]ṇ | **amte** | kenendā |
pa vi dd^{ha} | kya mi śi lmi-ś | bhū¹⁴² ja | kō-l | pā¹⁴³ [+ + +]
'paviddha- | kāmīśilmīś | **bh'ū'ja-** | kol | **pā**[da¹⁴⁴- | ada¹⁴⁵-]

v26 (26) k̃[?] ¹⁴⁶ | śi ro d^{ha} ¹⁴⁷ rā ṇi | p[] y[] lā ri | sā myam | tyu syu kmya¹⁴⁸
k | **śirodharāṇi** | b[o]y[on]lar | **sāmyam** | tüzü{k¹⁴⁹kmā}
kmya-k kyā¹⁵⁰ | pra yā [pa ri rla¹⁵¹] ¹⁵² ntyu pa ra tā ni ka ḍe pa rā ṇi |
kmākkā | **prayā-** (l) barırlar (l) **-nty uparatāni kaḍeparāṇi** |

¹³⁹ Virāmapunkt, nicht Anusvāra, s. die vorausgehende Fn.

¹⁴⁰ AvG liest mal[...] ohne Ergänzungsvorschlag. Tatsächlich spricht einiges dafür, dass der senkrechte Strich als die Hasta eines l aufzufassen ist. Das könnte kaum etwas anderes repräsentieren als mal(l)a- und uig. toṇa „Held“ nach sich ziehen. Diese Option scheidet wegen der unpassenden erhaltenen Reste der uig. Wiedergabe und Verstoßes gegen die Metrik aus. Vielmehr weist anlautendes skt. ma im Verein mit uig. [...]u×l[...] auf „groß“ (skt. mahat-, uig. ulug), was schließlich durch TDM (mahatām) bekräftigt wird. Das paläographische Problem bleibt ungelöst.

¹⁴¹ × ū mu : kkilmi (= k̃[i] lmi Bai, Fehler.

¹⁴² bhū Boy : bhu Stö, Leu, Bai, AvG, Fehler.

¹⁴³ (h)ā (= hā) Boy, Fehler.

¹⁴⁴ Erg. erstmals bei: Leu.

¹⁴⁵ Erg. erstmals bei: Lew.

¹⁴⁶ γ (= g_i) Lew. Der gerundete Kopf des k̃ ist im Ansatz sichtbar.

¹⁴⁷ dha: Boy : va Leu, Bai, AvG, Fehler.

¹⁴⁸ ntya Lew. Paläographisch nicht möglich: der erste Konsonant ist k, dessen in der Ligatur reduzierter Abstrich erkennbar ist; der untere Teil kann nicht ty(a) sein, dessen Form durch zahlreiche Beispiele in dieser Handschrift belegt ist.

¹⁴⁹ Dittographie des kmya, wie Bailey im Glossar überzeugend angibt. Vermutlich sieht das A. von Gabain auch so, lässt aber die Unform unverändert und morphologisch unerklärt stehen; im Glossar führt sie nur den Stamm tüzük- an. – Anders, aber schon aus paläographischen Gründen (s. Fn. 149) abwegig Lewicki: tüzün tākmākkā.

¹⁵⁰ kya Lew, Fehler.

¹⁵¹ (r)lar (= [r]lar) Lew; das r ist jedoch durch eine Verdickung am oberen Ende der Hasta bezeichnet.

¹⁵² Nachtrag unter der Zeile in feiner Schrift. Ein Kreuz markiert die Stelle der Einfügung. Sie war nicht präzise angebbar, weil die Endung -nti mit dem Anfang des folgenden Wortes ein Akṣara bildet (ntyū).

oya lmi śkyo wtyo¹⁵³ ṇlyā¹⁵⁴ [+ +] [eya ×yu lya r[]]¹⁵⁵
 ölmış kövdöŋlär[ri] ä[t]ü[z]lär[i] [l 5]

- v27 (27) vi pro g^hṭ nī va¹⁵⁶ hī | ya rsi hā¹⁵⁷-k̄ bra miṃ¹⁵⁸ tya-g₁ | ku la |
vipro ghr̥ṇīva¹⁵⁹ h^ṛṭ | yarsıgāk bramin tāg | **kula-** |
 tyo sū hū-ṣ | śru ta | po śko-t¹⁶⁰ bli-g₁ | rū pa | kyo rkmya ṇi-s uyu syā |
 töz uguş | **-śruta-** | boşgot b(i)lig | **-rūpa-** | körk mājiz üzä |
 | dṛ pta | kyu wya
-dṛpta- | küvä-
- v28 (28) ṇcli-g₁ | śca ṇḍā la e va ca | śca¹⁶¹ ṇḍā¹⁶² ltyā-g₁¹⁶³ ymyā | ja ga tpa ri
 n̄lig | **-ś caṇḍāla eva ca** | {ś}¹⁶⁴ candal tāg¹⁶⁵ ymā | **jagatpari-**
 va rja nī ya | ye rte ṇcyo kya ta r̄ka r̄ku lu-k̄ | k̄a la kra me ṇa |
varjaniya^(h) | yertenčökä tarkarguluk | **kālakrameṇa** |
 oya lyo mlyo-g₁¹⁶⁶
 ölömlög
- v29 (29) kya si-g₁ bi rlyā¹⁶⁷ | ā su uyu syā | sa hi tau¹⁶⁸ | tu [tī] [śu]¹⁶⁹ śti la-r̄ |
 k̄āzig birlä | azu üzä | **sahitau** | tuşuštılar¹⁷⁰ |

¹⁵³ wryo Lew, Fehler. Entsprechend ist sein Verweis auf küvre „ausgeweideter Tierleib“ (cf. ED 690 b) hinfällig.

¹⁵⁴ .lya (= []lya) Bai; sowohl ṇ als auch -ā sind sicher.

¹⁵⁵ Unter den beiden verlorenen Akṣaras in feiner Schrift. Richtig bei BAILEY 1937: 290; A. von Gabains Lesung ər̄māsāṛ (= eya [r]myā syā-r̄) ist nicht möglich.

¹⁵⁶ Oder: ca Boy, Leu.

¹⁵⁷ ha Lew, Fehler.

¹⁵⁸ māṃ Bai, Fehler.

¹⁵⁹ ṛva Bai, AvG (nach dem uig. tāg „wie“); ṛ ca Boy, Leu (gegen das Uig.).

¹⁶⁰ p Bai, Fehler.

¹⁶¹ cā Lew, Fehler.

¹⁶² ṇḍa Lew, Fehler.

¹⁶³ Durch einen Tuschefleck undeutlich.

¹⁶⁴ Zum anlautenden ś s. 3.3 Komm. zu v28.

¹⁶⁵ Wiedergabe von skt. iva an Stelle von eva.

¹⁶⁶ Nach Lew und AvG ist von mlyo-g₁ nur der unsicher gelesene Vokal vorhanden. Beide Zeichen sind zwar vollständig erhalten, jedoch auf der Reproduktion bei STÖNNER 1904 nicht erkennbar. Folglich beruht Baileys lyomlyog auf ungekennzeichneter Ergänzung.

¹⁶⁷ lya Lew, Fehler.

¹⁶⁸ to Bai, Fehler.

¹⁶⁹ Ursprüngliches ti oder rti ist vom Schreiber getilgt und durch daruntergeschriebenes śu ersetzt, von den Bearbeitern nicht erkannt. Die beiden Zeichen zieht Lewicki zu t̄si zusammen, AvG zu t̄su und Bailey zu twi. Sie sind sämtlich paläographisch verfehlt und so auch die daraus resultierenden Unformen und diesbezügliche Erklärungsversuche.

¹⁷⁰ Anders bei Lew, Bai und AvG, aber paläographisch ausgeschlossen, s. Fn. 170.

śa yi tau | ya t[?]ī la-ṭ | ci ta yām¹⁷¹ | tyo ñyo rkyā uyu g₁yum d^hyā |
śayitau | yat[t]ilar | **cit^hā^hyā** {m}- | tōṇörgä ügündä |

me vaṃ vi d^he | mo nda-g₁
-m evaṃvidhe | montag

v30 (30) o so hlo-g₁ [[+] d^hā | ja ga ti | ye rte ñcyo d^hyā | ka sya | ki mṇi-ñ |
 osoglogda | **jagati** | yertenčödä | **kasya** | kimniṇ |

b^ha ve [+ + +] | da rpa | kyu wyām mya ki | 6 kiṃ | ñyā g₁yu lyu-ḳ |
bhave[¹⁷² + +] | **darpa**(ḥ) | küvānmāki | 6 **kiṃ** | nāgūlūk |

ka rma ṇā¹⁷³ |
karmaṇā |

v31 (31) kḷi ñcyu syā | da śa vi d^he na | oṃ tyo rlyo-g₁ uyu syā | śu b^he na |
 k(1)lñč üzä | **daśavidhena** | on törlög üzä | **śubhena** |

ā ri-g₁ | uyu syā | eya tkyu uyu syā | la bd^hva plū-p | kā yaṃ |
 arig | üzä | ädgü üzä | **labdhv^hā^h** <|> b(u)lup | **kāyaṃ** |

eya tyu syu-g₁ | na | ñya-ñ
 ätüzüg | **na** | nāṇ <|>

v32 (32) kā ra ya si | pū yām kī lma¹⁷⁴ ssyām | kā ma su k^he |
kārayasi | buyan kilmazsän | **kāmasukhe** |

vi śai li-g₁ mya ñi tya | pra sa kta | ilī¹⁷⁵ ṇi-p | a nvi śya tām |
 wiśaylig māṇidä | **prasakta**(ḥ)¹⁷⁶ | ilinip | **anviśyatām** |

ti lyā¹⁷⁷ g₁i-l | p^ha l[] [+ + +]
 tilägil | **phal**[am¹⁷⁸ + + +]

v33 (33) mi ta | mū ndi¹⁷⁹ rtiṃ | da sā rā | ye-g₁ se sya rpsi¹⁸⁰ stiṃ |
-m ita¹⁸¹ | mundirtin | **-d**¹⁸² **asārā**- | yegsez yarpsızdin |

¹⁷¹ BOYER 1906: 104 Fn.: „j’ignore si le point qui se trouve au-dessus de l’ā est intentionnel ou fait tache. Si l’anusvāra est réellement marqué, l’*m* de *meva*^o est une méprise.“

¹⁷² °[ta] Boy, Bai, AvG. °[n nu] Leu, s. 3.3 Komm. zu v30.

¹⁷³ ṇe Stō, Fehler.

¹⁷⁴ [l]ma AvG, Fehler.

¹⁷⁵ ilī Lew; īla Bai (in Anlehnung an STÖNNER 1905: 420 il?). Fehler.

¹⁷⁶ °ta Bai °ta(ḥ) Boy, Leu12, AvG; °ta[m] Leu07.

¹⁷⁷ lyā Lew, Fehler.

¹⁷⁸ Erg. zuerst bei Boy.

¹⁷⁹ mū ndi : ā wi Bai, Fehler.

¹⁸⁰ psi Lew Text, im Komm. fragend rpsi.

¹⁸¹ Nicht im folgenden Exzerpt abgeschlossenes Wort, s. 3.3 Komm. zu v32–33.

¹⁸² Endkonsonant eines nicht exzerptierten Worts, s. 3.3 Komm. zu v32–33.

dvi sti rṇa ve¹⁸³ ta na | ke nā¹⁸⁴ lki-g₁ eya ttwā¹⁸⁵ ryu syā | b^hṛ tā |
-d viṣṭ^r rṇavetana- | keṇ alkıg ād t(a)var üzä | **bhr̥tā-** |

tya rkyā | ā li lmi [+ + + +]
 tärkä | alılmı[šdın¹⁸⁶ | -d bhr̥ta-¹⁸⁷]

v34 (34) ka di vā | tyā rkyā tiṃ tyā-g₁ | r^ham | a si g₁ iṃ ⁷¹⁸⁸ ya smā da |
k^a d ivā- | tärkädin täg | **-rtha(h)**¹⁸⁹ | asıgıñ 7 **yasmād a-**
 i ŋci-p | me d^hya na ra ka pra ti maṃ | a ri hsi sli-g₁ pre¹⁹⁰-k̄ k̄a
 inčip | **-medhyānarakapratimaṃ** | arıgsızlıg pre(t)ka
 o hśa ti | śa rī¹⁹¹ [+ + + +]
 oğşatı | **śarī**[ram¹⁹² | ä-]

v35 (35) ṭy[]¹⁹³-s | ga rb^he | hā¹⁹⁴ rri¹⁹⁵ ndā | śu cau | ā ri-g₁ si stā¹⁹⁶ |
 ṭüjz | **garbhe** | karında | **śucau**¹⁹⁷ | arıgsızda |
 a śu ci nā¹⁹⁸ nā¹⁹⁹ ra se na | a ri hsi sli-g₁ a k̄iṃ uyu syā |
aśucinā(n) n^t ā^t rasena²⁰⁰ | arıgsızlıg akın üzä
 pu ṣṭ^ham²⁰¹ | uyu kli mi-ş [+ + + +]
puṣṭ{h}am | üklimiş[+ + + ta-]

¹⁸³ ve Boy, Leu, Bai („I am indebted to M. de la Vallée Poussin for the reading *vetana*“, BAILEY 1937: 291 Fn. 7), AvG : ce.

¹⁸⁴ ñe Lew, Fehler.

¹⁸⁵ t^hwā Lew, Fehler.

¹⁸⁶ Erg. [s] bei Lew und AvG; [šṭim] Bai, von AvG in der Anmerkung zur Stelle erwähnt, aber nicht übernommen.

¹⁸⁷ Erg. zuerst bei Boy, danach auch Leu12 „dank einer Konjektur BOYER’s“, Bai und AvG.

¹⁸⁸ Von Lewicki als gu verlesen und mit dem Vorherigen zusammengezogen.

¹⁸⁹ Gegen die Hs. (°am) emendieren schon Boy und Leu in °rthaḥ; BOYER 1906: 107 Fn. 1 begründet das so: „Naturellement *artham* est au nominatif, et, à vrai dire, on n’attend guère ici le vieux genre neutre d’*artha*.“ Dass das Wort im BHS Neutrum sein kann (BHSD 66b), ist kein ausreichendes Gegenargument.

¹⁹⁰ prā von Lewicki in der Anmerkung zur Stelle fragend erwogen, ist paläographisch nicht möglich.

¹⁹¹ śa rī (tī AvG) heute verloren, aber auf der Reproduktion bei STÖNNER 1904 dokumentiert.

¹⁹² Erg. zuerst bei Boy, dann auch bei Leu, Bai, AvG.

¹⁹³ ṭū (= tyu) AvG, ungenau, wahrscheinlich ṭy[u] : uyu Bai, Fehler.

¹⁹⁴ ha Lew, Fehler.

¹⁹⁵ ri Lew, Fehler.

¹⁹⁶ sdhā Lew, Fehler.

¹⁹⁷ Aufgelöster Sandhi statt °cāv a°.

¹⁹⁸ Oder: tā.

¹⁹⁹ Oder: tā Bai.

²⁰⁰ aśucinā t(a)rasena Leu; aśucinā tā (tā für tu?) rasena Bai.

²⁰¹ ṣṭam Boy, Leu, Bai, AvG, Fehler.

- v36 (36) [+] *da* | *a*²⁰² *ṇiṃ* | *me d^hya ja la jā* [+ + + +]²⁰³ *ri hsi s×i ×²⁰⁴*
*[smā]**d*²⁰⁵ *a-* | *anin* | **-medhyajalajā**[*tam*²⁰⁶ *ivā*-²⁰⁷ | *a*]*rīgsız**h*[*g*]
*sū wtā*²⁰⁸ *uyum*²⁰⁹ *mi*²¹⁰ [*i*-*g*₁ ²¹¹ *tya- g*₁ | *ā*²¹² *sū tu hmi śi htya- g*₁ |
suvda ünmi[*š*]*ig tāg* | *azu tugmišig tāg* |
ra vi ndam | *lem hwā*[-]*g*₁²¹³ | *tya kta* [+ + + +]
-ravindam | *len hvag* | **tyakta**[*vyam eva*²¹⁴ |]
v37 (37) *t*[] *tkyu lyu-k oya-k eya ryu-r* | [*i* [*u*²¹⁵ [+ + +] × *uyu*²¹⁶ [*yā*²¹⁷ |
t][*tgülük*²¹⁸ *ök ärür* | [*v*][*i*][*d*]*u*[*šā*²¹⁹ *bilg*][*ā* *ü*][*z*]*ä* |
va pu šā pi | *kyo-rk mya ni syu syā* | *yu ktam* | *tyu kyā lli g*₁*i-g*₁ | 8
vapuṣāpi | *körk mājiz üzä* | **yuktam** | *tükälligig* | 8
sam ra kṣi to ×i [+ + + +]
samrakṣito '[*p*]*i*²²⁰ [| *küzädi-*]
v38 (38) *li-p ymyā* | *su ta*²²¹ *va* | *o ho ltyā-g*₁ | *pa ri pā li to pi* |
lip ymā | **sutava**(*t*)²²² | *ogol tāg* | **paripālito** '*pi* |

²⁰² pu Lew, Fehler.

²⁰³ Nach Lewicki vorhandenes a ist in Wirklichkeit ergänzt.

²⁰⁴ Virāma-Punkt oder Anusvāra.

²⁰⁵ Erg. Leu, Bai, AvG.

²⁰⁶ Von AvG als vorhanden angegeben, jedoch nicht auf dem Facsimile in STÖNNER 1904, daher ergänzt, so zuerst bei Leu, dann Bai.

²⁰⁷ Erg. Leu, Bai, AvG.

²⁰⁸ wdā Lew, Fehler.

²⁰⁹ uyu Bai, Fehler.

²¹⁰ uyum mi : uyu [*i* Bai, Fehler mit ungrammatischer Ergänzung zu *†ünigig*.

²¹¹ mi [*i*-*g*₁ : *syāriṇ* (= *syā ri-g*₁) Lew, Fehler.

²¹² Nach der Abbildung bei STÖNNER 1904 ā, nicht a. Die unterscheidende Schleife am unteren Ende ist heute verloren.

²¹³ Der Virāma-Strich ist wohl ebenso wie der rechte Teil des h abgerieben.

²¹⁴ Erg. Leu, Bai (eva mit Fragezeichen), AvG.

²¹⁵ [*ū* AvG, Fehler.

²¹⁶ *ü* (= [*yu*] AvG, Fehler.

²¹⁷ *šā* (= *syā*) AvG.

²¹⁸ Erg. Lew, Bai, AvG.

²¹⁹ Erg. Leu, Bai, AvG.

²²⁰ Erg. Boy, Leu, Bai, AvG.

²²¹ ta Leu.

²²² Lesung mit -t- und Ergänzung von auslautendem -t Uig. erstmals bei Bai, danach AvG; aber vgl. bereits Lewicki (LEWICKI 1936: 198 Fn. 4 zu *sunava*): „Sądzac z przekładu tureckiego, autor odczytał suta va(t) ‚jak syn‘.“ (Nach der türkischen Übersetzung zu urteilen, hat der Autor *suta va(t)* „wie ein Sohn“ gelesen.) Leumanns *su-nava(h)*, offenbar im Sinne von „sehr jung“ aufzufassen, wird letztlich erst durch die ihm noch nicht bekannte Struktur der gesamten Strophe widerlegt.

kyo lyo-p ymyā | snā nām²²³ | yuṃ kū-k̄ | ba rā | toṃ k^hya ti-m̄ |
 kö(l)öp ymā | **snānām**²²⁴ | yunguk | **-barā-** | ton kādim |
 b^ha ra ṇa bhū²²⁵ ṣa ṇa | × [+ +]
-bharāṇa-bhūṣaṇa- | × [+ +]

v39 (39) e te-g₁ yrā ti-g₁ uyu syā | la li to pi | ā wi [ti]²²⁶ li-p ymyā | kā yo |
 eteg y(a)ratig üzā | **-lā^hlito**²²⁷ **’pi** | avitilp²²⁸ ymā | **kāyo** |
 eya ttyu-s | ja ha ti ca | ti tyā rymyā | vi haṃ ti cai va | **kō** [o] [+ +]
 ätüz | **jah^(ā)ti ca** | titār ymā | **vihaṃti caiva** | **kō[ṇr]o[r]** ymā]

v40 (40) oya-k̄ | tyā kt[ā]²²⁹ | ti tti-p | kṛ taṃ ā si-g₁ k̄i lmi śim |
 ök | **tyakt[v]ā** | titip | **kṛtaṃ** <|> asig kilmışin |
 s× b[] h[] | eya r×i ṇy[] u[] ky[]-s̄ | co r[] i vā | o hrī tya-g₁ |
subah[u]²³⁰ | **ärtiṇ[ü]** [ü]k[ü]š | **cora ivā-** | ogrı tåg |
 kṛ ta jña [ca. 4 Akṣ. ta-]
-kṛtajña(h) [ca. 4 Akṣ. | 9]

3.2. Textbearbeitung und Übersetzung

Die beiden Sprachen werden getrennt behandelt. In den metrischen Teilen folgt der Bearbeitung und Übersetzung der jeweiligen Sanskrit-Strophe die uigurische Entsprechung.

Im folgenden Sanskrit-Text sind alle Wörter und Wortbestandteile fett gesetzt, die sowohl in TT VIII D als auch in der TDM²³¹ erhalten sind, fett und kursiv hingegen die Strophennummern, die nur in TT VIII D enthalten sind. Textabweichungen zwischen den beiden Versionen werden verzeichnet;

²²³ Oder: tāṃ Boy.

²²⁴ snān° : snāt° Boy; snāta-, mit dem Endglied des Kompositums lālita- „gebadet und gehätschelt durch ...“ ein Dvandva bildend, ist nicht völlig auszuschließen. Viel wahrscheinlicher ist substantivisches snāna- „Bad(emittel)“, das mit den folgenden Substantiven ein Dvandva bildet, das sich seinerseits mit lālita- zu einem Tatpuruṣa vereint. So hat das der uig. Übersetzer verstanden und mit ihm die meisten modernen Interpreten.

²²⁵ b^hu Bai, AvG, Fehler.

²²⁶ ni AvG. – Unter der Zeile in feiner Schrift nachgetragen. Stelle der Einfügung durch Kreuz markiert.

²²⁷ lālito AvG, s. Komm.

²²⁸ āwin° (= avin°) AvG, s. Komm.

²²⁹ ktvā AvG.

²³⁰ subaha AvG. Diese Lesung würde eine metrisch und syntaktisch unpassende Ergänzung zu Nom. Pl. Mask. subahavaḥ bzw. sandhibedint° vaś erfordern.

²³¹ Wir danken Kazunobu Matsuda, der uns seine Transliteration der TDM zur Verfügung gestellt hat.

unberücksichtigt bleiben Fehler und Varianten orthographischer Natur. Dies betrifft in der TDM vor allem *m* und *n* für *ṃ* sowie die Beseitigung der Geminatio von *g*, *ṇ*, *t*, *m* und *v* nach *r*. In TT VIII D geht es hauptsächlich um Verwechslung der Vokalquantitäten. Die Zeichensetzung ist standardisiert.

Die uigurische Wiedergabe erfolgt in kleinen Abschnitten, meist Einzelwörtern, nach der Sanskritvorlage. In dieser Form liefert sie Textbausteine, aber keinen idiomatischen Text, zu dessen Herstellung Anpassungen in verschiedenem Umfang erforderlich wären. Um nicht den falschen Eindruck eines Lesetexts entstehen zu lassen, haben wir deshalb die Abschnittstrenner beibehalten, auch dort, wo sie fehlen könnten, wie z. B. in Strophe 2a–b, zwei Pādas in tadellosem Uigurisch.

Zur leichteren Orientierung werden in beiden Sprachversionen die Zeilenzahlen der Handschriften eingefügt und in den Übersetzungen der strophischen Passagen die Pāda-Anfänge vermerkt.

Aus Abschnitt 1: Einleitungsstrophen

Strophe 21²³²

svāṅgād utkṛtya carma pramuditahṛdayo yaś cakārāśu **bhūrjaṃ**
svā(8v2)ṅgād eva pratīto **rudhiram api** maṣīm bandhujīvaparakāśam |
saṃbhidyāsthi **svadehāt** sītaraġatanibhām lekhanīm yaś ca **cakre**
prāg bodheḥ sūktahetos sa kila munivaraḥ sūtram etaj jagāda ||
iti 21

TDM 8v1–2, TT VIII D v1–6, *Samādhirāja-sūtra* SR(M)

a: bhūrjāt oder bhūrjān TT VIII D; cakāra svabhūrjaṃ SR(M)

b: pratīto; TDM Hs. eher pratīko, aber hier schwer zu lesen; pravītaṃ SR(M)

c: saṃbhindiyā° TDM Hs.: saṃchidyā° SR(M); lekhanīyaṃ ca SR(M)

(a) Der aus dem eigenen Körper Haut herausgeschnitten und frohgemut rasch zum Schreibblatt gemacht hat, (b) (und) aus eben diesem Körper freudig auch Blut zur Tinte, die der (roten) Bandhujīva-Blüte gleicht, (c) und der einen Knochen vom Körper gespalten und zum Schreibstift wie helles Silber gemacht hat, (d) (und zwar) vor (seinem) Erwachen für einen trefflichen Ausspruch: dieser fürwahr, der Beste unten den Asketen, hat das folgende Sūtra gesprochen.

²³² Es handelt sich um eine Sragdharā-Strophe (– – – – – | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | – ~ ~ ~ ~ x). Auf die Parallele in einigen Handschriften des *Samādhirāja-sūtra* wurde bereits in Abschnitt II hingewiesen. In Matsunamis Ausgabe (MATSUNAMI 1975: 237) handelt es sich um Strophe 33 der Einleitung (zu den Lesarten anderer Handschriften s. dort).

- [1] [...] tärk tavrati [...]
 [2] [... sävi]nčligin | kanın ymä [...]
 [3] [...] ... [...] öz ätüzindin |
 [4] [yürün k]ül'müşkä ogşati [...] kıldı ärsär |
 [5] bodisvī × [+] öñrä | ädgü nom tıltagında | ol | [...] rši[6]larda y(e)
 ge | sudrug | munı | nomladı | munı munčolayı 21 ||

(a) [...] schnell₂ [...] (b) [... freu]dig | und sein Blut (Akk.) [...] (c) [...]
 ... [...] aus dem eigenen Körper | [weißem S]ilber gleichend [...] machte
 (d) vor dem Bodhisat[va-...] auf Grund der guten Lehre. Dieser [fürwahr],
 unter den Asketen der Beste, predigte dieses Sūtra. Dieses (predigte er?)
 folgendermaßen: 21

Abschnitt 2: Das Sūtra

TT VIII D hat in den ZZ. 6–7 nur vier abgekürzte Skt.-Exzerpte mit uig.
 Übersetzung. Sie sind dem in der TDM erhaltenen Gesamttext vorangestellt,
 der hier der Vollständigkeit halber mitediert wird.

1. Exzerpte aus dem Sūtra in TT VIII D v6–7

s[a](ṃkārakūṭaparyavasānā)²³³ | kıg ügmäk [7] üzlünčülüg b(o)lor | endet als
 Haufen Kehricht

mā(tāpitr-)²³⁴ | ögnöñ kaññıñ | (a)śu(ci)²³⁵ | arıgsızı | das Unreine²³⁶ von Vater
 (und) Mutter

ma() | umundaçı |²³⁷ hoffend

2. Sūtra-Text der TDM (8v2–9r3)²³⁸

[0] evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavāñ chrāvastyāṃ viharati |
 jetavane 'nāthapiṇḍadasyārāme | tatra bhagavāñ bhikṣūñ āmantrayate (8v3)
 sma ||

So habe ich gehört: Einst weilte der Erhabene in Śrāvastī, im Jeta-Park, im
 Hain des Anāthapiṇḍada. Dort sprach der Erhabene zu den Mönchen:

[1.1] tadyathā bhikṣava utpalamālā vā campakamālā vātimuktakamālā
 vā vārṣikīmālā vāṅgagatā vā vastragatā vā bhājanagatā vā teṣāṃ teṣāṃ

²³³ Skt.-Text § 1.2.

²³⁴ Skt.-Text § 2.1.

²³⁵ MATSUNAMI 1975: 237.

²³⁶ S. 3.3 Komm. zu v7.

²³⁷ Ohne Entsprechung in der TDM.

²³⁸ Das Sūtra besitzt teilweise Parallelen in SĀ 930, T 99, Bd. 2, 237b–c, SN V 370 und in der
Abhidharmakośavyākhyā (WOGIHARA 1932–1936: 303.32–304.2).

rātriṃdivasānām atyayāt teṣāṃ teṣāṃ kṣaṇalavamuhūrtānām atyayāj jīryaty eva mlāyaty eva śuṣyaty eva |

Folgendermaßen, ihr Mönche, verhält es sich bei einem Kranz aus Lotusblüten oder einem Kranz aus Campaka-Blüten oder einem Kranz aus Atimuktaka-Blüten oder einem Kranz aus Jasminblüten, egal ob am Körper befindlich, auf dem Gewand befindlich, in einem Gefäß befindlich: nach Ablauf einer Reihe von Tagen und Nächten, nach Ablauf einer Reihe von Augenblicken, Momenten und Stunden altert er ja, welkt er ja, verdorrt er ja.

[1.2] bhavati bhikṣavaḥ samayo yadāsav²³⁹ utpalamālā vā campakamā(8v4) lā vātimuktakamālā vā vārṣikīmālā vāṅgagatā vā vastragatā vā bhājanagatā vā teṣāṃ teṣāṃ rātriṃdivasānām atyayāt teṣāṃ teṣāṃ kṣaṇalavamuhūrtānām atyayāj jīrṇā mlānā śuṣkā sarveṇa sarvaṃ saṃkārakūṭaparyavasānā bhavati |

Es kommt, ihr Mönche, der Zeitpunkt, wo dieser Kranz aus Lotusblüten oder der Kranz aus Campaka-Blüten oder der Kranz aus Atimuktaka-Blüten oder der Kranz aus Jasminblüten, egal ob am Körper befindlich, auf dem Gewand befindlich, in einem Gefäß befindlich, nach Ablauf einer Reihe von Tagen und Nächten, nach Ablauf einer Reihe von Augenblicken, Momenten und Stunden alt geworden, verwelkt und verdorrt ist und voll und ganz auf dem Abfallhaufen endet.

[2.1] evam eva bhikṣavo 'yam api kāyo²⁴⁰ rūpī audārikaś cāturmahābhautiko mātāpitraśu(8v5)cikalalasambhūta²⁴¹ odanakulmāṣopacito nityocchadana²⁴² snapanaparimardanabhedanavikiraṇavidhvamsanadharmā teṣāṃ teṣāṃ rātriṃdivasānām atyayāt teṣāṃ teṣāṃ kṣaṇalavamuhūrtānām atyayāj jīryaty eva mlāyaty eva śuṣyaty eva mriyaty eva |

²³⁹ Hs. *yadāsarv*?

²⁴⁰ Dieselbe Wendung erscheint auch in TDM 26.2 (68r3–4): *karaṇḍaka iti hi bhikṣavo 'syaitat kāyasyādhivacanam | rūpiṇa audārikasya cāturmahābhautikasya mātāpitraśucikalalasambhūtasyaudanakulmāṣopacitasya nityocchadanasnapanaparimardanavikiraṇavidhvansanadharmiṇa etad adhvacanam*, s. MATSUDA et al. 2022: 61; sehr ähnlich ein Zitat in der *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* offenbar aus dem *Valmika-sūtra*: *valmika iti bhikṣo asya kāyasyaitad adhvacanam rūpiṇaḥ audārikasya cāturmahābhūtasya odanakulmāṣopacitasya mātāpitraśucikalalasambhūtasyeti vistaraḥ* (WOGIHARA 1932–1936: 281.6–9; cf. MN I 144.1–4). Vgl. ferner die entsprechende Wendung in der *Śrāvakabhūmi*: *kāyasyādhīyātmikasya rūpiṇa audārikasya caturmahābhūtikasyaudanakulmāṣopacitasya nityotsadanasnapanaparimardanabhedanacchedanavikiraṇavidhvamsanadharmaṇa*, s. DELEANU 2006: 322.

²⁴¹ Dazu das Zitat im *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*: *evam ca kṛtvetaṃ sūtrapadaṃ sūtre sunītaṃ bhavati "mātāpitraśucikalalasambhūtasye"ti* (PRADHAN 1975: 127.7–8).

²⁴² Hier und in Absatz 2.2 sowie an der Parallelstelle (s. oben, Fn. 240) jeweils °occhadana statt des zu erwartenden °occhādāna; s. aber auch SWTF s. v. *utsadana*. Daher ist die Lesung hier beibehalten.

In genau derselben Weise, ihr Mönche, gilt auch für diesen Körper,²⁴³ materiell, grobstofflich, aus den vier großen Elementen bestehend, hervorgegangen aus dem ersten Embryonalzustand, (der seinerseits entstanden ist aus) den Körpersekreten von Mutter und Vater, reichlich versehen mit gekochtem Reis und Getreidebrei, (zunächst) dem ständigen Einreiben, Baden und Massieren, (dann aber) dem Zerbrechen, Zerstreuen und Zerfallen unterliegend: nach Ablauf einer Reihe von Tagen und Nächten, nach Ablauf einer Reihe von Augenblicken, Momenten und Stunden altert er ja, welkt er ja, verdorrt er ja, stirbt er ja.

[2.2] bhavati bhikṣavaḥ samayo yadāyaṃ kāyo rūpy audārikaś cā(9r1) turmahābhautiko mātāpitrasucikalalasambhūta odanakulmāśopacito nityocchadanānapanaparimardanabhedanavikiraṇavidhvamśanadharmā teṣāṃ teṣāṃ rātriṃdivasānām atyayāt teṣāṃ teṣāṃ kṣaṇalavamuhūrtānām atyayāḥ jīrṇo mlānaḥ śuṣko mṛtaḥ sarveṇa sarvaṃ śmaśānaparyavasāno bhavati ||

Es kommt, ihr Mönche, der Zeitpunkt, wo dieser Körper, materiell, grobstofflich, aus den vier großen Elementen bestehend, hervorgegangen aus dem ersten Embryonalzustand, (der seinerseits entstanden ist aus) den Körpersekreten von Mutter und Vater, reichlich versehen mit gekochtem Reis und Getreidebrei, (zunächst) dem ständigen Einreiben, Baden und Massieren, (dann aber) dem Zerbrechen, Zerstreuen und Zerfallen unterliegend nach Ablauf einer Reihe von Tagen und Nächten, nach Ablauf einer Reihe von Augenblicken, Momenten und Stunden alt geworden, verwelkt, verdorrt, gestorben ist und voll und ganz auf dem Leichenacker endet.

[3] mṛtasya²⁴⁴ khalu (9r2) bhikṣavaḥ kālagatasya jñātayaḥ kāyam agninā vā dahanti | uḍake vā plāvayanti | pṛthivyāṃ vā nikhananti | vividhā vā tiryagyonigatāḥ prāṇino bhakṣayanti | vātātapābhyām vā pariśoṣaṃ parikṣayaṃ paryādānaṃ gacchati |

Den Körper des Toten, ihr Mönche, des Verstorbenen, verbrennen die Angehörigen im Feuer, lassen ihn im Wasser schwimmen, begraben ihn in

²⁴³ Vgl. DELEANU 2006: 322 mit Übersetzung „for the sake of one’s own body, material, coarse, made of the four elements, growing upon boiled rice [or] coarse gruel, always requiring ointment, bathing, and massage, [yet] bound to breaking, splitting, scattering and destruction“ (S. 449) und ausführlicher Diskussion der Begriffe und einiger Parallelstellen (Anmerkungen 79–85, S. 497–501).

²⁴⁴ Der gesamte Absatz ist im 3. Kapitel der *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* zitiert: *yathoktaṃ. mṛtasya khalu kālaṃ gatasya jñātaya imaṃ pūtikāyam agninā vā dahanṭi uḍake vā plāvayanti bhūmau vā nikhananti vātātapābhyām vā pariśoṣaṃ parikṣayaṃ paryādānaṃ gacchati. yat punar idam ucyate. cittam iti vā mana iti vā vijñānaṃ iti vā śraddhāparibhāvitaṃ śīlātyaśrutaprajñāparibhāvitaṃ. tad ūrdhvaḡāmi bhavati viśeṣaḡāmy āyatyaṃ svargopagam iti* (WOGIHARA 1932–1936: 303.32–304.2).

ätüzñüñ | [8] etenmäk yaratınmaklıg törösindä | nägülık | ärürsän |
 ilinmi[9]ş |
 b(i)lgsiziñ üzä | näñ | katıgılanmazsän | ädgü k(ı)lınčla[rda i][10]şlärädä |
 kunup | eltgäy | kim | munı | anıyat | säñiñ |
 [11] avırta | oğlın tög | koyında kuçulmışıg | (1)

(a) Warum nur hängst du an der Vorschrift des Körpers, das Sich-Schmücken und Sich-Herrichten betreffend, (b) (und) mühest dich nicht ab in [guten Ta-] ten durch deine Unwissenheit (darüber), (c) dass die Vergänglichkeit ihn (den Körper) dir entreißen und fortbringen wird (d) wie eine Amme das an die (Mutter-)Brust gedrückte Kind?

Strophe 2

vastrānnapānaśaya(9r4)nāsanasaṭkṛto 'pi
snānānulepanavibhūṣaṇālālito 'pi |
kāyo hi nāyam akṛtajñatayā paratra
yāntaṃ muhūrtam api kaṃcid anuprayāti || 2

TDM r3–4, TT VIII D v11–15

(a) Obschon mit Gewändern, Speisen, Getränken, Lager und Sitz ausgestattet, (b) obschon verwöhnt mit Bademitteln, Salben und Schmuck: (c) dieser Körper begleitet aus Undank den ins Jenseits (d) Dahinscheidenden nicht, auch nicht einen Augenblick lang.

ton | [aš [12] ičgü] tölt (o)ron üzä | ayatılıp ymä |
 yunguk | türtüngü | [13] eteg y(a)ratıg üzä | avıtılıp ymä |
 ätüz inčıp | näñ | [14] bo | utlısız bolmakı üzä | ikinti aźunka |
 bardačıka | bir [15] ker ymä | kim ärsär | eyen barmaz | 2

(a) Und obwohl mit Kleidung, [Essen, Trinken,] Bett (und) Sitz geehrt (b) und mit Seife, Salbe, Schmuck (und) Zierat verwöhnt, (d-) begleitet (c) doch dieser Körper aus Undankbarkeit den in eine andere Existenz (-d) Gehenden nicht, und wäre es auch nur ein Augenblick.

Strophe 3

yah prāpya durlabham imaṃ kṣaṇasaṃnipātaṃ
śreyo na cintayati kāyam avekṣamāṇaḥ |
rājyābhiṣekam iva rājasuto 'pahāya
svārthaṃ tam eva ca sa kāyam apāsya yāti || 3

TDM r4, TT VIII D v15–19

b: avekṣyamāṇaḥ TDM

d: svarthān TDM; tad eva TT VIII D

- (a) Wer dieses schwer zu erlangende Zusammentreffen mit dem glücklichen Umstand erreicht hat, (b) das Heil nicht bedenkt und (nur) den Körper im Blick hat, (c) der versäumt sein Ziel wie ein Königssohn die Salbung zur Herrschaft: (d) der geht dahin, indem er genau diesen Körper ablegt.

kim | b(u)lup | alp bulgulukug | [16] munı | tāginčnıñ yıgılmakın |
 çog yalınıg | nāñ | sakınmasar | [17] ätüzüg | körö |
 el ornılıg abışıkıg tæg | [18] t(i)gin | kodop |
 öz asıgın | anı ok ymä | ol | ät[üzüg |] [19] kodop | barır 3

- (a) Wer, wenn er dieses schwer zu erlangende Zusammentreffen mit der (passenden) Gelegenheit erlangt hat, (b) nicht den Glanz₂ bedenkt, sondern auf den Körper schaut, (d-) der geht von hinnen (c) wie ein Thronfolger, der die Reichsthron-Weihe vergibt, (-d) indem er seinen eigenen Vorteil und eben auch den Körper dreingibt.

Strophe 4

(9r5) śuśrūṣito 'pi guruvat sutavad dhr̥to 'pi
 dr̥ṣṭo 'pi bandhur iva bhartṛvad arcito 'pi |
 kāyaḥ prahr̥tya capalaḥ kapivat prayāti
 tyaktvā kṛtaṃ skhalitam ekam amṛṣyamāṇaḥ || [4]²⁴⁹

TDM r5, TT VIII D v19–22

b: bandhur iva fehlt in TT VIII D ohne Textlücke.

- (a) Zwar bedient wie ein Lehrer, umsorgt wie ein Sohn, (b) angesehen wie ein Verwandter, geehrt wie ein Gatte: (c) erhält der Körper aber einen Schlag, macht er sich davon wie ein rasch beweglicher Affe, (d) wobei er die Zuwendung unbeachtet lässt, ohne (jedoch) einen einzigen Missgriff zu vergessen.

yarlıgın eṣedep [y]mä | ö[g ka]ñ bahşı tæg | [20] ogol tæg | igidilip ymä |
 körölöp ymä | bæg [ä]r [r] t[ä]g | ... [21] lčık sav tæg | ayatılıp ymä |
 ätüz | tokıp | [... [22] ...] barır |
 titip | asıg kılmişın | ... [23] särmäy[ü]

²⁴⁹ Das Manuskript ist in 9r5 kaum zu entziffern; die Lesungen *bandhur iva* und *kapivat* verdanken wir Frau Dr. Mitsuyo Demoto, Marburg, zusammen mit mehreren Korrekturhinweisen.

(a) Und wie Mutter, Vater (und) Lehrer einer, auf dessen Anweisung man hört, aufgepäppelt wie ein Kind (b) und angesehen wie ein Herr²⁵⁰ ... und geehrt wie das [...] ... Wort (c) geht der Körper dahin, wenn [man ihn] schlägt [...] (d) indem er den ihm gewährten Nutzen aufgibt [...] ohne zu ertragen.

Strophe 5

dṛptātmanāṇi ca mahatām kulagarvitānām
 śāntātmanām **api** ca bhāgyanimilitānām |
ante 'pavidhabhujapādaśirodharāṇi
 sāmyam prayānty uparatāni ka^(9v1)**devarāṇi || [5]**

TDM r5-v1, TT VIII D v23-26

b: api ⟨ca⟩ TDM

(a) Sowohl die arroganten Personen, die Großen, die stolz auf ihre Abstammung sind, (b) als auch die, die über ein gestilltes Selbst verfügen, und die, die ihre Augen vor den Glücksgütern verschlossen haben, (d) gehen am Ende in den gleichen Zustand über als leblose Leichen, (c) denen Arme, Beine und Häuse abgefallen sind.

[kuvänčlig k[^hl̥]j̥]ö[l̥]l̥]ö[g]lärn̥j̥ ymä | [ul]ug[^hl̥ärn̥j̥] [24] [...]
amrılmış kööllöglärn̥j̥ [ymä ...] [25] [...] yumulmıšl̥j̥ärn̥j̥[i]ŋ |
kenendä | kämišilmış | kol [l̥ ada][26]k | b[o]y[on]ları |
tüzükmäkkä | barırlar | ölmış kövdöglä[r̥i] ä[t̥ü]z[^hl̥är̥i] | 5]

(a) Und der [stolzgesinnt]en Großen [...] (b) deren Geist beruhigt ist [... und] deren Augen verschlossen sind, (d-) tote Leiber₂, (c) denen Arme, Beine (und) Hälse abgefallen sind, – schließlich (-d) werden sie gleich.

Strophe 6

vipro ghrñī ca hi kulaśrutarūpadrptaś
caṇḍāla eva ca jagatparivarjanīyaḥ |
kālakrameṇa sahitaḥ svapitaś citāyām
evamvidhe jagati kasya bhaven nu darpah || 6

TDM v1, TT VIII D v27–30

a: ghrṇīva TT VIII D, bestätigt von der uig. Übersetzung

c: svapitaś TDM : śayitau TT VIII D

(a) Sowohl ein herablassender Brahmane, der stolz ist auf Abstammung, Gelehrsamkeit und schönes Aussehen, (b) als auch ein Kastenloser, der von den Menschen/der Welt zu meiden ist: (c) beide ruhen nach Ablauf der Lebenszeit

250 Oder: Gatte.

gemeinsam auf dem Scheiterhaufen; (d) wer könnte in einer solchen Welt eingebildet sein?

[27] yarsıgak bramin tæg | töz uguş | boşgot b(i)lig | körk mäniz üzä |
 küvä[28]nčlig |
 candal tæg ymä | yertenčökä tarkarguluk |
 ölömlög [29] kəzig birlä | azu üzä | tuşuşılar | yat[t]ılar | tönörgä ügündä |
 montag [30] osoglogda | yertenčödä | kimniñ | [...] küvänmäki | 6

(a) Wie ein herablassender Brahmane, stolz auf Herkunft₂, Bildung₂ (und) Schönheit, (b) und wie ein Caṇḍāla, der von der Welt zu meiden ist, (c) mit oder durch Eintritt des Todes zusammentreffen (und) auf dem Scheiterhaufen liegen: (d) Wer [könnte] in einer solchen Welt Stolz [haben]?

Strophe 7

**kiṃ karmaṇā daśavidhena śubhena labdhvā
 kāyaṃ na kārayasi kāmasukhe prasaktaḥ** ²⁵¹
**anviṣyatām phalam itaś ca balād asārād
 vistirṇavetanabhṛtād bhṛtakā**(9v2)**d ivārthaḥ || 7**

TDM v1–2, TT VIII D v30–34

b: karmmasukhe TDM

c: ca balād ausgelassen in TT VIII D (Haplographie)

d: °veta(na)bhṛtād TDM

(a) Warum, nachdem du ihn durch das zehnfache heilvolle Handeln erlangt hast, (b) lässt du den Körper nicht tätig werden, hängend am Glück der Sinnesfreuden? (c) Eine Frucht soll daher sogar aus einer [eigentlich] untauglichen Kraft erstrebt werden, (d) wie Nutzen aus einem Diener, der für einen hohen Preis angestellt ist.

nägülük | [31 k(i)lınč üzä | on törlög üzä | arıg | üzä | ädgü üzä | b(u)lup |
 ätüzüg | näñ | [32] buyan kılmazsän | wişaylıg mänidä | ilinip |
 tilägil | [tüşüg] [33] mundırtın | yegsez yarpsızdın |
 keñ alkıg äd t(a)var üzä | tärkä | alılmı[şdın] | [34] tärkädin tæg | asıgın 7

(a-) Warum, wo du durch zehntartige reine oder gute Tat (b-) einen Körper (-a) erlangt hast (-b) tust du (mit diesem) nichts Verdienstliches, (sondern) haftest an dem aus den Sinnesobjekten hervorgehenden Glück? (c) Trachte [nach Gewinn] aus diesem Nutzlosen₂ (i.e. dem Körper), (d) wie (man) Gewinn (zu ziehen trachtet) aus einem für umfangreiches₂ Gut₂ in Lohn Genommenen.

²⁵¹ Das Stilmittel der Alliteration (*anuprāsa*) ist durchgehend verwendet, aber nirgends so ausgeprägt wie hier in Pāda b die k-Alliteration.

Strophe 8

**yasmād amedhyanagarapratimaṃ śarīraṃ
garbhe ’śucāv aśucinānnarasena puṣṭam |
tasmād amedhyajalajātam ivāravindaṃ
tyaktavyam eva viduṣā vapuṣāpi yuktam || 8**

TDM v2 : TT VIII D v34–37

a: nagara TDM : naraka TT VIII D

(a) Weil der einer unreinen Stadt gleichende Körper (b) in einem unsauberen Mutterleib mit unsauberer Speise und Trank genährt ist, (c) deshalb muss er wie die Aravinda-Lotosblüte, die in unreinem Wasser gewachsen ist, (d) von einem Verständigen unbedingt unbeachtet bleiben, auch wenn er (der Körper)/sie (die Lotosblüte) mit Schönheit verbunden ist.

inčip | arıgsızlıg pre(t) ka ogşatı | [ä][35]tūz |
karında | arıgsızda | arıgsızlıg akın üzä | üklimiş [...]
[36] | anın | [a]rıgsızlı[g] suvda ünmi[ş]ig tæg | azu tugmışıg tæg | len hvag |
[37] t[i]tgülük ök ärür | [bilg][ä] ü[z]ä | körk mäniz üzä | tükällig | 8

(a) Der einem unreinen Preta ähnliche Körper ist ja (b) im unreinen Mutterleib durch unreine (Nahrungs-)Flüssigkeit herangewachsen; (c) darum muss ihn wie eine aus unreinem Wasser hervorgekommene oder geborene Lotosblüte (d) unbedingt weggeben ein [Weiser], auch wenn er (der Körper)/sie (die Lotosblüte) mit Schönheit ausgestattet ist.

Strophe 9

**saṃrakṣito ’pi sutavat paripālito ’pi
snānāmbarābharaṇabhūṣaṇālālito ’pi |
kāyo jahāti ca vihani ca hanti caiva
tyaktvā kṛtaṃ subahu caura ivā(9v3)kṛtajñah || [9]**

TDM v2–3 : TT VIII D v37–40

c: vihamti caiva TT VIII D (Haplographie)

(a) Obschon beschützt und behütet wie ein Sohn, (b) verwöhnt mit Baden, Gewand, Zierat und Schmuck,²⁵² (c) lässt der Körper aber im Stich, zerstört und erschlägt, (d) nachdem er umfangreiche Zuwendung/Beute wie ein undankbarer Dieb unbeachtet gelassen hat.

²⁵² Vgl. oben Vers 2b–c.

[küzādi][38]lip ymä | ogol tæg | köl(l)öp ymä |
 yunguk | ton kādim | [...] [39] eteg y(a)ratig üzä | avitilip ymä |
 ätüz | titär ymä | ko[ŋr]o[r ymä] [40] ök |
 titip | asig kılmišin | ärtiŋ[ü] 'ü'k[ü]š | ogri tæg | [utlısız | 9]

(a) Und obwohl [beschü]tzt wie ein Sohn und beschirmt (b) und mit Salbe, Kleidung, [...] Schmuck (und) Zierat verhätschelt, (c) verlässt der Körper und zerstört sogar (d) beim Verlassen die ihm sehr reichlich gewährte Zuwendung, undankbar wie ein Dieb.

3.3. Kommentar

v1 türk tavrati: „schnell“, in TT VIII missverstanden („er ... eilte“). Das Skt.-Wort muss wegen der Metrik auf einen Kurzvokal auslauten. Unter den zahlreichen Kandidaten trifft das nur auf *āśu* zu, in Übereinstimmung mit TDM.

bh<ū>rjāt: TDM zeigt singularisches „Birkenrindenblatt“ in Objekt-funktion. Die durch A. von Gabain bezeugte Form ist syntaktisch nicht haltbar. Alternative Lesung *bhurjān* hilft als maskuliner Akk. Pl. „Birken“ nicht weiter. Aber vielleicht ist weiter in *bhūrjān* zu emendieren mit *-n* aus *-m* vor *s*-? Jedenfalls verweist das Schreibmaterial auf einen Ursprung der Strophe im Nordwesten des Subkontinents.

v2 [sävi]nčligin: A. von Gabains Ergänzung [kılı]nčligin war willkürlich. TDM liest *pratīka-* „zugewandt“, scheint aber wegen wenig passender Bedeutung verbesserungswürdig; eigentlich würde man auch hier ein passendes Absolutivum ähnlich *utkr̥tya* in Pāda a und *sambhidya* in c erwarten, aber *pratīka* legt keine entsprechende Korrektur nahe. Es ist stattdessen wohl *pratīta-* „fest entschlossen; froh, heiter“ herzustellen, hier vielleicht eher in der zweiten Bedeutung verwendet, und zwar parallel zu *pramuditahṛdaya-* „freudigen Herzens“ im vorausgehenden Pāda und in Rücksicht auf das Hendiadyoin *pratīta-sumanas-*.²⁵³ Das erlaubt im Uig. die Vervollständigung zu [sävi]nčligin adv. „freudig“. Im Falle von „entschlossen“ wäre an uig. *katig sakınčligin* zu denken.

rudhiram api | kanın ymä: skt., uig. „auch sein Blut“. Durch uig. *kan* „Blut“ ist mehrdeutiges skt. *rudhira-* festgelegt. Das Sanskrit schließt den uig. Instrumental aus, während umgekehrt das Uig. den skt. Akkusativ sichert. Das possessive „sein“ ist explizit nur im Uig. durch das Pronomen suffixum bezeichnet.

²⁵³ S. SWTF III 188b, auch Pali *paṭīta-sumana-* DP III 47b.

v3 svadehāt | öz ätüzindin: „von, aus dem eigenen Körper“. Uig. *öz* „selbst, eigen“ betont wie skt. *sva-* die Reflexivität. Auslautendes *-t* von *svadehāt* ist Teil des folgenden Exzerpts.

si |: Falls richtig, deutet die Interpunktion auf ein gekürztes Exzerpt. Jedoch spricht die Kalkulation dagegen, s. den folgenden Kommentar.

v4 [k]ʼü/müškä ogšati: Die Ergänzung zu „dem Silber gleichend“ ist ohne Alternative. Sie entspricht einem Teil von skt. *sita-rajata-nibhām* (TDM). Im Uig. fehlt die Wiedergabe von *sita-* „weiß, hell“, dessen Anfang am Ende der Z. 3 steht. Zweifellos ist uig. *yürüñ* „weiß, hell“ in der Lücke gestanden; das entspricht drei der ca. 13 verlorenen Akṣaras. Der übrige Platz muss von dem Sanskrit-Kompositum abzüglich des bereits exzerpierten *si* ausgefüllt gewesen sein.

[ca]kre | **kıldı ärsär:** Skt., uig. „hat gemacht“. Die Ergänzung der Skt.-Verbform hat A. von Gabain vorgenommen. Uig. *ärsär* „(wörtl.) wenn ist“ weist darauf hin, dass es sich bei *kıldı* um ein Nebensatz-Prädikat handelt.

v5 prāg bodhe(h) | bodisvī × [+] ögrä: A. von Gabain ergänzt im Text zu „bodhiswindā“, was – bis auf das ā-Diakritikon – paläographisch zur Not rechtfertigbar, morphologisch aber unerklärbar ist. Möglich wäre bodis(ī)vī[t] t̪ä, ausnahmsweise mit vordervokalischem Kasusmorphem. Aber damit wäre die Lücke nicht gefüllt und unklar, was „Bodhisatva“ in der Wiedergabe von skt. „vor der Erleuchtung“ zu suchen hat. Nur skt. *prāk* „vor“ findet sich exakt in uig. *ögrä* wieder.

„Vor seinem Erwachen“ bezieht sich auf eine frühere Existenz des Buddha, und „für einen trefflichen Ausspruch“ ist elliptisch und meint „um einen solchen Ausspruch schriftlich festzuhalten“. Zu dem Motiv s. OHNUMA 2007: 50, Fn. 61. Sie verweist auf LAMOTTE 1944: 143–145, Fn. 1, und LAMOTTE 1949: 975, Fn. 1. Den dort verzeichneten ausführlichen Stellenangaben lässt sich eine Passage im *Kāraṇḍavyūha* hinzufügen, in der es allerdings nicht der Buddha selbst, sondern der Bodhisattva Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin ist, der demjenigen Haut, Blut und Knochen anbietet, der ihm die Ṣaḍakṣarī, die Dhāraṇī von Avalokiteśvara, aufschreibt, s. VAIDYA 1961: 293.20–24. Eine mögliche Darstellung in Kizil verzeichnet Ernst Waldschmidt, s. WALDSCHMIDT 1928: 15, Nr. 1 mit Tafel B (den Hinweis verdanken wir Monika Zin, Leipzig); der Erhaltungszustand der Malerei erlaubt allerdings keine eindeutige Zuordnung.

sūktaheto(h) | ädgü nom tıltagında: „auf Grund (skt.) des guten Worts, (uig.) der guten Lehre“. Das unbestimmte skt. *ukta-* „Wort“ wird vom Übersetzer im Sinne von *dharma-* verstanden.

v5/6 munivara(h) | ršılarda y(e)ge: Skt., uig. „der Beste unter den Weisen“. Das Lexem *muni-* ist, abgesehen von der Verbindung Śākyamuni, nicht in die

zentralasiatischen Sprachen entlehnt worden. Stattdessen tritt *ṛṣi* ein, zumeist in einer auf **rəṣ/ṛaka-* zurückgehenden Form. Besonders deutlich tritt das zutage, wenn Śākyamuni übersetzt wird: tochB *ṛṣāke śake[ññ]e*²⁵⁴, *śake[ññepi]* *ṛṣākem[ts]e*²⁵⁵ (Gen.); tumschukisch *śākyanā ṛṣe*²⁵⁶ (Gen.); uig. *śakilarıñ arṛisi*²⁵⁷.

v6 sudrug: Hier ist das Akkusativ-Morphem -Xg labial vokalisiert, illabial dagegen in MAUE Kat II Nr. 94.2 v3 <sū d^h_f-g₁>, *sudrig* und TT VIII H (= MAUE Kat I Nr. 13) Z. 3 und 6 <sū d^ha/ta²⁵⁸ ri-g₁>, *suda/irig*. Das Schwanken ist Folge der unterschiedlichen Vokalisierung des r in /sudr/: *sudur*, *sudir*, *sudri* oder *sutar*(?).

jag^ada | nomladi: Skt. „sagte“, uig. spezieller „predigte“. – Das uig. Verb von STÖNNER 1904: 1289 fälschlich als Wiedergabe des nachfolgenden [sic!] skt. *iti* aufgefasst, von BAILEY 1938: 295 übernommen.

iti | muni munčolayu: Skt. *iti* gehört, obwohl vor der Strophenummer stehend, nicht mehr zum Einleitungsgedicht, sondern schließt es ab. Vom uig. Übersetzer wird *iti* aber wohl kataphorisch als Überleitung zum Sūtra verstanden: „dieses (Akk.) (predigte er?) folgendermaßen“. Von dem Prosa-Sūtra selbst ist in unser Manuskript nur sehr wenig aufgenommen worden. Denn mit *kāyasya* beginnt am Ende der folgenden Zeile schon das Schlussgedicht.

v6–7 s[] kig ügmāk üzlünčülüg b(o)lor: A. von Gabains Lesung (*qigürmāk üslünčülüg plor*) und Wiedergabe („die Einführung ist zu Ende“) vermitteln den Eindruck einer Schlussbemerkung zu dem vorherigen Textteil. Als solche höchst merkwürdig formuliert und mit einem Schreibfehler – „q“ (= $\bar{k}$) in einem vordervokalischen Wort – belastet, gehörte die Phrase seit je zu den noch nicht völlig geklärten Teilen, auch wenn skt. s[] sich für s[*amāptam/h*] „ist beendet“ empfahl und A. von Gabains Interpretation zu stützen schien. Da nun aber die TDM eine solche Klausel nicht enthält, sollten wir es mit einem Exzerpt aus dem Sūtra zu tun haben. Es braucht nicht lange, um darin einen skt. Ausdruck zu finden, der mit s beginnt und mit uig. „endend mit/in“ harmoniert: *saṃkāra-kūṭa-paryavasānā bhavati* „(wörtl.) wird zu etwas, dessen Ende ein Haufen Kehricht ist“. Auf Anhieb klar sind die Entsprechungen skt. *bhavati* und *b(o)lor* „wird“, sowie skt. *-paryavasāna-* und uig. *üzlünčülüg* „endend in“. Skt. *kūṭa-* „Haufen“ sollte durch uig. *(y)ügmāk* wiedergegeben sein. Nach bislang akzeptierter Lesung hat die Handschrift jedoch *yu rmya-k* (*ürmāk*). Tatsächlich

²⁵⁴ B 13 a8.

²⁵⁵ KvTB fol. 9 (= THT 1102) a1–2.

²⁵⁶ KvTs 13–14.

²⁵⁷ HWAU 642a s. v. 'šaki.

²⁵⁸ Das Graphem kann entweder *more Indico* als d^ha oder *more Tocharico* als ta aufgefasst werden, d. h. die Vokalisierung ist a oder ə (bzw. i).

ist, wie die Überprüfung zeigte, ein unbeachtet gebliebener Querstrich vorhanden, der nicht zum m gehört und aus r- ein g₁- macht,²⁵⁹ so dass ohne korrigierenden Eingriff *ügmāk* gelesen werden kann. Für die Wiedergabe von *saṃkāra*- „Kehricht, Abfall“²⁶⁰ bleibt passenderweise *kig* „Mist“ übrig.

v7 mā | ögnöṃ kaṇṇiṃ: Uig. „der Mutter (und) des Vaters“ ließe sich in **mātāpitaroḥ* rückübersetzen. TDM zeigt jedoch, dass es sich um die kasusexplicite Wiedergabe der Kompositionsform *mātāpitṛ*- (antevokalisch aus *mātāpitṛ*-) handelt.

(a)śu | arigsizi: Uig. „das Unreine von“ fordert die Ergänzung des a privativum, lässt aber offen, ob zu *aśubha*- zu ergänzen ist oder doch eher zu *aśuci*-, das durch TDM beglaubigt wird. Das „Unreine (von Mutter und Vater)“ bezeichnet Menstrualblut und Samen, aus deren Verbindung nach klassischer indischer Vorstellung der Embryo entsteht, der bis zur Geburt mehrere Stadien durchläuft, dessen erstes *kalala* heißt.²⁶¹

ma | umundači: Der vierte und letzte verkürzte Auszug aus dem Sūtra, vom Uiguren mit „der Hoffende, Vertrauende, seine Zuflucht Nehmende“ wiedergegeben, bleibt ohne ersichtliche Entsprechung im Sūtra der TDM.

kāyasya <|> ätüzünj: Skt., uig. „des Körpers“ beginnt das Schlussgedicht.

v7–8 maṇḍanavidhau | etenmāk yaratınmaklıg törösindä: Skt. „an der Schmückregel (haftend)“, uig. „an der Regel das Sich-Schmücken und Sich-Zurechtmachen betreffend (haftend)“. Uig. *törö* „Regel, Vorschrift, Brauch“ steht für skt. *vidhi*-, das in diesem Zusammenhang vielleicht abgeschwächt „Handlung, Verrichtung“ bedeutet oder sogar „pleonastisch ... in Comp[osition] mit einem Nom[en] act[ionis]“²⁶² steht.

v9 mohena | b(i)ligsiziṃ üzä: Skt. „durch Verblendung“, uig. „durch dein Unwissen“. Zur Verdeutlichung setzt der Übersetzer das Possessivaffix -Xṇ „dein“ hinzu.

v9–10 kuśalakriyāsu | ädgü k(i)lınčla[rda] iślärdä: „bei guten (skt.) Taten / (uig.) Taten“. Das Hendiadyoin *kılınč iş* wird so oder in umgekehrter Reihenfolge nach den Angaben des HWAU nicht verwendet. Da *kılınč* unter der Zeile nachgetragen ist, könnte es auch *iş* glossieren oder sogar ersetzen, weil ädgü *kılınč* die uig. Standardbezeichnung für die hier gemeinte „verdienstvolle Tat“ (*puṇyakriyā*-) ist.

²⁵⁹ g₁mya-, s. Abb. 3.

²⁶⁰ BHSD 545a.

²⁶¹ Jolly 1901: 49; WILKENS 2016: I S.19–24 mit weiterer Literatur.

²⁶² pw VI 97a.

v10 ācchidya | kunup: Skt., uig. „indem (sie) wegnimmt, raubt“. Uig. *kun-* „wegnehmen, stehlen, rauben“ präzisiert das semantisch weniger scharf umrissene skt. *ā-cchid-*.

te (<)> **sāniq:** Skt. „dein, dir“, uig. „dein“. Durch fehlgelesenes *ta* (statt *te*) und den fehlenden Trennstrich war A. von Gabain zu skt. *tasya* „dessen“ und isoliertem Genetiv-Affix *+niq* im Uig. gekommen.

v11 oghn: „ihren Sohn“; das Possessiv-Pronomen verweist auf die Mutter, die jedoch nicht explizit genannt ist.

(a) **ndhabh'ū'jopag'ū'ḍham | koynda kučulmišig:** Das Skt.-Kompositum bedeutet, so wie es in der Handschrift steht, „blind (*andha-*) und von den Armen umhüllt“. „Blind“ ist problematisch.²⁶³ Der Uigure hat, wie es scheint, irrtümlich **antarbhujā*-²⁶⁴ unterstellt und dieses im Sinne von *bhujāntara-*, (wörtl.) was sich zwischen den Armen befindet, Brust“ aufgefasst: „an der Brust umarmt, an die Brust gedrückt“. Die Fassung der TDM hingegen hat *ivāṅkabhujopagūḍham* „versteckt/verhüllt in Schoß und Armen“; als Subjekt wird *dhātṛī* „Amme“ genannt. Ist hier „versteckt in Schoß und Armen (der Mutter)“ zu verstehen? Kazunobu Matsuda (E-Mail am 21.03.2022) weist uns dankenswerterweise auf ein Zitat im *Chu yao jing* 出曜經 (T 212, übersetzt 398–399 A. D.) hin, einer chinesischen *Udānavarga*-Übersetzung, die mit Kommentar und Geschichten verbunden ist, und zwar zu Uv 1.42. Bemerkenswerterweise ist die Strophe dort Aśvaghōṣa zugeschrieben (626a1–3): 爾時尊者馬聲 (= bhadanta Aśvaghōṣa) 復說頌曰:

沐浴莊嚴身 愚弊不習善
無常忽然至 如母抱死女

Du badest und schmückst den Körper; aus Verblendung praktizierst du nicht das Gute; die Vergänglichkeit erreicht (dich) ganz plötzlich, wie eine Mutter, die eine tote Frau (oder Tochter?) umfasst.

沐浴 „baden“ entspricht wahrscheinlich *snānānulepana* in Pāda b im nächsten Vers. Unverständlich bleibt die letzte Verszeile; sie zeigt aber, dass der chinesische Übersetzer – ähnlich wie der uigurische – offenbar Schwierigkeiten beim Verständnis hatte.

v12 [śaya]nāsana- | tōlt (o)ron üzä: Aus uig. *tōlt* „Bettzeug“ kann man auf skt. *śayana-* schließen und aus der Verbindung mit *oron* „Platz“, dass *śayanāsana-* als Einheit exzerpiert worden ist. Uig. *üzä* zeigt das Kasusverhältnis zu „verehrt“ an, das im Skt.-Kompositum nicht zum Ausdruck

²⁶³ S. auch die Fn. zum Text der TDM.

²⁶⁴ Von A. von Gabain als korrekte Lesung vorgeschlagen, aber wegen Störung des Metrums abzulehnen.

kommt. Das *üzä* erstreckt sich gruppenflexivisch auch auf die vorausgehenden gleichgeordneten Substantive „Kleidung“ (skt. *vastra*-; uig. *ton*), Speise und Trank (*anna*[*pāna*]-; [*aš ičgü?*]). – *Ron* für *oron* ist wohl als Form mit Aphärese²⁶⁵ zu akzeptieren und nicht „fehlerhaft“ (AvG).

satkr̥t[o] 'pi | ayatulp ymä: Skt., uig. „auch geehrt“. Durch das Konverb zeigt der uig. Übersetzer die Nebenhandlung an.

snāna= | yunguk: Skt. „Bad; Bademittel“. In letztgenannter Bedeutung versteht es der Uigure, indem er mit „Seife“²⁶⁶ übersetzt. Gleichmaßen konkret aufgefasst ist auch

(a)**nulepana-** „Salbung; Salbe“ und deshalb durch *türtüngü* „Salbe“ wiedergegeben. Zu Pāda b vgl. unten Vers 9b, dort in d ebenfalls *akṛtajña*.

v13 vibhūṣaṇa- | eteg y(a)ratig üzä: Skt. „(mit) Schmuck“, uig. „mit Schmuck₂, oder Schmuck und Ausstaffierung“. Wie in der Wiedergabe von *maṇḍana-* (v7–8) kommen Ableitungen der beiden Verben *et-* und *yarat-* zum Einsatz. Bezüglich *üzä* gilt wie in *tölt (o)ron üzä* (v12) der Bezug auch auf die vorausgehenden Substantive: Seife (uig. *yunguk*) und Salbe (uig. *türtüngü*).

l'ā'lito 'pi | avitulp ymä: Die Herstellung von *lālita-* „verwöhnt“ statt *lalita-* „lieblich“ verlangen Metrik und Semantik hier und später in v39. Das uig. Konverb steht für die Nebenhandlung, vgl. zu v12 *ayatulp*. Als Verb hat A. von Gabain *avimil-* „*angenehm gemacht werden“ (Konverb: „angenehm gemacht“) bzw. v39 „*sich wohlfühlen“ (Konverb: „sich wohlfühlend“) im Text und letzteres im Glossar. Die offenkundigen Schwierigkeiten verschwinden, wenn man homo(io)graphes *avitul-* „gehätschelt werden“ liest, also Passiv-Bildung von *avit-* „hätscheln“.²⁶⁷

v14 akṛtajñatayā | utlisiz polmaki üzä: Skt., uig. „durch seine (uig.; skt. implizit) Undankbarkeit“. Das Abstraktum, im Skt. mit dem Suffix *-tā* deriviert, wird im Uig. durch Anfügen von *bolmak* „sein, werden“ gebildet.

paratra | ikinti aḷunka: Skt. „ins Jenseits“ übersetzt der Uigure sinngemäß „in eine zweite (weitere) Existenz“.

yāmṭam | bardačika: Skt., uig. „gehend-“. Das Uig. bildet nicht den skt. Akkusativ ab, sondern hat den Dativ in Rücksicht auf die uig. Syntax: *eyen* „folgend“ (s. u. v15 *eyen barmaz*) verlangt den Dativ. Dies ist eine der Stellen, die beweisen, dass trotz der Atomisierung des Texts das große Ganze nicht aus den Augen verloren ist. Aus den uigurischen Einzelteilen konnte und kann durch Umstellung und Reduzierung von Redundanzen (z. B. der doppelten Kasusbildung an Adjektiv-Attribut und Substantiv) ein idiomatischer Text hergestellt werden.

²⁶⁵ Zur Aphärese in den Turksprachen vgl. RÄSÄNEN 1949: 53 f.

²⁶⁶ Hierzu ausführlich OTWF 361.

²⁶⁷ OTWF 654; UW² I.1 104.

v14–15 m^(ū)h^{<ū>}rttam api | bir ker ymä: Skt., uig. „auch (nur) eine kurze Zeit“. Das Skt.-Wort ist hier nicht als astronomischer Terminus, dreißigster Teil eines Tages, verwendet, sondern unspezifisch für einen kurzen Zeitabschnitt. Der Übersetzer erliegt nicht der Versuchung, das dem Indischen entlehnte *muhurt* zu verwenden, sondern wählt ein Wort, dessen extravagante Schreibweise auf fremde Herkunft hinweisen könnte. Seine phonetische Realisierung ist nicht eindeutig angebar: *kyer* oder *ker*, nicht jedoch *kär*.²⁶⁸ A. von Gabain stellte im Kommentar zur Stelle fragend 節 *jié* zur Debatte. Dessen Brāhmī-Transkript ist jedoch *ser*,²⁶⁹ aus **tser* vereinfacht.

v15 kañcid | kim ārsār: Skt. „irgendeinen“, uig. „wer es auch ist“. Der Bezug ist im Sanskrit nicht eindeutig: ist es *paratra yāntaṃ* oder *muhūrtam*?²⁷⁰ Ebenso wenig gibt das Uigurische Aufschluss.

na ... (a)nuprayāti | nāñ ... eyen barmaz: Skt., uig. „geht nicht nach, folgt nicht“. Uig. *eyen* „folgend“ entspricht skt. *anu-*.²⁷¹

v16 kṣaṇasaṃnipātaṃ | tāginčniñ yıgılmakın: Dem skt. *saṃnipāta-* „Zusammentreffen“ entspricht uig. *yıgılmak* „Versammeltwerden, Vereinigung, Zusammentreffen“. Wie bei *muhūrta-* greift der uig. Übersetzer zur Wiedergabe von *kṣaṇa-* nicht auf das Lehnwort *kṣan* zurück wohl deshalb, weil hier nicht ein „kurzer Zeitabschnitt“, sondern *tāginč* „worauf man trifft, Gelegenheit, Ereignis“²⁷² gemeint ist. Zu *kṣaṇa-saṃnipāta* s. BHSD s. v. *kṣaṇa* und *akṣaṇa* sowie SWTF s. v. (*kṣaṇa-saṃ*)*nipāta*, *kṣaṇa-sampad*, *kṣaṇa-sampadā*. Das Vorderglied *kṣaṇa* im Sanskrit-Kompositum erfüllt sowohl den bei *kāya* im Sinne von Existenz notwendigen Plural als auch den Singular, der für den „rechten Moment“ der Königsweihe gefordert ist.

śr(e)yo | cog yalıñg: Skt. „das Bessere; Heil u. ä.“. Der uig. Übersetzer scheint angesichts seiner Wiedergabe „Glanz“ eher an das von ihm so geschriebene, aber metrisch unpassende *śriyo* (Akk. Pl. *śriyaḥ* von *śrī* „Pracht, glänzende Stellung u. dgl. m.“) gedacht zu haben.

v17 rājyābhiṣekam iva | el ornılig abişikıg tåg: Skt. „wie die Weihe zum Königtum“, uig. „wie den Abhiṣeka den Landesthron betreffend“. Das

²⁶⁸ So HWAU 357b, vielleicht nach ED 735a *ker* (= *kär*).

²⁶⁹ MAUE 2002: 96 f. Bereits G. Clauson (ED 735a) hatte gegen A. von Gabains Vorschlag eingewendet, dass 節 im Mittelchinesischen den Anlaut *ts-* aufweist, cf. PULLEYBLANK 1991: 155.1.

²⁷⁰ Falls *muhūrta-* hier maskulin ist, was grundsätzlich möglich ist.

²⁷¹ MAUE 1989: 53.

²⁷² Ableitung von *tāg-* „treffen, erreichen“. Mit anderer Präferenz M. Erdal (OTWF 279): „This [scil. *tāginč*] could be connected vaguely both with *tāg-* ‘to reach’ and *tāgin-* ‘to experience’, but the latter appears to be more satisfactory.“

skt. Abstractum *rājya-* ist im Uig. durch den dem Herrscher zukommenden Thronessel (*oron*) ersetzt. Für die Zeremonie haben die Literatursprachen der nördlichen Seidenstraße das indische Wort entlehnt,²⁷³ das Uig. wohl direkt aus tochA *abhišek*. Dass *-e-* durch uig. *i* dargestellt wird, ist wohl dadurch erklärbar, dass *e* in dieser Position und Lautumgebung in uig. Wörtern nicht vorkommt und durch [ə/i] ersetzt wurde.

v17–18 rājasuto | t(i)gin: Skt., uig. „Königssohn, Prinz“. Das uig. Wort ist in Brāhmī noch zweimal sicher belegt in TT VIII G (= MAUE Kat I Nr. 6) Z. 56 und MAUE Kat II Nr. 91.4.2 ba²⁷⁴ und zwar stets in der Schreibung <tg₁iṃ> mit Unterdrückung des Erstsilbenvokals. Solche Synkopen finden in der Regel statt, wenn die zweite Silbe denselben Vokal enthält wie die erste: *yaratig* „Ausstattung“ ~ v13.39 <yṛā ti-g₁>, *y(a)ratig*; *bulup* „erlangend“ ~ v15 <plū-p>, *b(u)lup*; *bolor* „wird“ ~ v7 plo-r, *b(o)lor*; *bečen* „Affe“ ~ TT VIII P (= MAUE Kat I Nr. 48) Z. 6 *pceṃ*, *b(e)čen* usw.²⁷⁵ So ergibt sich für <tg₁iṃ> die Lesung *t(i)gin*, die von der üblicherweise angenommenen Lautung *tegin* abweicht.²⁷⁶ Vielleicht belegt auch die Brāhmī-Inschrift von Khüis Tolgoi aus der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jh. den i-Vokalismus, falls Kol. 1 <dā gā₁²⁷⁷-n>, digiṃ das in Rede stehende Lexem bezeichnet.²⁷⁸ Diese und andere Zeugen mit klar bezeichnetem i in der ersten Silbe²⁷⁹ dürfen in der künftigen Debatte nicht unbeachtet bleiben.

v19 śuśr̥ūṣito 'pi | yarlıgıñ eṣedep [y]mä: Skt. „auch einer, auf den man zu hören wünscht“, uig. „auch indem man auf seinen Befehl hört“.

gur'ū'va<t> | ö[g ka]ṅ bahši tā[g]: Skt. *guru-* wird vom Übersetzer generell als „Respektsperson“ aufgefasst und enumerativ wiedergegeben „Mutter, Vater, Lehrer“.

²⁷³ TochA/B *abhišek*, tumschukisch *abhiṣeka-*.

²⁷⁴ Ein weiterer möglicher Beleg (MAUE Kat II Nr. 91.4.3 rb) ist fast vollständig ergänzt und für die hier anstehende Erörterung untauglich.

²⁷⁵ Selten bei ungleichen Vokalen, z. B. MAUE 2002 *passim* <ylām>, *y(i)lan* „Schlange“ oder MAUE Kat II Nr. 9; 51 <yhi-ṣ>, *y(a)gıṣ* „Opfer, Libation“. Den letztgenannten Fall könnte man jedoch auch zu den addierenden Schreibungen rechnen und als <yahi-ṣ> auffassen. Zur Sache s. MAUE Kat I: XXIV und MAUE 2002: 87 mit MAUE Kat II: 35 Fn. 2.

²⁷⁶ Keineswegs richtig zum Erstsilbenvokal Doerfer (TMEN II 534) mit der Behauptung, dass die Brāhmī-Schreibung „die Lesung mit geschlossenem e sichert“, ähnlich noch einmal TMEN II 539. Beim Verweis auf TT VIII 99 (Glossar) hat er die unter dem Lemma *tegin* angegebene synkopierende Schreibung übersehen, die gerade nicht das *e* beweist.

²⁷⁷ Oder: *gā*. -ā und ā₁ bezeichnen i-Vokale, wie die Schreibung <bo dā sa-t va>, Bodhisatva, nahelegt, vgl. MAUE 2018.

²⁷⁸ Anders VOVIN 2018: 304a.

²⁷⁹ TMEN II 537 unten; 539 oben. Ferner baktrisch *ṭṛıyo* neben *ṭoyıvo* [ta°], HUMBACH 1966: 139a.

v20 dhṛto 'pi | igidilip ymā: Skt. „auch (am Leben) erhalten“, uig. „auch umsorgt“. Während das skt. Verb mit der Grundbedeutung „halten“ metaphorisch auch „(am Leben) erhalten“ bedeuten kann, bezeichnet uig. *igid-* alle Tätigkeiten, die für die Aufzucht eines Lebewesens relevant sind.

bhartrva[d] | bāg [ā][r] t[ā][g]: Skt. „wie ein Erhalter, Gatte, Gebieter“, uig. „wie ein Gatte₂, Herr₂“. In der TDM bildet *bhartṛvad* den zweiten Vergleichsgegenstand des Pādas; an erster Stelle steht *bandhur iva* „wie ein Verwandter“.

v21 [...]lČik sav tāg: „wie die ...-Rede, oder ...-Sache“ ist der Rest der Wiedergabe eines Vergleichsgegenstands, der mit keinem der in Frage kommenden Skt.-Lexeme der TDM in Verbindung zu bringen ist. Daher haben wir es mit einer Textvariante zu tun. Pāda b der Vorlage muss folgendermaßen ausgesehen haben: *dṛṣṭo 'pi bhartṛva[d] ∪ - ∪ [-va](21)d arcito 'pi*. Aus metrischen Gründen kann die erste Silbe des verlorenen Wortes nur ein kurzer Vokal gewesen sein.

prahṛ[tya] (<|) tokup: Das uig. Konverb spricht für die mit der TDM übereinstimmende Ergänzung zum skt. Absolutivum.²⁸⁰

v22 kṛtaṃ | asig kilmiṣin: Den diffusen Inhalt von *kṛtaṃ* in der Gerundialkonstruktion *tyaktvā kṛtaṃ* „nachdem er (der Körper) das Getane aufgegeben hat“ versucht der Übersetzer zu präzisieren durch „den ihm bereiteten Nutzen“. Er meint wohl damit all die Aufwendungen, die zum Erhalt des Körpers betrieben worden sind. Die genaue Bedeutung von *kṛtaṃ* hier und in Strophe 9 ist schwer zu fassen. Nun hat *kṛta* als Nomen auch die Bedeutung „Wohltat“, ebenso aber auch „Frucht, Lohn“, ferner „Preis oder Beute eines Kampfes“, was zum Bild des Diebes in Strophe 9d passen würde. Vgl. auch die Śārdūlavikrīḍita-Strophe 5.1.12 in der TDM (im selben Kapitel und mit einem sehr ähnlichen Gedanken):

*catvāraḥ pṛthivījalāgnipavanāḥ kāyāśritā dhātavaḥ
snānābhyaiṣṇanabhojanaprabhṛtibhis tais taiḥ sukhair lālītāḥ |
kimcic caiva vimānitā gataghṛṇās tyaktvā ca sarvaṃ kṛtaṃ
ruṣṭā eva nipātayanty ativiśāḥ sprṣṭā ivāśviṣāḥ || <14>*

Die vier Elemente Erde, Wasser, Feuer, Wind, die den Körper bewohnen, werden verwöhnt durch alle möglichen Annehmlichkeiten, angefangen mit Baden, Salben, Speise; auch nur ein bisschen mit Respektlosigkeit

²⁸⁰ Gegen A. von Gabains PPP, das sie ohne Begründung und nicht nachvollziehbar in *pravṛto* ändern will. Auch ihr Versuch, die Exzerpte von *dṛṣṭo* bis *kāya-pravṛto* zur Herstellung des Pāda b zusammenzuziehen, ist inakzeptabel. Der so entstehende Text enthält eine Silbe zu viel und verstößt nach *bhartṛvad* gegen die Metrik. Außerdem ist zwischen *bhartṛvad* und *arcito* ein Skt.-Exzerpt ignoriert, von dem ein Teil der uig. Übersetzung erhalten ist.

behandelt, ist die Zuneigung weg; sie lassen alle Zuwendung unbeachtet und töten völlig ergrimmt wie hochgiftige Giftschlangen, die angefasst wurden.

Noch einmal in Z. 40 in Vers 9d mit identischem *tyaktvā kṛtaṃ*.

v23 sārṃmāy[ü]: „indem er nicht erträgt“, Wiedergabe des in TDM erhaltenen Partizips *amṛṣyamāṇaḥ* „nicht ertragend“.

d[ɮ]p[t]ātmanām [ca | küvānčlig] [kõŋ]‘öl[l]‘öl[g]lärniṃ ymā: Skt., uig. „und der Stolzgesinnten (Gen. Pl.)“. Die Ergänzung von skt. *ca* ist durch uig. *ymā* gesichert, die von uig. *küvānčlig* „stolz“ durch skt. *dṛpta-* und dieselbe Wortgleichung in v27/8 sehr wahrscheinlich.

v24 [...]ām api ca | amṛlmiš kõjöllöglä((rniṃ)): Uig. „derer, deren Sinne beruhigt sind“. Uig. *amṛlmiš* steht für skt. *śānta-* in MAUE Kat I Nr. 21a v7, so dass skt. *śāntātmanām* vermutet werden konnte, was TDM nun bestätigt. Zu der Verbindung *śāntātman* und *nimīlita* vgl. Manu I,52c–d *yadā svapiti śāntātmā tadā sarvaṃ nimīlati* (OLIVELLE 2005: 391).

v25 yumulmiš[ä]rn[i]ṃ: „derer, deren [Augen] geschlossen sind“, Wiedergabe, wie TDM belegt, von skt. *nimīlitānām*. Auffälliger vorderer Vokalismus mindestens des Pluralaffixes.

‘paviddha- | kāmīšilmiš: Skt., uig. „abgeworfen, abgefallen“.

v26 śirodharāṇi | b[o]y[on]lar: Skt., uig. „Nacken (Pl.), Hälse“. Die Ergänzung im Uig. ist ohne Alternative, der paläographisch zu fordernde o-Vokal in der zweiten Silbe ist durch andere assimilierte Formen wie *köjöl* usw. nahegelegt.

uparātāni kaḍeparāṇi | ölmīš kõvdöglä[ri] ä[t]ü[z]lär[i]: Skt., uig. „tote Körper“. Skt. *uparata-* „zur Ruhe gekommen“, euphemistisch für „gestorben“, wie es das uig. *ölmīš* unverblümt ausdrückt. Das skt. *kaḍepara-*, in einer der vielen orthographischen Varianten, wird durch das etwas speziellere *kōvdöṇ* „Rumpf“ wiedergegeben, was dem Attribut in Pāda c („ohne Arme, Beine und Hälse“) angemessen ist. Die Funktion des nachgetragenen *ätüzlāri* ist nicht ganz klar: Glossierung von *kōvdöglāri* oder Ergänzung zum Hendiadyoin *kōvdöglāri ätüzlāri*?

v27 vipro ghrṇīva h^(ɮ) | yarsigak bramin täg: Skt., uig. „wie ein herablassender Brahmane“. Die Wiedergabe von skt. *hi* fehlt. Der etwas gesuchtere Ausdruck für Brahmane, *vipra-*, ist durch *bramin* wiedergegeben. Der mehrfach belegte *i*-Vokal²⁸¹ beweist sogdische Vermittlung²⁸² des letztlich

²⁸¹ MAUE Kat II Glossar S. 586.

²⁸² pr‘m‘n, pr‘mn = [brāmən].

indischen Lehnworts.²⁸³ Diesem setzt der Übersetzer, die uigurische Wortfolge herstellend, das Adjektivattribut *yarsigak* voran. Dessen Bedeutung hat M. Erdal (GOT 393) gegen A. von Gabains „ekelerregend“ richtiggestellt als „disgusted“²⁸⁴ und damit als adäquate Entsprechung von skt. *ghṛṇin-* „Verachtung, Abscheu habend“, Adj.-Bildung von *ghṛṇā-* „Verachtung, Abscheu“, erwiesen.

kula- | **töz uguš:** Skt. „Geschlecht, Familie“; uig. „Wurzel + Stamm, Familie“ im Sinne von „Herkunft, Abstammung“ gibt treffend an, worauf es ankommt, nämlich die nur durch Herkunft konstituierte Zugehörigkeit zur (Brahmanen-)Kaste.

śruta- | **bošgot b(i)lig:** Skt. „das (vom Lehrer) Gehörte, Wissen (der heiligen Texte)“ spiegelt sich in uig. „das durch Unterweisung erworbene Wissen“ wider.

rūpa- | **körk māñiz üzä:** Durch uig. „Gestalt und Aussehen (eigentl. Gesichtsfarbe)“ wird die Gesamtheit der äußeren Erscheinung ausgedrückt, die auch mit skt. *rūpa-* bezeichnet ist. Die Postposition *üzä* „durch“ gibt die Kasusrelation an, die im skt. Tatpuruṣa-Kompositum nur implizit gegeben ist. Sie gilt auch gruppenflexivisch für *töz uguš* und *bošgot b(i)lig*.

v28 caṇḍāla eva ca | {§} **candal tāg ymä:** Gedankenlose Übernahme der skt. Schreibung, in der -ś den Auslaut des vorhergehenden Wortes repräsentiert. So schon – etwas verklausuliert – BOYER 1906: 105 f. Anstelle des korrekt ausgeschriebenen *eva* übersetzt der Uigure *iva* „wie“.

jagatparivarjaniya(h) | **yertenčökä tarkarguluk:** Skt., uig. „von der Welt, den Leuten zu meiden“. Uig. *yertenčö* „Welt“ ist auch im Sinne von „Leute“ verwendet. Die Bedeutungserweiterung ist vielleicht unter dem Einfluss von skt. *jagat-* und *loka-* entstanden.

v28–29 kālakrameṇa | **ölömlög kăzig birlä** | **azu üzä:** Sollte der uig. Übersetzer recht haben, bedeutet das Skt.-Wort hier nicht einfach „im Lauf der

²⁸³ So auch Wilkens (HWAU 194b), der allerdings die für den Entlehnungsweg bedeutsamen Brāhmī-Formen nicht erwähnt. LAUT 1986: 127, der seinerzeit nur unseren Beleg hätte kennen können, ließ die vermittelnde Sprache offen, obwohl die Wechselschreibungen in sogdo-ugurischer Schrift, *pr'm'n* und *pr'mn*, auf das Sogdische hinweisen. Dass es neben *bramin* eine auf tochA *p/brāmaṃ* zurückgehende Variante uig. *braman* gegeben hat, ist zwar nicht auszuschließen, scheint aber weniger wahrscheinlich zu sein, weil selbst im Brāhmī-Uigurischen, obwohl es in der indo-tocharischen Tradition steht, nur sogdisch-stämmiges *bramin* bezeugt ist, bisher wenigstens.

²⁸⁴ Er zeigt an einem dem Kāšgār entnommenen Beispiel, dass die durch das Adjektiv auf -gAk charakterisierte Person Agens des zugrundeliegenden Verbs ist: *är söziüg kăvdi* „der Mann stammelte“ ~ *kăfgăk* „stammelnd, Stammeler“. Entsprechend *yarsı-* „Abscheu empfinden“ ~ *yarsigak* „Abscheu empfindend“. Worauf sich Erdals alternative und von Wilkens (HWAU 871a) übernommene Bedeutung „squeamish“/„zimperlich“ stützt, ist nicht ersichtlich.

Zeit, nach und nach“, was tatsächlich zu der geschilderten Situation nicht passt: dass Brahmane und Caṇḍāla gewissermaßen vereint auf dem Scheiterhaufen liegen, ist nicht das Ergebnis einer schrittweisen Entwicklung, sondern eines momentanen Ereignisses, des Todes und der Leichenverbrennung, wodurch sich die körperliche Hülle beider ununterscheidbar auf einen Haufen Asche reduziert. Daher lag es nahe, hier *kāla-* als „Tod(eszeitpunkt)“, uig. *ölöm*, aufzufassen. Nicht leicht erschließt sich, weshalb für skt. *krama-* gerade die Bedeutung „Ordnung, Reihenfolge, feste Abfolge“, uig. *kāzig*, ausgewählt wurde. Steht dahinter der Gedanke, dass der Tod das Ende einer festen Abfolge von Lebensaltern bildet? Unschlüssig war der Übersetzer bezüglich des skt. Instrumentals, ob er soziativ „mit“, uig. *birlä*, oder instrumental „durch“, uig. *üzä*, zu verstehen sei.

v29 sahitau | tuṣuṣṭilar: Skt. „vereint, zusammen“, uig. „sind zusammengetroffen“. Die finite uig. Verbform bildet mit dem folgenden *yattular* ein Hendiadyoin „liegen zusammen“. Während die Bilingue mit *ṣayitau* „beide liegen“ fortfährt, hat TDM hingegen mit *svapataś* „beide ruhen“ eine finite Verbform. Die lectio difficilior wäre wohl *svapataś*, denn *ṣayitau* könnte dem vorangehenden *sahitau* angeglichen sein.

cit^ayā{ṃ}m | tōjörgä ügündä: Skt., uig. „auf dem Scheiterhaufen“. Der uig. Ausdruck ist aus dem etymologisch dunklen *tōjörgä* „Holzstamm“ und *ügün* „Haufen“ gebildet.

v30 bhavē[+ +]: Unter den Bearbeitern des Skt.-Texts hat allein Leumann die mediale Form *bhaveta* anstelle des grammatikalisch richtigen aktiven *bhavet* nicht in Betracht gezogen und das angesichts des elaborierten Sanskrits²⁸⁵ völlig zu Recht. Als metrisch erforderliche kurze Silbe schlägt er die Partikel *nu* vor, die durch die TDM jetzt bestätigt wird. Das einzige Problem ist der Umfang der Lücke, die kaum < nnu > und die uigurische Wiedergabe der Verbform sowie der Partikel fassen kann.

v30–31 karmaṇā daśavidhena śubhena: Ein Bezug dieser Instrumentalphrase auf das den Pāda beschließende *labdhvā* liegt nahe. Denkbar wäre auch eine Verknüpfung mit *kārayati* im Sinne von „veranlasst den Körper, sich mit dem zehnfachen heilvollen Handeln zu beschäftigen“; sie scheint uns syntaktisch aber schwieriger zu sein.

²⁸⁵ Wenn STÖNNER 1904: 1289 moniert, „die Grammatik im Sanskrit“ sei „lau gehandhabt“, so betrifft das nur die Orthographie und den Sandhi. Was die anderen Bereiche angeht, insbesondere Flexion und Derivation, ist der Grad der Grammatikalität vom Textgenus abhängig. In einer Kunstdichtung wie der vorliegenden sollte man nicht aus Bequemlichkeit mit groben Schnitzern rechnen.

v31 daśavidhena | on törlög üzä: Skt., uig. „durch zehnrartige (Tat)“. Gemeint sind die zehn guten Taten, von denen zwar nur drei den Körper unmittelbar betreffen, während die übrigen – vier Handlungen mit Worten und drei mit Gedanken – nur mittelbar mit diesem in Beziehung stehen.²⁸⁶

śubhena | arig | üzä | ädgü üzä: Skt. „durch gute (Tat)“, uig. durch reine oder durch gute (Tat)“. Mit der alternativen Wiedergabe „gut“ wird „rein“ in die moralische Dimension gehoben.

v32 kārayasi | buyan kilmazsän: LEUMANN 1907 nahm Anstoß an *kārayasi* und erwog Änderung in *vārayasi* [„du hinderst“?], ist aber später (LEUMANN 1912) wieder davon abgekommen. Er hat beides nicht erläutert; aber man kann seinen anfänglichen Zweifel an der Zuverlässigkeit des überlieferten Texts nachempfinden. Denn dieser weist eine Ellipse auf: die Objektstelle ist leer, die angibt, was zu tun der Körper veranlasst werden soll. Wie der uig. Übersetzer²⁸⁷ überzeugend vermutet, folgt diese Angabe erst in Pāda c, allerdings als Subjekt in einen neuen Satz eingebunden: *phalam* „die (gute) Frucht, das (gute) Resultat, der Gewinn“. Darum fügt er uig. *buyan* „Verdienst (, das aus einer guten Tat hervorgeht)“ ein. Gleichzeitig vereinfacht er die Syntax mit dem schwer wiedergebbaren Doppelbezug (ἀπὸ κοινού) von *kāyam*. Aus „warum veranlasst du den Körper, nachdem du ihn angenommen hast, nicht, (Verdienstvolles) zu tun“ wird bei ihm „warum wirkst du nicht, nachdem du einen Körper angenommen hast, (mit diesem) Verdienstliches?“

kāmasukhe | wiśaylig mājidä: Statt für *kāma-* zunächst einmal nahe- liegendes *amranmak* oder dgl. zu bemühen, greift der uig. Übersetzer gleich zu der präzisen Wiedergabe „das aus den Sinnesobjekten (skt. *viśaya-*) hervorgehende Glück“.

anviṣyatām | tilägil: Die allgemeine Aufforderung skt. „man soll streben nach“ findet sich im Uig. in einen direkten Imperativ transponiert „strebe nach“.

v32–33 phala[m + + +]m ita | mundirtin: LEUMANN 1907 hat aufgrund der metrischen Analyse eine dreisilbige Lücke im Sanskrit erkannt, die er zwischen *phala[m]* und *mita*, also am Ende der Zeile 33, annahm. Diese füllte er (Leu12) „dank einer Konjektur de la Vallée Poussin’s, die mir dieser im November 1907 auf einer Postkarte mitteilte“ durch *phala[m anasta]mit[ā]d*. Damit war der gesamte verfügbare Platz aufgebraucht. Da Leumann das Uigurische nicht berücksichtigt, bemerkte er die Konsequenzen nicht, die die vorgeschlagene

²⁸⁶ Aufgezählt im „buddhistischen Katechismus“ Z. 10–14 (MAUE und RÖHRBORN 1984) und bekanntlich Gegenstand der monumentalen uig. **Daśakarmaphathāvadānamālā* (WILKENS 2015).

²⁸⁷ Und so auch LEUMANN 1912?

Ergänzung mit sich brachte: nicht nur *phalam*, sondern auch das ergänzte *anastamita*- wären unübersetzt geblieben, dafür hätte der durch uig. *mundirtin* „von diesem, davon“ vorausgesetzte Ablativ eines Demonstrativpronomens keine Entsprechung im Sanskrit. Ohne Kenntnis der Leumannschen Fußnoten kommt Bailey, was die Position der Lücke angeht, zu demselben Ergebnis wie Leumann. Auch er stellt eine Ablativform mit $\tilde{a}^d$ her, gestützt durch den uig. Ablativ (†*avir*)*tin*. Fehlgelesen und daher uninterpretierbar bringt das Uig. für das Sanskrit keine weitere Aufhellung. Das Problem des fehlenden Platzes bemerkt auch er nicht. A. von GABAIN 1954 kam diesem Punkt etwas näher, indem sie ansprechend vermutet, dass skt. *phala*- durch uig *tüš* [s. aber Komm. zu v32 *kārayasi*!] übersetzt worden sein und am Ende der Zeile 32 gestanden haben sollte, wodurch die Lücke so ziemlich ausgefüllt wäre. Aus welchem Grund auch immer nahm sie dort aber noch ein weiteres Akṣara *ma* an, das das auslautende *-m* von *phalam* und *a*- enthielt, wofür letzteres sie mit $\tilde{a}^d$ zu $\tilde{a}^d$ „aus der [sic] unermesslichen“ vereinigt hat. Es passt einiges nicht zusammen. Am augenfälligsten ist die Diskrepanz zwischen dem Exzerpt und der uig. Wiedergabe *mundirtin* (zur Morphologie vgl. GOT 203) „von diesem, davon“. Es besteht weiterhin eine Lücke von jetzt noch zwei Akṣaras und zwar zwischen *phalam* und $\tilde{a}^d$. Das steht aber im Widerspruch zu der Gabainschen Annahme, dass beide in direktem Kontakt standen. Um das Szenario zu retten, müsste man einen Kopierfehler folgender Art unterstellen: $p^h a \text{ la } m a \text{ C}\tilde{V} \text{ ma} \rightarrow p^h a \text{ la } m a$. Angesichts der Schwierigkeiten ist es ratsam, nach einer einfacheren Lösung zu suchen, die folgendes berücksichtigt: (1) Zu vorhandenen Exzerpten sollte es auch Übersetzungen geben. (2) Skt.-Exzerpt und uig. Wiedergabe sollten übereinstimmen, besonders dann, wenn es sich um unkomplizierte Allerweltslexeme handelt. (3) Es fehlen drei Silben vom Sanskrit-Text und die zugehörige Wiedergabe. Da hierfür nicht genügend Platz in der Handschrift zur Verfügung steht, muss es sich um eine Auslassung handeln. Ad (1) Zu exzerpiertem *phala*[*m*] gehört mit A. von Gabain *tüš*, wahrscheinlich eher *tüšüg*, weil das passivische skt. *anviṣyatām* durch aktivisches *tilāgil* wiedergegeben ist und ein Objekt verlangt. Es liegt nahe, dass mit *tüšüg* die Zeile 32 ausgefüllt ist und *mi* am Anfang der Z. 33 das auslautende *m* von *phalam* enthält. Dies angenommen, wird man (2) für uig. *mundirtin* „davon“ ein gleichbedeutendes Skt.-Wort suchen, das mit *ita*[] beginnt. Da bietet sich das Adverb *itas* an, das mit dem Ablativ des Demonstrativpronomens *ayam*, *iyam*, *idam* äquifunktional ist. Aus metrischen Gründen muss die zweite Silbe positionslang sein, was den Anlaut des folgenden Wortes auf stimmlose Konsonanten beschränkt. Ad (3) Nach den bisherigen Überlegungen besteht die Auslassung aus drei Silben der Quantitäten $\sim \sim -$. Sie geht dem *asārād* unmittelbar voraus und endet auf *-d*, möglicherweise Teil eines Ablativs auf *-ād*. Mehr kann die Analyse des in Text D Vorhandenen nicht erbringen. Die

Auflösung des Resträtsels bietet TDM: Der Schreiber von Text D hat *ca balād* ausgelassen. Dementsprechend ist *itaś* (< *itas* + *ca*) zu vervollständigen.

v33 asārād | yegsez yarpıszdın: Skt. *asāra-* ist Privativbildung von *sāra-*; zwei von dessen Bedeutungen „Quintessenz, das Beste“ (uig. *yeg*) und „fester Kern, Festigkeit“ (uig. *yarp*²⁸⁸) sind in das uig. Hendiadyoin eingeflossen, also die Eigenschaften, die den Wert und die Tauglichkeit einer Person oder Sache ausmachen. Die Negation, die zu „±untauglich“ führt, ist wie üblich durch +*sz* bezeichnet.

viṣṭīṛṇāvetana- | keṇ alkıg ād t(a)war üzä: Skt. „(durch) reichlich(en) Lohn“, uig. „durch reichlich₂ Hab und Gut“. Am skt. Kompositionsglied ist der Kasus nicht ausgedrückt. Im Uig. ist skt. „Gegenwert für eine Leistung (: Lohn) oder Sache (: Preis)“ allgemeiner formuliert, vielleicht, weil das spezifische Lexem für die Wiedergabe des folgenden Exzerpts vorgesehen war.

bhṛtād | tārkā | alılmı[şdn]: Skt. „gedungen“, uig. „in Lohn genommen“. Uig. *tārkā* ist formal Dativ eines nicht frei vorkommenden Substantivs **tār* „Lohn“, das sich nach Clauson (ED 544a u. 528b) als Sonderbedeutung von *tār* „Schweiß“ abgespalten hat. Vgl. das folg. Exzerpt.

v33–34 bhṛtakāḍ ivā- | tārkādin tāg: Skt., uig. „wie von einem Lohnarbeiter“. Uig. Ablativ *tārkā+din* „suggests that it [scil. *tārkā*] could also be used as Common N[oun]“ (ED 544a). Dadurch ist der Sachverhalt beschrieben, aber nicht erklärt. Es handelt sich wohl um eine lexikalisierte Ellipse aus *tārkā alılmış*, vielleicht induziert durch eine semantische Reanalyse „in Lohn genommen“ > „als Lohnarbeiter genommen“, die ihrerseits dadurch ermöglicht wurde, dass Morphologie und syntaktische Funktion der isolierten Form *tārkā* nicht mehr durchschaut wurden.²⁸⁹

v34 yasmād | inčip: Skt. „weil“, uig. „nämlich“. Durch die Wahl der Partikel signalisiert der Übersetzer Parataxe an Stelle der Hypotaxe der Vorlage.

amedhyanarakapratimaṃ | arıgsızlıg pre(t)ka oğşati: Skt. „der (oder: einer) unreinen Hölle (oder Plural?) gleichend“, uig. „dem unreinen Preta gleichend“. Im Skt. ist der Höllenvergleich an sich nicht klar, im Uig. das *prek* der Handschrift unbekannt. A. von Gabain nimmt Fehler für *pret* „Preta“ an. Eine bessere Lösung gibt es derzeit nicht, auch wenn man sich fragen muss, was den Übersetzer gerade zu dieser Wiedergabe bewogen haben könnte. Die TDM hat *amedhyanagarapratimaṃ* „einer unreinen Stadt gleichend“. Ist das Attribut möglicherweise in *amedhyanarakapratime* zu verbessern und auf *garbhe* zu beziehen? Die Verbindung von Mutterleib und Hölle ist

²⁸⁸ Vgl. RÓNA-TAS 2005.

²⁸⁹ Nicht recht klar ist die Auffassung in HWAU 702b „erstarrter hypostasierter Dat. von → *²tār* [i.e. „Miete, Lohn“], zumal keine Bedeutung für die Hypostasierung angegeben ist.

in Candragomins *Śiṣyalekha* belegt: *āviśya garbhanilayaṃ nirayaṃ yathaiva* 19c, „Having entered the womb, ..., exactly like a hell“, s. HAHN 1999: 64–65. Die Strophe führt den Vergleich noch weiter aus („with its exceedingly horrible stench, full of impurities, extremely narrow, and utterly dark“); für die Hölle passt dies auf jeden Fall, und wenn wir über die Verhältnisse in altindischen Städten besser unterrichtet wären, könnte man vielleicht sogar fragen, ob ihn ein Stadtbewohner sofort verstanden hätte.

v35 aśucinā(n)n¹ā¹rasena| arıgsızlıg akın üzä: Die einzige ernstzunehmende Lesung ist *annarasa-* in der Bedeutung „Speise-Essen“²⁹⁰ der Schwangeren, mit der gemäß der klassischen indischen Anschauung der Embryo versorgt wird.²⁹¹ Sie gilt anders als hier angegeben als rein.²⁹² Der Uigure übersetzt unspezifisch durch *akın* „Flüssigkeit“.

v36 amedhyajalajā[tam ivā-| a|rıgsızlıg] suvda ünmi[š]ig tąg | azu tugmı[š]ig tąg: Die Ergänzungen ergeben sich aus der Kombination der erhaltenen Teile: *amedhya-* „unrein“ ~ *[a|rıgsızlıg]*. Skt. *jāta-* ist alternativ durch „hervorgekommen“ bzw. „geboren“ übersetzt; untypisch steht die „wörtliche“ Wiedergabe „geboren“ an zweiter Stelle.

(a)**ravindaṃ | len hvag:** Skt., uig. „Lotosblüte (Akk.)“. In dem entlehnten *hva* (< 花 *huā*) „Blüte“ ist hier das Fremdphonem /w/ durch genuin uig. /v/ ersetzt.

v37 t[i]tgülük ök ärür: Mit „muss unbedingt weggeben“ ist ein syntaktisches Problem verbunden. Sonst steht bei transitiven Verben das Actum, falls angegeben, als Objekt im Akk., z. B. TT VIII E 6 *suṃarkıg ükltıgülük ol* „immer mehr soll man Abgeschiedenheit praktizieren“. Hiernach ist -gUIXk aktivisch „TUN/SEIN müssend“. Entsprechend steht der Agens, falls explizit,²⁹³ im Casus indefinitus, z. B. TT VIII E 44 *katıglanguluk ol k(i)şi yalḥok* „ein Mensch muss sich anstrengen“. Dieses syntaktische Muster scheint hier nicht vorzuliegen. Würde das Fehlen des Objekts „Körper“ noch erklärlich sein, da aus den Pādas a–b entnehmbar, so finden wir jedoch den Agens nicht, wie dann erwartet, als Subjekt, sondern als postpositionale Ergänzung „durch einen Weisen“.²⁹⁴ Das deutet auf passivische Interpretation der -gUIXk-Bildung,

²⁹⁰ Auch einfach *rasa-* benannt. – Hier nicht Dvandva-Kompositum „Speise und Trank“.

²⁹¹ JOLLY 1901: 55; WILKENS 2015: I 22 f. (uig. *tatıg*, Standardübersetzung von skt. *rasa-*).

²⁹² JOLLY 1901: 55.

²⁹³ Die Mehrzahl der mit -gUIXk gebildeten Prädikate ist subjektlos wie der soeben zitierte Beleg.

²⁹⁴ Der mögliche Einwand, die Ergänzungen seien unzuverlässig und daher argumentativ unbrauchbar, kann entkräftet werden. Skt. *viduṣā* „durch einen Weisen“ ist durch TDM bestätigt; uig. *üzä* ist ohne Alternative und die übrigen maximal 3 Akṣaras, von denen das letzte den Palatalisator -y- enthält, und deren Bedeutung durch das Sanskrit vorgegeben ist, können nichts anderes als *bilgä* darstellen.

„GETAN WERDEN müssend“;²⁹⁵ wonach „Körper“ hier Subjekt sein müsste. Dem widerspricht jedoch der Vergleichsgegenstand „Lotosblüte“ und das sowohl auf den Körper als auch „Lotosblüte“ bezogene „versehen mit“, die beide im Akkusativ stehen.

v37–38 samrakṣito ’[p]i [| küzädi]**lip ymä**: Ziemlich sicher ergänztes uig. „indem er beschützt wird“; das Konverb entspricht dem prädikativ verwendeten skt. Partizip.

v38 paripālito ’pi | **köl(l)öp ymä**: Die uig. Wiedergabe von skt. *paripālita-* „beschützt, gehegt“ ist nicht unproblematisch. A. von Gabain²⁹⁶ legte *kölöp* ein Verb *kölü*.²⁹⁷ „eigentlich ‚beschattet‘ > ‚beschützt werden‘“ zugrunde. Aus dem Sachverhalt, dass die korrekte Form *köli*.²⁹⁸ lautet, ergibt sich eine erste Schwierigkeit. Es wäre mit **kölip* > **kölep* > *kölöp* eine für das Uig. unerhörte Assimilationsreihe zu unterstellen.²⁹⁹ Die zweite Schwierigkeit besteht darin, dass zwar auch Clauson (ED 716a) annimmt, dass „the basic meaning seems to be ‚to be shady, or shaded (Intrans.)‘“³⁰⁰, aber keine der von ihm angeführten Sprachen die intransitive Bedeutung belegt, auch – natürlich unter Absehung von unserer Stelle – das Uigurische nicht, wo jetzt transitiver Gebrauch in dem verbalen Hendiadyoin *apı- köli-* „beschützen“ bezeugt ist.³⁰¹ Das regt zu folgender Überlegung an: Zu *köli-* „beschirmen, beschützen“ kann man sich leicht einen, wenn auch unbelegten, Passivstamm **köli-* „beschirmt, beschützt werden“ vorstellen. Daraus synkopiertes **köll-* würde das Konverb **köllüp*, °*öp*³⁰² bilden, das in unserer Handschrift vorliegen könnte, allerdings ohne Verdoppelung des *l*. Es fragt sich, ob die in diesem Lösungsvorschlag enthaltenen Schwachstellen (hypothetischer synkopierter Passivstamm und Schreibfehler) weniger Gewicht haben als die Argumente gegen die bisherige Deutung.

²⁹⁵ So wohl auch in der von M. Erdal (GOT 260) zitierten Stelle Beleg Suv 377,7 *adınlarnıy bilgülıki ärmäzlär* „they cannot be known by others“.

²⁹⁶ TT VIII 36 Fn. zu Z. 38.

²⁹⁷ So TT VIII 92, dort allerdings mit der widersprüchlichen Bedeutung „beschatten“.

²⁹⁸ Vgl. z.B. ED 716a; OTWF 777.

²⁹⁹ Herleitung aus *köl-* (ED 715 b; HWAU 402 a) wäre formal in Ordnung, ist aber wegen der Bedeutung ±„ansichren“ völlig ungeeignet.

³⁰⁰ Ohne Angabe eines Grundes. Vermutlich spielte unsere Stelle eine Rolle und wohl auch die abgeleitete Kausativbildung *kölit-* „beschatten, beschirmen“ (ED 716 b; OTWF 777) < *veranlassen, dass beschattet wird. Diese beiden Aspekte sind es zumindest, die M. Erdal (OTWF 777) zu derselben Auffassung führen.

³⁰¹ UW² I.1 64.

³⁰² Vergleichbares bei M. Erdal (GOT 98), z.B. *örtüp* „erhebend“ zu *ört-*, das aus *örıt-* synkopiert ist.

snāna= | **yunguk:** S.o. zu Z. 12. Statt *snāna-* hat A.-M. BOYER 1906: 104 *snāta-* gelesen. Er tat das ohne Berücksichtigung der uig. Übersetzung,³⁰³ aber auch ohne Kenntnis der Z. 39 mit dem Pāda-Schluss und der vergleichbaren Formulierung in Z. 12 f. Aus seiner Lesung *snāta-* sich nun ergebendes „gebadet und verwöhnt durch ...“ würde Boyer selbst wohl kaum noch vertreten.

v39–40 vihaṃti caiva | **ko[ṅr]o[r ymā] ök:** Die Metrik beweist eine Auslassung, vor oder nach *vihaṃti*. Nach der TDM ist letzteres der Fall. A. von Gabain wollte zu *ko[d]o[r]* ergänzen, was aber zu einer nicht erklärbaren Bedeutungsdifferenz zwischen skt. „± zerstört“³⁰⁴ und uig. „±gibt auf“ führt. Für *kodoru* „vollständig, stark“ + Verb reicht der Platz in der Lücke nicht. Deswegen wird hier *koṅur-* „ausreißen; zerstören“ vorgeschlagen. Anstelle der synkopierten Form *koṅror* ist auch *koṅoror* möglich.

v40 kṛtaṃ (|) **asiḡ kilmišin:** Zu dem schwierigen *kṛtaṃ* s. die Bemerkung oben zu Z. 22.

subah[u] | **ärñi[ü] ü[k]ü[š]:** skt. *su-* „gut“ vor Adjektiven – ähnlich wie im umgangssprachlichen Deutsch „(ganz) schön“ oder englisch „pretty“ – steigernd „sehr, ziemlich“ entspricht im Uig. *ärñi[ü]*.

Zu *akṛtajña* vgl. oben, Vers 2c.

4. Graphematisches Profil der Handschrift

M. LEWICKI 1936 und H. W. BAILEY 1937, die sich eingehender mit dem Verhältnis von Schreibung und Lautung des Türkischen in unserer Handschrift befasst haben, mögen wohl der Auffassung gewesen sein, dass ihre Beobachtungen für die uigurische Brāhmī im allgemeinen gelten. Mit dem Erscheinen von TT VIII stellte sich allerdings heraus, dass es nur eine kleine Anzahl von fast³⁰⁵ durchgängig beachteten orthographischen Konventionen gibt:

- Markierung der vorderen Vokale durch vorgeschaltetes <y> als Subskript von Konsonant- oder Vokalzeichen, aber in der Regel nicht bei vorderem i und e,
- Differenzierung von vorderen und hinteren Velaren, jedoch nach unterschiedlichen Mustern,³⁰⁶ und die in diesem Zusammenhang verwendeten Spezialzeichen <ḱ, g₁>,

³⁰³ BOYER 1906: 103 „Le turc n’étant pas ma compétence, je n’ai pu m’aider du secours des gloses pour l’établissement du texte sanskrit.“

³⁰⁴ A. von Gabains Wiedergabe „sie [sic] geben auf (?)“ ist ein inakzeptabler Harmonisierungsversuch. Die in der Fußnote zur Stelle statt (korrektem) *vihaṃti* (Sg.) vorgeschlagene Pluralform *viḥānti* gibt es nicht.

³⁰⁵ Grundsätzliche Einschränkung wegen IOL Toch 82 (MAUE 2008) und MAUE Kat II Nr. 89. Sporadische Ausnahmen von einzelnen Regeln heben diese nicht auf.

³⁰⁶ MAUE 1984; PROVERBIO 2014.

- <m> ⇒ /n/,
- Verwendung der Spezialzeichen <w> und <C: k usw.>, letztere in unterschiedlichem Umfang und weitestgehend in Virāma-Position.

Andere Spezialzeichen, <-ä> und <rr>, und vor allem die mit der tumschukischen und sogdischen Brāhmī geteilten <d₁, z, v₁, ž, z>³⁰⁷ kommen in sehr unterschiedlicher Häufigkeit vor. Im übrigen machten die Schreiber uneinheitlichen Gebrauch von indischen Zeichen, an denen unter lautlichem Gesichtspunkt kein Bedarf bestand.³⁰⁸ Sie verliehen dadurch den Handschriften sozusagen ein je eigenes Profil. In Fortführung und Ergänzung der o. g. Untersuchungen sei hier das graphematische Profil unserer Handschrift nachgezeichnet. Es manifestiert sich, da die Wiedergabe der Vokale wie oben bemerkt einheitlich geregelt ist, an der Verwendung der Konsonantgrapheme. Um auf der zugrundeliegenden Lautebene einen festen Bezugsrahmen zu haben, nehmen wir, sofern nichts anderes angegeben ist, als Folie für die Lexik die Lautstruktur, die G. Clauson in ED bzw. J. Wilkens in HWAU lemmatisiert haben, und für die Affixe, was M. Erdal in GOT als Basisform angesetzt hat.

1. Die Dentale t und d

Tabelle 2: Die Dentale und ihre Repräsentanten

stimmlos	stimmhaft
<-tt-> a)	<-d ^h ->? c)
<-t ^h ->? b)	<-(n)d->? d)
<t>	

a) 17.18.21.39 ätüz „Körper“, daneben <t> in Z. 7.13.31; 22.40 titip „aufgebend“

b) 9 katıgılan- „sich bemühen“

c) /d/ Lok. +dA 6 °larda, 29 ügündä „Haufen“, 30 osoglogda „artig“, 30 yertenčöddä

³⁰⁷ Das <g₁> gehört entgegen früherer Annahme (s. o. 46–47) nicht zu den Lehngraphemen aus dem Tumschukischen. Es geht wahrscheinlich auf ein entsprechendes Zeichen der Steppen-Brāhmī (MAUE 2018 und 2019) zurück und ist später in der uigurischen Brāhmī der Turfanregion möglicherweise nach tumschukischem Vorbild umgestaltet worden. Bei punktuell verwendetem <g₂> (TT VIII K = MAUE Kat I Nr. 43) scheint die Übernahme aus dem tumschukischen Spezialzeichen-Inventar eindeutig zu sein. Diese müsste jedoch als eine rein mechanische Entlehnung gewertet werden, ausgelöst durch die Ähnlichkeit von <g₁> und <g₂>. Denn die beiden Zeichen haben im Tumschukischen unterschiedliche Lautwerte; <g₂> repräsentiert dort die stimmhafte Affrikate /dz/ (s. MAUE in Vorbereitung), in TT VIII K dagegen /g/ so wie <g₁> in den anderen Handschriften.

³⁰⁸ Das gilt für Aspiraten und Retroflexe, wie schon LEWICKI 1936 beobachtete.

„Welt“; Nomen actoris +dAĀI 7 umundaċi „hoffend“. – /t/ 11 avırta „Amme“, 14 utlısız „undankbar“.

- d) Nur in der Ligatur <nd> vorkommend. /d/ Lok. +dA 8 törösindä „in der Regel von“, 11 koyında „an ihrem Busen“, 25 kenendä³⁰⁹ „danach“, 30 karında „im Mutterleib“. – 33 mundırtın³¹⁰. – /t/ ikinti „zweit“, montag „so“.

Das am häufigsten und in allen Positionen vorkommende <t>, in finaler Position auch <-t>, ist Universalgraphem für /t/ und /d/, wie etwa die Verwendung in ätüz einerseits und kodop „aufgebend“ andererseits beweist. Ätüz und titip „aufgebend“ enthalten <tt> als markierte Schreibung für [t]. <tt> steht aber auch für [T:] in 29 yat[t]ı (<yat- + -dI) „lag“ und in der festen Wortverbindung 33 eya ttwā r_ı, äd t(a)var „Besitz“. Möglicherweise ebenfalls markiert für die Stimmlose findet sich singuläres <th> in katıgılan- „sich abmühen“, das anderswo mit <t> geschrieben wird. Fraglich ist, ob <dh> Universalgraphem ist oder vielleicht doch markierte Schreibung für /d/. Denn das /t/ der beiden Gegeninstanzen avırta und utlı ist nicht über jeden Zweifel erhaben.³¹¹ Die d-Schreibungen sind an die Ligatur <nd> gebunden. Diese ist ein bequemes und zugleich eindeutiges Zeichen für n+T;³¹² sie legt aber auch eine lautliche Deutung nahe, „if one remembers that the Manichæan script uses *daleth* only after *nun*, and that one of the three sonant + consonant characters of the runiform script links the alveolar with /n/“.³¹³

2. Die Velare /k/ und /g/

Tabelle 3: Die Velare und ihre Repräsentanten

(In den hellgrau unterlegten Rahmenfeldern sind die lautlichen Merkmale der Velare angegeben, die durch die Grapheme in den weißen Feldern repräsentiert werden; z. B. steht <h> für den hinteren frikativen Velar ohne Rücksicht auf den Stimmton.)

	stimmlos	stimmhaft	
vorn	<k, <u>ḱ</u> > a) b)	<g _l > c)	plosiv oder frikativ
hinten	< <u>ḱ</u> > c) d)		
	<h> f)		markiert frikativ

³⁰⁹ Aber HWAU 363b kenintä.

³¹⁰ Cf. GOT 203 mundırtın mit dem „intercalary element“ /+dIr+/. Aber HWAU 480b muntırtın.

³¹¹ ED 15a erwägt bei der „Amme“ auch -d- und fremde Herkunft; ohne turksprachige Verwandtschaft steht auch utlı da.

³¹² Im Gegensatz zu <nt>, das von <tt> kaum oder meist gar nicht zu unterscheiden ist.

³¹³ GOT 69.

a) /k/

- a.1 ky-: 17 körö „sehend“, 20 körölöp „gesehen werdend“, 24 köñöl „Herz, Geist“, 25 kämišil- „abgeworfen werden“, 26 kövdöñ „Körper, Leichnam“, 27.37 körk „Gestalt“, 27/8 küvāñ „Stolz“, 30 küvāñ- „stolz sein“, 38 köl(l)öp „beschirmt werdend“, 38 kädīm „Kleidung“;
k-: 10.15.15.30 kim „wer; wenn“, kenentä „danach“, 33 keñ „breit“.
- a.2 -ky- 4 [kü]müškä „Silber (Dat.)“, 26 °mäk+kä, 28 yertenčökä „Welt (Dat.)“, 33.34 tärkä „für Lohn“, 37 tükällig „ausgestattet mit“, 40 lül'k'ülš „viel“;
-k-: 14 ikinti „zweit-“, 26 tüzükmäk „gleich sein“, 35 üklimiš „gediehen“.
- a.3 -k-: 27 körk „Gestalt“.
-k-: 6 ügmäk „Haufen“, 8 etenmäk „sich schmücken“, 8.30 nägülük „warum denn“, 26 tüzükmäk „gleich sein“, 37 [i]tgülük „aufzugeben“, 37.40 ök (Partikel), 37 körk „Gestalt“.

b) /g/: 5.9.31 ädgü „gut“, 10 eltgäy „wird wegbringen“, 12 türtüngü „Salbe“, 29 töñörgä „Holz(stamm)“, 37 [i]tgülük „aufzugeben“.

c) /k/

- c.1 k-: 6 kığ „Staub“, 7 kañ „Vater“, 9 katıgıñ- „sich abmühen“, 9.31 k(i)lınč „Tat“, 10 kun- „rauben“, 11 kučul- „umarmt werden“, 18 kodop „aufgebend“, 22.32.40 kıl- „tun“, 25 kol „Arm“;
- c.2 -k-: yaratınmaklıg „auf das Sich-Schmücken bezogen“, 14 bolmakı „das ...-sein von“, 14 aźunka „Existenz (Dat.)“, 14 bardačıka „gehend (Dat.)“, 15 bulgululuk „zu erlangend (Akk.)“, 16 sakın- „denken“, 16 yıgılmakın „Zusammentreffen mit (Akk.)“, 28 tarkarguluk „zu meidend“, 33 alkıg „breit“, 34 pre(t)+ka „Preta (Dat.)“, 35 akın „Flüssigkeit“;
- c.3 -k-: 12.38 yunguk „Seife“, 18 ok (Part.), 27 yarsıgak „angewidert“, 28 tarkarguluk „zu meidend“.

d) /g/: 12.38 yunguk „Seife“, 15 bulgululuk „zu erlangend (Akk.)“, 27 boşgot „Unterweisung“, 28 tarkarguluk „zu meidend“.

e) /g/

Vordervokalisches

- e.1 -g- 6 y(e)ge „der Beste von“, 6 ügmäk „Haufen“, 8.30 nägülük „warum denn“, 9 b(i)lig+siz „Unwissenheit“, 18 t(i)gıñ „Prinz“, 20 igidil- „aufgezogen werden“, 29 ügün „Haufen“, 16 täginč „Gelegenheit“, 32 tilägil „erstrebe“, 37 °ligig (Akk.);
- e.2 -g 6 °lüg, 7 ög „Mutter“, 11.17.20.20.21.27.28.34.36.36.40 täg „wie“, 13.39 eteg „Schmuck“, 17 ätüzüg „Körper (Akk.)“, 24.28.31 °lög, 27 b(i)lig „Wissen“, 28 °lig, 29 kızıg „Ordnung“, 31 -üg (Akk.), 33 yeg+sez „untauglich“, 36 °ig (Akk.), 37 °ligig.

Hintervokalisches

- e.3 -g-: 34 asıgıñ „Nutzen (Akk.)“;
- e.4 -g: 6 sutrug „Sūtra“, 6 kığ „Staub“, 8 °maklıg, 11 °mišig, 13.39 y(a)ratıg „Schmuck“, 15 °kug, 16 ıyalıñıg „Glanz (Akk.)“, 17.32.34.35 °lıg, 17 ıg, 22.40 asıg „Nutzen“, 29 montag „so“, 30 °log, 31 arıg „rein“, 33 alkıg „breit“, 35 arıg+sız „unrein“, ³¹⁴ 36 len hvag „Lotosblüte (Akk.)“.

³¹⁴ Direkt neben <-hsi>.

f) /k/ ⇒ [x]

f.1 k-: 11 *koyında* „Brust (Lok.)“, 35 *karında* „Mutterleib (Lok.)“.

/g/ ⇒ [ɣ]:

f.2 *VgV*: 5 *tiltagında* „Ursache von (Lok.)“, 16 *yıgıl-* „sich versammeln“, 18 *asıgın* „Nutzen (Akk.)“, 19 *yarlıgın* „Befehl (Akk.)“, 20.38 *ogol* „Sohn“, 27 *yarsıgık* „angewidert“, 27 *uguş* „Stamm“;

f.3 *VgC*: 7.34.35.36 *arısız* „unrein“, ³¹⁵ 9 *katıgılan-* „sich abmühen“, 11 *oglın* „Sohn (Akk.)“, 30 *osoglog* „-artig“, 34 *ogşatı* „ähnlich“, 36 *tugmışıg* „geboren (Akk.)“, 40 *ogrı* „Dieb“;

f.4 *-g_C*: 16 *çog_yalımg* „Glanz (Akk.)“, 36 *tugmışıg jäg* „wie einen geborenen“.

Fremd-/Lehnwort:

f.5 *bahşı* „Lehrer“, *len hvag* „Lotosblüte (Akk.)“.

Unsere Handschrift spiegelt mit den Anwendungen a, c und e das Muster I (*idealiter*: <k> ⇒ vorderes k, <*k̄*> ⇒ hinteres k, <*g₁*> ⇒ g).³¹⁶ In mehreren Fällen ist ein Übergreifen von <k> (b) bzw. <*k̄*> (d) in den stimmhaften Bereich zu beobachten.³¹⁷ Schreibökonomische Gründe hierfür sind nicht erkennbar. Das Phänomen kommt nur postkonsonantisch vor. Eine gemeinsame Erklärung, etwa durch Desonorisierung³¹⁸ des /g/ in dieser Position, ist zweifelhaft.³¹⁹ Bezüglich der <k>-Schreibungen könnte Beeinflussung durch Muster II vorliegen, dessen Kennzeichen die Verwendung von <k> für vorderes /k/ und /g/ ist. Für die <*k̄*>-Schreibungen kann dagegen das Muster II nicht herhalten. Sie signalisieren vielleicht nicht-frikative Artikulation vs. Frikativierung, die ihrerseits intervokalisch (f.2) und antekonsonantisch (f.3, f.4³²⁰) stattfindet, was man zuverlässig der Darstellung durch <h> entnehmen darf. Die nahezu komplementäre Verteilung von <h> und <*g₁*>, das hintervokalisch bis auf eine Ausnahme (e.3) nur im Wortauslaut zum Einsatz kommt (e.4), wollte BAILEY 1937, wie oben in § 1 besprochen, durch eine orthographische Regel erklären, um <*g₁*> als eigentliche Funktion die Darstellung des vorderen oder palatalen g zuweisen zu können. Diese Funktionsbestimmung hat sich so an den später veröffentlichten Handschriften nicht bestätigen lassen und gilt auch nicht, wie Bailey mit Hilfe des Uigurischen

³¹⁵ Direkt neben <-*g₁* si>.

³¹⁶ MAUE 1984.

³¹⁷ MAUE 1984: 94 f.

³¹⁸ Ein regelhafter Stimmtonverlust war für g und d nach r, l, n im Runentürkischen angenommen worden. Zur Desonorisierungs-Hypothese, Kritik und neueren Interpretationen s. GOT 117–121.

³¹⁹ Für g, was in unserem Fall von Interesse wäre, ist die Materialbasis für eine solche runentürkische Regel außerordentlich gering (GOT 118). Zudem wären die Bedingungen für den Wandel (s. vorherige Fn.) in unserer Handschrift nicht dieselben.

³²⁰ Wenn es sich nicht um eine bloße Nachahmung von Inlautschreibungen handelt, findet Frikativierung auch in engen Wortverbindungen statt.

zu zeigen hoffte, für das Tumschukische.³²¹ Ein anderer Erklärungsansatz wäre, dass <g₁> im Auslaut einen anderen Laut bezeichnet als <h>. In diesem Sinne versuchte PROVERBIO 2014, in dem unserer Handschrift graphematisch sehr ähnlichen Text TT VIII E den Zeichen <h> und <g₁> unterschiedliche phonetische Werte zuzuordnen, die stimmlose glottale Frikative [h] bzw. den stimmlosen velaren Engelaute [x]. <h> ⇒ [h] ist möglich, aber keineswegs sicher; aber <g₁> ⇒ [x] ist, zumal in vordervokalischer Umgebung, nicht gut vorstellbar und widerspricht den Verwendungsweisen in Muster II sowie im Tumschukischen und Sogdischen. Sprachhistorisch oder dialektologisch noch nicht bewertet ist die sich andeutende Frikativierung von hinterem /k/ (f.1).³²²

3. Der Palatal /č/

/č/ ist meist durch <c> dargestellt, nur zweimal in +dačI-Bildungen (7 umundačī, 14 bardačī) und ein drittes Mal in unklarem 21 []lčik durch <j>.

4. Die Labiale /b/ und /p/

Universalzeichen ist <p>, final <-p>; nur ganz selten ist anlautendes ⇒ /b/ in 9.27 b(i)lig „Wissen“, 29 birlä „mit“ sowie in entlehnten 5 bodisvī[t] „Bodhisatva“ und 27 bramīn „Brahmane“. Die <b^h>-Schreibung in 17 abišīk „Abhiṣeka, Weihung“ ahmt das indische Vorbild nach.

5. Die Sibilanten /s/, /z/, /š/ und /ž/

<s> steht unterschiedslos für /s/ und /z/, nur einmal das Spezialzeichen <z> als markierte Schreibung für /z/ in 21 ätüz „Körper“.

/š/ und das Fremdphonem /ž/ in 14 ažun werden durch <š> abgebildet. Nur 9–10 išlārdä „Taten (Lok.)“ hat <š>, außerdem 17 abišīk „Abhiṣeka, Weihung“ und 32 wišay „Sinnenwelt“ nach den skt. Etyma abhiṣeka- und viṣaya-. In Virāma-Position findet sich dagegen ausschließlich <-š>.³²³ Diese Wahl ist weder der besseren Erkennbarkeit halber getroffen noch schreibökonomisch begründet; die Formen von <š> und <-š> sind spiegelbildlich zueinander.

6. Die Liquidae /r/ und /l/

Sie werden durch <r> und <l> dargestellt, in finaler Position durch die entsprechenden Spezialzeichen mit Virāma <-r, -l>. Intervokalisches kommt einmal das Spezialzeichen <rr> in 35 karinda „Mutterleib (Lok.)“ zur Anwendung.

³²¹ MAUE in Vorbereitung.

³²² Vgl. MAUE 1984: 92 Fn. 10, 95 § 6, auch PROVERBIO 2014. Allgemein zur Frikativierung der Velare in den Turksprachen s. z. B. L. Johanson in TurkLang 99–101.

³²³ Das vom Lautwert näherliegende palatale <-š> begegnet auch in anderen Handschriften eher selten. Einige Schreiber verwenden eine Form des Spezialzeichens, das es nicht erlaubt, zwischen <-š> und <-s> zu unterscheiden.

7. Die Nasale /m/, /ŋ/ und /n/

Während /m/ stets durch <m> und /ŋ/ durch <ñ> wiedergegeben werden, erscheint /n/ in vielfältigem Gewand:

Im Auslaut stets und sonst fakultativ vor Konsonant wird Anusvāra verwendet, z. B. 11 **ton**, 8 **etenmāk**.

Folgt /d, t/, werden Nasal und Plosiv bevorzugt in die Ligatur <nd> zusammengezogen, Beispiele und Beurteilung s. o. 1.d.

Ebenfalls durch auch aus dem Indischen geläufige Ligatur <ñc> wird die Lautfolge ñc dargestellt: <ñc>, 6 **munñcolayu**, 7 **ütlünñčülüg** usw.

In den vorher nicht beschriebenen Umgebungen wird der Nasal durch <ñ, ñ> ausgedrückt. Verständlicherweise ist <ñ> fast ausschließlich in vordervokalischer Umgebung anzutreffen, z. B. 7 **ögnöñ** „Mutter“ (Gen.), 8 **nägülük** „warum denn“ usw., aber auch einmal in 10 **kunup**. Deswegen kommt <ñ> häufiger in hintervokalischen Wörtern vor, 5 **nom**, 6 **munñ** usw., aber auch 25 **kenendā**, 32 **iliniñ** usw. Bemerkenswerterweise ist <n> außerhalb von <nd> nur ein einziges Mal belegt in 10 **anīyat**, das orthographisch seinem skt. Etymon *anīyatā-* folgt. Der Schreiber meidet ganz offensichtlich das <n> wegen des homo(io)graphen <t> und weicht auf die nicht mit <t> verwechselbaren Grapheme <ñ, ñ> aus. Mit <nd> kann er eine Ausnahme machen, weil eine Fehlesung <td> kaum zu befürchten ist.

Nicht eigentlich zur Graphematik, sondern zur Lautlehre gehören die beiden folgenden Erscheinungen:

8. Sekundäre Vokangleichungen

Auf Perseveranz der mittleren Zungenstellung, des Öffnungsgrads,³²⁴ beruht die Veränderung der Vokalmuster O - U (- U) > O - O (-O)³²⁵ bzw. e - i (-i) > e - e (-e)³²⁶, wodurch die hohen Vokale U bzw. i zu mittleren Vokalen O bzw. e abgesenkt werden. Sie wirkt auch zwischen gerundeten und ungerundeten Vokalen: 28 **yertenčö** (**yertiničü**).³²⁷ Sie ist in dieser Handschrift bemerkenswert konsequent verschriftlicht.

³²⁴ Es handelt sich um einen artikulationsökonomischen Vorgang, vgl. MAUE Kat I S. XIX 2.1.2.1 (am Ende des Paragraphen I. „niedrigeren“ statt „höheren“), GOT 88 f („vowel attraction“).

³²⁵ 30 **osoglog** (**osuglug**) „-artig“, 28 **ölömlög** (**ölümlüg**) „Todes-“, 7 **ögnöñ** (**ögnüñ**) „Mutter (Gen.)“ etc. M. Erdal (GOT 89) macht darauf aufmerksam, dass O teilweise durch Rundung aus *A hervorgegangen ist (z. B. in **töpö** „Scheitel“ ~ **türkeitürk. tepe** „Gipfel“), möglicherweise direkt ohne Umweg über U.

³²⁶ 19 **ešedep** (**ešidip**) „hörend“, 19 **eteg** (**etig**) „Schmuck“, 15 **eyen** (**eyin**) „hinter ... her“ etc.

³²⁷ Eine vergleichbare Wirkung von ä auf nachfolgendes ü ist nicht zu beobachten (immer: **ädgü** „gut“, **nägülük** „warum denn“, **ärür** „ist“), auch nicht in anderen Handschriften. Im Gegenteil, das Lautmuster ä - ü scheint auch auf **ätöz** „Körper“ eingewirkt zu haben. In dieser Handschrift ist es stets als **ätüz** vokalisiert.

9. Synkope³²⁸

Elision eines Vokals kommt in erster (9.1) oder zweiter Silbe (9.2) vor.

9.1: 6 y(e)ge „best-“, 7 b(o)lor „wird“, 8.27 b(i)lig „Weisheit“, 9.31 k(i)lñč „Tat“, 33 t(a)var „Besitz“, 13.39 y(a)ratig „Schmuck“, 15.31 b(u)lup „erlangend“; Aphärese: 12 (o)ron „Platz“,

9.2: 11 oglin (~ ogul) „Sohn (Akk.)“, 40 ogli (~ ogul), 10 eltgäy (~ elit-) „wegführen“, 17 el ornilig (~ oron) „Landesthron-“.

5. Glossare

Die Sortierung erfolgt nach dem lateinischen Alphabet ohne Berücksichtigung der Diakritika. Die Entsprechungen zwischen Sanskrit und Uigurisch werden folgendermaßen gekennzeichnet:

- ~ bei semantischer Übereinstimmung,
- ≈ bei nur ungefährrer Übereinstimmung, oder
- ≠ bei Unvereinbarkeit,
- in anderen Fällen

Ein nachgestellter Asterisk (*) markiert im ersten Glossar die Sanskrit-Einträge, die ganz oder teilweise nur in der TDM erhalten sind.

5.1. Sanskrit – Deutsch – Uigurisch

a

ābharāṇa-	Schmuck: 38 ābharāṇa-bhūṣaṇa- Schmuck ₂ ~ uig. eteg y(a)ratig Schmuck ₂
ā-cchid	wegnehmen, rauben: 10 ~ uig. kun- rauben
akṣtajñā-	undankbar: 40 uig. []
akṣtajñātā-	Undankbarkeit: 14 ~ uig. utlısız bolmak das Undankbar-Sein
amedhya-	unrein: 34.36 ~ uig. arıgsızlıg
ambara-	Kleidung: 38 ~ uig. ton kädım Kleidung ₂
andhabhujagūḍha-	blind und von den Armen umfasst (Textfehler): 11 ≠ uig. koyında kuçulmış an die Brust gedrückt, s. 3.3 Komm. zu v11.
anityatā-	Unbeständigkeit, Tod: 10 ~ uig. anıtyat
anna-	Speise: 11 uig. []
annarasa-	Speise-Essenz: 35 ≈ uig. akın Flüssigkeit

³²⁸ Vgl. MAUE Kat I S. XXIV; GOT 96 ff, 106 f.

anta-	Ende: 25 amte am Ende ~ uig. kenentä schließlich
anu+iṣ	streben: 32 anviṣyatām (3. Sg. Imper. Pass.) man soll streben ~ uig. tilägil strebe!, s. tilä-
anulepana-	das Salben, die Salbe: 12 ~ uig. türtüngü Salbe
anu-pra-yā	nachfolgen: 15 ~ uig. eyen bar-
apa+as	wegwerfen, aufgeben: 19 ~ uig. kod- aufgeben
apa-hā (2)	aufgeben: 18 ~ uig. kod-
apa-vyadh	abwerfen: 25 apaviddha- (PPP) abgeworfen ~ uig. kāmīšilmīš weggeworfen, s. kāmīšil-
api	auch, und auch: ((2)).12.13.14.20.21.24.37.39 ~ uig. ymä
aravinda-	Lotosblüte: 36 ~ uig. len hva
arc	caus. ehren: 21 PPP arcita- geehrt ~ uig. ayatılıp geehrt werdend, s. ayatıl-
artha-	Vorteil, Nutzen: 18 (svārtha-) 34 ~ uig. asıg
as	sein: 8 ~ uig. är-
āsana-	Sitz: 12 ~ uig. oron
asāra-	substantzlos; untauglich: 33 ~ uig. yegsez yarpısız (wörtl.) ohne Bestes und Festes, untauglich
āśu*	schnell: 1 ~ uig. tärk tavrati schnell
aśuci-	1. unrein: 35 ~ uig. arıgsızlıg 2. das Unreine; hier: Sperma bzw. Menstrualblut: 7 ~ uig. arıgsız
ātman-	Herz, Gemüt: 23 s. dṛptātman- 24 s. śāntātman- ~ uig. köñöl
ava+īkṣ	ansehen, betrachten: 17 ~ uig. kör-
ayam	dieser 13. 16 ~ uig. bo

b

bhartar-	Erhalter, Gebieter, Gatte: 20 ~ uig. bāg är Herr ₂ , Gatte ₂
bhartṛvat	wie ein Erhalter, Gebieter, Gatte 20 ~ uig. bāg är tąg
bhṛta-	gedungen, angeheuert: 33 (s. vīstūrṇa-) ~ uig. tärkä alılımış in Lohn genommen
bhṛtaka-	Lohnarbeiter: 33–34 ~ uig. tärkä, s. 3.3 Komm. zu v33–34.
bhū	werden: 6 (hier nicht exzerpiert, nur in TDM) ~ uig. bol- 30 uig. []
bhuja-	Arm: 25 ~ uig. kol
bhūrja-	Birkenrindenblatt: ((1)) uig. []
bhūṣaṇa-	Schmuck: 38, s. ābharaṇa-
bodhi-	Erwachen: 5 ≠ uig. bodiswı[]

c

ca	und: 18.23*.28.39.39 ~ uig. ymä
caṇḍāla-	Caṇḍāla, Kastenloser: 28 ~ uig. čandal
cint	(be)denken: 16 ~ uig. sakın-
citā-	Scheiterhaufen: 29 ~ uig. tönjörgä ügün (wörtl.)
	Holzstamm-Haufen
cora-	Dieb: 40 ~ uig. ogrı

d

darpa-	Übermut, Stolz: 30 ~ uig. küvānmāk
darś	sehen: 20 PPP dṛṣṭa- (an)gesehen ~ uig. körölöp indem er angesehen wird, s. köröl-
daśa-vidha-	zehntartig: 31 ~ uig. on törlög
dhar	halten, (am Leben) erhalten: 20 PPP dhr̥ta- ~ uig. igidilip indem er ernährt wird, s. igidil-
dhātrī-	Amme: 10 ~ uig. avırta
dṛpta-	ü bermütig, stolz: 23 – uig. []. 27–28 ~ uig. küvānčlig
dṛptātman-	hochmütig: 23 ~ uig. [... köŋ]ʼölʼ[1]ʼölʼ[g]
dur-labha-	schwer zu erlangen: 15 ~ uig. alp bulguluk

e

ena-	jener, er: 10 enam (Akk.) ~ uig. muni, s. bo
etad	dieses: 6 (Akk.) ~ uig. muni, s. bo
eva	gerade, just: 28 ≠ uig. tąg (≠ skt. iva!). 36*.39 ~ uig. ök
evamvidha-	so beschaffen; 29 ~ uig. Montag osoglog

g

gad	sagen, verkünden: 6 ~ uig. nomla-
garbha-	Mutterleib: 35 ~ uig. karın
ghṛṇin-	angewidert: 27 ~ uig. yarsıgak
gurutat	wie ein Lehrer, wie eine Respektsperson: 19 ≈ uig. ö[g ka]ŋ bahşı tā[g] wie Mutter, Vater und Lehrer

h

hā	verlassen, aufgeben: 39 ~ uig. tit-
hetu-	Ursache, -hetoh, wegen, um ... willen: 5 ~ uig. tıltagında
hi	nämlich: 13 ~ uig. inçip. 27 – Uig. ohne Entspr.

i

idam	dies-: 16 imam (Akk. Sg. Mask.) ~ uig. muni
itas	daraus, aus diesem: 33 ~ uig. mundirtın

iti so, folgendermaßen: 6 ~ uig. munčolayu
iva wie: 11.17.34.36.36.40 ~ uig. tæg

j

jagat- das Lebendige; die Welt: 28.30 ~ uig. yertenčö
jala- Wasser: 36 ~ uig. suv
jāta- geboren, entstanden: 36 ~ uig. ünmi[š] azu tugmiš
hervorgekommen oder geboren

k

ka- welch-? wer?: 30 ~ uig. kim
kaḍepara- Leib, Körper: 26 ~ uig. kövdöñ ä[t]ü[z] Körper₂
kālakrama- hier: Eintreten des Todes (?): 28 ~ uig. ölömlög kăzig
Todeszeitpunkt (?)
kāma-sukha- Glück der Sinnenwelt: 32 ~ uig. wišaylıg māñi das aus
den Sinnesobjekten hervorgehende Glück
kar 1. tun, machen: ((4))* ~ uig. kıl-
2.22.40 kṛta- das Getane, (spez.) Vorteil, Nutzen ≈ uig.
asıg kılmiš Nutzenbereitung
3. caus.: zu tun veranlassen: 32 na ... kārayasi du
veranlasst nicht (den Körper) zu handeln ≈ uig. năñ ...
buyan kilmazsān du tust nicht Verdienstliches
karman- Tat: 30 ~ uig. kılınč
kaścid wer auch immer: 15 ~ uig. kim ärsār wer es auch sein
mag
kāya- Körper: 7.13.17.18.21.31.39 ~ uig. ätüz
kila gewiss, ja: 5 – uig. []
kim warum?: 8.30 ~ uig. năgölük
kriyā- Tat: 9 s. kuśala- ~ uig. kılınč iṣ Tat₂
kṣaṇa-saṃnipāta- das Eintreffen des Moments: 16 ~ uig. täginčñiñ
yığılmakın das Eintreffen des Ereignisses
kula- Geschlecht, Familie: 27 ~ uig. töz uguş Herkunft und
Stamm
kumāraka- Knäbchen: 11 ~ uig. ogol Sohn
kuśala- gut, heilsam: 9 kuśalakriyā- heilsame Tat ~ uig. ädgü
kılınč iṣ gute Tat₂
kūṭa-* Haufen: 6 (hier nicht exzerpiert, nur in TDM) s. saṃkāra-
~ uig. ügmăk

l

labh	nehmen, ergreifen: 31 labdhvā ergriffen habend ~ uig. b(u)lup, s. bul-
lal	caus. hätscheln, verwöhnen: 13.39 PPP lālita- verwöhnt ~ uig. avitlup indem er verwöhnt wird, avitl-

m

a()	oder -m a()?: 7 abgekürzt exzerpiert ~ uig. umundači einer der hofft, seine Zuflucht nimmt
mahant- maṇḍana-	groß: 23* ~ uig. [ul]ug Schmücken; Schmuck: 7–8 °-vidhi- Schmückregel (aber vgl. 3.3 Komm. zu v7–8.) ~ uig. etenmāk yaratınmak törösi die Regel des Sich-Schmückens und Sich-Herrichtens
marṣ* mātāpitṛ-*	hinnehmen, ertragen: > 23 nur in TDM belegt ~ uig. sār- (als Kompositionsglied) Mutter und Vater: 7 mā(tāpitṛ-) abgekürzt exzerpiert ~ uig. ög kaṇ
mātar- moha- muhūrta- muni-	Mutter: 7 s. mātāpitṛ- ~ uig. ög Verblendung: 9 ~ uig. biligsiz Augenblick: 14 ~ uig. ker Weiser, Seher: > 5 ((munivara(h))) Bester unter den Weisen ~ uig. rşılarda y(e)ge

n

na	nicht: 9.13.16.34 ~ uig. näṇ ... -mA-
naraka- nī	Hölle: 34 ~ uig. ≠ pre(t) Preta (weg)föhren, wegbringen: 10 ~ uig. elt-
nibha- ni-mīl*	ähnlich: 4 ~ uig. ogşatı die Augen schließen: 25 nur in TDM ~ uig. yumul- geschlossen werden (Augen)

p

pāda- paratra	Fuß: 25 ~ uig. adak im/ins Jenseits: 14 ~ uig. ikinti ažunka in eine zweite Existenz
pari-pālay	beschützen: 38 PPP paripālita- beschützt ~ uig. köll-? beschützt werden?
pari-varj	meiden: 28 parivarjanīya- zu meidend ~ uig. tarkarguluk, s. tarkar-
paravasāna-*	Ende: 6 (hier nicht exzerpiert, nur in TDM), s. saṃkāra- ~ uig. üzlünçü

phala-	Frucht, Ergebnis: 32 ~ uig. []
pitar-	Vater: 7 s. mātāpitr- ~ uig. kaŋ
pra+āp	erlangen: 15 ~ uig. bul-
pra-har	(hinaus)werfen, stoßen, treffen: 21* ~ uig. tokı-
prāk	vor (Präposition + Abl.): 5 ~ uig. öŋrā
pra-sañj	hängen an: 8.32 prasakta- hängend an ~ uig. ilin-
-pratima-	ifc. ähnlich 34 ~ uig. ogşatı
pratīta-*	freudig; entschlossen: 2 [sävi]nčligin freudig, s. 3.3 Komm. zu v2.
pra-yat	sich abmühen: 9 ~ uig. katıgılan-
pra-yā	hingehen: 26 ~ uig. bar-
puş	zunehmen, gedeihen: 35 PPP puşta- gediehen ~ uig. üklimiş, s. ükli-

r

rajata-*	Silber: 4 nur in TDM ~ uig. kümüş
rājasuta-	Königssohn, Prinz: 17–18 ~ uig. tigin
rājyābhiṣeka-	Weihe zum Königtum 17 ≈ uig. el ornılig abişık die Landesthron-Weihe
rudhira-	Blut: 2 ~ uig. kan
rūpa-	Gestalt, Erscheinungsform: 27 rūpa- ~ uig. körk mājiz Gestalt und Aussehen

s

s[a](o)	abgekürztes Exzerpt für saṃkāra-kūṭa-paryavasāna-
sa(h)	der, dieser (Ntr. tad, s. d.): 5.18 ~ uig. ol
sahita-	vereinigt, gemeinsam: 29 sahıtau (Dual) ~ uig. ≈ tuşuşıtar sie haben sich getroffen, tutuş-
saṃkāra-*	Unrat, Kehrrikt: 6 s[a](m)kāra-kūṭa-paryavasāna-) ~ uig. kıg Kehrrikt, Mist
saṃnipāta-	Zusammentreffen, Eintreten: 16 s. kşana- ~ uig. yıgılmak Zusammentreffen
saṃ-rakş	beschützen, behüten: 37 PPP saṃrakşita- beschützt ~ uig. [küzüdi]lip indem er beschützt wird, s. küzüdil-
sāmya-	Gleichheit: 26 ~ uig. tüzükmäk das Gleichsein
śāntātman-*	dessen Gemüt (ātman-, köŋöl) beruhigt (śānta-, amrılmış) ist: 24 ~ uig. amrılmış köŋöllög
śarīra-*	Körper: ((34)) ~ uig. [ä]rtüjz
satkṛta-	geehrt: 12 ~ uig. ayatılıp indem er geehrt wird, s. ayatıl-
śayana-*	Lager(statt): 12 ~ uig. tölt Bettzeug

śayita-	liegend, schlafend: 29 śayitau die beiden liegen (Prädikat ohne Copula) ~ uig. yat[t]ilar, s. yat-
śirodhara-	Nacken, Hals: 26 ~ uig. b[o]y[on]
sita-*	weiß: ((3)) si[] – uig. []
skhalita-	Straucheln, Fehler 22 ~ uig. []
snāna-	Bad(emittel): 12.38 ~ uig. yunguk Seife
śreyams-	ntr. śreyas das Bessere: 16 ≠ uig. čog yalın Glanz
śruta-	das Gehörte, Wissen: 27 ~ uig. bošgot b(i)lig das durch Unterweisung erworbene Wissen
su-	(vor Adj.) sehr: 40 ~ uig. ärtiñü
su-bahu-	sehr viel: 40 ~ uig. ärtiñ[ü] [ü]k[ü]š
śubha-	schön, gut: 31 ~ uig. arig rein, (alternativ:) ädgü gut
sukha-	Glück: 32 s. kāmasukha- ~ uig. māñi
sūkta-	guter Spruch, gutes Wort 5 ~ uig. ädgü nom gute Lehre
śuśrūṣita-	einer, auf den man gern hört: 19 ~ uig. yarlıgım ešedep indem man auf seinen Befehl hört
sutavat	wie ein Sohn: ((19))–20.38 ~ uig. ogol tąg
sūtra-	Sūtra: 6 ~ uig. sudr
svadeha-	eigener Körper: ((3)) ~ uig. öz ätüzi
svārtha-	eigener Vorteil, die eigentliche Bestimmung: 18 ~ uig. öz asıgı

t

-tā-	Abstrakt-Suffix 14 akṛtajña-tā- Undankbarkeit ~ uig. bolmak
tad	dieses, das: 18 ~ uig. ol
tasmād*	daher: 35–36 ~ uig. anın darum, daher
te	s. tvam
tvam	du: 10 te (Gen. oder Dat. enklit.) ~ uig. sāñıñ, s. sän
tyaj	verlassen, aufgeben: 22.36.40 ~ uig. tit-

u

upa-guh	verhüllen; umfassen: 11 upagūḍha- umfasst, s. andhabhuja- ~ uig. kučulmiš, kučul- umarmt
upa-ram	zur Ruhe kommen, sterben: 26 ~ uig. öl- sterben
ut-pra-yā	weggehen: 22 ~ uig. bar-

v

vapus-	Gestalt, Aussehen, Schönheit: 37 ~ uig. körk mäjiz (schöne) Gestalt und Aussehen
vara-	best-: 5 s. muni- ~ uig. yeg

vastra-	Kleidung: 11 ~ uig. ton
-vat	wie: 19.20.20.38 ~ uig. tāg
vetana-	Lohn: 33 ~ uig. ≈ ād t(a)var Besitz ₂
vibhūṣaṇa-	Schmuck: 13 ~ uig. eteg yaratıg Schmuck und Ausstaffierung, Schmuck ₂
vid	wissen: 37 [v]i[d]u[ṣā] (PPA; Instr. Sg. Mask.) wissend ~ uig. [bilg][ä] üzä
-vidha-	ifc. -artig (vidhā- Art): s. evaṃ°, daśa° ~ uig. törölög, osoglog
vidhi-	Regel: 8 s. maṇḍana- ~ uig. törö
vi-han	zerschlagen: 39 ~ uig. ~ koṇur- ausreißen, zerstören
vipra-	Brahmane: 27 ~ uig. bramin
vistṛṇa-	breit, umfangreich, groß: 33 ~ uig. keṇ alkıg reichlich ₂

y

yā	gehen: 14 (yānt- gehend ~ uig. bardači). 19 ~ uig. bar-
yadā	wenn, als: 10 ~ uig. kim
yas	welcher, wer: 15 ~ uig. kim
yasmād	weil: 34 ~ uig. ≈ inčip nämlich
yukta-	verbunden, ausgestattet mit: 37 ~ uig. tükällig versehen mit

5.2. Uigurisch – Deutsch – Sanskrit

a, ā

abiṣk	Abhiṣeka, Weihe: 17 s. el ~ skt. abhiṣeka-
ād	Besitz: 33 ād t(a)var Besitz ₂ ~ skt. ≈ vetana- Lohn
adak	Fuß: 25–26 [ada]k ~ skt. pā[da-]
ādgü	gut: 5 ādgü nom gute Lehre ~ skt. sūkta- gutes Wort; 9 ādgü k(i)līnčla[rta] iṣlārtā bei guten Taten ₂ ~ skt. kuśala-; 31 s. arıg
akın	Flüssigkeit, h.: Speise-Essenz: 35 ~ skt. annarasa-
alkıg	breit: 33 s. keṇ
alp	schwer 15 alp bulguluk schwer zu erlangen ~ skt. durlabha-
amrıl-	beruhigt werden: 24 amrılmiṣ köñöllöglär((niṇ)) derer, deren Geist beruhigt ist ~ skt. śānta-
anı	s. ol
anın	darum, daher: 36 ~ skt. tasmād
anityat	Unbeständigkeit, Tod: 10 ~ skt. anityatā-
är	Herr: 20 s. bāg

är-	sein: 37 ärür ist – Skt. ohne Entspr.; 8 ärürsän du bist ~ skt. asi, s. as; [4] ((ärsär)) (wörtl.) wenn ... ist, hypotakt. Partikel – Skt. ohne Entspr.; 15 kim ärsär wer es auch sei, wer auch immer ~ skt. kaścīt
arığ	rein: 31 arığ üzä, ädgü üzä durch reine, durch gute (Tat) ~ skt. śubha-
arığsız	1. unrein: 35 ~ skt. asuci- 2. das Unreine; h.: Sperma bzw. Menstrualblut: 7 s. ög ~ skt. asuci-
arığsızlıg	unrein: 34.36 ~ skt. amedhya-; 35 ~ skt. asuci-
ärtiñü	sehr: 40 ärtiñ[ü] 'ü'k[ü]ş sehr viel ~ skt. su-bahu-
asıg	Nutzen, Vorteil: 18 asıgın (Akk.) (s. öz). 34 ~ skt. artha-; 22.40 (beide s. kıl-) – Skt. ohne Entspr.
ätüz	Körper: 13. 21.39 ätüz; 7 ätüzñü (Gen). 17.18.31 ätüzüg (Akk.) ~ skt. kāya-; [ä]t[ü]z 34–35 ~ skt. śārīra-; [3] ((ätüzindin)) (Abl.) s. öz ~ skt. deha; 26 s. kövdöñ ~ skt. kaḍepara-
avırta	Amme: 11 ~ skt. dhātṛi-
avıtlı-	verwöhnt werden: 13.39 avıtlı (Konv.) ~ skt. lālita-, s. lal verwöhnt
ayatıl-	geehrt werden: 12 ayatıl (Konv.) ~ skt. satkṛta- geehrt; 21 ayatıl (Konv.) ~ skt. arcita-, s. arc geehrt
azu	oder: 29.36 – Skt. ohne Entspr.
ažun	Existenz: 14 s. ikinti

b

bäg	Herr: 20 bäg[ä]r Herr ₂ ~ skt. bhartar-
bahşı	Lehrer: 19 s. ög ~ skt. subsumiert unter guru-Respektsperson
bar-	(weg)gehen: 19 barır (er) geht ~ skt. yā; 26 barırlar sie gehen ~ skt. pra-yā; 22 barır (er) geht weg ~ skt. ut-pra-yā; 15 nän ... eyen barmaz (er) folgt nicht nach ~ skt. anu-pra-yā
bardaçı	gehend: 14 bardačika (Dat.) ~ skt. yānt- (PPrA), yā
bilgä	Weiser: 37 [bilg]i[ä] ü[z]ä von einem Weisen ~ skt. [v]i[d]u[śā] s. vid
bilig	Wissen: 27 s. boşgot
biligsiz	Unwissenheit: 9 biligsiziñ üzä durch deine Unwissenheit ~ skt. moha- Verblendung
bir	ein: 14 – Skt. ohne Entspr.
birlä	mit: 29 ~ skt. Instrumentalis sociativus

bo	dieser,-e,-es: 14 bo ~ skt. ayam; muni (Akk.): 6.6 ~ skt. etad, 10 ~ skt. enam, 16 ~ skt. imam
bodiswıt	Bodhisatva: 5 bodisvı[] ~ skt. ≠ bodhi-
bol-	werden: 7 b(o)lor wird ~ skt. bhū
bolmak	-keit, -heit (Adj. + bolmak): 14 s. utlısız
boşgot	Unterweisung: 27 boşgot b(i)lig das durch Unterweisung erworbene Wissen ~ skt. śruta- Wissen
boyon	Nacken, Hals: 26 b[o]y[on]ları ~ skt. śirodhara-
bramın	Brahmane: 27 bramın ~ skt. vipra-
bul-	erlangen: b(u)lup (Konv.): 15 ~ skt. prāpya, s. pra+āp, 31 ~ skt. labdhvā, s. labh ergreifend; 15 bulguluk s. alp ~ skt. labh
buyan	Verdienst(liches): 32 – Skt. ohne Entspr.

č

čandal	Caṇḍāla: 28 ~ skt. caṇḍāla-
čog	Glanz: 16 čog yalınıg Glanz ₂ (Akk.) ~ skt. ≠ śreyaṃs-besser

e

el	Land: 17 el ornılıg abışıkıg die Landesthron-Weihe (Akk.) ~ skt. ≈ rājyābhiṣeka-
elt-	(weg)föhren, wegbringen: 10 eltgäy wird wegbringen ~ skt. nī
ešed-	hören (auf): 19 ešedep (Konv.) s. yarlıg ~ skt. śru, s. śuśrūṣita-
eteg	Schmuck: eteg y(a)ratıg üzä durch Schmuck ₂ 13 ~ skt. vibhūṣaṇa- Schmuck; 39 ~ skt. 38 = ābharaṇa-bhūṣaṇa-Schmuck ₂
etenmäk	das Sich-Schmücken: 8 etenmäk yaratınmaklıg törösindä an seiner das Sich-Schmücken und -Herrichten betreffenden Regel ~ skt. maṇḍana-vidhi-
eyen	hinter ... her (+ Dat.): 15 s. bar- ~ skt. anu-(pra-yā)

ı, i

igidil-	aufgezogen, ernährt werden: 20 igidilip (Konv.) ~ skt. dhṛta-, dhar (am Leben) erhalten
ikinti	zweiter: 14 ikinti aźunka in eine zweite Existenz ~ skt. ≈ paratra im/ins Jenseits
ilin-	hängen an: 8 ilinmiş ~ skt. prasakta-, pra-saṅj haftend; 32 ilinip (Konv.) ~ skt. prasakta-

inčip	1. freilich: 13 ~ skt. hi; 2. nämlich: 34 ≈ skt. yasmād weil
iš	Tat: 9 s. ädgü ~ skt. kriyā-

k

kādim	Kleidung: 38 s. ton ~ skt. ambara-
kāmišil-	abgeworfen werden: 25 kāmišilmiš abgeworfen ~ skt. apaviddha, s. apa-vyadh
kan	Blut: 2 ((kanin)) sein Blut (Akk.) ~ skt. rudhira- Blut
kaṇ	Vater: 7 kaṇniṇ (Gen.) s. ög ~ skt. pitar-; 19 [ka]ṇ s. ög – skt. subsumiert unter guru- Respektsperson
karin	Mutterleib: 35 karinda (Lok.) ~ skt. garbha-
katıgılan-	sich bemühen um (Lok.): 9 nāṇ katıgılanmazsān du bemühst dich nicht ~ skt. pra-yat
kāzig	Ordnung, Reihenfolge: 29 s. ölöm ~ skt. -krama-, s. kālakrama-
keṇ	breit: 33 keṇ alkıg breit ₂ , umfangreich ₂ ~ skt. vistīrṇa- ausgebreitet, umfangreich
kenentä	danach, schließlich: 25 ~ skt. ante, s. anta- am Ende
ker	Augenblick: 15 ~ skt. muhūrta-
kıg	Mist: 6 kıg ügmäk üzlünčülüg dessen Ende ein Misthaufen ist ~ skt. samkāra- Kehricht(haufen)
kıl-	tun, machen: 4 ((kıldı)) machte ~ skt. kar; 22.40 asıg kılmišin den ihm bereiteten Nutzen ≈ skt. kṛta-, kar; 32 buyan kılmazsān du tust nichts Verdienstliches ~ skt. kar, aber andere Konstruktion, s. 3.3 Komm. zu v32.
kılınč	Tat: 9 s. ädgü ~ skt. kriyā; 31 k(ı)lınč ~ skt. karman-
kılınčlıg†	s. sävinčlig
kim	1. welch-? wer?: 30 kimniṇ (Gen.) ~ skt. kasya, ka-; 15 kim ärsār wer es auch sei, wer auch immer ~ skt. kaścid. 2. welch-, wer (Relativpronomen) 15 ~ skt. yaḥ. 3. wenn 10 ~ skt. yadā
kod-	aufgeben, hinterlassen: 18 kodop (Konv.) ~ skt. apa-hā (2), 19 ~ skt. apa+as (2)
kol	Arm: 25 kol ~ skt. bhuja
köll-	< köllil- beschattet, beschirmt werden: 38 köll(l)öp (Konv.) indem beschützt wird ~ skt. paripālito, pari-pālay beschützt
köñöl	Herz, Gemüt: 23 [... köñ][^o l][^l][^ö][^g]lärnıṇ der [Hoch] mütigen ~ skt. °-ātman-; 24 s. amrıl- ~ skt. °-ātman-

koṇur-	herausreißen, zerstören: 39 ko[ṇr]o[r] zerstört ~ skt. vihanti, vi-han zerschlägt
kör-	sehen: 17 körö (Konv.) ~ skt. ava+īkṣ
körk	Gestalt: körk māñiz (schöne) Gestalt und Aussehen 27 ~ skt. rūpa-, 37 ~ skt. vapus- Gestalt, Aussehen, Schönheit
köröl-	(an)gesehen werden: 20 <i>körölöp</i> (Konv.) indem er angesehen wird ~ skt. dṛṣṭa-, darś betrachtet-
kövdöñ	Körper, Leichnam: 26 kövdöñlā[ri] ä[t]ü[z]lär[i] ihre Körper ₂ ~ skt. kaḍepara-
koyın	Brust 11 koyında an der Brust ≠ skt. andhabhuja- unklar
kučul-	umarmt werden: 11 kučulmıñig umarmt (Akk.) ~ skt. 11 upagūḍha-, upa-guh umfasst
kümüš	Silber: 4 [k] ^l ü ^l müškä ~ skt. [rajata-]
kun-	wegnehmen, rauben: 10 kunup (Konv.) wegnehmend ~ skt. ā-cchid
küvānčlig	hochmütig: 27–28 ~ skt. dṛpta-
küvānmäk	Stolz: 30 küvānmäki ~ skt. darpa-
küzädil-	beschützt werden: 37–38 [küzädi]lip (Konv.) indem er beschützt wird ~ skt. saṃrakṣito, s. saṃ-rakṣ beschützt
kyer	s. ker

l

len hva	Lotosblüte: 36 len hvag (Akk.) ~ skt. aravinda-
---------	---

m

māñi	Glück: 32 s. wišay ~ skt. sukha-
māñiz	Gesichtsfarbe, Aussehen: 27.37 s. körk
montag	so: 29 Montag osoglogda in einer derartigen (Welt) ~ skt. evaṃvidha-
munčolayu	so, folgendermaßen: 6 ~ skt. iti
munı	s. bo
mundırtın	daraus, aus diesem: 33 ~ skt. ita[ś]

n

nägülük	warum denn? 8.30 ~ skt. kim
näj ... -mA-	nicht: 9.13.16.31 ~ skt. na
nom	Lehre: 5 s. ädgü
nomla-	predigen, verkünden: 6 nomladı predigte ~ skt. gad

o, ö

ög	Mutter: 7 ögnöŋ kaŋŋıŋ arıgsız ı das Unreine von Mutter (und) Vater ~ skt. mātār; 19 ö[g ka]ŋ bahşı tā[g] wie Mutter, Vater und Lehrer, enumerative Wiedergabe von skt. guruvat wie eine Respektsperson
ogšatı	ähnlich: 4 ~ skt. nibha-; 34 ~ skt. -pratima-
ogol	Sohn: 11 ogılın ihren Sohn ~ skt. kumāraka- Knäbchen; 20.38 ogol tąg wie ein Sohn ~ skt. sutavat
ogrı	Dieb: 40 ogrı ~ skt. cora-
Ok	enklitische Verstärkungs-Partikel: 18.37.40 ök ~ skt. eva
ol	jener, -e, es: 5.18 ol; 18 anı (Akk.) ~ skt. sa(h)
öl-	sterben: 26 ölmiş gestorben ~ skt. uparata-, upa-ram
ölöm	Tod: 28 ölömlög kızıg birlä azu üzä mit dem oder durch den Todes-Eintritt, s. 3.3 Komm. zu v28–29 ~ skt. kāla(krameṇa)
on	zehn: 31 on törlög üzä durch zehntartige (Tat) ~ skt. daśa-vidha-
öŋrä	vor (Postposition + Abl.): 5 öŋrä ~ skt. prāk
oron	1. Platz: 12 (o)ron ~ skt. āsana-; 2. Thron 17 s. el – Skt. ohne genaue Entspr.
osog	Art: 30 s. montag ~ skt. -vidha-, vidhā-
öz	selbst, eigen: [3] ((öz ätüzindin)) aus dem eigenen Körper ~ skt. sva-deha-; 18 öz asıgın seinen eigenen Vorteil ~ skt. svārtha- (sva+artha-)

p

prek	nach A. v. Gabain Fehler für pret Preta: 34 pre(t)ka (Dat.) ~ skt. ≠ naraka- Hölle
------	--

r

rşı	Weiser, Seher: 5–6 ((rşı))larda y(e)ge Bester unter den Weisen ~ skt. munivara-
-----	---

s, ş

sakın-	(be)denken: 16 kim ... näj sakınmasar wer nicht bedenkt ~ skt. cint-
sän	du: 10 säniŋ (Gen.) ~ skt. te, s. tvam; enklitisches Verbalaffix: 8 ärürsäŋ du bist ~ skt. asi, 9 katıgılanmazsäŋ du bist nicht bemüht ~ skt. na prayatas(e), 32 kılmazsäŋ du tust nicht ~ skt. ≈ na kārayasi du veranlasst zu tun

sār-	ertragen: 23 särmäy[ü] (Konv.) ohne zu ertragen ~ skt. [amṣyamāṇah], s. marṣ nicht ertragend
sav	Wort: 21 ~ skt. [], TDM abweichend
sāvinčlig	freudig: [2] [] ((ligin)) ~ skt. [pratīta-] freudig
sudr	Sūtra: 6 sudrug (Akk.) ~ skt. sūtra-
suv	Wasser: 36 suvda (Lok.) ~ skt. jala-
t	
täg	wie: 11.17.34.36.36.40 ~ skt. iva; 19.20.20.38 ~ skt. -vat; 27 ≠ skt. ca; 28 ≠ skt. eva; 21 – skt. unklar
täginč	Gelegenheit, Ereignis: 16 täginčniṇ yığılmakın Zusammentreffen mit dem Ereignis ~ skt. kṣaṇa- Moment, Gelegenheit
tärk	schnell: 1 ((tärk tavrati)) schnell ₂ ~ skt. [āsu] schnell
tärkä	1. für Lohn: 33 tärkä alılmış in Lohn genommen ~ skt. bhṛta- gedungen, angeheuert. 2. elliptisch für tärkä alılmış: Lohnarbeiter: 34 tärkädin (Abl.) ~ skt. bhṛtaka- entfernen, fernhalten, meiden: 28 tarkarguluk zu meidend ~ skt. parivarjanīya-, pari-varj
tarkar-	Gut, Besitz; 33 s. äd
tavar	schnell: 1 s. tärk
tavrati	Prinz: 18 t(i)gin ~ skt. rājasuta- Königssohn
tigin	streben: 32 tilägil strebe! ~ skt. ≈ anviṣyatām, s. anv-iṣ
tilä-	man soll streben
tiltag	Ursache, X + tiltagında wegen X: 5 ädgü nom tiltagında wegen der guten Lehre ~ skt. sūkta-heto(h) wegen des guten Wortes
tit-	verlassen, aufgeben: 39 titär (er) verlässt ~ skt. jah'ā'ti, hā; 22.40 titip (Konv.) aufgebend ~ skt. tyaktvā, s. tyaj; 37 t[i]tgülük aufzugehend ~ skt. tyakta[vyam], tyaj
toki-	schlagen, treffen: 21 tokıp (Konv.) indem er(?) schlägt ~ skt. prahṛ[tya], pra-har
tölt	Bettzeug: 12 ~ skt. śayana- Lager(statt)
ton	Kleidung: 11 ~ skt. vastra-; 38 ton kädım Kleidung ₂ ~ skt. ambara- Kleidung
töñörgä	Holz(stamm): 29 töñörgä ügündä auf dem Holzhaufen ~ skt. citāyām, citā- auf dem Scheiterhaufen
törlög	-artig 31 s. on ~ skt. -vidha-, vidhā-
törö	Regel: 8 s. etenmāk ~ skt. vidhi-

töz	Wurzel, Herkunft: 27 töz uguş Herkunft und Stamm ~ skt. kula- Geschlecht, Familie
tug-	geboren werden: 36 tugmıŝıg (Akk.) geboren ~ skt. jāta-
tükällig	versehen mit: 37 түкälligig (Akk.) ~ skt. yukta-
türtüngü	Salbe: 12 ~ skt. anulepana-
tuşuş-	sich treffen: 29 tuşuştılar sie haben sich getroffen ~ skt. ~ sahıtau, sahıta- (sind) vereint
tüzükmäk	das Gleichsein: 26 түзүкмәккә zum Gleichsein ~ skt. sāmya-

u, ü

ügmäk	Haufen: 6 s. kıg ~ skt. kūṭa-
ügün	Haufen: 29 s. töñörgä
uguş	Stamm: 27 s. töz
ükli-	zunehmen, gedeihen: 35 üklimiŝ gediehen ~ skt. puṣṭa-
üküş	viel: 40 'ük[ü]ŝ s. ärtinü ~ skt. -bahu-, in su-bahu
ulug	groß: 23 [ul]ug/[arnı] (Gen. Pl.) ~ skt. mahant-
umul-†	s. yumul
umundaçı	einer, der hofft, seine Zuflucht nimmt: 7 – Skt. ohne Entspr., vgl. 3.3 Komm. zu v7.
ün-	hervorkommen: 36 ünmi[ŝ]ig (Akk.) hervorgekommen ~ skt. jāta-
utlısız	undankbar: 14 utlısız bolmak Undankbarkeit ~ skt. akṣatajñatā-
üzä	durch: 9.29.31.31.31.31.35.37.37.39. ~ skt. Instr.; 12.13.33 ~ skt. Instr., innerhalb des Tatpuruṣa-
üzlünčü	Kompositums unbezeichnet Ende: 7 s. kıg ~ skt. paryavasāna-

w

wişay	Sinnenwelt, skt. viśaya-: 32 wişaylıg mänjidä an dem aus den Sinnesobjekten hervorgehenden Glück (haftend) ~ skt. kāma- (Sphäre der) Lust, Sinnenwelt in kāmasukha-
-------	--

y

yalın	Glanz: 16 s. čog
yaratıg	Schmuck, Ausstaffierung: 13.39 y(a)ratıg s. eteg ~ skt. vibhūṣaṇa-, bhūṣaṇa-
yaratınmak	das Sich-Herrichten: 8 s. etenmäk ~ skt. maṇḍana-

yarlıg	Befehl: 19 yarlıgın ešedep indem man auf seinen Befehl hört ~ skt. śuśrūṣita- einer, auf den man gerne hört
yarpsız	ohne Festes: 33 s. yegsez
yarsıgak	angewidert: 27 yarsıgak ~ skt. ghr̥ṇin-
yat-	liegen: 29 yat[t]ılar sie liegen ~ skt. śayitau (sie sind) liegend (Dual)
yeg	best-: 6 s. r̥ṣi ~ skt. vara-
yegsez	ohne Bestes: 33 yegsez yarpsızın aus dem, der ohne Bestes und Festes ist; aus dem Untauglichen ~ skt. asārād aus dem Untauglichen
yertenčö	Welt: 28.30 ~ skt. jagat-
yıgılmak	das Sich-Versammeln, Zusammentreffen: 16 s. tāginč ~ skt. saṃnipāta- das Zusammentreffen
ymä	und, auch: 2 ((ymä)).12.13.15.19.20.20.21.38.38.39 ~ skt. api auch, und auch; 18.28.39 ~ skt. ca; 23 ~ skt. [ca]
yumul-	geschlossen werden (Auge): 25 yumulmıšl[ä]rn[i]ṇ derer, deren Augen geschlossen sind ~ skt. [nimīlitānām], s. nīmīl
yunguk	Seife: 12.38 ~ skt. snāna- Bad(emittel)

Addendum

Peter Zieme ist ein glücklicher Fund gelungen: „SHT 6445 ... gehört zur Zeile 22 Ende“ (E-Mail vom 2.1.2023). Das Kleinstfragment, beschrieben in SHT XII: 125, war bisher nicht als Teil von Mainz 718 bekannt, gehört also nicht zu den seit STÖNNER 1904 wieder verlorengegangenen Stücken. Die genaue Position ist aus Abb. 4 ersichtlich.

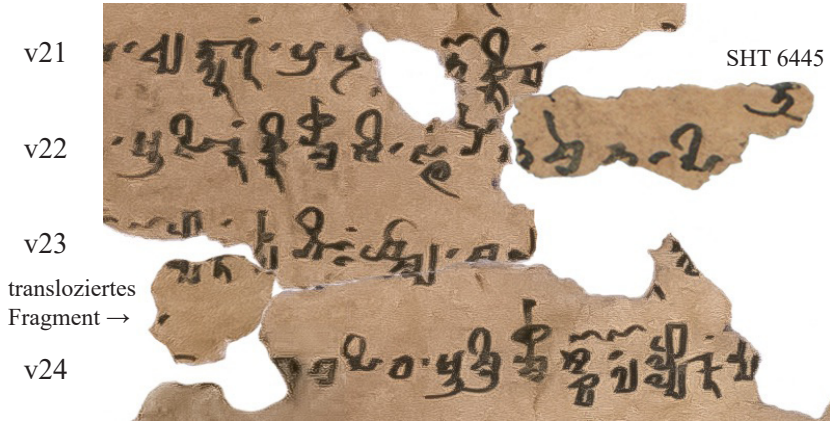
Transliteration von SHT 6445v

v21 ... g_ju (oder: $\bar{k}u$) ×

v22 ... × me ×a (mit ×=k, t oder n, am ehesten k wegen der starken Rundung des Kopfs.) | pi

Kommentar

Zu v21: Der Position nach muss es sich um die Wiedergabe von skt. *capala* „beweglich; leichtfertig“ handeln. Möglich ist uig. [kor]gu „leichtfertig“. Falls der Rest des nachfolgenden Akṣaras []u sein sollte, wäre an [k]u[rvi] „verschlagen“ (HWAU 427a) zu denken. Aber das Ende der Schlaufe lässt noch andere Interpretationen als []u zu.



(© Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin):
Photomontage: Dipl.-Ing. Andreas Maue, Shenzhen)

Abb. 4: Detail aus Mainz 718 mit SHT 6445 und dem translozierten Fragment³²⁹

Zu v22: Das erste × fügt sich mit dem vorausgehenden × zu *ta* zusammen, so dass sich die aus TDM erwartete Lesung *skhal[i]tam eka-* ergibt. Das *pi* ist sehr wahrscheinlich zu uig. *bi[r]* „ein(s)“ zu ergänzen, allerdings in verbundener Schreibung, da kein Virāma-Strich vorliegt. Das Zahlwort ist hier – anders als im Skt. – der uig. Wortstellung folgend dem Substantiv vorangestellt.

Eine Edition des gesamten fünften Kapitels der TDM ist soeben in Japan erschienen: MATSUDA Kazunobu 松田和信, DEMOTO Mitsuyo 出本充代, UENO Makio 上野牧生, TANAKA Hironori 田中裕成, und FUKITA Takanori 吹田隆徳 2023: „Gominoyama ni owaru kema no tatoe—Dai 5 sankeikyo no bonbun tekisuto to wayaku—“ ごみの山に終わる華鬘の喩え—第5 三啓経の梵文テキストと和訳— (The Simile of Garland Turning into Garbage: Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation of the 5th Tridanda), *Bukkyō daigaku bukkyō gakkai kiyō* 佛教大学仏教学会紀要 (*The Bulletin of the Association of Buddhist Studies, Bukkyo University*) 28: 55–80.

Danksagung

Wir danken der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin) für hochaufgelöste digitale Aufnahmen der bearbeiteten Fragmente sowie den anonymen Verfassern der drei Peer Reviews für ihre wertvollen Hinweise.

³²⁹ Vgl. oben Abb. 2a–b und Fn. 139.

Abkürzungen

AvG	im kritischen Apparat: Bearbeitung von Text D in A. von Gabain 1954.
Bai	im kritischen Apparat: Bearbeitung von TT VIII D 25–38 in BAILEY 1937.
BHSD	s. EDGERTON 1953.
Boy	im kritischen Apparat: Bearbeitung des Sanskritteils von TT VIII D 25–38 in BOYER 1906.
CEToM	A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts, s. https://cetom.univie.ac.at (zuletzt besucht am 27.02.23)
DP	A Dictionary of Pāli. Pt. I–III, Hrsg. Margaret Cone, Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 2001–2020.
ED	s. CLAUSON 1972.
Fs. Kara70	s. GRIVELET et al. 2005.
GOT	s. ERDAL 2004.
HWAU	s. WILKENS 2021.
IAST	International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration.
KvTB	s. SCHMIDT 2018, Teil 1.
KvTs	s. EMMERICK 1985.
Leu	im kritischen Apparat: Bearbeitungen des Sanskritteils von TT VIII D 25–38 in LEUMANN 1907 und 1912; wenn beide übereinstimmen, Leu; bei Abweichungen Leu07 bzw. Leu12.
Lew	im kritischen Apparat: Bearbeitungen von TT VIII D 25–38 in LEWICKI 1936.
Mainz (+Zahl)	Signaturengruppe innerhalb der Handschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung, Digitalisate der unter: https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/mainz/dta_mainz_index.htm (zuletzt besucht am 24.02.23).
Manu	s. OLIVELLE 2005.
MAUE Kat I	s. MAUE 1996.
MAUE Kat II	s. MAUE 2015.
MN	<i>Majjhima-Nikāya</i> , Hrsg. V. Trenckner und Robert Chalmers, 3 Bde., London: The Pali Text Society, 1888–1899.
NidSa	Nidānasamyukta, s. TRIPĀTHĪ 1962.
OTWF	s. ERDAL 1991.
pw	Otto Böhtlingk. <i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung</i> . Theil I–VII. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1879–1889.

SĀ	<i>Samyukta-āgama, Za ahan jing</i> , T 99.
SHT I–XII	<i>Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden</i> . Hrsg. v. Ernst Waldschmidt, Lore Sander, Klaus Wille. Teil 1–12, Wiesbaden, Stuttgart: Steiner 1965–2017.
SHT (+Zahl)	Katalog-Nummer in SHT I–XII.
SIAL	Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū 内陸アジア言語の研究 / Studies on the Inner Asian Languages.
SN	<i>Samyutta-Nikāya</i> , Hrsg. Léon Feer, 5 Bde., London: The Pali Text Society, 1884–1898.
SR(M)	<i>Samādhirāja-sūtra</i> , s. MATSUNAMI 1975.
Stö	im kritischen Apparat: Bearbeitung von einzelnen Wörtern aus TT VIII D in STÖNNER 1904.
SWTF	<i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden und der kanonischen Literatur der Sarvāstivāda-Schule</i> , begonnen von Ernst Waldschmidt, herausgegeben von Heinz Bechert et al., bearbeitet von Georg von SIMSON et al., Bd. 1–4, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973–2018.
T	<i>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō</i> oder <i>Taishō Issaikyō</i> , 100 Bde., Tōkyō 1924–1934.
TDM	<i>Tridaṇḍamālā</i> .
THT (+ Zahl)	Tocharische Handschriften aus den Turfanfunden; Zählung nach CEToM.
TMEN	s. DOERFER 1965–1975.
TT VIII	s. GABAIN 1954.
TurkLang	s. JOHANSON and CSATÓ 1998.
Uig I	s. MÜLLER 1908.
UW ² I.1	s. RÖHRBORN 2010.

Literatur

- BAILEY, Harold Walter 1936. „A Brāhmī Akṣara“. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1936(1): 92–94.
- BAILEY, Harold Walter 1937. „Indo-Turcica“. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 9(2): 289–302.
- BANDURSKI, Frank 1994. „Übersicht über die Göttinger Sammlungen der von Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in Tibet aufgefundenen buddhistischen Sanskrit-Texte“. [In:] Bandurski, Frank, Bhikkhu Pāsādika, Michael Schmidt und Bangwei Wang, Hrsg., *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, S. 9–126.

- BOYER, Auguste-M. 1906. „Note sur le manuscrit sanskrit-ouïgour en brahmī [sic] de la mission Grünwedel“. *Muséon* n. s. 7: 103–108.
- CHUNG, Jin-il 2004. *Das Upasampadāvastu. Vorschriften für die buddhistische Mönchsordination im Vinaya der Sarvāstivāda-Tradition. Sanskrit-Version und chinesische Version*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- CLAUSON, Gerard 1972. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- DALIA, Albert A. 2002. „Biography of Dharma Master Vasubandhu“. [In:] *Lives of Great Monks and Nuns*. Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, S. 29–53.
- DELEANU, Florin 2006. *The Chapter on the Mundane Path (Laukikamārga) in the Śrāvakabhūmi: A Trilingual Edition (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese), Annotated Translation and Introductory Study*, 2 Bde. *Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series XXa, XXb*. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- DOERFER, Gerhard 1965–1975. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit*. Bde. 2–4: *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- EDGERTON, Franklin 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit: Grammar and Dictionary*. Vol. II: *Dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- EMMERICK, Ronald E. 1985. *The Tumshuqese Karmavācanā Text*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Geistes- und sozialwiss. Kl. 1985, 2. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- ERDAL, Marcel 1991. *Old Turkic Word Formation. A Functional Approach to the Lexicon*. 2 Bde. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. [Fortlaufende Seitenzählung].
- ERDAL, Marcel 2004. *A Grammar of Old Turkic*. Leiden: Brill.
- FRAUWALLNER, Erich 1952. „Die buddhistischen Konzile“. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 102: 240–261.
- GABAIN, Annemarie von 1954. *Türkische Turfan-Texte VIII. Texte in Brāhmīschrift*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- GRIVELET, Stéphane, Ruth I. MESERVE, Ágnes BIRTALAN und Giovanni STARY, Hrsg. 2005. *The Black Master: Essays on Central Eurasia in Honor of György Kara on his 70th Birthday*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- HAHN, Michael 1992. *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta. Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra. On the Rediscovery of Parts of Their Jātakamālās*. Second edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- HAHN, Michael 1999. *Invitation to Enlightenment. Letter to the Great King Kaṇiṣka by Mātṛceṭa. Letter to a Disciple by Candragomin*. Berkeley: Dharma Publishing.

- HANISCH, Albrecht 2005. *Āryaśūras Jātakamālā. Philologische Untersuchungen zu den Legenden 1 bis 15. Teil 1: Einleitung, Textausgabe, Anhänge, Register.* Marburg: Indica et Tibetica.
- HARTMANN, Jens-Uwe 2022a. „The (Re-)Appearance of the “Discourse on the Salt River” (*Kṣāraṇadī-sūtra*)“. [In:] Marciniak, Katarzyna, Stanisław Jan Kania, Małgorzata Wielińska-Soltwedel und Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, Hrsg., *Guruparamparā: Studies on Buddhism, India, Tibet and More in Honour of Professor Marek Mejor.* Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press, S. 145–155.
- HARTMANN, Jens-Uwe 2022b. „Trauer um die Großmutter und Trost vom Buddha: Das *Āryikā-sūtra*“. [In:] Konczak-Nagel, Ines, Satomi Hiyama und Astrid Klein, Hrsg., *Connecting the Art, Literature, and Religion of South and Central Asia: Studies in Honour of Monika Zin.* New Delhi: Dev Publishers and Distributors, S. 153–160.
- HARTMANN, Jens-Uwe im Druck (2024). „Forms of Intertextuality and Lost Sanskrit Verses of the *Buddhacarita*: the *Tridaṇḍaka* and the *Tridaṇḍamālā*“. [In:] Boucher, Dan und Shayne Clarke, Hrsg., *Minding the Buddha's Business: Essays in Honor of Gregory Schopen.* Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications.
- HARTMANN, Jens-Uwe und Kazunobu MATSUDA im Druck. „The Case of the Appearing Poet: New Light on Aśvaghōṣa and the *Tridaṇḍamālā*“. [In:] DiSimone, Charles und Nicholas Witkowski, Hrsg., *Buddhakṣetrapariśodhana: A Festschrift for Paul Harrison.* Marburg: Indica et Tibetica.
- HARTMANN, Jens-Uwe, Kazunobu MATSUDA und Péter-Dániel SZÁNTÓ 2022. „The Benefit of Cooperation: Recovering the *Śokavinodana* Ascribed to Aśvaghōṣa“. [In:] Deegalle, Mahinda, Hrsg., *Dharmayātrā. Felicitation Volume in Honour of Venerable Tampalawela Dhammaratana.* Paris: Nuvis Press, S. 173–180.
- HARTMANN, Jens-Uwe und Dieter MAUE 1996. „Die indisch-türkische Bilingue TT VIII G“. [In:] Emmerick, Ronald E., Werner Sundermann, Ingrid Warnke und Peter Zieme, Hrsg., *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuang. Vorträge der Tagung „Annemarie v. Gabain und die Turfanforschung“, veranstaltet von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin (9.–12. 12. 1994).* Berlin: Akademie Verlag, S. 147–163.
- HARTMANN, Jens-Uwe, Klaus WILLE und Peter ZIEME 2022. „Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita* in the Old Uigur Literature“. *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 25: 173–189.
- HOERNLE, August Friedrich Rudolf 1901. „A Report of the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia“. [In:] Extra-No. 1 to *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 70.
- HUMBACH, Helmut 1966. *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*. Teil I. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- ISAACSON, Harunaga 2013. „Yogācāra and Vajrayāna according to Ratnākaraśānti“. [In:] Kragh, Ulrich Timme, Hrsg., *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners. The Buddhist Yogācārabhūmi Treatise and Its Adaptation in India, East Asia, and Tibet.* Harvard Oriental Series 75. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, S. 1036–1051.

- JOHANSON, Lars und Éva Á. CSATÓ 1998. *The Turkic Languages*. London und New York: Routledge.
- JOHNSTON, E. H. 1939. „The Tridaṇḍamālā of Aśvaghōṣa“. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 25(1): 11–14.
- JOLLY, Julius 1901. *Medicin*. Straßburg: Trübner.
- KANO, Kazuo 2015. „The Transmission of Sanskrit Manuscripts from India to Tibet: The Case of a Manuscript Collection in the Possession of Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (980–1054)“. [In:] Meinert, Carmen, Hrsg., *Transfer of Buddhism Across Central Asian Networks (7th to 13th Centuries)*. Leiden und Boston: Brill, S. 82–117.
- KANO, Kazuo 2020. „Chūsei Chibetto no Soin niokeru Bonbunshahon no Zōshorei – Chun Riouche to Pokan –“ 中世チベットの僧院における梵文写本の蔵書例—チュン・リウオチェとポカン— [References to the Preservation of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Medieval Tibetan Monasteries: gCung Ri bo che and sPos khang]. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 (*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*) 68(2): 194–200.
- KONOW, Sten 1935. *Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*. Mit 8 Tafeln. Sonderausgabe aus den Sitzungsberichten der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1935. XX. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, S. 772–823.
- LAMOTTE, Étienne 1944. *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)*. Tome I: *Chapitres I–XV*. Bibliothèque du Muséon 18. Louvain: Le Muséon.
- LAMOTTE, Étienne 1949. *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)*. Tome II: *Chapitres XVI–XXX*. Bibliothèque du Muséon 18. Louvain: Le Muséon.
- LAUT, Jens Peter 1986. *Der frühe türkische Buddhismus und seine literarischen Denkmäler*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- LEUMANN, Ernst 1900. „Über eine von den unbekannten Literatursprachen Mittelasiens“. *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, VIIIe série, Tome IV, No. 8: 1–28.
- LEUMANN, Ernst 1907. „Über die einheimischen Sprachen von Ostturkestan im frühen Mittelalter“. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 61(3): 648–658.
- LEUMANN, Ernst 1912. *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur. Vorbemerkungen und vier Aufsätze mit Glossar*. Straßburg: Trübner.
- LEWICKI, Marian 1936. „O tekście sanskrycko-tureckim w piśmie brāhmī wydanym przez Stönnera“ [Über den von STÖNNER herausgegebenen sanskrit-türkischen Text in Brāhmī-Schrift]. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 12: 194–208.
- LOUKOTA, Diego im Druck (2024). „Marginalia to an Endnote: More on the *Tridaṇḍaka*“. [In:] Boucher, Dan und Shayne Clarke, Hrsg., *Minding the Buddha's Business: Essays in Honor of Gregory Schopen*. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications.

- MATSUDA, Kazunobu 松田和信 2019. „Sankeishū (*Tridaṇḍamālā*) ni okeru Shōgikū-kyō to Buddacharita“ 三啓集 (*Tridaṇḍamālā*) における勝義空經とブッダチャリタ [The *Paramārthaśūnyatā-sūtra* and the *Buddhacarita* in the *Tridaṇḍamālā*]. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 [Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies] 68(1): 1–11.
- MATSUDA, Kazunobu 松田和信 2021. „Fujōkan o toku Chū-agon 139 kyō: Sankeishū kara kaishū saretā bonbun tekisuto to wayaku“ 不浄觀を説く中阿含139經：三啓集から回収された梵文テキストと和訳 [Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* 139 (**Śivapathikā-sūtra*) Based on the *Tridaṇḍamālā* Manuscript]. *Bukkyō daigaku bukkyō gakkai kiyō* 佛教大学仏教学会紀要 [The Bulletin of the Association of Buddhist Studies, Bukkyo University] 26: 63–81.
- MATSUDA, Kazunobu 松田和信, Mitsuyo DEMOTO 出本充代, Makio UENO 上野牧生, Hironori TANAKA 田中裕成 und Takamichi FUKITA 吹田隆道 2022. „Dokuja no tatōe: dai26sankeikyō no bonbun tekisuto to wayaku“ 毒蛇の喩え：第 26 三啓經の梵文テキストと和訳 [Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation of the 26th *Tridaṇḍa: Āśīviṣa*]. *Bukkyō daigaku bukkyō gakkai kiyō* 佛教大学仏教学会紀要 [The Bulletin of the Association of Buddhist Studies, Bukkyo University] 27: 47–78.
- MATSUNAMI, Seiren 松濤誠廉 1975. „Bonbun gattō zammai kyō“ 梵文月燈三昧經 [The Sanskrit *Samādhirājasūtra*]. *Taishō daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 大正大学研究紀要 [Memoirs of Taisho University] 60: 244–188.
- MAUE, Dieter 1984. „Vorläufige Bemerkungen zu den Gutturalgraphemen in der alttürkischen Brāhmī“. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 4: 90–96.
- MAUE, Dieter 1989. „Sanskrit-Komposita mit präpositionalem Vorderglied in uigurischen Übersetzungstexten“. [In:] Wagner, Ewald und Klaus Röhrborn, Hrsg., *Kaškūl. Festschrift zum 25. Jahrestag der Wiederbegründung des Instituts für Orientalistik an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, S. 52–55.
- MAUE, Dieter 1996. *Altürkische Handschriften. Teil 1: Dokumente in Brāhmī und tibetischer Schrift*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- MAUE, Dieter 1997. „A Tentative Stemma of the Varieties of Brāhmī Script along the Northern Silk Road“. [In:] Akiner, Shirin und Nicholas Sims-Williams, Hrsg., *Languages and scripts of Central Asia*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, S. 1–15.
- MAUE, Dieter 2002. „Altbekanntes und Neues: Bruchstücke des uigurischen Almanachs von 1277/78“. *SIAL* 17: 77–114.
- MAUE, Dieter 2008. „Three languages on one leaf: on IOL Toch 81 with special regard to the Turkic part“. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77(1): 59–73.
- MAUE, Dieter 2015. *Altürkische Handschriften. Teil 19: Dokumente in Brāhmī und tibetischer Schrift. Teil 2*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- MAUE, Dieter 2018. „[The Khüis Tolgoi Inscription:] Signs and Sounds“. *Journal Asiatique* 306(2): 291–301. <https://doi.org/10.2143/JA.306.2.3285620>.

- MAUE, Dieter 2019. „The Brāhmī Script on the Bugut Stele“. *Journal Asiatique* 307(1): 109–119. <https://doi.org/10.2143/JA.307.1.3286343>.
- MAUE, Dieter 2021. „Two Notes on the ‘Phags-pa Script“. [In:] Kupchik, John, José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente und Marc Hideo Miyake, Hrsg., *Studies in Asian Historical Linguistics, Philology and Beyond. Festschrift Presented to A. V. Vovin in Honor of His 60th Birthday*. Brill: Leiden und Boston, S. 154–159.
- MAUE, Dieter in Vorbereitung. „The Konow sign no. 3“.
- MAUE, Dieter und Klaus RÖHRBORN 1984. „Ein ‚buddhistischer Katechismus‘ in alttürkischer Sprache und tibetischer Schrift (Teil I)“. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 134(2): 286–313.
- MELZER, Gudrun 2006. „A Copper Scroll Inscription from the Time of the Alchon Huns“. [In:] Braarvig, Jens, Hrsg., *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Bd. III, Oslo: Hermes Publishing, S. 251–278.
- MÜLLER, Friedrich Wilhelm Karl 1907. „Beitrag zur genaueren Bestimmung der unbekannten Sprachen Mittelasiens“. *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1907, LIII: 958–960.
- MÜLLER, Friedrich Wilhelm Karl 1908. *Uigurica* [I] 1. *Die Anbetung der Magier, ein christliches Bruchstück*. 2. *Die Reste des buddhistischen „Goldglanz-Sūtra“*. Ein vorläufiger Bericht. Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Cl. 1908, Abh. II.
- OHNUMA, Reiko 2007. *Head, Eyes, Flesh, and Blood. Giving Away the Body in Indian Buddhist Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- OLIVELLE, Patrick 2005. *Manu’s Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- PELLIOT, Paul 1913. „Sur quelques mots d’Asie Centrale attestés dans les textes chinois“. *Journal Asiatique* XI^{me} série, Tome I: 451–469.
- PRADHAN, Prahlad 1975. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, revised second edition with introduction and indices by Aruna Haldar. Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute.
- PROVERBIO, Delio Vania 2014. „Further Observations on the Status of the Graphemes q (<ḳ>) and gja in Turkic Brāhmī“. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 67(2): 137–150.
- PULLEYBLANK, Edwin G. 1991. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- RADLOFF, Wilhelm 1910. *Ṭiśastvustik. Ein in türkischer Sprache bearbeitetes buddhistisches Sūtra. I. Transcription und Übersetzung von W. Radloff. II. Bemerkungen zu den Brāhmīglossen des Ṭiśastvustik-Manuscripts (Mus. As. Kr. VII) von Baron A. von Staël-Holstein*. St.-Petersbourg: Académie Impériale des Sciences.

- RÄSÄNEN, Martti 1949. *Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen*. Helsinki: Societas Orientalis Fennica.
- RÖHRBORN, Klaus 2010. *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien. Neubearbeitung. I. Verben*. Band 1: *ab- – äzüglä-*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- RÓNA-TAS, András 2005. „Turko-Mongol Etymologies: Turkic *yarp*“. [In:] Fs. Kara70, S. 95–101.
- SĀṆKṚTYĀYANA, Rāhula 1938. „Search for Mss. in Tibet“. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 24: 137–163.
- SCHMIDT, Klaus Totila 2018. *Nachgelassene Schriften: 1. Ein westtocharisches Ordinationsritual, 2. Eine dritte tocharische Sprache: Lolanisch*, bearb. u. hrsg. v. Stefan Zimmer. Bremen: Hempen.
- SCHOPEN, Gregory 1992. „On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure: Monastic Funerals in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya“. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20(1): 1–39.
- SCHOPEN, Gregory 1997. *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks. Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- SCHOPEN, Gregory 2010. „On Incompetent Monks and Able Urbane Nuns in a Buddhist Monastic Code“. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 38(2): 107–131.
- SCHOPEN, Gregory 2014. *Buddhist Nuns, Monks, and Other Worldly Matters. Recent Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- SEYFORTH RUEGG, David 1976. „The Meanings of the Term *gotra* and the Textual History of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*“. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39(2): 341–363.
- SFERRA, Francesco 2008. *Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci's Collection*. Part I. Manuscripta Buddhica 1. Rome: Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente.
- SIEG, Emil und Wilhelm SIEGLING 1908. „Tocharisch, die Sprache der Indoskythen. Vorläufige Bemerkungen über eine bisher unbekannte indogermanische Literatursprache“. *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1908, XXXIX: 915–934.
- SIEG, Emil, und Wilhelm SIEGLING 1953. *Tocharische Sprachreste, Sprache B. Im Auftrag der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin herausgegeben*. Heft 2: Nr. 71–633, aus dem Nachlaß hrsg. von Werner Thomas. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- SKILLING, Peter 2009. „Redaction, recitation, and writing: transmission of the Buddha’s teaching in India in the early period“. [In:] Berkwitz, Stephen C., Juliane Schober und Claudia Brown, Hrsg., *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures. Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*. London und New York: Routledge, S. 53–75.
- STACHE-ROSEN, Valentina 1968. *Dogmatische Begriffsreihen im älteren Buddhismus. II: Das Saṅgītisūtra und sein Kommentar Saṅgītiparyāya*, Teil 1–2. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

- STÖNNER, Heinrich 1904. „Zentralasiatische Sanskrittexte in Brāhmīschrift aus Idikutšahri, Chinesisch-Turkistān. I. Nebst Anhang: Uigurische Fragmente in Brāhmīschrift“. *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1908, XLIV: 1282–1290.
- STÖNNER, Heinrich 1905. „Über die kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Brāhmītexte in den Turfan-Handschriften“. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 37: 415–420.
- SZÁNTÓ, Péter-Dániel 2021. „Buddhist Homiletics on Grief (**Saddharmaparikathā*, ch. 11)“. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 64(4): 291–347.
- TRIPĀTHĪ, Chandrabhāl 1962. *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasamṃyukta*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- UENO, Makio 上野牧生 2020. „Dai29sankeikyō (*Hachinan-kyō*) no bonbun tekisuto to wayaku“ 第29三啓經 (八難經) の梵文テキストと和訳 [Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation of the 29th Tridaṇḍa Sūtra: The *Aṣṭākṣaṇakṣaṇasūtra*]. *Bukkyōgaku seminā* 仏教学セミナー (*Buddhist Seminar*) 111: 21–46.
- UENO, Makio 上野牧生 2021. „Zōichi-agon no ni kyōten (1): dai30sankeikyō (*Goji-kyō*) no bonbun tekisuto to wayaku“ 増一阿含の二經典 (1)—第 30 三啓經 (五事經) の梵文テキストと和訳 [Two *Ekottarikāgama* Sūtras [1]: Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation of the 30th Tridaṇḍa Sūtra [**Pañcasthānasūtra*] from the *Tridaṇḍamālā* Manuscript]. *Ōtani gakuhō* 大谷学報 [*The Journal of Buddhist Studies and Humanities*, Otani University] 101(1): 1–28.
- VAIDYA, Paraśurāma Lakṣmaṇa 1961. *Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Part 1. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 17. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute.
- VOVIN, Alexander 2018. „An interpretation of the Khüis Tolgoi inscription“. *Journal Asiatique* 306(2): 303–313. <https://doi.org/10.2143/JA.306.2.3285621>.
- WALDSCHMIDT, Ernst 1928. „Über die Darstellungen und den Stil der Wandgemälde aus Qyzil bei Kutscha I“. [In:] Le Coq, Albert von und Ernst Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*. Sechster Teil: Neue Bildwerke II. Berlin: Dietrich Reimers und Ernst Vohsen, S. 9–62.
- WILKENS, Jens 2015. „Human Embryology According to an Old Uyghur Buddhist Text“. [In:] Yakup, Abdurishid, Hrsg., *Studies in Central Asian Philology: Papers of the International Symposium on Central Asian Philology, Nov. 2012, Beijing*. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, S. 226–241.
- WILKENS, Jens 2016. *Buddhistische Erzählungen aus dem alten Zentralasien. Edition der altuigurischen Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*. Teile 1–3. Turnhout: Brepols.
- WILKENS, Jens 2021. *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen. Altuigurisch – Deutsch – Türkisch. Eski Uyğurca el sözlüğü. Eski Uyğurca – Almanca – Türkçe*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag.
- WILLEMEN, Charles 2019. „Yijing’s Scriptural Text about Impermanence (T. 801)“. [In:] Mitchell, Scott A. und Natalie Fisk Quli, Hrsg., *Methods in Buddhist Studies. Essays in Honor of Richard K. Payne*, New York: Bloomsbury, S. 67–76.

- WOGIHARA, Unrai, Hrsg. 1932–1936. *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* by Yaśomitra. Tokyo: The Publishing Association of Abhidharmakośavyākhyā.
- ZIEME, Peter 2014. „Collecting of the Buddhist Scriptures: Notes on Old Uigur ‘Annals’“. *Annual Report of the International Research Institute of Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 17: 401–422.

How Do the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas Fit into Udayana's Statement of Universal Worship? On *Nyāya- kusumāñjali* 17,3: *loka-vyavahāra-siddha iti cārvākāḥ*

Stanisław Jan KANIA

Abstract: In his influential work concerned with rational argumentation in defence of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theism, the *Nyāya-kusumāñjali*, Udayana (10th–11th cent.) makes a puzzling claim that all seekers of *puruṣārtha*, theist or not, worship God, albeit under a different form or name. Included in the provided enumeration of different traditions of Indian thought is the irreligious school of the Cārvākas (also known as the Lokāyatas), declared by Udayana to be worshipping God as *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* (lit. '(the) established by common usage'). In this paper, I attempt to shed light on the meaning behind both *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* and the statement of universal worship as a whole. Specifically, I argue that Udayana imposes on non-theists and atheists the need to resort to (broadly understood) belief, and in the case of the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas this is manifested in their acceptance of everyday inference warranted by mere common usage. I reject the interpretations by Udayana's commentators and by the modern scholar of Indian materialism, Ramkrishna Bhattacharya.

Keywords: Udayana, Lokāyata, Cārvāka, *lokavyavahārasiddha*, *lokavyavahāra*

Stanisław Jan KANIA, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw, Warsaw, Poland;
s.kania@uw.edu.pl;  0000-0002-8122-7420

The present paper attempts to shed light on a passage from Udayana's (10th–11th cent.) *Nyāya-kusumāñjali* (*A Handful of Flowers of Logic, or The Offering of Flowers that are Logical Arguments*, henceforth NKus) wherein the irreligious school of Indian thought commonly referred to as the Cārvākas or the Lokāyatas (fl. around the 8th cent.)¹ is declared to be worshipping

¹ In this paper I refer to 'the school of the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas', although it should be noted that while the former of the two names, *cārvāka*, refers specifically to representatives of this particular thought-current which flourished around the 8th cent., the name *lokāyata* – used for

loka-vyavahāra-siddha, lit. ‘(the) established by common usage, or common practice’. The passage belongs to an argument – which I shall refer to as the statement of universal worship – per which doubt in the existence of God² has no ground in as much as all of the many (religio-)philosophical Indian traditions (as well as ‘even the artisans’) worship God, albeit under a different form or name. The identity of the referent of *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* is a major problem to be addressed, which, however, ought not to be abstracted from a broader conundrum, namely the fact that the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas have an object of worship ascribed to them in the first place.

Ramkrishna Bhattacharya, a prolific scholar of Indian materialist thought, has already attempted to clarify Udayana’s words in an essay entitled ‘What Does Udayana Mean by *lokavyavahārasiddha iti cārvākāḥ*?’, included in his 2009 published collection of papers, *Studies on the Cārvāka/Lokāyata*. In this succinct three-page essay, Bhattacharya dismisses the two interpretations found in the commentaries: according to one, *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* is a qualification of a monarch, and according to the other, it points to idolatry. The scholar, however, provides no explicit justification for his rejection of those as he puts forward an interpretation of his own. Furthermore, Bhattacharya refrains from consulting the most relevant source at his disposal, namely, the NKus itself. As a result, he never actually answers the question he asks in the title of his paper: ‘What does *Udayana mean* [...]’ (emphasis mine). Needless to say, as an earlier take on the matter, Bhattacharya’s proposition comes below under consideration.

1. The statement of universal worship

Composed by the renowned Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika author Udayana, the NKus is a revered and influential five-chapter verse-and-prose exercise in rational argumentation in defence of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theism.³ The passage ‘identifying’ *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* as the object of Cārvāka/Lokāyata worship is found at the very beginning of the treatise. In order to (attempt to) make sense of Udayana’s words it is imperative that we consider them as part of a broader statement, and indeed of a more complex problem.

both the members of the school and the school itself – has a much longer (and an intricate) history of usage. Thus, whenever I speak of the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas, the latter denomination is used only in the meaning it shares with the former one. Throughout this paper, both names are also used as adjectives.

² I consistently use the word ‘God’ written with a capital ‘G’ merely to refer to the notion of a supreme being.

³ On the importance of Udayana’s contribution to the Īśvara doctrine, see in particular CHEMPARATHY 1972: 25–33; see also, e.g., BHATTACHARYA 1958: 37–42.

Following the opening praise verse, Udayana states his primary objective and elaborates on it:⁴

1.2. Here is ascertained the Supreme Self (*paramātman*), whose worship the wise hand down (*ā-√mnā*) as the path to heaven and liberation.

With regard to this [ascertainment of the Supreme Self], whence does doubt (*sandeha*) come, [doubt] in [the existence of] this Lordly Being whom [all those] striving to obtain a particular aim of human life (*puruṣārtha*) worship (*upa-√ās*) – the Vedāntins as one of pure and enlightened nature; the Sāṃkhyaas as the perfected first knower; the followers of Yoga as the untouched by afflictions, actions, fruitions and residues [of former actions], who, having assumed the manifestation body, reveals the Vedic tradition and bestows grace; the Mahāpāśupatas as the independent and undefiled by what is opposed by people and what is opposed by the Veda; the Śaivas as Śiva; the Vaiṣṇavas as the Supreme Person; the Paurāṇikas as the Grand-father; scholars of the sacrifice as the Sacrificial Person; the Buddhists as the omniscient one; the Dīgambaras as one without obstructions; the Mīmāṃsakas as one who is instructed to be worshipped; the Cārvākas as the established by common usage (*loka-vyavahāra-siddha iti cārvākāḥ*); the Naiyāyikas as one who is endowed with what has been mentioned thus far; why say more?, whom even the artisans worship as the Creator of All – and whose authority (*anubhāva*) is thus well-established (*prasiddha*) across all of the world (*āsaṃsāram*)⁵, like in the case of birth, *gotra*, *pravara*,

⁴ NKus 11,1–20,4:

svargāpavargayor mārgam āmananti manīṣiṇaḥ |
yad-upāstīm asāv atra paramātmā nirūpyate || 1.2 ||

iha yady api yaṃ kam api puruṣārtham arthayamānāḥ, śuddha-buddha-svabhāva ity aupaniṣadāḥ, ādi-vidvān siddha iti kāpilāḥ, kleśa-karma-vipākāśayair aparāmṛṣṭo nirmāṇa-kāyam adhiṣṭhāya sampradāya-pradyotako 'nugrāhakaś cēti pātāñjalāḥ, loka-veda-viruddhair api nirlepaḥ svatantraś cēti mahāpāśupatāḥ, śiva iti śaivāḥ, puruṣōttama iti vaiṣṇavāḥ, pītāmaha iti paurāṇikāḥ, yajña-puruṣa iti yājñikāḥ, sarvajña iti saugatāḥ, nirāvaraṇa iti dīgambarāḥ, upāsyatvena deśita iti mīmāṃsakāḥ, loka-vyavahāra-siddha iti cārvākāḥ, yāvad-uktōpapaṇna iti naiyāyikāḥ, kiṃ bahunā, kāraṇo 'pi yaṃ viśva-karmēty upāśate, tasmīn evaṃ jāti-gotra-pravara-carāṇa-kula-dharmādi-vad āsaṃsāram prasiddhānubhāve bhagavati bhava sandeha eva kutaḥ | kiṃ nirūpaṇīyam | tathāpi,
nyāya-caracēyam tāsya manana-vyapadeśa-bhāk |
upāśanaiva kriyate śravaṇānantarāgatā || 1.3 ||
śruto hi bhagavān bahuśaḥ śruti-smṛtītiḥāsa-purāṇeṣv idānīm mantavyo bhavati, śrotavyo mantavya iti śruteḥ,
āgamenānumānena dhyānābhyāsa-rasena ca |
tridhā prakalpayan prajñāṃ labhate yogam uttamam ||
iti smṛteś ca ||

⁵ I take *āsaṃsāram* to be used in a spatial meaning, cf. Apte s.v. *āsaṃsāra* (MW gives temporal expressions alone).

Vedic branch, family duties, etc.? What is there to ascertain? Even though [this is the case], still,

1.3. This logical inquiry (*nyāya-carcā*) is carried out only as an act of worship (*upāsanā*) of God, which (the act of worship) falls under reflection (*manana*),⁶ one that follows the hearing (*śravaṇa*).

For the Lord, spoken of⁷ much in the Śruti, the Smṛti, the Itihāsas, and the Purāṇas, comes now to be reflected upon, because [according to] the Śruti, '[He] is to be heard, [He] is to be reflected upon',⁸ and because [according to] the Smṛti, 'through scripture, through inference, and through eagerness for repeated practice of meditation – cultivating wisdom in [this] threefold manner, one attains the highest Yoga'.⁹

Subsequently, Udayana gives a brief presentation of those five objections to the Īśvara doctrine which he tackles in the five chapters (*stabaka/stavaka*, lit. 'a bunch of flowers') of his work.¹⁰ Following this, the investigation commences.

The prose fragment which follows verse two of chapter one contains what I refer to as Udayana's statement of universal worship.¹¹ While Udayana primarily operates on the plane of rational apologetics, this statement does not belong to this plane. It serves no purpose for Udayana's proper inquiry. That is, the statement does not prove the existence of *this particular* God which Udayana seeks to establish, nor does it anticipate a later proper proof, nor does it, lastly, defend the Īśvara doctrine against any particular objection. It is an obscure statement which, among other things, appears to claim that the irreligious Cārvākas/Lokāyatas do worship God, or that the Buddhists' reverence of the omniscient one (i.e., the Buddha) is, as implied, *in principle*

⁶ Lit. 'which belongs to what is called reflection' (*manana-vyapadeśa-bhāṇ*), or 'which partakes of the designation of reflection', as CHEMPARATHY 1972: 34 renders it.

⁷ Lit. 'heard of' (*śrūta*).

⁸ This is a quotation from BĀU, see below.

⁹ See YBh ad *Yoga-sūtra* 1.48.

¹⁰ See NKus 29,1–40,2.

¹¹ For George Chemparathy, this statement is in fact of the nature of a proof for the existence of Īśvara, one which the scholar considers to be 'a historic or ethnological proof' (CHEMPARATHY 1972: 81). The major problem with this kind of proofs for the existence of God is that at best – through the admission of fuzzy evidence and the leaving out of contradictory evidence – they establish the ubiquitousness of religious worldview *from which*, then, a jump is made to an illegitimate conclusion about the existence of God ('if we all say it is so, then it must be so'). This God is necessarily nameless, agenda-less, and so on, since *different* theist parties are free to employ the very same argument (which speaks volumes of the theological value of such proofs, let alone of their probative value).

the same as the Śaivas' reverence of Śiva. Taken at its face value, the statement lumps non-theists and atheists with theists in some radical version of 'we all really pray to the same God',¹² which surely lays Udayana open to a formidable attack already at the outset. In my view, the statement ought not to be read literally, that is, as genuinely positing that God is worshipped by all. Rather, the statement serves as a mockery of Udayana's adversaries designed to please, or even amuse, the author's allies.

It is understandable that an ardent theist¹³ might want to cloak a logical inquiry into the existence of God in the robes of a display of devotion. And although Udayana need not conceal the rational character of his approach – as he seeks, after all, to *dispel criticism of theism* on logical grounds – he nonetheless gladly induces a particular delight in the theist auditor/reader. First of all, he invokes the Upaniṣadic tripartite process of scriptural study – hearing (*śravaṇa*), reflecting upon (*manana*), and meditating (*nididhyāsana*)¹⁴ – and identifies the logical inquiry, which the NKus verily consists in, with said reflecting upon. The entirety of the treatise – and not just the occasional prayers – is, then, made into an act of worship. Second, Udayana says there is actually no reason for the undertaking of his investigation. He does not explicitly declare God's existence to be obvious. Instead, he suggests that doubt in God's existence is groundless, and – as Vardhamāna (14th cent.) remarks in his *Prakāśa* on the NKus (NKusP) – doubt (*sandeha*=*saṁśaya*) is one of the prerequisites of logical argumentation (*nyāya-pūrvāṅga*).¹⁵ The

¹² It is one thing to claim that some/all theists worship the same God and a whole different thing to announce unity of all truth-seekers – both godly and godless – under one God, especially if the godless ones rebel at the idea. Cf., however, the following brief take on Udayana's statement by PHILLIPS 1997: 69:

[Udayana claims] that what *each and every individual faction* [emphasis mine – SJK] sees as the Supreme [...], is nothing other than the one God [...]. [C]oncerning classical Nyāya, [...] nowhere that I know of does Udayana or any Naiyāyika produce a theology that synthesizes – or even seriously attempts to synthesize – the diverse classical conceptions of a supreme being or transcendent reality. My impression is that a vague theological universalism was honored culturally, and that Udayana's apparent endorsement of it is mostly hand-waving.

I confess that I do not understand what 'mostly hand-waving' (emphasis mine) amounts to, that is, whether Udayana – per Phillips' understanding – does genuinely make this baffling (because it includes non-theists and atheists) claim that God is universally worshipped, or does not (in which case *nothing* about the point made by Udayana is being spoken of here).

¹³ And Udayana most certainly is one. On several occasions in the NKus he expresses, in inspired words, his faith in and adoration for God. See CEMPAPATHY 1972: 29–30.

¹⁴ See BĀU 2.4.5: *ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyo maitreyi* | – 'O Maitreyī, verily the Self is to be recognized: It is to be heard, It is to be reflected upon, It is to be meditated upon.'

¹⁵ NKusP 14,15: *sandeha eva nyāya-pūrvāṅgaṁ kutah* |

point is not that there is no doubt (because, clearly, there is some), but that it is preposterous that it is there, as it *should not* be since everyone ‘worships’ God. A strong indication that this is not to be read literally is found in the other claim by Udayana, viz., that God’s authority is ‘well-established across all of the world’. This claim is undeniably a mockery, which is signalled by the consciously employed fallacious example of *jāti*, *gotra*, *pravara*, *caraṇa*, and *kula-dharma*. These are all elements of the age-old social order the heterodox traditions of Veda-deniers and home-forsakers opposed, and which they ultimately failed to dismantle. In the times of Udayana, Brahmins, once facing the dread of extinction, had long begun taking India back. The current was certainly favourable, but the social order referred to here was by no means ‘well-established across all of the world’. This passage bears the marks of ridicule, and suggests that the entire fragment adopts this very tone.

How are we, then, to read the statement of universal worship? A proposition that immediately comes to mind is that what is worshipped is simply that which is regarded in a particular worldview as supreme. In a theist tradition this is God, whereas in non-theist and atheist traditions this could be, for instance, the person of the founder or another teacher, or a teaching, a dogma, and so on.¹⁶ But if this were the case, Udayana could not connect this kind of argument to the question of reasonableness of doubt in the existence of God. Also, why refer to the object of worship of, e.g., the Sāṃkhyas obscurely as ‘the perfected first knower’, and not simply as Kapila?¹⁷ Why refer to the god of the Śaivas as Śiva, but to the god of the Vaiṣṇavas as *puruṣōttama*, ‘the Supreme Person’, and not simply as Viṣṇu?

In my view, these references are necessarily obscure, otherwise Udayana could not make his point. The key to grasping the statement of universal worship lies in the designation of the Naiyāyika God as *yāvad-uktōpapanna*, ‘endowed with what has been mentioned thus far’. This designation is puzzling, to be sure. Varadarāja Miśra (mid-12th cent.), the author of the *Bodhanī* (NKusB), a lengthy elaboration on the first three chapters of the NKus, puts forward two possible interpretations:¹⁸

¹⁶ This is how BRONKHORST 1983 understands the statement of universal worship. He writes (p. 160): ‘Udayana’s point is clearly this, that everyone has something, or someone, whom he considers highest and to be worshiped.’

¹⁷ That *ādi-vidvān siddha* designates Kapila has been hinted by KAVIRAJ 1923: 173, and decisively shown by WEZLER 1969–1970.

¹⁸ NKusB 17,9–18,4: *yāvad-uktōpapanno mayā yāni viśeṣaṇāny uktāni teṣu yāvad upapannaṁ tenōpapannaḥ | yad vā, yāvad-uktena yathā-śruteṇa na tu vyākhyātenōpapannaḥ*.

yāvad-uktōpapannaḥ means either 'with regard to the characteristics (*viśeṣaṇa*) which have been mentioned by me [i.e., Udayana], so long as [a particular characteristic] is fit (*upapanna*) [to describe God], with that [characteristic He] is endowed (*upapanna*)', or 'endowed with *yāvad-ukta*, i.e., with what is handed down in the Śruti, and not endowed with [those characteristics] which have been named [here by me]'.

The putting forward of those two interpretations betrays Varadarāja's uncertainty with regard to the meaning of Udayana's words. According to Varadarāja's first interpretation, Udayana is playing with two of the many meanings of the participle *upapanna*, i.e., 'endowed with, or possessed of', and 'fit, or tenable'. The second interpretation is self-explanatory. Both are certainly farfetched propositions, attempts to escape the problem of the theologically challenging, so to speak, ascribing of all of the mentioned characteristics to the same God.¹⁹ The fact that the *yāvad-uktōpapanna*... passage occupies the final position (the passage on the artisans is merely an additional witty remark) in this list suggests a literal reading of *yāvad-ukta*°.

The statement of universal worship is, thus, substantially different from a universalist 'we all really pray to the same God' declaration. Every mentioned tradition other than Udayana's worships a particular quality which belongs to Udayana's God. For instance, the Buddhists worship 'the omniscient one'. For the Buddhists, the quality of omniscience belongs to the Buddha. For Udayana, it belongs to his God.²⁰ The Vaiṣṇavas worship the Supreme Person. For the Vaiṣṇavas, this is Viṣṇu. For Udayana, this is his God. And so on. It is not surprising that *the only object of worship mentioned explicitly* is Śiva, because this is the deity to which the author himself is devoted.

¹⁹ The *yāvad-uktōpapanna*... passage proved troublesome also to some of the translators of the text. COWELL 1864: 3 renders the passage as follows: 'the followers of the Nyāya as Him who is all that is said worthy of Him', TIRTHA 1946: 2 translates: 'the Logicians as he who will be established by what is set forth (in this work)', and POTTER 1977: 558 in his summary of chapters 1–4 has: 'the Naiyāyikas as He who is about to be spoken of here'. Closer to the meaning of the Sanskrit text, but at the same time cautiously vague, is the translation by CHEMPARATHY 1972: 82: 'the Naiyāyikas as one endowed with all (those attributes) that have been ascribed (to him)'. KAVIRAJ 1923: 166, clearly following Varadarāja's lead, renders the passage as follows: 'the Naiyāyikas as the Being who is endowed with all the attributes (among those mentioned above) which befit Him'. In his very free (and aimed at the popular reader) translation, DRAVID 1996: 4 renders the passage in a similar fashion: 'if he is a Nyāya scholar he thinks of God as a Being who is endowed with only those of the above-mentioned attributes which can be rationally ascribed to Him'. Also, it should be noted that in his commentary on the various attributes enumerated by Udayana, Kaviraj fails to elaborate on the meaning of *yāvad-uktōpapanna*. This passage, as well as *loka-vyavahāra-siddha iti cārvākāḥ*, is regrettably passed over by Kaviraj in silence.

²⁰ What the quality of omniscience actually entails in Buddhism is irrelevant for the argument.

The inclusion of non-theists and atheists in the statement of universal worship is no longer problematic. What, then, does Udayana actually mean by ‘worshipping’ (*upa-vāś*)?

All of the mentioned traditions come together under a common denominator in the *kam api puruṣārtham arthayamānāḥ* passage, which I render as ‘striving to obtain a particular aim of human life’. The classical Indian concept of *puruṣārtha* distinguishes four aims of human life, or better: four objects the pursuit of which is beneficial to human existence. These four are wealth (*artha*), pleasure (*kāma*), righteousness (*dharma*), and liberation (*mokṣa*). Now, should the Śaivas’ worship of Śiva be *principally the same* as ‘worship’ of *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* (whatever that is) by the irreligious Cārvākas/Lokāyatas, then worship per se, tied to a shared strive for *puruṣārtha*, is reduced to pragmatism. Surely, this is not what Udayana wishes to convey. It is rather, that in the eyes of Udayana, atheists and non-theists *have to* resort to what is referred to as worship in order to pursue the obtainment of their goals.²¹

To my understanding, by way of making all of the traditions draw from the pool of godly attributes, Udayana suggests that they operate, intentionally or not, within the realm of belief, i.e., of taking certain things on faith, or appealing to the suprarational. In this way, his argument is similar to some theists’ well-known method of throwing an atheist off guard by declaring the latter a believer in disbelief. The intention of such a declaration is to push the claims of a ‘self-proclaimed anti-irrationalist’ beyond the realm of the rational, and to argue that a definitive rejection of God’s existence requires the same thing atheists demand from theists, i.e., evidence.²² It is, thus, unreasonable for the Buddhists or the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas to *doubt* the existence of God, because, per Udayana’s argument, they nonetheless *accept the suprarational*.

All things considered, the *loka-vyavahāra-siddha iti cārvākāḥ* passage ought not to be abstracted from the broader context. It belongs to a fragment

²¹ KAVIRAJ 1923: 168 puts forward another interpretation: ‘What [Udayana] means to say is that whatever fruit a man may desire comes really from God, so that in whatever form he may worship, the giver of his fruit is verily God Himself. It is immaterial whether the worshipper consciously resorts to Him or is even theoretically opposed to His existence, but, the fact is that it is God, and God alone, so Udayana thinks, who responds to the prayer.’ This interpretation is, in my opinion, significantly problematic. The obvious response from the adversary is this: ‘if God is to grant me *mokṣa* irrespective of my beliefs and doings, why not remain, say, a Cārvāka?’ Worship becomes meaningless.

²² This is how the employers of this argument see it. For the atheist, the rejection of God’s existence comes down to a refusal to accept something for which one cannot present any rational proof.

designed to deride Udayana's adversaries, and the choice to indirectly refer to the (alleged) objects of worship is consciously made. *Loka-vyavahāra-siddha* might not, thus, constitute a qualification which *best* describes whatever it is that Udayana alludes to as the object of the Cārvāka/Lokāyata 'worship', just like, for instance, *sarvajña* is not *the most important* characteristic of the Buddha. This surely comes to further complicate the search for the Cārvāka/Lokāyata 'God'. On the other hand, if the above interpretation holds true, we may now expect *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* to be a passable description of God – even though it may seem a rather problematic qualification²³ – and to be something to be 'worshipped' in the above-explained sense.

2. On Varadarāja Miśra's propositions

As mentioned earlier, two interpretations of the *loka-vyavahāra-siddha iti cārvākāḥ* passage are found in the commentarial literature. According to one, it is a king who is established by common usage. According to the other, it is an idol. Both propositions are offered as *alternatives* by Varadarāja:²⁴

'(The) established by common usage' = either the visible (*dr̥śyamāna*, 'being now seen') king and the like, or an idol in a four-armed or other form.

BHATTACHARYA 2009: 159–160 mentions six other commentators, posterior to Varadarāja, who either reproduce both alternatives, or follow the second one.²⁵

Varadarāja's weighing in of two possible readings proves his uncertainty. Bhattacharya's understanding is that the commentator is simply not sure of Udayana's intention, which is why he produces two propositions he regards as 'equally appropriate to the context and/or equally logical' (BHATTACHARYA 2009: 160). But in my opinion, the uncertainty pertains in the first place to a different issue. To explain, what is clear in Varadarāja's dilemma, is that he seeks to identify *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* with something that the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas can connect with *without making them turn their thoughts to*

²³ It certainly proved as such to Kaviraj, as the *loka-vyavahāra-siddha...* passage is swapped in his translation with the *yāvad-uktōpapanna...* passage, so that *yāvad-ukta*^o does not at any rate include this particular qualification. KAVIRAJ 1923: 166: '[...] the Naiyāyikas as the Being who is endowed with all the attributes (among those mentioned above) which befit Him, the Chārvākas as One whose authority is established by the convention of the world [...].' Dravid does the same thing, presumably following Kaviraj's lead. Clearly, for Kaviraj it does not 'befit' God. This switching of places, however, cannot be justified.

²⁴ NKusB 17,9: *loka-vyavahāra-siddho rājādir dr̥śyamānās catur-bhujādi-rūpā pratimā vā* |

²⁵ The earlier-mentioned Vardhamāna belongs to the latter group (see NKusP 17,13: *lokēti yathā loke vyavahriyate catur-bhujādy-upeta-dehavān na tv adr̥śya ity arthaḥ* |).

something suprasensual. So what can a Cārvāka/Lokāyata worship, *in some way*, that is perceptible? A king, surely. The highest authority on this earth is the highest authority in all of existence, because this earth is the sum of all existence. So why consider this wild possibility that Udayana ascribes religious practice to the members of an unequivocally irreligious school, claiming they worship idols? In my view, this is because Varadarāja is not only unsure as to what *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* designates, but he struggles with the interpretation of the meaning of worship in Udayana's statement.

The king interpretation is, obviously, the more sensible interpretation. But for this interpretation to work, Udayana needs to refer to *any kind of worship*. And if that is the case, then why bring up the issue of doubt in the existence of God? Is it, then, religious worship? If so, why bring the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas into the argument? The idol interpretation seems to me a desperate way to fit the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas into the thus understood statement of universal worship.

For the evaluation of those two propositions it is a crucial observation, because the strength of each of these propositions is now not only diminished by the fact they are presented as alternatives, but also by a greater uncertainty. Simply speaking, Varadarāja is not sure of either the meaning or the context.

We can safely discard the idol interpretation. The fact that some of the other commentators have *favoured* this proposition is truly flabbergasting and it bears witness to just how misconceived the 'mysterious' school of the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas might have been to (some of) the later authors.²⁶ The trouble with the king interpretation, in turn, is that *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* can hardly describe a king.

Loka-vyavahāra (*loka*°, 'common, worldly, ordinary, etc.' + °*vyavahāra*, 'usage, convention, practical activity, transaction, etc.') is a commonly encountered term used in a variety of authors and contexts. For instance, in discussions on the use of language, it denotes 'ordinary transactions' pertaining to the meaning in which words are used, or ordinary language,²⁷ whereas in the Mādhyamika Buddhist literature, *loka-vyavahāra-satya* equals *saṃvṛti-satya*, 'conventional truth'.²⁸ The term denotes general 'truths' of the everyday world, everyday practices, certain agreements among people, and so on. ARNOLD 2005:

²⁶ Or perhaps the commentators simply preferred not to confess to uncertainty/ignorance, and instead gave a dubious, or even nonsensical, answer to the problem, *but still an answer*.

²⁷ Cf., e.g., KATSURA 2011: 131.

²⁸ Cf., e.g., GARFIELD 2015: 57–58.

416–417 remarks: ‘the term also has an eminently mercantile connotation that I think is nicely captured by “business as usual”’. Now, kingship is hardly a matter of everyday practice, and a king does not become one customarily,²⁹ nor is he proven to exist based on a common agreement that he is real, or that kings in general are real. Should he be spoken of as real *in contrast to God*, who – in the Cārvāka/Lokāyata – is not real, would he not be established as existent simply by means of perception?

The king interpretation *seems at first* to be supported by a fragment from Mādhava's (14th cent.) famous doxographic work, the *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* (SDS), which contains a well-known presentation of the Cārvāka/Lokāyata tradition acknowledged as a comprehensive system of thought (*darśana*).³⁰ Mādhava says:³¹

From this it follows that [in the Cārvāka/Lokāyata] the only hell is [earthly] suffering, [which is] caused by thorns and such; the Supreme Lord (*paramēśvara*) is the world-established (*loka-siddha*) king; [and] liberation is the annihilation of the body.

Dealing briefly with the *loka-vyavahāra-siddha iti cārvākāḥ* passage, BRONKHORST 1983: 160 follows the king interpretation, and, elaborating on the issue, he refers to the above fragment from Mādhava. I shall argue that Mādhava's words ought not to be read as validating the king interpretation. Rather, as I wish to suggest, Mādhava (assuming that he is the author of the

²⁹ Even in the Ganges River Valley oligarchies of mid-first millennium BCE an elected king could hardly have been spoken of as established by a *common* agreement, i.e., an agreement of *loka*, people in general.

³⁰ The presentation makes up the first chapter of the SDS. It is an evidence of limited reliability. Mādhava openly ridicules the subject of his exposition, produces no Cārvāka/Lokāyata names or titles of works, and offers a rather simplistic review of selected positions. It is, however, possible that this presentation simply reflects the notion of the Cārvāka/Lokāyata prevalent in Mādhava's times (suffice to say, composing as late as in the 14th cent., Mādhava finds himself reconstructing, in a way, the school of the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas, and in doing so he inexorably relies on others' testimonies). Although it should be noted that in the *Tarka-rahasya-dīpikā* (TRD) on Haribhadra's (8th cent.) *Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya* (SDS), Mādhava's semi-contemporary Guṇaratna shows significantly less moderation, to put it mildly, in his treatment of this subject, for instance, when he ascribes a *fais-ce-que-tu-voudras* life philosophy to the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas by making some truly preposterous references to various carnal practices, some of them illicit, other undertaken on a particular day of the year (see TRD 451,2–3).

³¹ SDS 6,1–2: *ata eva kaṇṭakādi-janyaṃ duḥkham eva narakāḥ | loka-siddho rājā paramēśvaraḥ | dehōchedo mokṣaḥ* | Cf. also Mādhava's versification of this statement given a little further into the text (SDS 6,6–7,2):

*kaṇṭakādi-vyathā-janyaṃ duḥkham niraya ucyate ||
loka-siddho bhaved rājā pareśo nāparaḥ smṛtaḥ ||
dehasya nāśo muktis tu na jñānān muktir īsyate ||*

above-quoted statement and he does not in fact draw here from another text) paraphrases Udayana and the king interpretation.³²

The Cārvākas/Lokāyatas do not admit the existence of other-worldly and suprasensual entities. According to Mādhava, should they make use of such terms as ‘hell’, ‘God’, or ‘liberation’ – which regularly signify or relate to other-worldly and transcendent entities constructed in other traditions – the only designations of those could be this-worldly and perceptible entities. And so the sole candidate for the referent of *paramēśvara* is the king, holding power over all of this-worldly entities. But if all of those mentioned entities – suffering, the king, death of the body – are this-worldly entities, and the whole point of this fragment is to highlight this rejection of the intangible, why would Mādhava indicate this-worldliness explicitly only in the case of the king? *Loka-siddha* is a redundant qualification. And all this assumes that *loka-siddha* more or less conveys the meaning of this-worldliness and perceptibility. I render the tat-puruṣa as neutrally as possible, i.e., ‘world-established’ (Bronkhorst: ‘established in the world’), but the compound generally carries such meanings as ‘commonly accepted’, or ‘generally established’, and in some contexts it is used in the meaning of ‘pre-existent in the world’. Now, confer Cowell and Gough’s attempt to make good sense of the compound in their translation of *loka-siddho rājā paramēśvaraḥ* as ‘[s]upreme is the earthly monarch whose existence is proved by all the world’s eyesight’ (COWELL and GOUGH 1882: 4). Why, of all of those three entities mentioned, i.e., suffering, the king, and the death of the body, would a king need to be spoken of as *admitted to actually exist*?

The only explanation for the describing of *rājan* as *loka-siddha* that seems plausible to me is that Mādhava, collecting the bits and pieces on the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas for the sake of his doxographic presentation, drew from the passage from the NKus, which, read literally, claims that the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas worship *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* as their ‘supreme being’, and according to some of the commentaries, this is likely the person of the king. The fact that the middle member of the compound *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* is elided here does not speak against the proposition that Mādhava draws from Udayana. The elision might be made in an attempt to make better sense of the king interpretation (as explained, a king is hardly *loka-vyavahāra-siddha*).

³² Given the import of Udayana’s treatise on Indian philosophy, it is hardly surprising that Mādhava, another eminent Indian thinker, knows it and comes under its influence. The NKus is quoted verbatim on a few occasions in the SDS (see, e.g., SDS 17,1; 20,7–8), and several times in his work Mādhava mentions explicitly the NKus and/or Udayana (see, e.g., SDS 254,9–10; 278,4), whom at one point he declares to be an Ācārya of glory, or fame (*kīrti*), known to all (SDS 235,8–9: *viśva-vikhyāta-kīrtir udayanācāryo...*).

The result, *loka-siddha*, nonetheless remains an unfortunate qualification. The wording of this fragment as I see it – bizarre and needlessly troublesome – is not coincidental.

On a side note, of Varadarāja's two propositions, the idol interpretation is the only one that can be argued to work on the semantic level. An idol is indeed something *agreed on* as a representation of a particular deity. Without this particular usage, it is only an ordinary object devoid of religious significance.

3. On Ramkrishna Bhattacharya's proposition

The propositions by Udayana's commentators are dismissed by BHATTACHARYA 2009: 159–161. In an attempt to elucidate the *loka-vyavahāra-siddha iti cārvākāḥ* passage, the scholar first evokes the distinction between two types of logical reason (*hetu*) – commonly well-established (*loka-prasiddha*) and established in treatises (*tantra-siddha*) – spoken of by Udbhaṭa Bhaṭṭa (ca. 800), as recorded in the *Syād-vāda-ratnākāra* (SVR) of Vālideva Sūri (12th cent.). Udbhaṭa Bhaṭṭa was an ingenious author with suspected ties both to the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas and to Nyāya. He was likely also a grammarian and is, perhaps, identical to a drama scholar by the same name. In connection to the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas, Udbhaṭa is mentioned by name in one other text, the *Nyāya-mañjarī-granṭhi-bhaṅga* (NMGBh) of Cakradhara (ca. 11th cent.), being a commentary on the *Nyāya-mañjarī* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (ca. 9th cent.), who, according to Cakradhara, refers to Udbhaṭa implicitly on several occasions.³³

The passage from the SVR, which Bhattacharya quotes in an abridged form, records Udbhaṭa's original interpretation of the famous aphorism by the Cārvāka/Lokāyata Purandara on the secondariness of inference. The (unabridged) passage is as follows:³⁴

³³ On Udbhaṭa(s) see in particular SOLOMON 1977–1978, BRONKHORST 2008; see also BRONNER 2016. For Udbhaṭa's reinterpretations of Cārvāka/Lokāyata aphorisms, see NMGBh 43,5–9 and 197,6–7, SVR 1087,1–3.

³⁴ SVR 265,19–266,8: *yat tu* (I leave *yat tu* untranslated) *tenaiva parama-lokāyatam-manyena loka-vyavahāraika-pakṣa-pātinā loka-prasiddha-dhūmādy-anumānāni puras-kṛtya śāstrīya-svargādi-sādhakānumānāni nirācīkṛtāṭā pramāṇasyāgaunatvād* (Ed.: *pramāṇasya gaunatvād*) *anumānād artha-niścayo durlabha iti paurandaram sūtram pūrvacārya-vyākhyāna-tiras-kāreṇa vyākhyānayatatēdam abhihitam | hetoh svasādhya-niyama-grahane prakāra-trayam iṣṭam darśanābhyām aviśiṣṭābhyām darśanena viśiṣṭānupalabdhi-sahitena bhūyo-darśana-pravṛtṭyā ca loka-vyavahāra-patitayā | tatrādyena grahaṇōpāyena ye hetor gamakatvam icchanti tān pratidam sūtram | loka-prasiddheṣv api hetuṣu vyabhicārādarśanam asti tantra-siddheṣv api tena vyabhicārādarśana-lakṣaṇa-guṇa-sādharmyatas tantra-siddha-hetūnām tathā-bhāvo vyavasthāpyata iti gaunatvam anumānasya | ayabhicārāvagama*

This same [Udbhata], who fancies himself a superior Lokāyata [and] who favours common usage (*loka-vyavahāra*)³⁵, accepts inferences from smoke and other commonly well-established [logical reasons³⁶ and] wishes to repudiate inferences taught in treatises, which (the inferences) establish heaven and such things. [He] sets aside the earlier teachers' (*pūrvacārya*) elaboration on Purandara's aphorism: 'Ascertainment of an object by means of inference is impossible (*durlabha*, lit. 'hard to obtain'), because a means of valid cognition is not secondary', and elaborating [on it in a new way, he] says: 'In the grasping of invariable concomitance (*niyama* = *vyāpti*) between logical reason and its [property] to be proved (*sādhya*), three modes are admitted: (1) by two unqualified perceptions, (2) by a perception together with a qualified non-apprehension, and (3) through the process of repeated observation (*bhūyo-darśana*), which falls under common usage (*loka-vyavahāra*).³⁷ This aphorism [of Purandara] is directed against those who admit logical reason as indicative (*gamaka*)³⁸ based on the first of those modes of grasping. Deviation (*vyabhicāra*) is not observed even with regard to commonly established logical reasons (*loka-prasiddho hetu*), therefore [it is not observed] also with regard to logical reasons established in treatises (*tantra-siddha-hetu*), [and] based on [the fact that] they share the quality which consists in non-observation of deviation, it is established that logical reasons established in treatises are of this nature (i.e., are indicative). This is why inference is secondary. For comprehension of non-deviation in the case of common logical reasons (*laukika-hetu*) is instrumental (*nimitta*) in [the obtaining of] comprehension of the inferred, [but] it is not [so] in the case of logical reasons established in treatises. Thus, comprehension of objects which are not directly cognized by the senses (*parokṣārtha*)

hi laukika-hetūnām anumeyāvagame nimittaṃ sa nāsti tantra-siddheṣv iti na tebhyaḥ parokṣārthāvagamo nyāyo 'ta idam uktaṃ anumānād artha-niścayo durlabha itīti |

³⁵ *Loka-vyavahāraika-pakṣa-pāṭin*, lit. 'falling (*pāṭin*) to the side of an argument (*eka-pakṣa*) [which admits] common usage'.

³⁶ Solomon reads *loka-prasiddha*^o as qualifying °*anumānāni*: 'keeping in view the well-known popular inferences from smoke, etc.' (SOLOMON 1977–1978: 986), which is by no means an incorrect interpretation, cf. *loka-prasiddham anumānam* in the fragment from Purandara quoted in the *Tattva-saṅgraha-pañjikā* (see below). To my understanding, an inference from a logical reason which is commonly established is exactly this, i.e., a 'commonly well-established' inference.

³⁷ In other words, the process of repeated observation is classifiable as common usage. Cf., however, SOLOMON 1977–1978: 986: 'and by the process of repeated perception as found in worldly behaviour'.

³⁸ I.e., indicative of the property to be proved, in other words, one that does lead to the comprehension of the property to be proved.

is not proper, for which reason [Purandara] says [that] ascertainment of an object by means of inference is impossible.'

In his paper, Bhattacharya also quotes a passage from Purandara which has survived in the *Tattva-saṅgraha-pañjikā* (TSP) of Kamalaśīla (ca. 740–795), being a commentary on Śāntarakṣita's (ca. 725–788) *Tattva-saṅgraha*.³⁹ Kamalaśīla says:⁴⁰

Purandara said: 'Commonly well-established inference (*loka-prasiddham anumāna*) is accepted by the Cārvākas as well. However, rejected [by us] is that [kind of] inference which is declared [to be a means of valid cognition] by some [thinkers] who have transgressed the worldly path (*laukiko mārga*).'

The transgression of the worldly path is to be understood as recourse to inferences which establish the existence of imperceptible objects such as heaven or soul. Both Purandara and Udbhaṭa juxtapose the empirical (inferences which deal with perceptible objects, and thus allow their results to be verified by perception) with the purely theoretical (inferences 'established in treatises', i.e., operating within the realm of philosophical speculation which escapes empirical confirmation). The various interpretations of Purandara's aphorism, or the so-called *Paurandara-sūtra*, have been dealt with by FRANCO 1991. I shall at this point refer only to the scholar's conclusions to his own proposition, which is based on both the aphorism and the passage quoted by Kamalaśīla. FRANCO 1991: 159 writes:

[T]he *sūtra*'s aim is not to discard inference altogether, but to limit its scope to worldly affairs. By denying inference an independent status, that is, by emphasizing its dependence (*gauna*) on perception, Purandara wanted to restrict the field of operation (*viśaya*) of inference to that of perceptible objects. This is probably the most significant contribution of Purandara to the Lokāyata (at least it is the one for which he is remembered) [...].

Based on the above-quoted two fragments from Udbhaṭa and Purandara, BHATTACHARYA 2009: 160 remarks that *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* 'is a term used to distinguish between two kinds of probanses'. But in neither of the fragments produced by Bhattacharya does the compound *loka-vyavahāra-*

³⁹ The passage from Purandara, which is a prose one, is quoted in the commentary on verses 1481–82 of the *Tattva-saṅgraha* (Chapter 18. *Anumāna-parīkṣā*, or 'Examination of Inference').

⁴⁰ TSP 431,26–27: *purandaras tv* (I leave *tv* untranslated) *āha | loka-prasiddham anumānam cārvākair apīśyata eva | yat tu kaiścil laukikam mārgam atikramyānumānam ucyate tan niśidhyata iti |*

siddha actually appear. Perhaps, the scholar actually has *loka-vyavahāra* in mind.⁴¹ Ultimately, Bhattacharya proposes to translate *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* as ‘what is established in worldly practice, i.e., perceptible and hence followed by all in actual life’. However, he does not specify who or what the intended referent in the passage from Udayana is. In his view, the Cārvāka/Lokāyata ‘God’ in Udayana is ‘their insistence on perception: whatever is not and cannot be perceived in this world is rejected by them’ (BHATTACHARYA 2009: 161).

Aside from the *loka-vyavahāra-siddha iti cārvākāḥ* passage, the NKus is not consulted by Bhattacharya. Instead, in an attempt to elucidate the meaning of *loka-vyavahāra-siddha*, the scholar elects to reference two popular maxims: ‘The worldly path should be followed’ (*laukiko mārgo ’nusartavyaḥ*), and ‘With respect to common usage, an ignorant and a scholar are the same’ (*loka-vyavahāraṃ prati sadṛśau bāla-panḍitau*).⁴² Both maxims are found in the opening passages of the *Tattvōpaplava-siṃha* (TUS) of Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa (fl. ca. 800).⁴³ They are accepted as Cārvāka/Lokāyata fragments by NAMAI 1996: 9, who takes the two sentences to be a single verse. Franco, however, argues that the second of the maxims recorded by Jayarāśi is not a Cārvāka/Lokāyata fragment, as it is also quoted twice in the *Īyomavatī* by the Vaiśeṣika Vyomaśiva, and never in a Cārvāka/Lokāyata context.⁴⁴ Bhattacharya does refer to these remarks by Franco. Said remarks and the fact that Bhattacharya does not acknowledge Jayarāśi as a Cārvāka/Lokāyata do not stop the Indian scholar from elucidating his proposition through the lens of, i.e., indeed *popular* maxims.

On the contrary, Bhattacharya removes *loka-vyavahāra* from the religious-philosophical plane by reducing it to a certain general commonsensical approach *universally* followed regardless of one’s worldview, as it constitutes the foundation of everyday activity (for instance, even if one considers food to be ultimately unreal, one still has to eat).⁴⁵ An example of this kind of common everyday practice is found by Bhattacharya in the Buddhist conventional truth (*saṃvṛti-satya*, sometimes referred to as *loka-vyavahāra-satya*). The

⁴¹ In a different paper, included in the same 2009 collection of essays, Bhattacharya confuses *loka-vyavahāra* with *loka-vyavahāra-siddha*, claiming first, that the former has been interpreted by Udayana’s commentators as referring to either a king, or an idol, and second, that common usage ‘suits the context better’ (BHATTACHARYA 2009: 151).

⁴² BHATTACHARYA 2009: 160–161.

⁴³ TUS 68,4–8: *uktam ca paramārtha-vidbhir api laukiko mārgo ’nusartavyaḥ a. . . | loka-vyavahāraṃ prati sadṛśau bāla-panḍitau || ity-ādi |*

⁴⁴ See FRANCO 1994: 42–44, 299.

⁴⁵ See his remark given in a different article, ‘Perception and Inference’, included in the same collection of essays: ‘Excepting the extreme idealists [...], all systems of philosophy in India accept the validity of the worldly way’ (BHATTACHARYA 2009: 59).

idea of a provisional level of reality is, however, fundamentally different from the approach of an ontological realist, let alone from some practice which is common to both scholars and ignorants. My major problem with this proposition is that a supposedly *universally* followed approach does not relate to the distinction of two logical reasons in the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas. If anything, it only implies that the same things are *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* for all.⁴⁶

Finally, Bhattacharya refers to Mādhava's *loka-siddho rājā paramēśvaraḥ* passage, proposing that it alludes to the same idea the two maxims refer to. The scholar argues that *loka-siddha* conveys in Mādhava that the king is existent because he is perceived, while the gods are non-existent because they are not perceived.⁴⁷ With this remark Bhattacharya nolens volens assigns plausibility to the king interpretation. And this begs two questions: why does Bhattacharya dismiss the king interpretation after all?, and why are *we* to dismiss it in favour of his problematic proposition?

4. Everyday inference as God

A major problem with our sources on the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas is their reliability. Adversaries of the universally denounced tradition of thought (may have) resorted to distortion, simplification, twisting, confusion, etc., of Cārvāka/Lokāyata positions. And given that some of the available source material is based on second-hand testimony, even a doxographer with the best of intentions may have simply misunderstood the discussed matter, or relied on dubious or plainly bogus sources. There is no certainty that Udayana possessed sufficient comprehension of Cārvāka/Lokāyata positions to be able to represent their views accurately. Thus, in the examining of the meaning of Udayana's passage we must first look into Udayana's account of the Cārvāka/Lokāyata. Based on other fragments from the NKus, I shall argue now that *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* in the discussed passage refers to the kind of inference which was accepted in (some representatives of) the school of the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas as carrying out cognitive function without being a *pramāṇa*. Namely, this inference is the perceptually verifiable everyday inference referred to by Purandara as commonly well-established inference, or by Udbhaṭa as inference from commonly well-established logical reasons.

⁴⁶ On a different note, how does the notion of common usage referred to, i.e., by a *Vaiśeṣika* author shed light on the significance of common usage in the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas (especially given that this significance manifests itself in epistemological critique, as attested in the SVR)?

⁴⁷ Again, are suffering and the death of the body not real?

As mentioned earlier, an interpretation of the meaning behind *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* in Udayana must meet two requirements to be at least compatible with my elaboration on the statement of universal worship. First, *loka-vyavahāra-siddha* must make some sense when used to refer to God, and second, the compound must denote an entity the acceptance of which makes the Cārvāka/Lokāyata appeal to the suprarational. In the NKus, Udayana evokes the term *loka-vyavahāra* in the context of the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas on two occasions: first, in a brief fragment which partly serves to mock the irreligious school, and then again in a fictitious exchange with a Cārvāka/Lokāyata adversary concerned with inference. One fragment confirms the meeting of one of the requirements, and the other confirms the meeting of the other one. I shall begin with the fragment from the discussion with the Cārvāka/Lokāyata adversary.

In a prose fragment preceding verse six of chapter three, Udayana's Cārvāka/Lokāyata adversary states a rule (*nyāya*) for the determining of the existence or non-existence of things:⁴⁸

[The adversary:] 'What is not apprehended, that does not exist. The opposite (i.e., what is apprehended) exists. And [entities] such as God are not like that (i.e., are not apprehended). Therefore they do not exist. This alone [serves as] the rule [for the determining of existence or non-existence of things.] One may object that in this way inference and other [means of valid cognition except for perception]⁴⁹ are destroyed. [But this is] not [an applicable objection, because for us] there is nothing wrong with that.⁵⁰ [Again,] one may object that common usage (*loka-vyavahāra*) is thus annihilated. [But it is] not [right], because it (i.e., common usage) is established based on assumption (*sambhāvanā*) alone, and because there is a false notion of cognitive validity based on agreement [of what was expected with what has been cognized].'

Udayana replies:⁵¹

⁴⁸ NKus 334,2–6: *yan nōpalabhyate tan nāsti | viparītam asti | na cēsvarādayas tathā | tato na santīty etad eva nyāyaḥ* (Ed.: *jyāyaḥ*) | *evam anumānādi-vilopa iti cet | nēdam aniṣṭam | tathā ca loka-vyavahārōccheda iti cet | na sambhāvanā-mātreṇa tat-siddheḥ saṃvādena ca prāmāṇyābhīmānād iti* |

⁴⁹ The expression 'inference etc.' never includes perception. Literally, *anumānādi* translates into 'beginning with inference', and in any enumeration of *pramāṇas* perception comes first, followed by inference.

⁵⁰ *Nēdam aniṣṭam*, lit. 'this is not undesired'.

⁵¹ NKus 334,9–335,3: *atrōcyate*

*drṣṭy-adrṣṭyoḥ kva sandeho bhāvābhāva-viniścayāt |
adrṣṭi-bādhiṭe hetau pratyakṣam api durlabham || 3.6 ||*

To this [we] say:

3.6. When [a thing] is either observed or not observed, whence [could] doubt come from? [There can be none,] because [you posit] determination of existence and non-existence [of things merely based on their observation and non-observation. Furthermore,] even perception is [thus] impossible, because its cause is invalidated by non-observation.⁵²

For assumption is nothing but [a form of] doubt.⁵³ And therefore, when there is [doubt in the form of assumption], there is usage. But where could this [doubt] itself come from? [In your system, there cannot be doubt in the form of assumption,] because upon observation [of an entity its] existence is ascertained, and upon non-observation [of an entity its] non-existence is determined. For instance, a wretched (*varāka*⁵⁴) Cārvāka who has left [his] house would not return. Instead, he would cry, beating his chest, defeated by sorrow, because [not observing] his children, wife and property, he would have determined [that they] do not exist [anymore].

In the adversary's statement, what is meant by the destruction of inference and so on is that those means of valid cognition are denied cognitive validity (*prāmāṇya*); and what is meant by the annihilation of common usage, is that it is rendered untenable. But for the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas common usage is not untenable. Inference grounded in common usage is of pragmatic value to us,

sambhāvanā hi sandeha eva | tasmāc ca vyavahāras tasmīn sati syāt | sa eva tu kutaḥ | darśana-daśāyām bhāva-niścayāt | adarśana-daśāyām abhāvāvadbhāraṇāt | tathā ca grhād bahir-gataś cārvāko varāko na nivarteta | praty uta putra-dāra-dhanādy-abhāvāvadbhāraṇāt sōras-tāḍaṃ śoka-viphalo vikrośet |

⁵² The argument is that if we cannot observe our faculties of sight, hearing, etc., we should not see, hear, etc., because those faculties are, as per the absurd consequence, not there. Cf. Varadarāja's elaboration: 'Not only are inference and other [means of valid cognition impossible,] but so is perception. If its cause [in the shape of] the faculty of sight etc., is invalidated based on [its] mere non-apprehension, [then] there is no [perception-qua-]effect because there is no [faculty-qua-]cause. According to this argumentation, [perception] is impossible. Consequently, everything is annihilated.' (NKusB 334,23–24: *na kevalam anumānādikam eva pratyakṣam api tad-dhetau cakṣur-ādāv anupalabdhi-mātreṇa bādhitē kārṇābhāvāt kāryābhāva iti nyāyena durlabham iti sarvōpaplava iti*).

⁵³ Cf. Vardhamāna's gloss on *sambhāvanā*[-*mātreṇa*] in the fragment containing the objection by the adversary: "'Based on assumption [alone]" = based merely on [a form of] doubt in which one of the alternatives is superior.' (NKusP 334,27: *sambhāvanēti | utkaṭa-koṭika-saṃśaya-mātreṇēty arthaḥ*).

⁵⁴ This is a very pejorative appellation. Udayana does not simply reveal the (alleged) absurdity of Cārvāka/Lokāyata positions, he openly displays his contempt for this particular strand of thought.

according to the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas, because while it is devoid of probative force, it nonetheless gives us *probable* knowledge. It is simply that we should not attribute cognitive validity to it based on positive empirical verifications of its results, because common usage is not a *logical ground* for inference.

This logical ground, i.e., *vyāpti*, or invariable concomitance of the logical reason with the property to be proved, is not accepted by the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas because it cannot be established. For instance, repeated observation (*bhūyo-darśana*) of the arising of smoke upon the arising of fire is not enough to prove that in every instance of the arising of smoke there must also be fire present. The possibility of deviation (*vyabhicāra*) can never really be eliminated. Now, in the fragment from Udbhaṭa preserved in the SVR, the final of the mentioned modes of ascertaining *vyāpti* is repeated observation which is here dubbed a mere form of common usage. For a Cārvāka/Lokāyata such common usage, i.e., a commonly shared experience-based agreement that, e.g., the presence of smoke is indicative of the presence of fire, is enough to enable the carrying out of everyday activities. That is, the repeated observation of smoke arising upon the arising of fire is enough that a person seeing smoke coming from their household should call their neighbours to aid them in putting out a fire, even though it is not *true knowledge* obtained through a *means of valid cognition*.

Favouring common usage, as the passage from the SVR tells us, Udbhaṭa accepts inference from commonly well-established (*loka-prasiddha*) logical reasons, while rejecting inferences from logical reasons which are established in treatises (*tantra-siddha*). Logical reasons of the former kind are those the invariable concomitance of which with the property to be proved is ‘ascertained’ through common usage. Smoke, indicative of fire, is one such logical reason. Logical reasons of the latter kind, in turn, are unverifiable by means of perception. As Vāḍideva says, those are logical reasons which are used to establish things like heaven.

To my understanding, in the statement of universal worship Udayana refers to the Cārvāka/Lokāyata acceptance of inference limited to worldly affairs and verifiable by perception, which (the acceptance) – although not strictly speaking rational – is dictated by pragmatic reasons. ‘Established by common usage’ is this ‘commonly well-established’ inference, referred to by Purandara, or inference from ‘commonly well-established’ logical reasons, referred to by Udbhaṭa. By reason of the Cārvāka/Lokāyata rejection of cognitive validity of inference, the employment of inference of any kind is not grounded in reason, but rather is justified merely by experience and common agreement. This is how inference established by common usage meets the requirement of suprarationality.

As for the earlier-mentioned second requirement, cf. the following passage from a prose fragment from chapter one:⁵⁵

Objection: '[A person] acts in this way (i.e., performs religious observance) for the sake of pleasure.'

This is not [right], because it would undesirably follow (*prasaṅga*) that even the *nāstikas* would be acting in this way, like in the case of carnal enjoyment, because [it would] be established by common usage (*loka-vyavahāra-siddhatvāt*).

Objection: '[A person] performs [religious observance] even if [it] is fruitless, because it is established by the Vedic usage, like in the case of the *sandhyā* worship.' [...]

The *nāstikas*, 'disbelievers', referred to here, are obviously the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas, regularly accused of hedonism.⁵⁶ Again, Udayana resorts here to mockery of this irreligious school. The argument is that should religious observances be considered as bringing pleasure, just like physical union, then the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas would surely be religious people. Why? Because they follow common usage. *Loka-vyavahāra-siddhatva* is aptly juxtaposed with *veda-vyavahāra-siddhatva*: religious people would perform sacred rites because the scriptures tell them to do so. Similarly, God can be spoken of as *loka-vyavahāra-siddha*, as he is, after all, *commonly* admitted to exist. Perhaps there is a pun in this: should the Cārvākas/Lokāyatas, favouring common usage, not acknowledge Him if most people do?

Acknowledgements

I am obliged to Professor Eli Franco for his invaluable remarks on an early draft of this paper and for saving me from an embarrassing mistake.

References

Dictionaries

Apte Apte, Vaman Shivram 1965. *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. 4th revised and enlarged edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass [reprinted: 1985].

⁵⁵ NKus 98,3–5: *sukhārthaṃ tathā karotīti cet | na nāstikair api tathā-karaṇa-prasaṅgāt sambhoga-vat | loka-vyavahāra-siddhatvād | aphalam api kriyate veda-vyavahāra-siddhatvāt sandhyôpāsana-vad iti cet |*

⁵⁶ Cf., e.g., ŚDS 86d: *dharmah kāmāt paro na hi ||*, TRD 460,1: *kāma eva paramo dharmah*. See also TRD 451,2–3 referred to in an earlier footnote.

- MW Monier-Williams, Monier 1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*. Enlarged edition. Oxford: The Clarendon Press [reprinted: 2005, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass].

Primary Sources

- BĀU *Bṛhad-āraṇyakôpaniṣad*. [In:] Olivelle, Patrick, ed. 1998. *The early Upaniṣads: annotated text and translation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- NKus Udayana: *Nyāya-kusumāñjali*. [In:] Upādhyāya, P. and Dh. Śāstrī, eds 1957. *The Nyāyakusumāñjali of Śrī Udayanāchārya with four commentaries – the Bodhinī [spelling original – SJK], Prakāśa, Prakāśikā (Jalada) and Makaranda by Varadarāja, Vardhamānopādhyāya, Megha Thakkura and Ruchidattopādhyāya and notes by Śrī Dharmadatta (Bachchā Jhā)*. Kashi Sanskrit Series 30. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office.
- NKusB Varadarāja Miśra: *Bodhanī on Nyāya-kusumāñjali*. See NKus.
- NKusP Vardhamāna: *Prakāśa on Nyāya-kusumāñjali*. See NKus.
- NMGBh Cakradhara: *Nyāya-mañjarī-granthi-bhaṅga*. [In:] Shah, N. J., ed. 1972. *Cakradhara's Nyāyamañjarīgranthibhaṅga*. L. D. Series 35. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology.
- SDS Mādhava: *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha*. [In:] Abhyankar, Vasudev Shastri, ed. 1978. *Sarvadarśanasāṅgrahaḥ* (third edition). Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- ŚDS Haribhadra: *Śaḍ-darśana-samuccaya*. [In:] Jain, M. K., ed. 1989. *Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya of Haribhadra Sūri [With the Commentary Tarka-rahasya-dīpikā of Guṇaratna Sūri and Laghuvṛtti of Somatilaka Sūri and an Avacūrṇi]* (third edition). New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith Publication.
- SVR Vāidīva Sūri: *Syād-vāda-ratnākara*. [In:] Osvāl, M. L., ed. 1926–1930. *Śrīmadvāidīvasūriviracitaḥ Pramāṇanayatattvā-lokālaṅkāraḥ: tadvyākhyā ca Syādvādaratnākaraḥ* (2 Vols.). Arhatamataprabhākara 4. Poona [reprinted: 1988, Delhi: Bharatiya Book Corporation].
- TRD Guṇaratna: *Tarka-rahasya-dīpikā*. See ŚDS.
- TSP Kamalaśīla: *Tattva-saṅgraha-pañjikā*. [In:] Krishnamacharya, E., ed. 1926. *Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita. With the Commentary of*

- Kamalaśīla* (2 Vols.). Gaekwad's Oriental Series 30–31. Baroda: Oriental Institute [reprinted: 1984, 1988].
- TUS Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa: *Tattvōpaplava-siṃha*. Critical edition of the first half in: FRANCO 1994.
- YBh Vyāsa: *Yoga-bhāṣya*. [In:] Āpte, H. N., ed. 1904. *Pātañjalayoga-sūtrāṇi*. Poona: Ananda Ashram Press.

Secondary Sources

- ARNOLD, Dan 2005. 'Materials for a Mādhyamika Critique of Foundationalism: An Annotated Translation of *Prasannapadā* 55.11 to 75.13'. *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28(2): 411–467.
- BHATTACHARYA, Dineshchandra 1958. *History of Navya-Nyāya in Mithilā*. Darbhanga: Mithilā Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning.
- BHATTACHARYA, Ramkrishna 2009. *Studies on the Cārvāka/Lokāyata*. Firenze: Società Editrice Fiorentina.
- BRONKHORST, Johannes 1983. 'God in Sāṃkhya'. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 27: 149–164.
- BRONKHORST, Johannes 2008. 'Udbhaṭa, grammarian and Cārvāka'. [In:] Kaul, Mrinal and Ashok Aklujkar, eds, *Linguistic Traditions of Kashmir. Essays in memory of paṇḍita Dinanath Yaksha*. New Delhi: D. K. Printworld, pp. 281–299.
- BRONNER, Yigal 2016. 'Understanding Udbhaṭa: The Invention of Kashmiri Poetics in the Jayāpīḍa Moment'. [In:] Franco, Eli and Isabelle Ratié, eds, *Around Abhinavagupta. Aspects of the Intellectual History of Kashmir from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century*. Berlin: LIT Verlag, pp. 81–147.
- CHEMPARATHY, George 1972. *An Indian rational theology. Introduction to Udayana's Nyāyakusumāñjali*. Publications of the De Nobili Research Library 1. Vienna: Gerold & Co.
- COWELL, E. B., ed. and trans. 1864. *The Kusumāñjali, or Hindu Proof of the Existence of a Supreme Being, by Udayana Āchārya, with the Commentary of Hari Dāsa Bhaṭṭāchārya*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.
- COWELL, E. B. and A. E. GOUGH, trans. 1882. *The Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha, or Review of the different systems of Hindu philosophy by Mādhava Āchārya*. London: Trübner & Co.
- DRAVID, N. S., ed. and trans. 1996. *Nyāya-kusumāñjali of Udayanācārya*. New Delhi: Indian Council of Philosophical Research.
- FRANCO, Eli 1991. 'Paurandarasūtra'. [In:] Dhaky, M. A. and S. Jain, eds, *Aspects of Jainology*. Vol. III: *Pt. Dalsukhbhai Malvania Felicitation Volume I*. Varanasi: P.V. Research Institute, pp. 154–163.

- FRANCO, Eli 1994. *Perception, Knowledge and Disbelief: A Study of Jayarāśi's Scepticism*. 2nd edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass [1st edition: 1987, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH].
- GARFIELD, Jay L. 2015. *Engaging Buddhism: Why It Matters to Philosophy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- KATSURA, Shōryū 2011. 'Apoha Theory as an Approach to Understanding Human Cognition'. [In:] Siderits, Mark, Tom Tillemans and Arindam Chakrabarti, eds, *Apoha: Buddhist Nominalism and Human Cognition*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- KAVIRAJ, Gopinath 1923. 'Nyāya Kusumāñjali (English Translation)'. *The Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Studies* 2: 159–191.
- NAMAI, Chishō Mamoru 1996. *Rinne no ronshō: Bukkyō ronrigakuha ni yoru yuibutsuron hihan*. Osaka: Tōhō shuppan.
- PHILLIPS, Stephen H. 1997. *Classical Indian Metaphysics. Refutations of Realism and the Emergence of 'New Logic'*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- POTTER, Karl H., ed. 1977. *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*. Vol. II: *Indian Metaphysics and Epistemology: The tradition of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika up to Gaṅgeśa*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- SOLOMON, Esther A. 1977–1978. 'Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa'. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 58–59: 985–992.
- TIRTHA, Ravi, trans. 1946. *The Nyāyakusumāñjali of Udayanācārya. A presentation of theistic doctrines according to the Nyāya system of philosophy*. Chennai: Adyar Library.
- WEZLER, Albrecht 1969–1970. 'Der Gott des Sāṃkhya: Zu Nyāyakusumāñjali 1.3'. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 12: 255–262.

New Manuscript Evidence for *Suprabhātastava* by Śrīharṣadeva: The Drepung Texts critically examined

Zhen LIU

Abstract: The *Suprabhātastava* is one of the two hymns ascribed to King Śrīharṣadeva (c. 590–647 CE), who ruled over Kannauj. There are five modern editions of this text, which roughly follow eight extant Sanskrit manuscripts and a Tibetan translation. Recently, scholars discovered two unknown Sanskrit manuscripts of the text in Drepung Monastery. One of them has unique contents and readings. For this reason, the present article compares the said manuscript with other extant versions. In this respect, the article demonstrates that the newly discovered manuscripts belong to a different transmission lineage. Moreover, the article discusses the authorship and genre of the *Suprabhātastava*.

Keywords: *Suprabhātastava*, Śrīharṣadeva, Buddhist hymns, Drepung Manuscripts

Zhen LIU, Fudan University;  0000-0002-4737-2843

1. Introduction

Undoubtedly, the majority of Buddhist hymns are meant to praise the Buddha (HARTMANN 2015: 532). They are known as *stotra*, *stava*, or *stuti*. This literary genre comprises a type of hymns that praises the superiority of the Buddha over his opponents, the Hindu gods.¹ I name this sub-genre the *devātīśaya*-type.² SCHNEIDER 2014: 17 suggests that this sub-genre may belong to the Gupta period (ca. 4th century CE – ca. late 6th century CE). The scholar refers to an inscription found in Phanigiri³ as the earliest known evidence for the

¹ It refers only to the rival of Buddhism at that time, in which the authors of this type of hymns lived, and the Indian god faith became a strong or stronger alternative to Buddhism.

² I borrow the title from a hymn written by Varāhasvāmin, which will be discussed below.

³ For the text and translation, see SKILLING and VON HINÜBER 2011. The dating of this inscription is between the 3rd and the 4th century CE. In this inscription, Śiva and Kṛṣṇa are placed in opposition to the Buddha.

sub-genre. The mentioned inscription claims that Buddha transcended Śiva and Viṣṇu. This portrayal may trace back to a stanza in the *Brāhmaṇavagga*, which is the 26th chapter of the *Dhammapada*:

The sun shines by day, the moon is bright by night;
the warrior shines when his armor is fastened on,
the brahman shines when meditating,
but the awakened one shines all day and night by his radiance.
(Dhp 387)⁴

The *devātiśaya*-type is associated with four representative works (ZORIN 2010: 88), of which the three most important are: (1) Rādhasvāmin's⁵ *Viśeṣastava*, 'Praise of the Excellence [of the Buddha]'⁶; (2) *Sarvajñamaheśvarastotra*, 'Praise of the All-Knowing One, the Great Lord'⁷; and (3) his younger brother – according to legend – Varāhasvāmin's⁸ *Devātiśayastotra*, 'Praise of [the Buddha's] Preeminence over the Gods'.⁹ According to various sources, including commentaries and Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism*, Rādhasvāmin and Varāhasvāmin were originally Brahmins who worshipped Śiva, but later converted to Buddhism (SCHNEIDER 2019a and 2019b). Schneider dates the two authors, with reservations, to a period before the 8th century CE, when Tibetan translations and commentaries appeared (SCHNEIDER 2014: 18). The three works mentioned above were perhaps contemporary to the famous king in Kannauj, Śrīharṣadeva (c. 590–647 CE).

Apart from three plays,¹⁰ two short hymns are ascribed to Śrīharṣadeva, namely the *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra* (henceforth: Aṣṭ; 'Praise of the Shrines at the Eight Great Places') and the *Suprabhātastava* and (henceforth: Sup; 'Praise of the Beautiful Dawn').

⁴ Translated by NORMAN 1997: 55. The Pāli text is: *divā tapatī ādicco, rattim ābhātī candimā, sannaddho khattiyo tapatī, jhāyī tapatī brāhmaṇo, atha sabbam ahorattim Buddhō tapatī tejasā*, see Dhp 109.

⁵ For the reason we use the name Rādhasvāmin instead of Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin, see SCHNEIDER 2019b, i.e., the entry 'Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin' in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*.

⁶ For the edition and translation of the Tibetan version, see SCHNEIDER 1993. For the edition of its Sanskrit version, see LIU and SCHNEIDER 2022: 65–76.

⁷ For the edition and translation of the Tibetan version, see SCHNEIDER 1995.

⁸ Instead of Śaṅkarasvāmin, the name of the poet Varāhasvāmin is attested in the colophone of the Sanskrit manuscript, see LIU and SCHNEIDER 2022: 47 and 52.

⁹ For the edition and translation of the Tibetan version, see SCHNEIDER 2014. For the edition of its Sanskrit version, see LIU and SCHNEIDER 2022: 47–52.

¹⁰ Namely *Nāgānanda*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Ratnāvalī*.

The latter, which is also named ‘Praise of the Excellently Illuminating Dawn (i.e., the Buddha)’¹¹, belongs to the *devātiśaya*-type. The author compares the deeds and characteristics of various Indian gods and sages with those of the Buddha. The Buddha, the only Awakened One, surpasses all Indian gods, who are still asleep. Therefore, the title of this hymn can be also interpreted as the ‘Morning/Awakening Song’, which defines it as a counterpart to the Brahmanical morning oblation.¹²

According to PW (s.v. *suprabhāta*), AUFRECHT 1903 (s.v. *Suprabhāstotra*), and THOMAS 1903: 704, the *Vāmanapurāṇa* contains a Brahmanical *Suprabhāta* (VāmP 14.21–28), which could be considered as the oldest ‘Morning/Awakening Song’ if we define *suprabhāta* as the name of a literary genre that was originally used in Brahmanical morning oblations. This song lists various Brahmanical gods and sages. In Sup, however, the same gods and sages are satirised.¹³

Depending on the version, Sup consists of 21 to 25 stanzas composed in five different meters: *mālinī*, *anuṣṭubh*, *vaṃśamālā*, *vasantatilaka*, and *śārdūlavikrīḍita* (see appendix II). Albeit poetically unsophisticated, the author of the poem is able to skillfully describe the powers of a god or a group of sages while simultaneously satirising them in as little as three *pādas*. Three stanzas (Sup <20>, <21> and <23>) overlap with two stanzas recorded in the Jaina *Suprabhāta* found by THOMAS 1903: 704 and 722. Since one transmitted version of Sup, on which the Tibetan translation is based, does not contain these three stanzas, they must be a later insertion.

Colophons in the Tibetan translations do not ascribe Aṣṭ and Sup to Śrīharṣadeva in Kannauj, but to the later King Śrīharṣadeva (1089–1101) in Kashmir (STEINER 1997: 210–211). Since MINAYEV 1887: 233, following the Tibetan colophons, attributes both works to the Kashmiri King Śrīharṣadeva, this opinion has been followed by THOMAS 1903: 704.¹⁴ FRANCESCHINI 2019: 215 partially accepts it in his entry on ‘Harṣa’, which he wrote for the *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. Lévi, on the other hand, proved that the King

¹¹ According to the interpretation in the Tibetan translation, *rab tu snga bar sad pa*, see STEINER 1997: 210, n. 1.

¹² Although we cannot find a Brahmanical *suprabhāta*-hymn as early as in Gupta-Dynasty, the morning- and evening-performance of *agnihotra* has had a long tradition since the Brāhmaṇa-period, see BODEWITZ 1976: 41–50.

¹³ Apart from the Brahmanical *Suprabhāta*, there is also Jaina versions of the *Suprabhāta* literature. See THOMAS 1903: 704. The title of one *Suprabhāta* is attested in SCHUBRING 1934: 4b32. Unfortunately, these texts are still not accessible.

¹⁴ THOMAS 1903: 704 regarded wrongly that Minayev read the geographic term ‘Kashmir’ in his Sanskrit manuscripts.

Śrīharṣadeva in question was the king of Kannauj, not the king of Kashmir, being the author of Aṣṭ (LÉVI 1897: 189, n. 2).¹⁵ STEINER 1997: 211 follows Lévi, but he does not rule out both possibilities that Sup could be ascribed to either the King Śrīharṣadeva in Kashmir or to the king of Kannauj.

Regardless, there are two common points between Aṣṭ and Sup:

1. Both Sup and Aṣṭ display the same final refrain, in which the Buddha is referred to as *daśabala*, ‘one who possesses ten powers’.¹⁶
2. In the third stanza of Aṣṭ, the names of the gods can be found in Sup too:¹⁷

*kailāse hemakūṭe himavati malaye mandare meruśṛṅge
pātāle vaijayante dhanapatīnilaye siddhagandharvaloke |
brahmāṇḍe viṣṇubhūmau paśupatinagare candrasūryātireke
ye cānye dhātukaityā daśabalabalinas tān namasyāmi mūrdhnā || 3 ||*

At Kailāsa Mount, Hemakūṭa Mount, Himalaya Mount, Malaya Mount, Mandara Mount, on the Summit of Meru Mount, at Pātāla, Vaijayanta, Dhanapati’s (Kubera) House, in the Worlds of Siddhas and Gandharvas; in the egg of Brahman, on the ground of Viṣṇu, in the city of Paśupati (Śiva), in the realm which surpasses that of the moon and the sun, there are other *caityas* of reliquaries of the one who possesses ten powers. I pay homage to them with my head.¹⁸

Can the author of Sup be identified with Kannauj’s Śrīharṣadeva? There are three arguments:

1. As THOMAS 1903: 704 already pointed out, ‘A slight confirmation of this ascription, which would be, indeed, in itself of some authority, is to be found in the occurrence of the word *harṣa*¹⁹ in the last verse of the poem (i.e., Sup), seeing that Hindu writers often in this way attach the seal of authenticity to their works’. The similar ‘seal’ of authenticity, now in the form of *hr̥ṣṭa*⁰, can be found in the first half of the last verse of *Nāgānanda*, which without a doubt is a play authored by Śrīharṣadeva in Kannauj:

¹⁵ About one hundred years earlier than the reign of Harṣadeva in Kashmir, Aṣṭ was transliterated into Chinese characters, see STEINER 1997: 211.

¹⁶ The last *pāda* of stanza 2–4 in Aṣṭ is: *ye cānye dhātukaityā daśabalabalinas tān namasyāmi mūrdhnā*, see ZHANG 2020: 111–113.

¹⁷ Kubera in Sup <16>, Siddha and Gandharva in Sup <1>, Brahman in Sup <8>, Viṣṇu in Sup <9>, Śiva in Sup <10>, the moon in Sup <7> and the sun in Sup <6>.

¹⁸ ZHANG 2020: 112. LÉVI’s 1897: 201 edition has slightly different readings and a different verse-number, i.e., 4. For the French translation of Aṣṭ, see ETTINGHAUSEN 1906: 176–179.

¹⁹ The exact form is ⁰*harṣite*, see commentary to <25d>.

*vr̥ṣṭim hr̥ṣṭasikhaṇḍitāṇḍavabhṛtaḥ kālē kirantv ambudāḥ
kurvantaḥ pratirūḍhasantataharitsasyottariyām kṣitim |*

Let the clouds make rain showers at the due time,
Bring wild dancing to the **delighted** peacocks,
Clothing the earth with dense sprouted green corn. (Trans. SKILTON
2009: 222–223).

2. Bāṇa was a court poet who worked for Śrīharṣadeva in Kanauj. In his *Harṣacarita* (*Biography of the King Harṣa*) there are many descriptions, in which King Harṣa is compared with the gods, Śiva, Kṛṣṇa, Yama, Prajāpati, etc., not to mention the Buddha and the Jina:²⁰

But now-a-days, when your highness, – calm in mind like Buddha himself, one who carries out all the rules for the castes and orders like Manu, and bears the rod of punishment as visibly as Yama, – governs the whole earth girdled by the seven oceans, and bearing all the continents as its garland, – who would venture without fear even to act in his own mind the character of indecorum, that bosom-friend of open profligacy? (Trans. COWELL and THOMAS 1897: 66).

and

In him we see how a ‘Subduer of Hosts’ (Indra) has set at rest the moving partisan kings. In him a ‘Lord of People’ (Prajāpati) has displayed forbearance towards all other rulers. ... In him a ‘World’s Lord’ (Viṣṇu) has stationed the world’s guardians at the entrance to the regions, and the treasure of the earth has been distributed among the first of the people. (Trans. COWELL and THOMAS 1897: 75–76).

In some passages, King Harṣa even surpasses them:

His youthful exploits, unlike Kṛṣṇa’s, transgress not right; his freaks of power cause no offence to the man of refinement as did those of Śiva; his boast lead to no destruction of families as did those of Indra to that of the cowpens; unlike Yama, ...; unlike Varuṇa, ...; unlike Kubera, ...; unlike Jina, the sight of him is never without solid result; unlike the Moon, his glories do not wane. Wonderful is his royalty, surpassing the gods!²¹

²⁰ For example, Hc. 79.14–18: *idānīm tu sugata iva śāntamanasi, ... ka ivāviśaṅkaḥ sarvavyasanabandhor avinayasya manasāpy abhinayaṃ kalpayisyati* and 90.5–91.7: *atra balajitā niścālikṛtāś calantaḥ kṛtapakṣāḥ kṣitibhṛtaḥ; ... atra lokanāthena diśāṃ mukheṣu parikalpitā lokapālāḥ sakalabhuvanakośāś cāgryajanmanāṃ vibhakta iti*.

²¹ Hc. 77.9–78.1: *nāsyā harer iva vr̥ṣavirodhīni bālacaritāni, ... na candramasa iva*

Although these comparative descriptions are common in Indian *kāvya*-literature and usually have no religious intention, they fit the purpose of the *devātīśaya*-type very well. Not coincidentally, *Viśeṣastava*, *Sarvajñamaheśvarastotra*, *Devātīśayastotra* as well as *Sup* were possibly composed during or shortly after the time of Bāṇa and Śrīharṣadeva in Kannauj.

3. Śrīharṣadeva in Kannauj was a Śaivite, not a Buddhist.²² Varāhasvāmin and Rādhasvāmin were worshipers of Śiva. The shared religious background of these three Gupta authors may have resulted in the same type of hymns.

Furthermore, LÉVI 1897: 191 argues that ‘Le *Suprabhātastotra* a de plus l’avantage d’un joli vers (i.e. *Sup* 1), spirituel et délicat, à la manière de *Ratnāvalī* ou de *Priyadarçikā*’. However, the characterization of these verses as “spirituel et délicat” is too weak to support his argument.

The authorship of *Sup* remains not completely certain. The text nevertheless achieved wide circulation. The five available editions, by MINAYEV 1887 (henceforth: Mi), THOMAS 1903 (henceforth: Th), ETTINGHAUSEN 1906 (henceforth: Et), PANDEYA 1994 (henceforth: Pa) and BAHULKAR 2012 (henceforth: Ba), were produced on the basis of eight extant Sanskrit manuscripts:

1. A text of the hymns with Newari translation, 14 pages, consulted by Mi in his edition (henceforth: Mi^A).
2. A ms. in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in Paris (fonds Burnouf, 125), consulted at first by Mi (henceforth: Mi^P), then by Th and Et.
3. One of the two mss in the St. Petersburg collection, consulted by Mi (henceforth: Mi^B).
4. One of the two mss in the St. Petersburg collection, consulted by Mi (henceforth: Mi^C) (MINAYEV 1887: 233, n. 1).
Minayev used these above four mss in his edition. Among these, Mi^A, Mi^B and Mi^C come from Kathmandu.
5. A Nepalese ms. in the Library of the India Office (I.O. 2921), which comprises a Nepalese interpretation, consulted by Th (henceforth: Th^A), then by Et.

bahuladoṣopahatāḥ śrīyaḥ citram idam atyamaramaṁ rājatvam. For an English translation, see COWELL and THOMAS 1897: 64–65.

²² GOYAL 1932 has contributed a whole book to this conclusion: Harṣa is a great patron of Buddhism and Buddhists, but he is a worshipper of Śiva.

6. A ms. in the collection of the Bengal Asiatic Society, consulted by Th (henceforth: Th^B), then by Et.
In addition to Mi^P, Thomas used these above two mss (THOMAS 1903: 703 and 705).
7. A ms. in the University Library, Cambridge, consulted by Et (Ms. Add. 1614, 13v1–15r5, Collection of Stotras and Songs²³, henceforth: Et^C).
In addition to Et^C, Ettinghausen used three mss, Mi^P, Th^A and Th^B (ETTINGHAUSEN 1906: 168).
8. A Devanāgarī-ms. from the private collection of Vijayarāja Vajrācārya in Nepal, consulted by Ba (henceforth: Ba^K).²⁴
In addition to this ms., Bahulkar consulted the edition by Thomas. Pandeya tells us nothing about the manuscripts that he consulted. However, Pandeya must have consulted the same material as Bahulkar.

These manuscripts have not been accessible to me, therefore their variant readings are reported according to their editions in the publications mentioned above.

Recently, two unstudied manuscripts of Sup were found in Drepung ('Bras spungs) Monastery. At the beginning of this century, a facsimile edition of Sanskrit manuscripts²⁵ preserved in Tibet was published in 61 volumes. In this publication, the manuscripts from Drepung Monastery stretch over three volumes. The first one (henceforth: D1) belongs to a bundle of manuscripts with the file number ZX0587–ZB09 in vol. 1. The manuscript is written on palm leaf in Old Bengali script. It could be dated to the 13th or 14th centuries. The size of the folios is 31 cm X 5.2 cm. There are eight lines per page, without a distinct foliation system. However, the facsimile edition has been paginated by the publishers, probably according to the sequence of folios as found during photographing. Following this tentative pagination, Sup stretches from 4a1 to 5a3 in Liu and Schneider's edition (LIU and SCHNEIDER 2022: 4–5).

The second manuscript of Sup (henceforth: D2) is in a file named no. ZX0618–ZB24 in vol. 2, which contains 26 short texts. The manuscript is written on palm leaf in a Nepalese script. It could be dated to between the 12th and 13th centuries. The size of folios is 31.6 cm X 5 cm. There are 5 lines per

²³ This hymn was described by BENDALL 1883: 138 as being 'attributed to "Harsha-deva-bhūpati"' during his cataloging and is identified by ETTINGHAUSEN 1906: 168. For the description of this ms., see CDL, MS ADD. 1614.

²⁴ According to BAHULKAR 2012: liv and 275, n. 1, this ms. covers folios 27–30 from the manuscript-collection named *Bauddhastotrasaṃgrahaḥ*.

²⁵ About this facsimile edition, see LIU and SCHNEIDER 2022: 3.

page, with a distinct pagination system. This version of Sup is the eighth text in the collection (10a1–12a2), following immediately after Aṣṭ.²⁶

The Tanjur preserves a Tibetan translation (henceforth: Tib). This version, however, does not reveal its translator's identity. Therefore, it is difficult to date the Tibetan version (Tib).

As THOMAS 1903: 705 and STEINER 1997: 210–211, n. 1 have already noted, the order and number of stanzas in the extant editions and manuscripts do not always agree between the Sanskrit text and its Tibetan version; there are even disparities among the Sanskrit manuscripts. All the extant editions display 24 stanzas, which nevertheless may follow diverging sequences. D1 has 25 stanzas. Two of its stanzas (verse <2> and <19>) have never been attested in any other versions. It lacks one stanza seen in all other versions. D2, on the other hand, presents only 22 stanzas, with two stanzas missing. In Tib there are only 21 stanzas. It lacks 3 stanzas, which are preserved in all Sanskrit manuscripts and overlap with two stanzas in the Jaina *Suprabhāta* (see appendix II). Additionally, Tib contains one stanza that cannot be found in the Sanskrit versions.²⁷

The two additional stanzas recorded in D1 have a high literary value. The wording in D1 differs strongly from that of other versions.²⁸ Therefore, although some readings in D1 do not seem to be proper in the context,²⁹ I have nevertheless selected D1 as the main source-edition through which to edit and compare other versions. Appendix I offers a critical edition of D2; appendix II offers a *pāda*-concordance of the both mss in Drepung, five extant editions and the Tibetan translation.

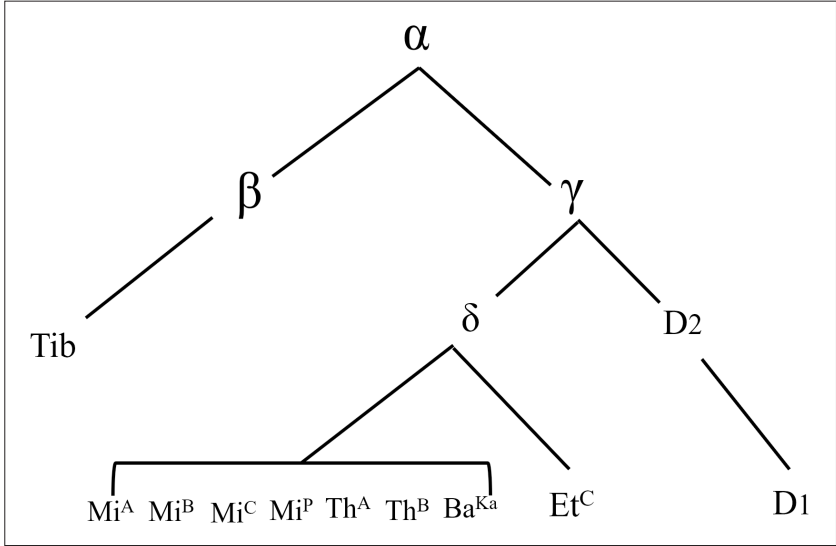
The stemma presented here concerns the eight manuscripts, which have been consulted by the former editors, the two Drepung manuscripts, and the Tibetan translation:

²⁶ MATSUDA 2019: 22–24. For an edition of the Sanskrit manuscript of Aṣṭ from Drepung Monastery, see ZHANG 2020.

²⁷ See commentary to verse <25> and appendix II.

²⁸ In many verses, D2 displays the same readings seen in D1. For example, <5c>, <7c>, <10c>, <12b>, <16c>, <21cd>, <22c>, <24c>, and *vighnakartā* in <14a>, *bahuvividhaviḡhātāḥ* in <18b>, etc.

²⁹ For example, *sakalaghanavitāna*° in <2a>, *lokaśṛṣṭyekaśabdaḥ* in <5b>, *vatsabhṛgvāṅgiro* in <17a>, etc.



The Tibetan edition does not record these three stanzas <20–21, 23>, which show traces of Jaina influence. Furthermore, the Tibetan version contains one stanza <25>, which is not found in the other versions. For these reasons, the stemma above identifies Tib as an early edition. Besides these, according to the content, Tib shows 20 significant discrepancies³⁰ against branch γ.³¹ Tib and branch δ differ eight times from at least one Drepung manuscript, while Tib and Drepung manuscripts ten times from branch δ.

Since the readings in D1 and D2 differ significantly from the readings offered by extant editions 13 times, the stemma above treats the two groups of manuscripts as two different branches, i.e., δ and Drepung manuscripts. Apart from these two additional stanzas, <2> and <19>, in D1, D1 again displays 13 considerable discrepancies against D2 and branch δ; D2 has only five against D1 branch δ. D1 can be regarded as a witness dependent on D2.³²

³⁰ ‘Significant discrepancy’ means a significant semantic difference between two readings, e.g., *gsum* in Tib against *strī* in Skt. of <4b>, or **mukhyair* in D1, D2, and *gto* in Tib against **yakṣair* in eds. of <1a>. An example of insignificant discrepancy is *yānti dvirephāḥ* in D1, D2, and eds. against *yāti dvirephaḥ* in Mi^A of <1d>.

³¹ Among these discrepancies, five are possibly due to scribal error, and five are probably due to the translator’s interpretation.

³² Or *vice versa*, since D1 has probably preserved the end verse of an old recension of Sup, i.e. verse <19>, see the commentary to verse <19>.

It is difficult to assign a precise position to the eight manuscripts in δ . Among them, Et^C possesses five significant discrepancies. The other seven manuscripts cannot show their characteristic obviously unless we can access them.³³

2. Textual Edition and Comparison

Structure:

The verse numbers of this edition are based on that of D1 and put in sharp brackets, e.g., <1> for the first verse. One stanza between Sup 17 and 18, which is absent in D1, is marked with <17+>.

Each individual stanza will be examined according to a quadripartite scheme:

The first layer is the Sanskrit text with critical apparatus.

The second layer is the Tibetan Text with critical apparatus.

The third layer is the English translation.

The fourth layer is the commentary.

Conventions of the Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text

This critical edition of the Sanskrit manuscripts does not highlight any paleographic and orthographic features that do not involve semantics. Thus, the following items in the diplomatic edition (LIU and SCHNEIDER 2022: 17–21) have been tacitly normalised throughout, also in the critical edition of D2:

- (1) gemination of consonants after *r*
- (2) degemination of consonants before *v*
- (3) use of *m̐* for homorganic nasal and *vice versa*
- (4) use of *m̐* for final *m* at the end of a verse line
- (5) intermingling of sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*
- (6) use of *avagraha* for crasis end elision
- (7) non-application of *saṃdhi*, use of *virāma*
- (8) irregularities of punctuation

Corrections and comparisons are indicated by underlining in the main text. The readings of the manuscripts and the other editions are given in the apparatus. The abbreviation ‘eds.’ indicates the extant editions.

³³ In between, Ba^{Ka} and Mi^C have two significant discrepancies, respectively.

Conventions of the Critical Edition of Tibetan Text

The Tanjur preserves five Tibetan editions, which comprise four printing blocks (Derge, Cone, Narthang, and Peking) and one manuscript (Ganden). The corresponding abbreviations and locations are:

C for Cone, *bstod tshogs*, vol. ka 279a2–281a1

D for Derge, *bstod tshogs*, vol. ka 239a4–240b5

G for Ganden, *bstod tshogs*, vol. ka 345b3–348a2

N for Narthang, *bstod tshogs*, vol. ka 262b5–264b3

P for Peking, *bstod tshogs*, vol. ka 280a1–281b7

Corrections and comparisons are indicated by *italics* in the main text. The readings of the other versions are given in the apparatus. Discrepancies between Tibetan and (some) Sanskrit reading(s) are shown in a text box.

om̐ namo buddhāya ||

om̐ namo buddhāya || om. Ba D2 Pa : *namo budhāya* Mi

Homage to the Buddha!

<1>

stutam api surasaṃghaiḥ SiddhaGandharvammukhyair

divi bhuvi ca viśistaiḥ stotravāgbhir yatīśaiḥ |

aham api kr̥śāśaktiḥ staumi sambuddham āryam

nabhasi Garuḍayāte kiṃ na yānti dvirephāḥ ||

- a. °*mukhyair* D1D2] °*yakṣair* eds.
- b. *ca* D1 D2] *su*° eds.; *viśiṣṭaiḥ* D1] *vicitrāiḥ* D2 eds.
- c. *kr̥śāśaktiḥ* *staumi* Ba D1 D2 Mi Pa Th] *kr̥śāśaktir naumi* Et; *sambuddham āryam* D1 D2 eds.] *sambuddhavārya* Th^A : *sambuddhamārgo* Th^B
- d. °*yāte* Ba D1 D2 Et Mi^{AP} Pa Th] °*yānte* Mi Mi^{BC}; *yānti dvirephāḥ* D1 D2 eds.] *yāti dvirephāḥ* Mi^A

lha yi tshogs dang grub pa dri za'i [gtso] dang sdom brtson dbang rnam kyis ||

bstod tshig [sna tshogs dag gis] lha yul sa steng rnam su bstod mod kyi ||

bdag kyang [ji ltar] nus pas 'phags pa rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas bstod bgyi ste ||

nam mkha' la ni mkha' lding 'phur zhes bung pa rnam ni cis mi 'phur || 1 ||

- c. *nus*] *nub* CGNP; *rdzogs*] *rjogs* P

Translation

Although the noble, the perfect Buddha has already been praised by the crowds of gods and chief Siddhas and Gandharvas in heaven, and outstanding ascetics on earth (lit. ascetic lords) with excellent words of praise, I too, who am only little capable of doing so, will praise him. Do not the bees go in the sky where Garuḍa traverses?

Commentary

- a. In Tib, *dri za'i gtso* stands for °*gandharvamukhyair* in D1 and D2, not °*gandharvayakṣair* ('Gandharvas and Yakṣas'), as seen in the other versions.
- b. In Tib, *sna tshogs dag gis* stands for (*su-*)*vicitrāḥ* ('various') in the other versions, not *viśiṣṭaiḥ*, as seen in D1.
- c. Et reads *naumi* instead of *staumi* and translates it as 'moi aussi je le salue'. In Tib, *ji ltar* stands probably for **īdṛśa*° ('such'), despite of the corruption of meter, neither for *kṛta*° ('[so] accomplished') in Et,³⁴ nor for *kṛśa*° ('little') in the remaining versions.

<2>

sakalaghanavitānakleśarātryandhakāre
 Jina jagati vibuddhaṃ tatkṣaṇajñānalābhāt |
 kamalam iva niśānte tvāṃ tathā suprabuddhaṃ
 stutikusumakalāpair arthaiṣyāmi bhaktyā ||

Translation

Oh, Victorious One! When the night 'defilements' darkened the world due to the expansion of its whole mass, you were awake because in that moment you gained the [highest] knowledge. So I, full of devotion, [bringing] bouquets of hymns of praise, want to implore you, who have fully awakened like a lotus at the end of the night.

Commentary

This stanza is not attested in any other versions.

- b. The phrase *tatkṣaṇajñānalābhāt* could be emendated to *tatkṣaṇaṃ jñānalābhāt*, and the whole *pāda* can be understood as 'you were awake in an instant because you gained the [highest] knowledge'.

³⁴ Et understands *aham api kṛśaśaktiḥ* as 'm'attribuant ce pouvoir'.

<3>

kṣapitaduritapakṣaḥ kṣīṇaniḥśeśadoso
 dravitanakavarṇaḥ phullapadmāyatākṣaḥ |
surucirapariveṣaḥ suprabhāmaṇḍalaśrīr
 daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

a. °doṣo Ba D1 D2 Mi Pa Th] °doṣaḥ Et

c. *surucira*° D1 D2 eds.] *suracita*° Mi^A : *suracila*° Th^A : *suracira*° Th^B

mi mthun phyogs spangs gyur pa lus pa med pa'i skyon ni zad gyur la ||
 btso ma gser gyi mdog can padma rgyas pa lta bur yangs pa'i spyen ||
 dpal ldan mdzes pa'i 'od kyi dkyil 'khor [lha yi tshogs kyis] yongs bskor ba'i ||
 stobs bcu mnge' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar nam langs pa'o || 2 ||

Translation

[You] have destroyed the bad tenets [of the Tīrthikas]; in you, the faults have been eliminated without residue; You have the colour of melted gold; your eye is elongated like an expanded lotus[-leaf]; you have a very beautiful dressing; a beautifully shining nimbus is your glory. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

b. *dravita*° instead of the correct form *drāvita*°, *m.c.*

c. In Tib, *lha yi tshogs kyis* stands for the sole possible reading *suracita*° in Mi^A. However, the Tibetan translator interprets *su-racita* ('well-arranged') as *sura-citi* ('a crowd of gods').

<4>

madanabalavijetuḥ kāpathocchedakartus
 tribhuvanahitakartuḥ strīlatājālahartuḥ |
śamasukharamavettur bhettur ajñānaśailam
 daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

b. *strī*° D1 D2 eds.] *strī*° Mi^{AC}

c. *śama*° D1 Et Th] *sama*° Ba D2 Mi Pa : *sīma*° Th^A; °*ramavettur* D1]
 °*ramavettur* ms.D1 : °*parivetur* D2 : °*phaladātur* eds.; °*śailam* D1 D2
 eds.] °*śailaḥ* Mi^A : °*śaila* Mi^B

bdud kyi dpung las rnam par rgyal ba nyam *nga* lam *ni* gcod mdzad pa ||
 sa gsum phan par mdzad pa 'khri shing dra ba gsum *la* dral mdzad pa ||
zhi ba'i bde ba rtsol bar mdzad pa mi *shes* ri bo 'jig mdzad pa ||
 stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar nam langs pa'o || 3 ||

- a. *nga*] *nga'i* D; *ni*] *na* CGNP
- b. *la*] *po* D
- c. *shes*] *shis* P

Translation

You defeat Māra's army; you break bad ways [of teaching]; you work for the good of the three worlds; you rob [i.e. destroy] the net of women's creepers; you know the calmness, happiness and joy; you smash the mountain of 'ignorance'! Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

- b. In Tib, *gsum la* or *gsum po* must correspond to the Skt. *strī*^o. As argued by Th, the Tibetan translator must have misinterpreted *strī*^o as *tri*^o.
- c. In Tib, *zhi ba* stands for *śama*^o, as seen in D1. In his edition, Th reads Mi as *sama*^o, while ms. A has *sīma*^o. Resorting to the Tib version, Th renders the compound as *śamasukhaphaladātur* ('You give the fruit "happiness of calmness"'). So does our rendition of the first part of this compound, i.e., *sama*^o stands for *śama*^o. Otherwise, *samasukha*^o would mean 'indifferent happiness', and *sīmasukha*^o is unmetrical and could mean 'happiness at the extreme limit'. In ms. D1, the construction *śamasukharamavertur* is difficult to understand; if it is emended as *śamasukharamavettur*, this means that the Buddha has experienced not only religious calmness and happiness but also worldly joyfulness before his renunciation, since at that time he was a prince.

Tib *zhi ba'i bde ba rtsol bar mdzad pa* means 'You make (**o*kartur) the happiness of calmness diligently'. In D2, *śamasukhaparivetur* means 'You bind calmness and happiness together'.

<5>

asurasuranarāṇām yo 'grajanmāgradevaḥ
 sakalabhuvanadhātā lokasṛṣṭyaikaśabdah |
 svapiti jagati Buddhah padmapatrāyatākso
 daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- a. °devaḥ Ba D1 D2 Mi Pa] °daivaḥ Et Th
- b. °dhātā D1 D2] °nātho Et Mi : °dhātau Ba Pa Th; °aika° Ba D1 D2 Et Mi Pa] °eka° Th
- c. jagati buddhaḥ D1 D2] manujadhātā eds.; padmapatrāyatākṣo D1 D2] abjayoniḥ svayambhūr Ba Mi Pa : padmayoniḥ svayambhūr Et Th

gang zhig lha min mi dang lha rnam kyī yang [sngon du bde ba'i gnas thob pa] ||
 ma lus pa'i sa'i [khams su] 'jig rten gcig bsdus dbyangs gsang [mthon po sgrogs] ||
 shed las skyed pa bsgo byed rang byung padma'i skye gnas can ni] gnyid log
 gyur ||

stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar nam langs pa'o || 4 ||

- b. pa'i sa'i] pa yi sa yi D; gcig] bdun D; gsang] gsangs D
- c. skyed] skyes DG; gnyid] gnyad D

Translation

He sleeps in the world; [he] who has the first birth among the gods, *asuras* and men; and is the highest god; [he] who is the creator of the entire universe and who is the one word in the creation of the world [i.e., the syllable *om*]. [But] the Buddha has an elongated eye like a lotus leaf. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

The verse refers to Prajāpati.

- a. As mentioned by Th, the corresponding Tib term has two superfluous syllables and means ‘having won a foremost place of happiness’.
- b. For °dhātā, Mi has °nātho (‘protector’). Ba, Pa, and Th have °dhātau (‘in the realm’), which in Tib corresponds to *khams su*. As noted by Th, the Tib version omits ‘creation’ and adds ‘resounding loudly’. In my opinion, *gcig bsdus dbyangs gsang* (‘one single secret sound’) is rather a free interpretation of *ekaśabda*. Apart from the reading *lokaśṣṭyekaśabdaḥ* in Th, the instrumental form *lokaśṣṭyā*° within the reading *lokaśṣṭyaikaśabdaḥ* in the other editions seems to be redundant.
- c. Eds. and Tib offer the reading ‘He sleeps: the creator of man, the one born from lotus, the one who arose by himself’. Here, too, Tib exhibits one superfluous syllable.

<6>

udayagiritatastho vidrumacchedatāmras
 timiranikarahantā cakṣur ekam janānām |
Ravir api madalolaḥ sarvathā so 'pi supto
 daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- b. °nikara° Ba D1 D2 Et Pa] °kiraṇa° Mi : °kulan° Th³⁵; ekam janānām D1 eds.³⁶] ekaḥ prajānām D2;
 c. ravir api mada° D1 D2 eds.] raviparimala° Mi^C; mada° Ba D1 D2 Mi^B Pa Th] par° Et Mi

shar gyi *ri'i rtse'i* ngos la gnas shing dmar *po'i* [od kyis rnam gnon pa] ||
 mun pa'i tshogs rnam s 'joms par byed *pa* skye dgu rnam kyī mig gcig *pu* ||
 nyi ma de yang myos pas '*phyan zhing* rnam pa kun *tu* gnyid log gyur ||
 stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab *tu* snga bar sad pa'o || 5 ||

- a. *ri'i rtse'i*] *ri bo'i rtse yi* D; *po'i*] *pa'i* D; *rnam gnon*] *gnang non* CGNP
 b. *pa*] *par* CGNP; *pu*] *du* CGN : *tu* P
 c. '*phyan zhing*] '*byin cing* C : '*phyin cing* GNP; *tu*] *du* D
 d. *tu*] *du* D

Translation

It stands on the slope of the mountain, behind which [the sun] is rising; it is red like pieces of coral; it destroys the dense darkness; it is the sole eye of the creatures – the sun is also drunk; it invariably goes to sleep (every sundown). Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

The verse refers to Sūrya, or the Sun god.

- a. In C, G, N and P, *gnang non* is incomprehensible. As suggested by Th, the phrase *dmar po'i 'od kyis gnang non* can be reconstructed as **tāmraprabhayā pīḍayan* ('surpassing [the other lights] with [its] red light'). However, the reading *shing dmar po'i 'od kyis rnam gnon pa*, which occurs in D, may be reconstructed as **vidrumatāmraprabhayā vikrāmī* ('surpassing [the other lights] with [its] light that is red like a coral'). More

³⁵ Ba reads Th as °kula°.

³⁶ Ba reads Th as *ekaḥ janānām*.

or less, it is a speculation that *gnang non* could be a scribal error of *snang non* ('surpassing [its] light').

- b. Following the reading *timirakiraṇahantā*, which occurs in Mi, this sentence must be understood as: 'destroying the darkness with its rays', and is 'grammatically objectionable' as Th argued.

<7>

dviradadaśanapāṇḍuḥ śītaraśmīḥ śaśāṅkas
tilaka iva rajanyāḥ Śarvacūḍāmanir yah |
avigatamadarāgaś candramāḥ so 'pi supto
daśabala tava nityaṁ suprabhātaṁ prabhātaṁ ||

- b. *śarva*^o D1 D2 Mi Th] *sarva*^o Ba Et Mi^B Pa; *°maṇir yah* Ba D1 D2 Et Pa
Th] *°maṇīyah* Et^C Mi
c. *°rāgaś candramāḥ* D1 D2] *°rāgaḥ sarvathā* eds.

glang *po 'i mche* ltar dkar *bsil bsil* ba'i zer can ri bong mtshan ||
mtshan *mo 'i* thig le lta bur mdzes pa [kun gyi] gtsug gi nor bu gang ||
[dman pa'i mdangs dang bral ba] *des ni* rnam pa [kun tu] gnyid log gyur ||
stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar sad pa'o || 6 ||

- a. *po 'i mche*] *po che* CGNP; *bsil bsil*] *bsil gsal* D
b. *mo 'i*] *mo* D
c. *de yang*] *des ni* CGMP; *tu*] *du* CD

Translation

It is as pale as the teeth of an elephant [literally: the one with two tusks]; it has cold rays; it has a sign of a hare; it is like a forehead mark of the night; it is the jewel of Śiva worn on the head; the Moon, is not free from intoxication and passion. It is sleeping too. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

The verse refers to Candramas, or the Moon.

- a. In Tib, it lacks one or two syllables. Probably this stanza originally ran as **glang po che 'i mche ltar dkar bsil bsil ba'i zer can ri bong mtshan* and lost the syllable *che* due to haplography.

- b. In Tib, *kun gyi* corresponds for *sarva*^o (‘for all’), as seen in Ba, Mi^B and Pa. However, *sarva*^o does not agree with the context.
- c. In Tib, *dman pa’i mdangs dang bral ba* (‘free from inferior vitality’, i.e., ‘with high vitality’) seems to be the equivalent of the Skt. *avigatamadārāga*. In Tib, *kun tu* corresponds to *sarvathā* (‘over all’), as seen in eds.

<8>

pravaraabhujacatuṣkaḥ ṣoḍaśārdhārdhāvaktro

japaniyamavidhijñāḥ sāmavedapravaktā |

amalakamalayoniḥ so ’pi supto vidhātā

daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- a. *pravara*^o D1 D2 Et Mi Th] *prabala*^o Ba Pa;
 b. *sāmaveda*^o D1 D2 eds.] *sāmavedo* Et^c; *sāmaveda*pravaktā D1 D2 eds.]
sāmavedopavaktā Mi^p
 c. *supto vidhātā* D1 D2] *brahmā prasupto* eds.

rab mchog lag pa bzhi pa bcu drug phyed *phyed* phyogs kyi gdong pa can ||

bzlas dang nyes pa’i cho ga shes shing nges brjod rig byed ’don pa po ||

dri med padma’i skye gnas tshangs pa de yang rab tu gnyid log gyur ||

stobs bcu mnga’ ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar sad pa’o || 7 ||

- a. *phyed*] om. D

Translation

He has four excellent arms and four faces; he knows recitation, vows and rituals; he preaches the Sāmaveda; he is born of a flawless lotus – he, the Creator, is also asleep. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

The verse refers to Brahman.

- b. In my opinion, this compound *japaniyamavidhi*^o indicates two Vedas, namely *japa* (‘recitation’) for R̥gveda, *niyama*^o (‘regulation’) and *vidhi*^o (‘[ritual] prescriptions’) for Yajurveda. However, in the Tibetan translation, *niyama*^o is rendered as *nyes pa*, which usually stands for the Skt. word *doṣa* (‘fault’) and is possibly a corruption of *nges* [gnas].

- c. Instead of *vidhātā* ('creator') in both Drepung mss, all the eds. and Tib read *Brahmā* (*tshangs pa*) 'Brahman'.

<9>

kuvalayadalanīlaḥ puṇḍarīkāyatākṣaḥ
suraripubalahantā viśvakṛd viśvarūpī |
Harir api cirasupto garbhavāsair amukto
daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- b. °bala° Ba D1 D2 Et Mi^B Pa] °vara° Mi Th; °balahantā D1 D2 eds.]
°bhamahanto Et^C; °kṛd viśva° D1 D2 eds.] °kṛdviśvo Et^C

u tpaḥ sngon po'i 'dab ma ltar sngo *padma* ltar dkar yangs pa'i mig ||
lha min gtso bo [thams cad] bcom gyur thams cad byed *pa* sna tshogs gzugs ||
khyab 'jug kyang ni yun ring gnyid log mngal gyi gnas las thar ma gyur ||
stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar nam langs pa'o || 10 ||

- a. *padma*] *padmo* D
b. *po*] *pa* CGNP

Translation

He is dark blue like a water lily leaf; he has an elongated eye like a lotus; he destroys the host of enemies of the gods; he created everything and can take on all forms – even Hari (Kṛṣṇa) sleeps a long time; he is not free from the dwelling places in the womb [i.e., *avatāra*]. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

The verse refers to Viṣṇu, or Kṛṣṇa.

- b. In Tib, *gtso bo* corresponds to °vara°, as seen in Mi and Th. After *gtso bo*, the term *thams cad* is an addition by the Tibetan translator, without an equivalent in the Sanskrit version.
- c. Although Viṣṇu is free from rebirth – even in the sense of Buddhism, it is very malicious that the poet depicts the (actually) freely determined choice of *avatāra* as entanglement in *saṃsāra*.

<10>

himagiriśikharābhah sarpayajñopavīti
 tripuradahanadakṣo vyāghracarmottarīyaḥ |
 saha girivaraputryā nityasuptas triśūlī
 daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- a. °ābhah D1 D2 Et^c Mi] °asthaḥ Ba Et Pa Th; °opavīti Ba D1 D2 Pa]
 °opavītas Et Mi Th
 c. nitya° D1 D2] so 'pi eds.

gangs kyi ri bo'i rtse la gnas shing sbrul gyis mchod phyir [thogs pa] 'chang ||
 grong khyer sum brtsegs sreg par nus gang stag gi pags pa'i gos gyon pa ||
 rtse gsum can [rtags] ri mchog bu mo dang ni lhan cig gnyid log gyur ||
 stobs bcu mnge' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar sad pa'o || 8 ||

- a. gyis] gyi D
 c. rtags] dreg GNP: dregs C
 d. tu] du DC

Translation

He is like the summit of the snow mountain, [because he smears his body with ash]; he wears a snake as a sacrificial cord; he is skilled in burning the three cities; he has a tiger skin as an upper garment; he is together with the daughter of the best of mountains – the one with the trident falls asleep forever. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

The verse refers to Śiva.

- a. Following the reading °sthaḥ, seen in Ba, Et and Pa, the phrase is translated as: 'He lives on the snow mountain'. As indicated by Th, *thog pa 'chang* should be *thag pa 'chang* ('wearing a cord').
 c. According to Th, *dreg* or *dregs* ('pride') is an error. In Tib, we do not find any corresponding terms, either to Skt. *nitya*° or to *api*. Probably *rtags* is a scribal error of *rtag* for *nitya*°. However, it may be criticised that *nitya*° appears twice in the last two *pādas*.

<11>

kapilajatakalāpo raktatāmṛārūṇākṣaḥ
Paśupatiratikāle saṅgabhaṅgaikadaksah |
Smarāsaradalitāṅgaḥ so 'pi supto Hutāśo
 daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- a. *kapilajatakalāpo* D1 eds.] *kapilajaṭilavālo* D2 : *jvalitajatakalapā* Et^c
- b. *paśupatiratikāle* Ba D1 D2 Pa Th] *paśupatir atikāle* Et : *paśupatir api kāle* Mi; *saṅgabhaṅgaika*^o Ba D1 D2 Pa] *dagdhakopāti*^o Et Mi Th; *°daksah* D2 eds.] *°dambhaḥ* D1.
- c. *smarāśara*^o Ba D1 D2 Et Pa Th] *samarasa*^o Et^c Mi; *°dalitā*^o D1 eds.] *°śithilā*^o D2

gang zhig ral pa ser skya'i tshogs [bstan] dmar po zangs mdog khrag gi mig ||
 phyugs bdag dga' ba'i dus su gcig tu chags pa 'joms par nus pa po ||
 'dod pa'i lha yi mda' [sreg] lus can me lha de yang gnyid log gyur ||
 stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar sad pa'o || 11 ||

- a. *mig*] *ming* C
- b. *tu*] *du* CGNP
- c. *me*] *ma* D

Translation

He has a reddish bundle of braided hair and bloodshot copper-red eyes. At the time when the Lord of the Beasts [i.e., Śiva] was enjoying himself, he is uniquely skillful to destroy the god of love. His body was split [by the god of love], who has the arrows [named] 'love'; he too sleeps, the eater of sacrificial offering (Hutāśa = Agni). Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

The verse refers to Agni.

Agni is the fire that went out from Śiva's eye and that burned Kāmadeva. Therefore, according to the reading in Ba, D2, Pa, it is said that '(Agni was) the only one able to destroy (*bhaṅga*) love (*saṅga*)'. The Tibetan translation also understands the verse in this manner. However, Agni also fell in love, e.g., with Svāhā, or Sudarśanā. For this reason, he must also have been hit by Kāmadeva's arrows. This contradiction entails a criticism of Agni.

- a. In D2, the reading *kapilajaṭilavālo* means ‘He has reddish braided hair’. In Et^c, *jvalitajaṭakalapā* (it reads *jvalitajaṭakalāpo*) means ‘He has a flaming bundle of braided hair’. In Tib, *bstan* (‘indicate’) could be a corruption of *bsten*. Therefore, *ral pa ser skya’i tshogs bsten* means ‘a bunch of yellow braided hair adhering to [his head]’.
- b. The majority of extant editions offer the reading *dagdhakopātidakṣaḥ* (‘He is extremely skillful in fierce wrath’). In Tib, *gcig tu chags pa ’joms par nus pa po* stands for *saṅgabhaṅgaikadakṣaḥ* in the remaining Sanskrit versions. In D1 instead of °*dakṣaḥ*, is the reading °*dambhaḥ* (‘pretence’) incomprehensible. However, the ligatures, *kṣa* and *mbha*, are similar.
- c. In Tib, *sreg* means **dagdha* (‘burnt’). In D2, *śithila* stands for ‘loosened’.

<12>

jvalitakuliśapāṇir durjaya Dānavānām
 Surapatir api Śacyā vibhramair mūḍhacetāḥ |
 aniśi niśi ca suptaḥ kāmapaṅke nimagno
 daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- a. *dānavānām* Ba D1 D2 Pa Th] *dānavāriḥ* Et Mi
- b. *vibhramair* D1 D2] *vibhrame* eds.; °*cetāḥ* Ba D1 D2 Pa Th] °*cittāḥ* Et^c Mi : °*cittāḥ* Mi^B
- c. *ca suptaḥ* D1 D2 Et Mi Th] *prasuptaḥ* Ba Pa

’bar ba’i rdo rje lag na thogs shing lha min rnams kyis thub dka’ ba ||
 lha yi gtso bo [bde sogs bdag po] rmongs pa’i bsaṃ pas rnam par ’khor ||
 mtshan mo min dang mtshan mo gnyid log ’dod pa’i ’dam du nges par bying ||
 stobs bcu mnga’ ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar sad pa’o || 9 ||

Translation

He holds the flaming thunderbolt in his hands; for the Dānavas he is difficult to defeat – even the Lord of the Gods [i.e., Indra], whose mind is bewildered by the coquetry of Śacī, sleeps day and night, sunk in the mud of sensual desires. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

The verse refers to Indra.

- a. In Et and Mi, *dānavāriḥ* means ‘He is the enemy of the Dānavas’. In Tib, *lha min rnams kyis thub dka’ ba* stands for *durjaya dānavānām*.

- b. In Tib, there is no correspondence to Skt. *api*, and *bde sogs bdag po* stands for **śacīpatir* ('lord of Śacī').

<13>

himaśaśikumudābho madyapānārūṇākṣo
 ṛḍhakathinabhujāṅgo lāṅgalāsaktahastah |
 Bala iha cirasupto Revatīkaṇṭhalagno
 daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- a. °*ābho* D1 D2 eds.] °*āmbho* Mi^A
 b. °*bhujāṅgo* D1 D2 eds.] °*bhujātmo* ms.D1; *lāṅgalāsakta*^o D1 D2] *lāṅgalī śakti*^o eds.
 c. *cirasupto* D1] *śayito* 'sau D2 eds.

zla ba kha ba *ku mu da* mtshungs chang *mthus* mig ni dmar gyur la ||
 'dod pa brtan sra sgeg po |thong *gshol* lag na 'dzin par brtson||
 stobs can de ni nam gru'i *mgul* nas 'khyud cing 'dī na nyal bar gyur||
 stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar sad pa'o || 12 ||

- a. *ku mu da*] *ku mu ta* D; 'thungs] *mthus* CGNP
 b. *gshol*] *bshol* P
 c. *mgul*] 'gul GP

Translation

Here is Bala[rāma], who is like the snow, the moon, and the *kumuda* flower, whose eye is reddish from the intoxicating drink, whose arms and limbs are strong and hard, whose hand clings to the plow, has fallen asleep for a long time [and] stuck on the neck of Revatī. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

The verse refers to Balarāma.

- b. The Tib version lacks two syllables. In Tib, '*dod pa brtan sra sgeg po* ('his desire is steady, firm and charming' or 'he is desiring, steady, firm and charming') has no correspondence in any Sanskrit version. In Tib, *thong gshol lag na 'dzin par brtson* corresponds to *lāṅgalāsaktahastah* in both Drepung mss. In eds., the reading *lāṅgalī śaktihastah* means 'who has a plow, who is spear-handed'.

- c. In Tib, 'di na nyal bar gyur stands for the reading *iha śayito 'sau* ('He is lying here'), as seen in D2 and eds.

<14>

gajamukhadaśanaikaḥ sarvato vighnakarttā

vigalitamadavāriḥ śatpadodgītagaṇḍaḥ |

Gaṇapatir api supto vārunīpānamatto

daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- a. *sarvato* Ba D1 D2 Et Mi^{BC} Pa Th] *sarvathā* Et^C Mi; °*karttā* D1 D2] °*hantā* eds.
 b. *vigalita*^o D1 D2 eds.] *avirata*^o Ba^{Ka} : *avigata*^o Mi^C; °*vāriḥ* Ba^{Ka} D1 D2] °*dhāraḥ* eds.; °*odgīta*^o D1] °*ākīrṇa*^o D2 eds.
 c. *vārunīpānamatto* D1 D2 eds.] *vārunīpānametro* Et^C; °*matto* Ba D1 D2 Mi Pa Th] °*maitro* Et

glang chen gdong can mche ba [gtsigs pa] rnam pa kun tu [gegs byed pa] ||

'gram pa'i ngos *gnyis* myos chu rab 'bab bung ba sgra *gsang* mthon po *sgrogs pa* yi ||

tshogs kyi bdag po yang ni chang gi btung bas *rab tu* myos par gyur ||

stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar sad pa'o || 13 ||

- a. *gtsigs*] *gtsig* D; *tu*] *du* D; 'gegs] *bgegs* D
 b. *gnyis*] *gnyi* G; *bung ba*] *nus pa* CGNP; *gsang*] *gsangs* D; *sgrogs pa*] om. G
 c. *rab tu*] om. CGNP

Translation

Gaṇapati, who has an elephant's head and a single tusk, who is the destroyer of hindrance everywhere, from whom rutting juice flows, on whose cheeks the six-legged [i.e., bees] are sounding, who is intoxicated by alcoholic drinks, has also fallen asleep. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

The verse refers to Gaṇeśa.

- a. For the abnormal Bahuvrīhi-compound *gajamukhadaśanaika*, in which a cardinal number is used as the last part of the compound, cf. AiG II, 1 § 116 a) and III § 200 f).

In Tib, *gtsigs pa* means ‘to grin, to show [his] teeth’. However, it could be a scribal error of *gcig* (‘one, single’), which corresponds to °*ekaḥ* in the Skt. text.

In fact, Gaṇeśa has *vighneśvaratva* (‘power to remove all obstacles’), i.e., he removes hindrance everywhere, see PE s.v. Gaṇapati, under 7) *Vighneśvaratvam*. In eds., the reading *vighnahantā* is based on the concept of ‘destroyer of hindrance’ and the general idea of Gaṇeśa. In both Drepung mss, as in the edition³⁷, the reading is °*karttā* (‘destroyer’), which is hardly attested in the literature.³⁸ However, in Tib, *’gegs byed pa* stands for **vighnakartā* (‘maker of hindrance’), for the translator degeminates a *t* after *r* and does not add an *avagrāha* before this compound. Therefore, based on the acknowledgment of gemination, it is also considerable to emendate *sarvato vighnakarttā* to *sarvato ’vighnakartā* (‘who is not the maker of hindrance everywhere’).

- b. The two readings, *avirata*° in Ba^{Ka} and *avigata*° in Mi^C, have the meaning ‘uninterrupted’. In Ba, Et, and Mi, °*dhāraḥ* means ‘les gouttes’. Apart from the reading offered in D1, the phrase *ṣaṭpadākīrṇagaṇḍaḥ* in all the other Sanskrit texts means ‘whose cheeks are scattered by the six-legged ones [i.e., bees]’.

In Tib, *myos chu* corroborates °*madavāriḥ* more than it corroborates °*madadhāraḥ*. Apart from the reading *bung ba* (‘bee’) in D, the reading *nus pa* (‘power/ability’) in the rest four recensions seems to be incomprehensible in the context.

<15>

atasikusumanīlā yasya śaktiḥ karāgre
navakanakavapuṣmān ṣaṇmukhaḥ Krauñcabhettā |
trinayanatanayo ’sau so ’pi suptaḥ Kumāro
daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- a. *atasi*° Ba D1 D2 Et Pa Th] *aṭasi*° Mi; °*nīlā* D1 D2 Et] °*nīlo* Ba Mi Pa Th
b. °*kanaka*° D1] °*kamala*° D2 eds.; °*bhettā* D1] °*hantā* D2 eds.
c. so ’pi D1 D2 Et^C Mi] *nitya*° Ba Et Mi^{BC} Pa Th

zar ma’i me tog ltar sngo gang gi lag pa mchog na mdung thung thogs ||
padma sar pa lta bu’i lus can gdong drug lha min khrung khrung *bsad* ||

³⁷ LIU and SCHNEIDER 2022: 82.

³⁸ See pw s.v. *karttṛ*.

mig gsum ldan pa gzhon nu'i tshul can de yang gnyid 'thug log par gyur ||
stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar sad pa'o || 14 ||

b. *padma*] *padmo* D; *bsad*] *gsod* D

c. 'thug] *mithug* D

Translation

He, who holds a spear, which is dark blue like the Atasi blossom, in the tips of his hands (fingers), who has the beauty of fresh gold, who has six faces, also this Kumāra, the splitter of the Krauñca mountain, the son of the three-eyed one (Śiva), has fallen asleep. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

The verse refers to Skanda.

- a. About *atasi*, Mi says: 'We do not know what flower this is and whether this reading is correct'. However, *atasi* is *m.c.* for *atasi*, *Linum usitatissimum*.³⁹ In Ba, Mi, Pa, Th, and Tib, the reading °*nīlo* (*sngo gang gi*; 'He is dark blue like the Atasi blossom') coheres with the skin color of Skanda.
- b. The verse refers to the act of Skanda splitting (°*bhettā*) the Krauñca mountain, who is regarded as his uncle, with his arrow.⁴⁰
In D2 and eds., °*kamala*° means 'lotus'. In D2 and eds., °*hantā* means 'destroyer'. In Tib, *bsad* stands for these readings in the Sanskrit text. The reading *Krauñcahantā* refers to the act of Skanda killing the *asura* Krauñca.⁴¹
- c. In Tib, *de yang* stands for *so 'pi*.

<16>

YamaVaruṇaKuberā YakṣaDaityOragendrā

divi bhuvi gaganasthā lokapālās tathānye |

yuvatimadakaṭākṣair īksitās te 'pi suptā

daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- a. °*kuberā* D1 D2 eds.] °*kubera* Mi^B : °*kubero* Mi^C; °*endrā* D1 D2 Et Mi Th]
°*endrāḥ* Ba Pa

³⁹ See pw s.v. *atasa*.

⁴⁰ See PE s.v. KRAUÑCA II and SCHNEIDER 1993: 254–257.

⁴¹ See PE s.v. KRAUÑCA I.

- b. *gaganasthā* D1] *gagane vā* D2 eds.
- c. *īkṣitās* D1 D2] *vīkṣitās* eds.

gshin rje chu *bdag* lus ngan gnod sbyin 'dre dang lto 'phye'i dbang po dang ||
 de bzhin 'jig rten skyong gzhan lha yul sa *steng* nam mkha' la gnas pa ||
 gzhon nu ma la rab chags zur *gyis lta de* kyang gnyid log gyur ||
 stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu *rab tu* snga bar sad pa'o || 17 ||

- a. *bdag*] *lha* D; 'dre' 'dra C : 'dri P
- b. *steng*] *stengs* D
- c. *gyis lta de*] *gyi lha dang lha min* CGNP
- d. *rab tu*] om. G

Translation

In heaven are Yama, Varuṇa, and Kubera; [and] on earth are Yakṣa, Daitya, and the Snake King; and others, the guardians of the world, are in the air space. Glimpsed by the intoxicated side glances of the young women, they have also fallen asleep. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

- b. The Tib *nam mkha' la gnas pa* only applies to the reading *gaganasthā*, which occurs in D1. However, *gnas pa* could also be a supplementary interpretation after the locative-particle *la* by the Tibetan translator.
- c. Apart from D, the other four recensions of the Tib version have two additional syllables. Th reconstructs phrase *gzhon nu ma la rab chags zur gyi lha dang lha min rnams* as **yuvatimadakaṭākṣā devāsūrās* ('The gods and *asuras*, whose side glances are attached on young women').

<17>

rṣaya iha mahānto VatsaBhrgvĀṅgiro'dri-
 KratuPulahaVasisthaVyāsaVālmīkiGārgyāh |
yuvatijaghanasaktās te 'pi nityam prasuptā
 daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- a. *iha* D1 eds.] *iva* D2; °*āṅgiro'dri-* D1] °*āṅgirādyāḥ* D2 eds.
- b. °*vasiṣṭha*° D1] °*vasiṣṭhā* Ba D2 Et Pa : °*vasiṣṭhā* Mi Th⁴²; °*vālmīki*° Ba D1

⁴² Ba reads Th as °*vārīṣṭhā*.

D2 Et Mi Pa] °vālmīka° Th; °gārgyāḥ D1] °gargāḥ D2 eds.

- c. *yuvatijaghanasaktās* D1] *parayuvativilāsair mohitās* eds. :
yuvatijaghanasaktā mohitās D2; *nityaṃ* D1] om. D2 eds.

[bas mtha'i gnas chen] 'di na drang srong ngan spong am gi ra sogs dang ||
 kun tu rgya sogs gnas 'jog rgyas pa grog mkhar ba dang dga' byed rnams ||
 gzhon nu ma yi [skye gnas] chags shing rmongs pa de rnams kyang gnyid log ||
 stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar sad pa'o || 16 ||

- a. *na*] *ni* C; *sogs*] *sa* D
 b. *tu*] *du* D | *rgya*] *rgyu* D
 c. *ma yi*] *mas* CN; *log*] *leg gyur* D

Translation

The great Ṛṣis, Vatsa, Bhṛgu (*ngan spong*), Aṅgiras (*am gi ra*), Adri, Kratu (*kun tu*), Pulaha (*rgya sogs*), Vasiṣṭha (*gnas 'jog*), Vyāsa (*rgyas pa*), Vālmīki (*grog mkhar ba*), and Gārgya (*dga' byed?*) are attached to the buttocks of the young women. They sleep forever. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

- a. The reading seen in D2 and eds., which corresponds to the word *sogs* in the Tib version, means ‘... Aṅgiras and so on’. However, the reading in D of Tib *am gi ra sa* could be the exact transcription of the Skt. name Aṅgiras. In Tib there is no equivalent to *vatsa*° in Skt.; instead of this, *bas mtha'i gnas chen* (**mahāprānte*) ‘*di na* means ‘here, at the great place on the boundary’. It is not certain whether *dga' byed* a Tib translation of the Skt. name Gārgya/Garga, for *dga' byed* is usually a Tib translation of the Skt. name Rāma.⁴³
- b. According to Th, in the Tib version *kun tu* is a mistake for the Skt. *kratu*.
- c. In eds., the reading *parayuvativilāsair mohitās* means ‘confused by the plays with the young women of the others’. In Tib, *gzhon nu ma yi skye gnas chags shing rmongs pa* means ‘confused by being attached to the lap of the young women’, which is closer to the reading offered in D2.

⁴³ See SCHNEIDER 1993: 118–121 and 172–175.

<17+>

bhavajalanidhimagnā mohajālāvṛtāṅgā
 ManuKapilaKaṇādā bhrāmitā mūḍhacittāḥ |
śamasukhaparihīṇā bālīśās te 'pi suptā
 daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- b. °ṇādā Ba D2 Et Pa Th] °ṇādyā Mi; *bhrāmitā* eds.] *bhrāntisaṃ*° D2
 c. *śama*° Ba D2 Et Pa Th] *sama*° Ba^{Ka} Mi; °*pari*° Ba D2 Et^c Pa Th] °*phala*° Et
 Mi; *bālī*° Ba D2 Et Mi Th] *vālī*° Pa

srid pa'i rgya mtshor bying gyur gti mug dra bas khebs pa'i lus ||
thub pa ser skya *gzeḡs* zan kun tu 'khor zhing blun *pa* 'i bsam pa can ||
 zhi ba'i bde ba yongs su nyams *pa* de rnams kyang ni gnyid log gyur ||
 stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar sad pa'o || 18 ||

- b. *gzeḡs*] *gzeḡ* D : *gziḡs* P; *tu*] *du* D; *pa* 'i] *po* 'i D
 c. *pa*] om. D

Translation

Immersed in the ocean of existence, whose bodies are entangled in the nets of ignorance, Manu, Kapila, and Kaṇāda, wandering and confused-minded, deprived of the happiness of calm, theses fools have also fallen asleep. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

- b. In Mi, the reading *manukapilakaṇādādyā* stands for 'Manu, Kapila, and Kaṇāda etc.' Th indicates that *muni* (*thub pa*) stands for *manu*. In Tib, *kun tu* 'khor could stand for *bhrāntisaṃ*° in D2.
 c. In Et and Mi, the reading *śamasukhaphalahīṇā* means 'without the fruits of the happiness of calm', in opposition to the reading *śamasukhaphaladātur* in 4c of eds. Th mentions that the Tib version omits the term *bālīśās*.

<18>

aśanavasanaḥīṇā mrtyuyogānuraktā
bahuvividhaviḡhātāḥ pretavad dagdhadehāḥ |
 ubhayagativihīṇās te 'pi nagnāḥ prasuptā
 daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

- a. *aśana*^o D1 D2 eds.] *asana*^o Mi^{AB}; *°hīnā* Ba D1 D2 Mi Pa Th] *°hīnā* Et;
mṛtyuyogānuraktā D1] *nityayogānuyuktā virūpā* Ba^{ka} : *nityakālam*
virūpā D2 : *bhāvyamānā virūpā* eds.
- b. *bahuvivīdhavighātāḥ* D1 D2] *alam akhilavighātaiḥ* eds.
- c. *°vihīnās te 'pi nagnāḥ prasuptā* Ba D1 D2 Pa] *°vihīnā nityasuptās ca*
nagnāḥ Et Mi Th

zas la [rab chags] dman lus rtag par [rnal 'byor] rjes su dga' gyur pa ||
 gnod pa [sna tshogs rnam] dang ldan pa 'i yi dags lta bur tshig pa 'i lus ||
 zla dpung 'gro ba rnam bral gang yin gcer bu de rnam kyang gnyid log ||
 stobs bcu mnga' ba khyod ni rtag tu rab tu snga bar bsad pa'o || 15 ||

- b. *rnam*] *nam mang* D

Translation

They lack food and clothing. They are pleased with the ritual preparation for death (*sallekhanāvratā*).⁴⁴ They have many different impediments [on their bodies]; like ghosts [or: dead people], they have a burnt body. They have lost the two paths. The naked ones also sleep. Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!⁴⁵

Commentary

The verse refers to the Digambara, a group of Jain monks.

- a. In eds., the reading means ‘They develop themselves [and] are malformed’. In Ba^{ka}, the reading means ‘They devote themselves to *yoga* constantly [and] are malformed’. In D2, the reading means ‘They are always malformed’. In Tib, *rtag par rnal 'byor rjes su dga' gyur pa* can be reconstructed as **nityayogānuraktā* (‘They are constantly pleased with *yoga*’). The first part of this *pāda* in Skt. text, *aśanavasanahīnā*, must have been interpreted by the Tibetan translator as **aśanavāsānāhīnā* and translated as *zas la rab chags* (‘They lack the desire for food’).
- b. In Tib, *gnod pa sna tshogs rnam dang ldan pa* corresponds to the reading offered in both Drepung mss. In eds., the reading means ‘with whole and utter strokes’.

⁴⁴ For the reason why the term *vratā* can be included in the Jainist practice – *yoga*, see WILLIAMS 1963: xi.

⁴⁵ For the interpretation of this verse, I am indebted to Prof. J. Clifford Wright at SOAS University of London, who indicated me indirectly on June 9th 2022, that it is obviously a hostile Hindu description of Jainas.

- c. In Tib, *zla dpung* is incomprehensible. Th suggests that ‘apparently = *zlas dbye*’, which would stand for the Skt. *ubhaya*. The term *ubhayagati*^o (‘two paths’) are possibly the two ways, namely *devayāna* (‘way leading to the gods’) and *pitṛyāna* (‘way leading to the ancestors’).⁴⁶

<19>

yad api guṇalavaṃ te nātha saṃkīrtya bhaktyā
mama śubham upajātaṃ bhāvaśobhāvadātāṃ |
tad iha jagati śīghraṃ dhvastasarvānukāraṃ
daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ ||

Translation

As for the merit that has come about for me, made pure by the resplendence of [my pure] intentions, after having praised with devotion a few of your virtues, oh protector, [may] that [merit] quickly [be] without any comparison in this world! Oh, you, [who possesses] ten powers! Your dawn shines forever!

Commentary

It seems that D1 underwent such an influence of another recension, in which the Sup text ended with this stanza. However, D1 continues to present the following verses just like D2. Therefore, the implications of such a hypothetical influence of another and perhaps an older recension remain unclear in terms of stemmatology. Therefore the pedigree given above has not been modified.

- b. Here, the word *bhāva*^o points to something like intention, mood, or inner attitude.
c. *jagati* seems to be redundant after *iha*. At this place, it could be emended to *bhavatu* (‘may ... be’).

<20>

suprabhātaṃ tavaikasya jñānonmīlitacakṣuṣaḥ |
ajñānatimirāndhānāṃ nityaṃ astamito raviḥ ||

a. *suprabhātaṃ* D1 D2 eds.] *sunakṣatraṃ* Mi^c

⁴⁶ For these two terms in the Hindu doctrine, see BODEWITZ 2019: 117–118.

Translation

You alone, who have an eye opened with knowledge, possess the [true] dawn. [But] for those who are blind because of the darkness of ‘ignorance’, the sun has gone down forever.

<21>

punaḥ prabhātaṃ punar udgato raviḥ punaḥ śāsāṅkaḥ punar eva śarvarī |
mṛtyur jarā janma tathaiva bhūyaśo gatāgatam mūḍhadhiyā na budhyate ||

- a. *prabhātaṃ* Ba D1 D2 Et Mi Pa] *prabhātaḥ* Th; *udgato* D1] *utthito* D2 eds.
- c. *mṛtyur* Ba D1 D2 Et Mi Pa] *mṛtyur* Th; *bhūyaśo* em.] *bhūyo* D1 D2; *he mune* eds.
- d. *gatāgatam* Ba D1 D2 Pa] *gatāgatiṃ* Et Mi Th; *gatāgatī* Et^C Mi^{AP}; *mūḍhadhiyā* D1 eds.] *mūḍha kathaṃ* D2; °*dhiyā* D1 D2] °*jano* eds.; *budhyate* Ba D1 D2 Pa Th] *budhyati* Et Mi

Translation

Again and again [comes] the dawn. Again and again the sun rises. Again and again [comes] the moon. Again and again [comes] also the night. Just so death, age and birth come and go again and again. This is not recognized by the fool.

Commentary

- c. In D1 and D2, this *pāda* lacks one syllable. In eds., *he mune* means ‘Hey, Muni!’.
 In a stricter sense, the meter is *vaṃśamālā*. Apart from the position long syllable in *mṛtyur*, the meter could be *vaṃśastha*.
- d. In eds., *mūḍhajano* means ‘stupid people’. In D2, *mūḍha kathaṃ na budhyate* means ‘Oh fool, how does one not recognize this!’.

<22>

ajñānanidraranjanītamasi prasupte tṛṣṇāviśālaśayane viśayopadhāne |
loke śubhāśubhaphalaiḥ parivartamāne jāgarti yaḥ satatam eva namo ’stu
 tasmai ||

- a. °*nidraranjanītamasi* Ba D1 Et Mi Pa] °*nidratanasi* D2 :
 °*nidraranjanītamasi* Mi^A: °*nidrārajani tvam asi* Th; *prasupte* D1 D2 Et]
prasuptā Ba Pa Th : *prasuptas* Mi

- b. °śayane viṣayo° D1 eds.] °śayano° D2; °yopadhāne D1 D2 eds.]
°yopradhāne Mi^B : yapradhāne Mi^C
- c. *loke* D1] *kāle* D2 eds.; °phalaiḥ D1] °phale D2 : °phalaṃ eds.;
parivartamāne D1 D2] parikīryamāṇe Ba Et Pa Th : parikīrtamāno
Et^C Mi

mi shes mtshan mo mun par *sred pa* 'i mal cha 'thug gyon cing ||
yul gyi sngas rten la ni rab 'thug gnyid log gyur pa 'i tshe ||
dge dang mi dge 'i 'bras bu yongs su dre log byed pa na ||
rtag pa nyid du gnyid sad gang yin de la phyag 'tshal lo || 19 ||

- a. *sred pa* 'i] *sregs pa* CGNP
- c. 'dre log] 'gre ldog D

Translation

When the people have fallen asleep, in the dark night of ‘ignorance’, on the great bed of ‘thirst’, on the cushion of ‘sense objects’, and wander in the cycle because of good and bad fruits, to him who watches be all the worship!

Commentary

- a. Instead of the correct form °nidrā°, °nidra° is *m.c.* The reading offered in Th, *ajñānanidrārajani tvam asi prasuptā* (‘O the dark night “ignorance”! You have fallen asleep.’), according to the context, is neither comprehensible nor metrical.
- c. In Tib, we find no corresponding terms to *loke*, which occurs in D1, nor do we find corresponding terms to *kāle*, which occur in the other texts.

The reading *yongs su 'gre ldog byed pa*, which occurs in D, or the reading *yongs su 'dre log byed pa*, which occurs in the other Tibetan versions, corresponds to *parivartamāne* in the both Drepung mss.

In Et^C and Mi, the *pāda*, *kāle śubhāśubhaphalaṃ parikīrtamāno* (reads: *parikīrtiyamāno*) means ‘During the time, he tells good and bad fruits’.

In the rest of eds., the *pāda*, *kāle śubhāśubhaphalaṃ parikīryamāṇe* means ‘During the time being scattered round, [he watches] good and bad fruits’.

<23>

suprabhātaṃ sunakṣatraṃ śrīyā pratyabhinanditaṃ |
Buddhaṃ dharmaṃ ca saṃghaṃ ca praṇamāmi dine dine ||

b. śrīyā Ba D1 Mi Pa] śreyah° Et Th

Translation

The dawn, which has a beautiful constellation, is greeted by the glorious one. Day after day I bow to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the monastic community.

Commentary

In this version, stanzas <20>, <21> and <23>, which correspond to stanzas 19–21 in eds., are ‘wanting in the Tibetan’ and agree ‘with the Jain *Suprabhāta*, in which also vv. 19–20, *mutatis mutandis*, recur’.⁴⁷

b. In Et and Th, the reading *śreyahpratyabhinanditaṃ* means ‘greeted by the best one’.

<24>

tīrtheṣu gokulaśatāni pibanti toyam tṛptim vrajanti na ca tat kṣayam
abhyupaiti |

tadvan muneh kavivarair api samstutasya na kṣīyate guṇanidhir
guṇasāgarasya ||

c. *tadvan muneh* D1 D2] *tadvan mune* Ba Pa : *evam muneh* Et Mi : *evam mune* Th; °*varair* D1 D2] °*śatair* Ba Et Pa Th : °*śatāni* Mi; *api samstutasya* Ba D1 D2 Et Pa Th] *pibanti tasya* Mi

d. °*nidhir* D1 D2 eds.] °*nidhiṃ* Mi^{AP}

chu ’gram dag *tu* ba lang rigs brgya rnams kyis chu ’thungs te ||
ngoms nas ’gro bar gyur na’ang chu la bri bar mngon pa med ||
de bzhin thub pa snyan *dngags* mkhan [brgyas] yang dag bstod gyur kyang ||
yon tan rgya mtsho legs pa’i gter chen zad par gyur ma yin || 20 ||

a. *tu*] *du* CGNP

c. *dngags*] *ngag* D

⁴⁷ THOMAS 1903: 722.

Translation

Hundreds of herds of cows drink water at the sacred bathing places. They become satiated. [But] it [i.e., the water] does not dry up. Likewise, the treasure of virtues does not dry up in a saint, even though he is praised by the best poets, for he is a sea of virtue.

Commentary

- c. In Ba, Et, Pa, and Th, we find the term *kaviśatair*, which in the Tib version is rendered as *snyan dngags mkhan brgyas* ('by hundreds of poets'), which accords with the comparison *gokulaśatāni* in *pāda*-a more than the reading offered in both Drepung mss, *kavivarair*. In Mi, the reading *kaviśatāni pibanti tasya* means 'hundreds of poets drink his [virtues]'.

<25>

stutvā lokagurum mahāmunivaram saddharmapuṇyodadhim
nirdvandvam hatarāgadosatimiram śāntendriyam nisprham |
yat puṇyam samupārjitaṃ prthu mayā tenāśu loko 'khilah
pratyūṣastutiḥarṣite daśabale śraddhām parām vindatām ||

- a. °odadhim D1] °odgamam Ba Pa Th : °adrumam D2 Et Mi
b. °doṣa° D1 D2 Et Mi Th] °dveṣa° Ba Pa; nisprham Ba D1 D2 Et Pa]
nihsprham Mi Th
c. prthu D1] khalu D2 eds.; tenāśu D1 D2] tenaiva eds.; 'khilah D1 D2 Et
Th] 'khilam Ba Pa : khilam Mi
d. pratyūṣa° Ba D1 D2 Pa] : pratyūṣe Et Mi Th; °stuti° Ba D1 D2 Mi Pa Th]
°ṣṭuti° Et; °harṣite D1 D2] °harṣito eds.; parām Ba D1 D2 Et Pa Th] parā°
Mi

rab tu nam nangs khyod gcig pu yi ye shes spyan phye gyur bstod pas ||
'jig rten gsum mgon rta bdun 'od kyis 'gro 'di rtag tu snang byas te ||
sna tshogs lam thob lam ngan las bzlog 'byor ldan dpal gyis byas pa dag ||
dgos mod rang dgar bde blag dngos grub rnam pa kun tu spyod gyur cig || 21 ||

- a. nangs] langs D | gyur bstod] bstod gyur D | c. gyis byas pa] gi bya ba D |
d. dgos mod] dogs med D | tu] du D

Translation

By the grand merit, that I have gained by praising the teacher of the world who is the best great saint and the ocean of merit of the true Dharma, who is indifferent to opposites, who has destroyed the darkness of ‘the fault of passion’, whose senses have become calm and who is without desire, all the people may find the supreme faith in the one who possesses ten powers, who is made joyful by the hymn of praise for the dawn, immediately!

Commentary

As noted by Th, ‘the place of this verse is supplied, in the Tibetan, by a different one, perhaps in Sragdharā meter’. In the following way, his translation has been revised: ‘Having praised the dawn which is the opening⁴⁸ of the wisdom-eye⁴⁹ only of you, while the ruler of the three worlds ever illumines this world with the rays of the sun, may those who by [your] fortunate glory have put an end to the path of evil that occupied every path in every way enjoy a desired elevation with happiness according to their will’.

- a. In Ba, Pa and Th, the reading *saddharmapunyodgamaṃ* means ‘in whom the merit of the true Dharma arises’. In D2, Et and Mi, the reading *saddharmapunyadrumaṃ* means ‘the tree of merit of the true Dharma’.
- b. In Ba and Pa, the unmetrical reading °*rāgadveṣa*° means ‘passion and hatred’.
- c. The reading in the other Sanskrit versions, *yat puṇyaṃ samupārjitaṃ khalu mayā*, means ‘the merit indeed procured by me’.
- d. The Skt. term °*harṣite*, °*harṣito*, which corresponds to the Tib *bde*, seems to be Śrīharṣa’s signature, incorporated into the end of this hymn.

Suprabhātastavaḥ samāptaḥ || || kṛtir iyaṃ rājñāḥ Śrīharṣasya ||

Suprabhātastavaḥ samāptaḥ || || kṛtir iyaṃ rājñāḥ Śrīharṣasya ||
Śrīharṣadevabhūpativiracitaṃ daśabalasya Suprabhātastotraṃ
samāptam || Ba Pa : Suprabhātastavaḥ samāptaḥ || || kṛtir iyaṃ
rājñāḥ Śrīśrīharṣadevasya || D2 : iti Śrībuddhabhaṭṭārakasya
Harṣadevabhūpativiracitaṃ Suprabhātastotraṃ samāptam || Et : iti
Śrībuddhabhaṭṭārakasya Harṣadevabhūpativiracitaṃ Suprabhātastotraṃ
sampūrṇam || Mi : om. Th

⁴⁸ Th understands *phye* as ‘powder’.

⁴⁹ It means that the dawn is the light from the opening eye of wisdom.

yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas la | kha che'i rgyal po shrī ha ri sha
debas bstod pa rdzogs so || CGNP : rab tu snga bas nam langs pa'i yang dag
par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas la kha che'i rgyal po shrī ha ri sha de bas bstod pa
rdzogs so || D

Translation

The 'Praise of the Beautiful Dawn' has been accomplished. This is the work of the King Śrīharṣa.

Commentary

The colophon edited by Mi and followed by Et means: 'In this way the *Suprabhāṭastotra* composed by King Harṣadeva for the highly venerable saint Buddha has been completed'. The Tibetan colophon contains *kha che* before the title of the King and indicates that the author is a king of Kashmir.

Appendix I. Critical Edition of D2

l'stutam api surasaṅghaiḥ siddhagandharvamukhyair	10a1
divi bhuvi ca l'vicitraiḥ stotravāgbhir yatīśaiḥ	10a2
aham api kṛśāsakti staumi saṃbuddham āryaṃ	
nabhasi garuḍayāte kiṃ na yānti dvirephāḥ 1	
kṣapitaduritapakṣaḥ kṣīṇaniḥśeṣa'doṣo	10a3
dravitakanakavarṇaḥ phullapadmāyatākṣaḥ	
surucirapariveśaḥ suprabhāmaṇḍalaśrīr	
daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ 2	
madanabalavijetaḥ kāpatho'cchedakartus	10a4
tribhuvanahitakartuḥ strīlatājālahartuḥ	
śamasukhaparivetur bhettur ajñānaśailaṃ	
daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ 3	
c. śama°] sama° ms. bhettur] bhetur ms.	
udayagiritatastho vidruma'cchedatāmras	10a5
timiranikarahantā caksur ekaḥ prajānām	

ravir api madalolaḥ sarvathā so 'pi supto
daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 4 ||

b. *caḥsur*] *caḥsu* ms.

dviradadaśanapāṇḍuḥ śītaraśmiḥ |śaśāṅkas 10b1

tilaka iva rajanyāḥ śarvacūḍāmaṇir yaḥ ||
avigatamadarāgaś candramāḥ so 'pi supto
daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 5 ||

pravarabhujacatuṣkaḥ ṣoḍaśārdhārdhavadakro
japani'yamavidhijñāḥ sāmavedapravaktā | 10b2

amalakamalayoniḥ so 'pi vidhāḥ prasupto
daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 6 ||

himagiriśikharābhaḥ sarpayajñopavītī
tri'puradahanadakṣo vyāghracarmottariyāḥ | 10b3

saha girivaraputryā nityasuptas triśūlī
daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 7 ||

kuvalayadalanīlaḥ puṇḍarīkāyātākṣaḥ
suraripubalahantā viśvakṛd viśvarūpī |

harir api cirasupto garbhavāsair amukto
daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 8 ||⁵⁰

himaśaśikumudābho madyapānāruṇākṣo
|ḍṛdhakāṭhinabhujāṅgo lāṅgalāsaktahastaḥ | 10b4

bala iha śayito 'sau revatīkaṇṭhalagno
daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 9 ||

kapilajaṭilavālo raktatāmraṇūḍākṣaḥ
paśupatiratikāle saṅgabhaṅgaikadākṣaḥ | 10b5

smaraśaraśithilāṅgaḥ so 'pi supto hutāśo
daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 10 ||

⁵⁰ The whole verse is inserted from an extra line beneath the last line in this page.

gajamukhadaśanaikaḥ sarvato vighnakaḥ¹rttā 11a1

vigalatamadavāriḥ śaṭpadākīrṇagaṇḍaḥ |

gaṇapatir api supto vāruṇīpānamatto

daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 11 ||

atasikusumanīlā yasya śaktiḥ karāgre

navaka²malavapuṣmān śaḍmukhaḥ krauñcahantā | 11a2

trinayanatanayo yaḥ so 'pi suptaḥ kumāro

daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 12 ||

jvalitakuliśapāñir durjayo dānavānām

³surapatir api śacyā vibhramair mūḍhacetaḥ | 11a3

anīśi nīśi ca suptaḥ kāmapañke nimagno

daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 13 ||

aśanavasanaḥ⁴nā nityakālaṃ virū⁵pā 11a4

bahuvividhavighātāḥ pretavad dagdhadehāḥ |

ubhayagativihīnās te 'pi nagnāḥ prasuptā

daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 14 ||

d. *tava*] *va* ms.

ṛṣaya iva mahānto vatsabhī⁶gvaṅgirādyāḥ 11a5

kratupulahavasiṣṭhā vyāsavālmīkagargāḥ |

yuvatijaghanasaktā mohitās te 'pi suptā

daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 15 ||

bhavajalanidhimagnā mohajālā⁷vṛtāṅgā 11b1

manukapilakaṇādā bhrāntisaṃmūḍhacittaḥ |

śamasukhaparihīnā bālīśās te 'pi suptā

daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 16 ||

a. °*nidhi*°] °*dhi*° ms.

yamavaruṇakuberā yakṣadaityoragendrā

divi bhu|vi gagane vā lokapālās tathānye | 11b2

yuvatimadakaṭākṣair īkṣitās te 'pi suptā

daśabala tava nityaṃ suprabhātaṃ prabhātaṃ || 17 ||

tīrtheṣu gokulaśatāni pibanti toyam

tr̥ptim vrajanti na ca tat kṣayam abhyupaiti | 11b3

tadvan muneḥ kaviśatair api saṃstutasya

na kṣīyate guṇanidhir guṇasāgarasya || 18 ||

suprabhātaṃ tavaikasya jñānonmīlitacakṣuṣaḥ |

ajñānatimirāndhānāṃ nityam astamito raviḥ || 19 || 11b4

punaḥ prabhātaṃ punar utthito raviḥ

punaḥ śaśāṅkaḥ punar eva śarvarī |

mṛtyur jarā janma tathaiva bhūyo (m. inc.)

gatāgataṃ mūḍha ka'thaṃ na budhyase || 20 || 11b5

a. *utthito*] *utchito* ms. | b. *punaḥ*] *puna* ms.

ajñānanidratamasi prasupte

tr̥ṣṇā^{viśāla}śāyanopadhāne |

loke śubhāśubhaphale parivartamāne

jāgarti yaḥ satatam eva namo 'stu tāsmai || 21 ||

b. °*viśāla*°] °*viśālā*° ms. | d. *namo*] *namau* ms.

stutvā lokagu|rum mahāmunivaraṃ saddharmapuṇyadrumaṃ 12a1

nirdvandvaṃ hatarāgadoṣatimiraṃ śāntendriyaṃ nispr̥ham |

yat puṇyaṃ samupārjitaṃ khalu mayā tenaiṣa loko khilah

pratyūṣastutihaṛṣato daśaba|le śraddhāṃ parāṃ vindatu || 22 ||

suprabhāstavaḥ samāptaḥ ||⁵¹ || kṛtīr iyaṃ rājñāḥ śrīśrīhaṛṣadevasya ||

⁵¹ Usually, in this manuscript, the Sanskrit title of each text is translated or glossed into Tibetan. The Tibetan title is inserted by a second hand with *dbu med* script above or below the Sanskrit title, i.e., in the margin of the page. However, we have not seen the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit title at the end of this text.

Appendix II. *pāda*-concordance between Different Versions of Sup⁵²

Sanskrit	Meter	D1	D2	Ba	Et	Mi	Pa	Th ⁵³	Tib
<i>stutam api</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1. <i>lha yi</i>
<i>sakalaghana °</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	2							
<i>kṣapitadurītapākṣaḥ</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2. <i>mi mthun</i>
<i>madanabalavijetuh</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3. <i>bduḍ kvi</i>
<i>asurasuranarāṇam</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	5		4	4	4	4	4	4. <i>gang zhiḡ lha min</i>
<i>udayagiriātataṣṭho</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	6	4	5	5	5	5	5	5. <i>shar gyi</i>
<i>dhīradadaśanapānduh</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	7	5	6	6	6	6	6	6. <i>glang po</i>
<i>pravaraabhujatatsukah</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	8	6	7	7	7	7	7	7. <i>rab mchog</i>
<i>kuvalayadalānīlah</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	9	8	10	8	8	10	8	10. <i>u tpal</i>
<i>himagiriśikhārābhah</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	10	7	8	9	9	8	9	8. <i>gangs kvi</i>
<i>kapilajātakalāpo</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	11	10	11	14	14	11	14	11. <i>gang zhiḡ ral pa</i>
<i>jvalitakulīśapānir</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	12	13	9	10	10	9	10	9. <i>bar ba i</i>
<i>himasāsīkumudābho</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	13	9	12	11	11	12	11	12. <i>zla ba</i>
<i>gajamukhadāśanaikah</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	14	11	13	12	12	13	12	13. <i>glang chen</i>
<i>atasikusumanīlā</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	15	12	14	13	13	14	13	14. <i>zar ma i</i>
<i>yamavarunakuberā</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	16	17	17	15	15	17	15	17. <i>gshin rje</i>
<i>rsava lha</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	17	15	16	16	16	16	16	16. <i>bas mtha i</i>
<i>bhavajalaniḍhimagnā</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>		16	18	17	17	18	17	18. <i>srid pa i</i>
<i>āsanaśasamhīnā</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	18	14	15	18	18	15	18	15. <i>zas la</i>
<i>vyad api gunalavam</i>	<i>mālīnī</i>	19							
<i>suprabhātām tavāikasya</i>	<i>anuṣṭubh</i>	20	19	21	20	19	21	20	
<i>puncha prabhātam</i>	<i>vaṃśamālā</i>	21	20	22	21	21	22	21	
<i>ajñānandirajanīṭamasi</i>	<i>vasantatilakā</i>	22	21	19	22	22	19	22	19. <i>mi shes</i>
<i>suprabhātām sunakṣatram</i>	<i>anuṣṭubh</i>	23		23	19	20	23	19	
<i>tīrtheṣu gokulaśatāni</i>	<i>vasantatilakā</i>	24	18	20	23	23	20	23	20. <i>chu gram</i>
<i>stutvā lokagurum</i>	<i>sāṃdūlavikrīḍita</i>	25	22	24	24	24	24	24	21. <i>rab tu nam nangs</i>

⁵² This table follows a tentative table established by Johannes Schneider on the occasion of his course in the winter semester (2019/20) at the Ludwig-Maximilian University of Munich.

⁵³ Th^A displays a slight difference in terms of stanza sequence, i.e., verse 22 appears immediately after verse 18, see THOMAS 1903: 705.

Abbreviations

AiG	<i>Altindische Grammatik</i> = WACKERNAGEL and DEBRUNNER 1896–1957.
Aṣṭ	Harṣadeva's <i>Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra</i> .
Ba	BAHULKAR 2012.
Ba ^{Ka}	The manuscript mentioned in BAHULKAR 2012.
C	Cone (Co ne) Tanjur.
D	Derge (sDe dge) Tanjur.
D1	The first manuscript of Sup found in Drepung Monastery, with the file number ZX0587–ZB09.
D2	The second manuscript of Sup found in Drepung Monastery, with the file number ZX0618–ZB24.
Dhp	<i>Dhammapada</i> = VON HINÜBER and NORMAN 1995.
eds.	All the extant editions of Harṣadeva's <i>Suprabhātastotra</i> .
Et	ETTINGHAUSEN 1906.
Et ^C	The Cambridge University Library manuscript mentioned in ETTINGHAUSEN 1906.
G	Ganden (dGa' ldan) or 'Golden Manuscript' Tanjur.
Hc.	<i>Harṣacarita</i> = PARAB 1897.
Mi	MINAYEV 1887.
Mi ^A	The Manuscript mentioned in MINAYEV 1887 as ms. A.
Mi ^B	The Manuscript mentioned in MINAYEV 1887 as ms. B.
Mi ^C	The Manuscript mentioned in MINAYEV 1887 as ms. C.
Mi ^P	The Manuscript mentioned in MINAYEV 1887 as ms. P.
N	Narthaṅg (sNar thaṅg) Tanjur.
P	Peking Tanjur.
Pa	PANDEYA 1994.
PE	<i>Purāṇic Encyclopaedia</i> = MANI 1975.
PW	<i>Sanskrit Wörterbuch (Petersburger Wörterbuch)</i> = BÖHTLINGK and ROTH 1855–1875.
pw	BÖHTLINGK 1879–1889.
Skt.	Sanskrit.
Sup	Harṣadeva's <i>Suprabhātastava</i> .
Th	THOMAS 1903.
Th ^A	A Manuscript from the Library of the India Office mentioned in THOMAS 1903.
Th ^B	A Manuscript from the collection of the Bengal Asiatic Society mentioned in THOMAS 1903.
Tib	Tibetan translation of Sup.
VāmP	<i>Vāmana Purāṇa</i> = GUPTA 1967.

Acknowledgements

This project was supported by LMU-excellent, funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) and the Free State of Bavaria under the Excellence Strategy of the Federal Government and the Länder.

I am indebted to Rostislav Berezkin (Shanghai) and Georg Paintner (Munich), for their interpretation of the Russian, Bony Schachter (Hong Kong) for his polishing of my English, Roland Steiner (Munich), Małgorzata Wielńska-Soltwedel (Warsaw) and two peer reviewers for their valuable comments, and especially Johannes Schneider (Munich) for his various constructive suggestions.

References

- AUFRECHT, Theodor 1903. *Catalogus Catalogorum. An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit Works and Authors*, Part III. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.
- BAHULKAR, Shrikant et al. eds 2012. *Bauddhastotratatnākaraḥ*, edited by Rare Buddhist Texts Research Department. Rare Buddhist Texts Series 32. Varanasi: Central University of Tibetan Studies.
- BENDALL, Cecil 1883. *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge. With introductory notices and illustrations of the palæography and chronology of Nepal and Bengal*. University Press: Cambridge.
- BODEWITZ, Hendrik Wilhelm 1976. *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (agnihotra) according to the Brāhmaṇas*. *Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina* 21. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- BODEWITZ, Hendrik Wilhelm 2019. *Vedic Cosmology and Ethics. Selected Studies*. Gonda Indological Studies 19. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- BÖHTLINGK, Otto 1879–1889. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- BÖHTLINGK, Otto and Rudolf ROTH 1855–1875. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- CDL, MS ADD. 1614. Cambridge Digital Library, Collection of Stotras and Songs. MS Add. 1614. <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01614/1> (accessed 19 December 2022).
- COWELL, Edward Byles and Frederick William THOMAS 1897. *The Harṣa-carita of Bāṇa*, Translated by E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas. Oriental Translation Fund, New Series II. London: The Royal Asiatic Society.

- ETTINGHAUSEN, Maurice Léon 1906. *Harṣa Vardhana. Empereur et poète de l'Inde septentrionale (606–648 A.D.). Étude sur sa vie et son temps*. Thèse pour le doctorat d'université de Paris. Présentée à la faculté des lettres à la Sorbonne. London: Luzac & Co.
- FRANCESCHINI, Marco 2019. 'Harṣa'. [In:] Silk, Jonathan, Oskar von Hinüber and Vincent Eltschinger, eds, *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism, Vol. 2: Lives*. Leiden, etc.: Brill, pp. 214–217.
- GOYAL, S. R. 1932. *Harsha and Buddhism*. Meerut: Kusumanjali Prakashan.
- GUPTA, Anand Swarup, ed. 1967. *The Vāmana Purāṇa*. Varanasi: All-India Kashiraj Trust Fort Ramnagar.
- HARTMANN, Jens-Uwe 2015. 'Poetry: South Asia'. [In:] Silk, Jonathan, Oskar von Hinüber and Vincent Eltschinger, eds, *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism, Vol. 1: Buddhist Literatures*. Leiden, etc.: Brill, pp. 532–540.
- VON HINÜBER, Oskar and Kenneth Roy NORMAN, eds 1995. *Dhammapada: with a complete word index*. Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- LÉVI, Sylvain 1897. 'Une Poésie inconnue du Roi Harṣa Çilāditya. L'Aṣṭa-mahā-çṛī-caitya-stotra'. *Actes du dixième Congrès international des Orientalistes (Genève 1894)*, part 2, sec. I. Leiden: 189–203 = (1937). [In:] *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*. Paris: Paul Hartmann, pp. 244–256.
- LIU, Zhen and Johannes SCHNEIDER 2022. *Buddhist Hymns, A New Collection*. Beijing–Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House & Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- MANI, Vettam 1975. *Purāṇic Encyclopaedia. A Comprehensive Dictionary with Special Reference to the Epic and Purāṇic Literature*. Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- MATSUDA, Kazunobu 2019. 'Ratonākaraśānti no han'nya haramitsu shūshū shidai ラトナーカラシャーンティの般若波羅蜜修習次第' [Ratnākaraśānti's *Prajñāpāramitābhāvanākrama*]. *Bukkyōdaigaku bukkyō gakkai kiyō* 佛教大学仏教学会紀要 [The Bulletin of the Association of Buddhist Studies Bukkyo University] 24: 21–32.
- MINAYEV, Ivan Pavlovich. Минаев, Иван Павлович 1887. 'Buddiiskiia molitvy'. Буддійскія молитвы [Buddhist prayers]. *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva*. Записки Восточнаго Отдѣленія Императорскаго Русскаго Археологическаго Общества [Notes of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society] 2: 125–136, 233–240.
- NORMAN, Kenneth Roy 1997. *The Word of the Doctrine (Dhammapada), translated with an introduction and notes by K. R. Norman*. Pali Text Society Translation Series No. 46. The Pali Text Society: Oxford.
- PANDEYA, Janardan Shastri 1994. *Bauddhastotrasaṅgraha [A Collection of One Hundred Eight Old Buddhist Hymns – First Series]*. Delhi: Motilāla Banārasīdāsa.

- PARAB, Kāśināth Pāṇdurang 1897. *The Harshacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, with the Commentary (Śaṅketa) of Śaṅkara*. Bombay: Tukārām Jāvājī, Proprietor of Jāvājī Dadaji's 'Nirnaya-sagar' Press.
- SCHNEIDER, Johannes 1993. *Der Lobpreis der Vorzüglichkeit des Buddha. Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmins Viśeṣastava mit Prajñāvarmans Kommentar. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben und übersetzt*. Indica et Tibetica 23. Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
- SCHNEIDER, Johannes 1995. 'Der Buddha als der wahre Śiva: Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmins Sarvajñamaheśvarastotra'. *Berliner Indologische Studien* 8: 153–187.
- SCHNEIDER, Johannes 2014. *Eine buddhistische Kritik der indischen Götter. Śaṅkarasvāmins Devātiśayastotra mit Prajñāvarmans Kommentar*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 81. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien.
- SCHNEIDER, Johannes 2019a. 'Śaṅkarasvāmin'. [In:] Silk, Jonathan, Oskar von Hinüber and Vincent Eltschinger, eds, *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism, Vol. 2: Lives*. Leiden, etc.: Brill, p. 382.
- SCHNEIDER, Johannes 2019b. 'Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin'. [In:] Silk, Jonathan, Oskar von Hinüber and Vincent Eltschinger, eds, *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism, Vol. 2: Lives*. Leiden, etc.: Brill, pp. 479–480.
- SCHUBRING, Walther 1934. *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur von Ernst Leumann*. Alt- und neu-indische Studien 4. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter.
- SKILLING, Peter and Oskar von HINÜBER 2011. 'An epigraphical Buddhist poem from Phanigiri (Andhrapradesh) from the time of Rudrapuruṣadatta'. *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 14: 7–12.
- SKILTON, Andrew 2009. 'How the Nāgas were Pleased' by Harṣa & 'The Shattered Thighs' by Bhāsa. The Clay Sanskrit Library 39. New York: New York University Press.
- STEINER, Roland 1997. *Untersuchungen zu Harṣadevas Nāgānanda und zum indischen Schauspiel*. Indica et Tibetica 31. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
- STEINER, Roland 2019. 'Candragomin'. [In:] Silk, Jonathan, Oskar von Hinüber and Vincent Eltschinger, eds, *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism, Vol. 2: Lives*. Leiden, etc.: Brill, pp. 121–124.
- THOMAS, Frederick William 1903. 'Notes from the Tanjur'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 35, 4: 703–722.
- WACKERNAGEL, Jakob and Albert DEBRUNNER 1896–1957. *Altindische Grammatik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- WILLIAMS, Richard 1963. *Jaina Yoga. A Survey of the Mediaeval Śrāvakācāras*. London: Oxford University Press.

- ZHANG, Mengyan 2020. ‘Guānyú xīnchū fānběn “bādà língtǎ lǐbài zànsòng” de yánjiū 关于新出梵本《八大灵塔礼拜赞颂》的研究’ [Study on the New Found Sanskrit Text “Ode to the Eight Great Stupas” (*Aṣṭamahāsthāna-caitya-vadana-nāmastava*)]. *Xīyù yánjiū* 西域研究 [*The Western Regions Studies*] 4, 2020: 106–122.
- ZORIN, Aleksandr Valer’evich. Зорин, Александр Валерьевич 2010. *U istokov tibetskoy poezii. Buddiyskiye gimny v tibetskoy literature VIII—XIV vv.* У истоков тибетской поэзии. Буддийские гимны в тибетской литературе VIII—XIV вв. [At the source of Tibetan poetry. Buddhist hymns in Tibetan literature: 8th–14th centuries]. Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskoye vostokovedeniye.

Notes on a Lost Book: Philological Questions and Symbols of the *Sui-jŏn*

Maurizio RIOTTO

Abstract: This article deals with *Sui-jŏn*, an almost unknown work not only in the West but also scarcely studied in Korea itself. Written most likely between the 10th and 12th centuries, on the basis of older, unidentifiable sources, the *Sui-jŏn* appears to have been primarily a collection of fantastic tales. Today it is largely lost, but its partial reconstruction is possible through various fragments reported in later works. Precisely on the basis of these fragments, in the first part this article attempts to reconstruct, as far as possible, what must have been the nature of the book, its author, its genesis, its dating. In the second part, the symbology of some natural elements that appear in the fragments of the work is spoken of. It is a symbolism that belongs, in similar forms, to many cultures of the world, but which in the case of Korea becomes, in its presentation, a real milestone, being present in the oldest Korean work of its kind that came down to us, although partially.

Keywords: *Sui-jŏn*, Korea's fantastic literature, Korean classic literature, Literature of the Koryŏ period

Maurizio RIOTTO, Anyang University; lugalbanda@anyang.ac.kr;  0000-0001-7173-4931

1. Prologue: Just a book of stories?

The *Sui-jŏn* 殊異傳 (Unusual stories) is certainly a work that raises many questions. Probably written in the 11th century and cited many times as a source by 13th century authors such as Kakhun 覺訓 (? – ca 1230), Iryŏn 一然 (1206–1289) and Yi Sŏnghyu 李承休 (1224–1300), it is lost in itself, but partially reconstructed through fragments carried over from later works.¹ It is from these fragments that it seems clear that this work must have been

¹ Among the modern editions of the work see Yi Tonggŭn ed. 2011, Yi Taehyŏng ed. 2018 and KIM Hyŏnyang et al. eds 1996. The Italian translation of all twelve fragments reported in the oldest works is found in RIOTTO 2014.

a collection of fantastic stories, emulating a Chinese literary genre, that of the *xiaoshuo* 小說 (little story), which was almost ten centuries older.²

The Chinese *xiaoshuo* are already mentioned in the *Qian Han shu* 前漢書 (History of the Former Han), whose author, Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), also explains their popular origin. Of the fifteen *xiaoshuo* mentioned by Ban Gu none has come down to us, but from how the great historian talks about it we can already glimpse that the topics of this literary genre ranged significantly, embracing very various topics and, among these, also esotericism and magic: a feature that will last over time.³

The post-Han *xiaoshuo* are mostly enriched biographies, various anecdotes, humorous stories and, indeed, ‘strange stories’. The latter are called *zhiguai* 志怪 (Korean: chigoe. Literally: ‘Annotated oddities’) or *chuanqi* 傳奇 (Korean *chŏn’gi*. Literally: ‘Tales of strange events’)⁴ and their legacy was certainly collected in Korea, to the point of being able to be reasonably indicated among the main inspirers of the *Sui-jŏn*.⁵ The origin and proliferation of this type of stories has not yet been sufficiently explained, but what is certain is that Taoist and Buddhist elements predominate in their contents. If we consider that they are born (or at least are strengthened) almost simultaneously with the arrival of Buddhism in China, we have the right to imagine that the encounter of the new creed with Taoism has stimulated a convergence of narrative interests towards the points of contact between the two systems of thought, in a sort of ‘comparative vision’.

Among the Chinese *xiaoshuo/zhiguai* one of the best known is certainly the *Soushenji* 搜神記 (In search of spirits: written memories), composed, presumably in thirty books,⁶ by Gan Bao 干寶 (?–336). The author is said

² This literary genre does not have much to do with the legends present in the Classics such as the *Zhuangzi* 莊子: in many cases it was a question of stories heard here and there by small officials, often those sent to the province, and then put in writing, and precisely this origin would justify their self-derogatory name. Regarding the *Sui-jŏn*, YU Chŏngil 2004: 218–238 perhaps exaggerates in considering it a forerunner of the Korean novel. In fact, if in China the fantastic genre had a certain continuity through the centuries, the same has not happened in Korea.

³ On the origin and development of the *xiaoshuo* see, among others, CAMPANY 1996: 28–29, 46–99, 102–126, and ZHAO 2005: 163–168.

⁴ The terms *zhiguai* and *chuanqi* are often considered synonymous. A possible distinction is that in the *chuanqi* we can find better literary quality and the role of the human being more active and less dependent on supernatural forces.

⁵ The comparison between the *Sui-jŏn* and Chinese works of the same genre is certainly not lacking: see, for example, KIM Taehyŏn 1999 and KIM Chisŏn 2003.

⁶ Today only twenty books remain, revised by the scholar Hu Yuanrui 胡元瑞 (1551–1602) in the Ming 明 (1368–1644) period.

to have become interested in the supernatural after a member of his family survived for ten years in a closed tomb thanks to a ghost who brought him food: in any case, Gan Bao's tales are mostly 'cold', detached, aseptic, true chronicles of mystery in a style very similar to the one we find in many episodes of the *Sui-jōn*. Moreover, some details present in *Sui-jōn* tales (such as, for example, the beautiful girls kept inside the bamboo box), are already similarly reported in Chinese works, such as the tale of the Taoist in the basket reported in the *Lingui zhi* 靈鬼志 (Chronicles of spirits and ghosts).

The list of collections of *zhiguai* stories is long: in addition to those already mentioned, in fact, we can remember the *Lieyizhuan* 列異傳 (Biographies of extraordinary characters) by Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226),⁷ the *Bowuji* 博物志 (Chronicles of the vast knowledge)⁸ by Zhang Hua 張華 (232–300), the *Soushen houji* 搜神後記 (Chronicles after *Soushenji*), even attributed to the great Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427),⁹ the *Youminglu* 幽明錄 (Notes of light and dark)¹⁰ by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444), the *Shiyiji* 拾遺記 (Chronicles of collected testimonies) by Wang Jia 王嘉 (?–390), etc. Some of these works have not survived, others exist in fragments, such as the *Sui-jōn*, still others have been saved, and among these above all those that have been incorporated into great compilation works such as the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Enlarged news of the Taiping Era).

In China, the trend of fantastic tales continued even after the sixth century and practically up to the modern age. The serious losses suffered by the ancient and 'medieval' Korean literary heritage, however, do not always allow us to follow the path of the fantastic genre in Korea. Very likely it was already present at the time of Unified Silla: the work *Kyerim chapchōn* 鷄林雜傳 (Various stories of Kyerim/Silla) by Kim Taemun 金大問,¹¹ now lost, almost certainly must have belonged to this genre and, indeed, may have been a source of *Sui-jōn* itself. In the Koryō period the *Pōphwa yōnghōm-jōn* 法華靈驗傳 (Miraculous tales of the *Lotus Sūtra*)¹² is noteworthy, but the genre

⁷ He is the well-known emperor Wen 文 of Wei 魏. However, the authorship of Cao Pi is anything but sure.

⁸ This book had a similar fate to that of the *Sui-jōn*, because, also lost, it survives today in fragments found in other works.

⁹ Doubts about the authorship of the work date back at least to the Ming period, thanks to the studies of Shen Shilong 沈士龍.

¹⁰ Also written 幽冥錄 and said *Youmingji* 幽冥記. It had twenty books according to *Sui shu* 隋書 (Book of Sui), book 33, thirty books according to various other sources. The work was probably lost at the time of the Northern Song 北宋 (960–1126).

¹¹ *Samguk sagi*: book 46.

¹² It was compiled by the monk Yowōn 了圓 in the 14th century, first printed (perhaps) in 1377 and republished various times starting from 1534. This work draws on Chinese sources such as

continues in the Chosŏn 朝鮮 period, also in works with particular and, in some ways, even adventurous backgrounds. This is the case, for example, with the *Kŭmo sinhwa* 金鰲新話 (New stories of Kŭmo) written by Kim Sisŭp 金時習 (1435–1493) around 1470. The work is a collection of short stories, of which only five have come down to us, considered by many to be an authentic precursor of the Korean classic novel (*kojŏn sosŏl* 古典小說). Strongly indebted for its contents to the Chinese work *Jiandeng xinhua* 剪燈新話 (New stories for trimmed candlelight)¹³ from previous decades, the *Kŭmo sinhwa* deals extensively with the supernatural world, with a very pessimistic perspective, which gives his stories (at least, the ones that have come down to us) a decidedly negative ending.¹⁴

Continuing, there will be many other works such as the *Sŏl Kongch'an-jŏn* 薛公贊傳 (Story of Sŏl Kongch'an),¹⁵ the *Wangnang panhon-jŏn* 王郎返魂傳 (Tale of the return of the spirit of Mr. Wang),¹⁶ written in 1637, but whose origin dates back, perhaps, even to the late Koryŏ period, etc.

At least apparently, therefore, the *Sui-jŏn* is undoubtedly a work of fantastic literature. However, almost no one has sufficiently considered a sentence by Yi

the *Hongzan fahua zhuan* 弘贊法華傳 (Biographical recounts for the diffusion and praise of the *Lotus Sūtra*), by Huixiang 慧詳 (ca 639–706), and Korean sources, such as the (today lost) *Haedongjŏn hongnok* 海東傳弘錄 (Large selection of edifying stories from Korea), by monk Ch'ŏnch'aek 天頌.

¹³ It was written in 1398 by Qu You 瞿佑 (1347–1433 or, according other sources, 1341–1427).

¹⁴ This very aspect, together with the use of Chinese, weakens its candidacy as precursor of the classic novel. For the rest, the widespread pessimism of the work fits well with the private life of the author, one of the leading representatives of those *pang'oein* 方外人 (marginalised) writers who had voluntarily renounced any relationship with official institutions.

¹⁵ This work is also recorded as *Sŏl Kongch'an hwanhon-jŏn* 薛公贊還魂傳 (Story of the return of the spirit of Sŏl Kongch'an) in the *P'aegwan chapki* 稗官雜記 (Various notes of a low officer) by Ŏ Sukkwŏn 魚叔權, a man of letters who flourished in the first half of the 16th century. It was written in Chinese around 1510 by Ch'ae Su 蔡壽 (1449–1515). Due to its scabrous content (the plot tells of a brother and a sister, who died prematurely, whose ghosts return to earth to torment their cousin), which had soon accelerated its diffusion by means of Korean translations, it was forbidden and condemned to the stake as a disturbance of public morality. Condemned to oblivion by official powers, the work, albeit incomplete, miraculously reappeared in a private archive in 1996, hidden among the pages of a copy of the *Mukchae ilgi* 默齋日記 (Diary of Mukchae, pseudonym of the author) whose original had been written by Yi Mungŏn 李文樞 (1494–1567). The first official announcement of the discovery of the work was given by the Seoul newspaper *Chung'ang ilbo* 中央日報 on April 27, 1997.

¹⁶ Also called *Wangnang-jŏn* 王郎傳 (Story of Mr. Wang). The oldest text is from 1637 but its origin dates back, perhaps, even to the late Koryŏ period. It is sometimes attributed to the Buddhist monk Pou, who could be either the Pou 普愚 of the Koryŏ period, who lived from 1301 to 1382, or the Pou 普雨 of the Chosŏn period, who lived from 1509 to 1565. It tells of a very close married couple who, divided by death, manage to reunite thanks to the mercy of Yŏmna 閻羅, the ruler of the dead.

Sŭnghyu, in the preface to book 2 of the *Chewang un'gi* 帝王韻紀:

謹據國史旁採各本紀與夫殊異傳所載...

(In drafting the text I based myself first of all on *National History* [Kuksa 國史], but I did not neglect to consult other sources such as the *Original Chronicles* [Pon'gi 本紀] and the *Unusual Stories* [Sui-jŏn 殊異傳]) ...

In composing the *Chewang un'gi*, a work with an exclusive historical-mythological content, Yi Sŭnghyu therefore used the *Sui-jŏn* as a source. However, none of the extant fragments of the *Sui-jŏn* has any bearing on the *Chewang un'gi*: unless we consider Yi Sŭnghyu's *Sui-jŏn* a work different from the one we know (a remake written by Pak Illyang?), we must think that it also dealt extensively with history and mythology. And this would be a novelty capable of making the problems surrounding this text even more complex.

2. The textual tradition

Of all the situations and philological variables that can be presented by an ancient text, *Sui-jŏn* certainly has one that is particularly difficult to decipher.¹⁷ We reiterate that the text, in itself, has not reached us, but in part it can be reconstructed through fragments (*ilmun* 逸文) reported in later works. But even in the face of such information and partial texts, the philologist can only hesitate before attributing them to the lost work. In the case of the *Sui-jŏn*, the question of the fragments is very complex, because in no case are we sure that the text reported is actually that of the original and not, rather, a remake of it or a summary.¹⁸ In fact, we are faced with texts that are sometimes only of a few lines, lapidary and plain, sometimes several pages long, written in excellent style and abundantly 'seasoned' with highly refined poems. In some cases, such as that of the episode of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠, we can argue that the text reported in the *T'aep'yŏng t'ongjae* 太平通載 is most likely an original 'fragment', but the text of the same episode reported in the *Taedong unbugunok* 大東韻府群玉, considerably reduced and lacking the poetic part, undoubtedly has the nature of a mere 'testimony/quotation'. By the other hand, the length and refinement of a text do not always prove its authenticity, because they could also be the result of subsequent interpolations.¹⁹

¹⁷ On the whole question regarding the author and the genesis of *Sui-jŏn* see, among others, Sŏ Yŏnggyu 1993, So Inho 1987 and Kim Kŏngon 1988.

¹⁸ For a general vision of the philological problems of the *Sui-jŏn* see, among others, Kwak Sŭnghun 2011.

¹⁹ It is a fact that, in terms of length and literary value, the episode of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn is to be

Thus, even before any more detailed analysis, the first problem of the *Sui-jŏn* begins to take shape: how to explain the differences in style and content between the various episodes? Did they already exist in the original or are they a result of the various interpolations made by subsequent authors in their works? So, ultimately, what kind of work was the *Sui-jŏn* really? Was it an anthology, a reasoned or indiscriminate collection of complete and summarised texts, or something else? Sometimes, the passages of the *Sui-jŏn*, as they appear reported in Korean works from the thirteenth century onwards, are so concise as to suggest that the original work shared, together with complete stories, also the summaries and the list of simple literary plots, more or less like the *Bibliotheca* (Βιβλιοθήκη) of Patriarch Photios,²⁰ without specifying the original source of the transcription.

But let us proceed in order. The title, first of all. Given that we really know nothing of the original title (just as we do not know if the work was unitary or not and if the references themselves of the later works allude to the same text), the title is reported, from time to time, as *Sui-jŏn* 殊異傳,²¹ *Silla Sui-jŏn* 新羅殊異傳²² and *Silla i-jŏn* 新羅異傳.²³ The reference to Silla probably is due to the fact that all the events and characters (at least those of the surviving fragments), belong to the world and culture of that State, but the clarification could also refer to the epoch in which the work was written (which could allow us to think that, for example, there could also have existed a *Sui-jŏn* of Koryŏ 高麗). But it could also be a means to distinguish that *Sui-jŏn* from other similar collections, produced in other contexts and perhaps still circulating in Korea during the Koryŏ period.

The authorship of the work is equally problematic and debated. The most widespread attribution is that to the great Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠 (857–?), himself the protagonist of the longest of all the surviving episodes of the work and a leading intellectual figure in the final period of Silla. However, there is no lack of attributions to other authors. The *Haedong kosŭng-jŏn* 海東高僧傳, for example, reports that the author is Pak Illyang 朴寅亮 (?–1096).²⁴

considered almost a 'novella', and this has been noted also by Korean scholars such as AN Ch'angsu 1997.

²⁰ BIANCHI and SCHIANO, eds 2016.

²¹ *Samguk yusa*: book 4: '...又東京安逸戶長貞孝家在古本殊異傳...'. In this case, before the title 'Sui-jŏn' the clarification 'kobon', that is 'old book', is premised.

²² See, among others: *T'aep'yŏng t'ongjae*: books 20 and 68: '...出新羅殊異傳...', *P'irwŏn chapki*: book 2: '...旦新羅殊異傳云...', *Chŭngbo munhŏn pigo*: book 246: '...新羅殊異傳文唱候崔致遠撰...', etc.

²³ *Samguk yusa*: book 4: '...後人改作新羅異傳...'.
²⁴ *Haedong kosŭng-jŏn*: book 1: '...若按朴寅亮殊異傳...'

A passage of the *Samguk yusa* instead also brings into play an otherwise unknown character, Kim Ch'öngmyöng 金陟明, who would have been, if not the author, at least the 'corrector' of the *Sui-jŏn*,²⁵ and at this point we can begin to make us exegetes of the thought of the ancient writers regarding the authorship of the work and to summarise the more or less explicitly the proposed possibilities:

- 1) The three characters mentioned are from time to time considered to be the authors of the *Sui-jŏn*, evidently considered a unitary work, born from the brush of a single author on the basis of a specific project.
- 2) The *Sui-jŏn* is a work that has gone through various versions and remakes, one of which was completed by Kim Ch'öngmyöng, a character who lived in an unspecified period but certainly prior to the drafting of *Samguk yusa*, completed around 1280.
- 3) All three characters participated, to varying degrees, in the realisation of the *Sui-jŏn*. This is currently considered the most reliable hypothesis in South Korea. In particular, Ch'oe Chiwŏn would have prepared the first version of the text, subsequently expanded by Pak Illyang and finally revised and corrected by Kim Ch'öngmyöng. Overall, a process that lasted at least a century and a half, however, would not have served the survival of the work, which seems to have already been lost in a relatively ancient era.
- 4) Under the common title of '*Sui-jŏn*' there are actually different works, on each of which could have worked one of the characters described above. In this regard, the slight differences in the title (but also in the contents), reported by the later texts could offer (weak) support for this hypothesis. In addition, if the unitary work had really gone through a revision by Kim Ch'öngmyöng or someone on his behalf, the big differences in length and style between the various episodes that have come down to us would remain inexplicable.

To these major possibilities must be added others. For example, it is legitimate to wonder what sense it makes to indicate a certain character as the 'author' of a work, such as the *Sui-jŏn*, which seems to have been a collection of various myths, stories and legends. It would perhaps be more correct, therefore, to speak of 'editor' or 'compiler', and ask oneself if he was the first to bring together in a book all the folkloristic material available to him or if he in turn used previous collections and other authors. We should also ask

²⁵ *Samguk yusa*: book 4: '...鄉人金陟明後人改作新羅異傳...'. Some textual anomalies, such as the confusion between the episode of Wöngwang 圓光 and Poyang 寶壤, later taken up by Iryŏn, could be the result of the remake made by Kim Ch'öngmyöng. However, the possibility that Pak Illyang and Kim Ch'öngmyöng are actually the same person has also recently been suggested (Kim Chonggun 2022: 175–181).

ourselves whether the stylistic differences between the various episodes are a legacy that came directly from the original or are due, by choice or necessity, to the initiative of the person who later reported the fragments. Much more refined versions of various episodes attributable to *Sui-jŏn* and present in various classical texts, starting with *Samguk yusa*, would seem, in this regard, to favour the second hypothesis.

The question of attribution inevitably affects the very date of composition of the work. Among the three characters proposed as an author, the oldest is Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, born in 857 and died in an unknown year, probably in the first thirty years of the 10th century. Now, leaving aside the strangeness of an author who talks about himself in a collection of anecdotes (Ch'oe is in fact the protagonist of the longest episode in the text), until he 'died at old age' (*sic*), it is clear that, accepting Ch'oe as author or compiler (obviously excluding the passage relating to his death), the *terminus ante quem non* of the drafting of the work must necessarily be placed around 890, given that the events of Ch'oe narrated in *Sui-jŏn* took place in the period of his stay in China, that is, from about 868 to 885. In this case, the *Sui-jŏn* could have been almost contemporary with the *Samdaemok* 三代目 (Catalogue of the Three epochs), the great collection of *hyangga* 鄉歌 poems, now lost, completed in the year 888 by Wihong 魏弘 and by monk Taegu Hwasang 大矩和尚²⁶ upon the order of Chinsŏng 眞聖 (r. 887–897) the last of the reigning queens of Silla, who could also have given Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn or whoever for him the task of collecting the patrimony of myths, legends and fantastic stories circulating in the kingdom of Silla either in oral or written form.²⁷

Pak Illyang is a more authoritative candidate. Originally from Chukchu 竹州, in the Kyŏnggi 京畿 region or perhaps from P'yŏngju 平州, in the Hwanghae 黃海 region, he was undoubtedly a prominent figure in the bureaucratic and literary world of Koryŏ. We know that he passed the state examinations during the reign of Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083) and immediately took up important

²⁶ The term *hwasang* (also written 和上) translates the Sanskrit *upādhyāya* उपाध्याय (Pāli: *upajjhāya*) which properly indicates a spiritual master (not necessarily a monk) who teaches the sacred texts. It is sometimes found transliterated as 烏波陀耶 (*up'adaya*) or, with the Chinese pronunciation, *niaobotuoye*. *Hwasang* in Chinese sounds *heshang*, but more often the term is specified as *jiehesang* 戒和尚 that is, more or less, 'Master who gives the precepts'.

²⁷ Almost surely, the fourteen *hyangga* 鄉歌 reported in the *Samguk yusa* were also to be found in the *Samdaemok*. Actually eleven other *hyangga* have come to us, but these have been handed down, under the overall name of *Pohyŏn sibwŏn-ga* 普賢十願歌 (The ten vows of Samantabhadra) from the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* 均如傳 (Biography of Kyun'yŏ), and attributed precisely to this great Buddhist monk, who lived from 923 to 973. However, these are *hyangga* of the first Koryŏ period, which therefore did not belong to the world of Silla and which, for obvious chronological reasons, could not be included in the *Samdaemok*.

positions in the Public Administration. In 1075, thanks to a memorial of extraordinary eloquence, he managed to persuade the Khitan (Kōran 契丹) to abandon a military post near the Amnok 鴨綠 River.²⁸ Subsequently, in 1080, as an official of the Ministry of Rites and Ceremonials, he participated together with Yu Hong 柳洪 (?–1091), in a mission to the Song 宋. During the sea voyage, however, the Korean delegation encountered a violent typhoon during which it lost many of the goods entrusted to it, and for this, upon his return to Koryō, Pak seriously risked punishment. However, he managed to stay afloat in national politics, and to end his life as a brilliant official, also ensuring the prestige of the family thanks to his three children, who were all destined to become excellent public officials. A talented poet and versifier, he was also heralded in China, apart from the sporadic attribution of the *Sui-jōn*, he is also considered the author of the *Kogūm-nok* 古今錄 (Ancient and modern Chronicles), a work of history in ten books which is now lost, and, in collaboration with Kim Kūn 金觀, of the literary anthology *Sohwa-jip* 小華集 (Miscellany of Little China)²⁹, published in China. Moreover, in addition to being an excellent literatus, he also lived in an epoch (the 11th century) which was absolutely compatible not only with the events narrated in *Sui-jōn*, but also with the literary genre of fantastical tales, to which *Sui-jōn* belongs, which in Koryō was catching on as an element of *p'aegwan* 稗官 literature.

The fantastical episodes which today are certainly attributable to *Sui-jōn*, by the same admission of the texts that report them, are twelve in number, and are found scattered in various works, datable between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some episodes explicitly assigned to *Sui-jōn* are reportedly practically identical, with only slight variations (sometimes in summary form), in more than one work.

We also have a series of stories with characters and contents equal or similar to those of the *Sui-jōn*, but which are never explicitly referred to in this work. These stories are gathered, in modern Korean texts, under the name of *kwallyōn munhōn* 關聯文獻, or 'related bibliography (with the *Sui-jōn*)'. In these texts, the episodes present in the *Sui-jōn* are sometimes developed and treated in a more novel-like way, and for this reason one wonders if this derives from a free reinterpretation of those who report the stories or simply from the use of a different source unknown to us (perhaps a source that had already drawn from the *Sui-jōn* itself).

Finally, it cannot be excluded that, in the mass of more or less fantastic tales not connected with the characters of the *Sui-jōn* and handed down by the great

²⁸ Better known as Yalu.

²⁹ The 'Little China' is, of course, Korea.

collections of popular literature, especially those of the *yadam* 野談 of the late Chosŏn period (1600–1910), there are also stories that, although devoid of any explicit reference, had originally been reported by the *Sui-jŏn*. We may never know this, but the fact that references to the *Sui-jŏn* cease almost entirely from the 17th century onwards must suggest that, already in that epoch, this book had not been in circulation from a long time. On the other hand, only conjectures can be made about the date of the disappearance of the work: if Iryŏn 一然 in the episode of Wŏngwang 圓光 explicitly refers to a preserved copy of the *Sui-jŏn* in Kyŏngju 慶州, we must think that, at least until the end of the 13th century, it was still accessible. The eventful vicissitudes of the country between the 14th and the 15th centuries, culminating in the passing of the dynasty and capable of leading to the disappearance of a large part of the written culture of Koryŏ (and even more so than that before Koryŏ), could therefore be fatal results for a work that, due to its inevitable esoteric/Buddhist contents, it would hardly have found easy ground in the Confucian moralism/rationalism, which formed the intellectual basis for the establishment of the new royal lineage. The censorship exercised on the *Koryŏ sog'yo* 高麗俗謠 is very significant in this respect. On the other hand, the fact that all subsequent bibliographies contain only twelve episodes certainly attributed to the *Sui-jŏn* (of a content that must have been enormously superior), would lead us to think that most of the work must have already been lost not long after its realisation. In any case, the surviving fragments of the work continued to be reported until the 17th century.

We can thus sketch a summary scheme on the chronology of the texts where episodes certainly present in the *Sui-jŏn* appear, giving, in order, the title of the story, the work (or works) where it is reported, with the relative dating, and the way the original work is mentioned:

Ado 阿道	<i>Haedong kosŭng-jŏn</i> , I (13th cent.)	<i>Pak Illyang Sui-jŏn</i>
Wŏngwang 圓光	<i>Samguk yusa</i> , IV (13th cent.)	<i>Kobon Sui-jŏn</i>
Pogae 寶開	<i>T'aep'yŏng t'ongjae</i> , XX (15th cent.)	<i>Silla Sui-jŏn</i>
Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠	<i>T'aep'yŏng t'ongjae</i> , LXVIII (15th cent.) <i>Haedong chamnok</i> , IV (17th cent.) <i>Taedong unbugunok</i> , XV (16th cent.) ³⁰	<i>Silla Sui-jŏn</i> <i>Sui-jŏn</i> <i>Silla Sui-jŏn</i>

<i>Chigwi</i> 志鬼	<i>T'aep'yŏng t'ongjae</i> , LXXIII (15th cent.) <i>Taedong unbugunok</i> , XX (16th cent.) ³¹ <i>Haedong chamnok</i> , IV (17th cent.)	<i>Silla Sui-jŏn</i> <i>Sui-jŏn</i> <i>Sui-jŏn</i>
<i>Yŏng'o and Seo</i> 迎烏細烏	<i>P'irwŏn chapki</i> , II (15th cent.)	<i>Silla Sui-jŏn</i>
<i>T'arhae</i> 脫解	<i>Samguksa chŏr'yo</i> , II (15th cent.)	<i>Sui-jŏn</i>
<i>Sŏndŏk wang</i> 善德王 (Queen Sŏndŏk)	<i>Samguksa chŏr'yo</i> , VIII (15th cent.) <i>Haedong chamnok</i> , I (17th cent.)	<i>Sui-jŏn</i> <i>Sui-jŏn</i>
<i>Susap sŏngnam</i> 首挿石 栴 (The camphor twig in the hair)	<i>Taedong unbugunok</i> , VIII (16th cent.) <i>Haedong chamnok</i> , IV (17th cent.)	<i>Sui-jŏn</i> <i>Sui-jŏn</i>
<i>Chukt'ong minyŏ</i> 竹筒美 女 (The beautiful women in the bamboo box)	<i>Taedong unbugunok</i> , IX (16th cent.) <i>Haedong chamnok</i> , IV (17th cent.)	<i>Sui-jŏn</i> <i>Sui-jŏn</i>
<i>Noong hwagu</i> 老翁化狗 (The old man who turned into a dog)	<i>Taedong unbugunok</i> , XII (16th cent.) <i>Haedong chamnok</i> , IV (17th cent.)	<i>Sui-jŏn</i> <i>Sui-jŏn</i>
<i>Howŏn</i> 虎願 (Hope of a tigress)	<i>Taedong unbugunok</i> , XV (16th cent.) <i>Haedong chamnok</i> , IV (17th cent.)	<i>Sui-jŏn</i> <i>Sui-jŏn</i>

I will now proffer a list of the titles of the stories connected, in account of their protagonists and circumstances, with those of the *Sui-jŏn*, but not explicitly attributed to it, and generally defined as *kwallyŏn munhŏn*. In this regard, it must be said that the list of episodes classified as 'related bibliography' varies at the discretion of philologists. Among these, for example, there are also those who consider 'Bibliography pertinent to the *Sui-jŏn*' not only the episode of

³⁰ In this case the episode is titled *Sŏnnyŏ hongdae* 仙女紅袋 (The red handbags of the nymphs) and is an abstract of the version reported in the *T'aep'yŏng t'ongjae*.

³¹ Here the title is *Simhwa yot'ap* 心火繞塔 (The heart's fire that spread to the pagoda).

Poyang and the pear tree of the *Samguk yusa*, but also a very short quotation from Sō Kōjōng 徐居正 (1420–1488) and even (since it is very similar in the argument to Chigwi's story), a non-Korean tale that certainly predates the writing of *Sui-jōn*.³²

<i>Ado-jōn</i> 阿道傳 (Biography of Ado)	<i>Haedong kosūng-jōn</i> , I
<i>Ado kira</i> 阿道基羅 (Ado establishes Buddhism at Silla)	<i>Samguk yusa</i> , III
<i>Wōngwang-jōn</i> 圓光傳 (Biography of Wōngwang)	<i>Haedong kosūng-jōn</i> , II
<i>Wōngwang sōhak</i> 圓光西學 (The studies of Wōngwang in the West)	<i>Samguk yusa</i> , IV
<i>Minjangsa</i> 敏藏寺 (The Minjang temple) ³³	<i>Samguk yusa</i> , III
<i>Hūkp'ung ch'wigi sōnbang</i> 黑風吹其船舫 (The black wind hits the ship) ³⁴	<i>Pōphwa yōnghōm-jōn</i> , II, 14
<i>T'arhae</i> 脫解 (T'arhae)	<i>Samguk sagi</i> , I ³⁵
<i>T'arhae wang</i> 脫解王 (King T'arhae)	<i>Samguk yusa</i> , I
<i>Sōk T'arhae</i> 昔脫解 (Sōk T'arhae)	<i>Samguksa chōr'yo</i> , II
<i>Sōndōk wang chigi samsa</i> 善德王知幾三事 (Three Acts of Clairvoyance by Queen Sōndōk)	<i>Samguk yusa</i> , I

³² *Sui-jōn* 2018: 114 and 264. Here, the editor Yi Taehyōng inserts, among the *kwallyōn munhōn*, the tale of *Sulp'aga* 術波伽, reported in book 14 of the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (Treatise on the Great Prajñāpāramitā), a Buddhist treatise translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva कुमारजीव (344–413) from an original text in Sanskrit today lost. It is thus a work that surely precedes the *Sui-jōn*. The brief quote by Sō Kōjōng (in any case important, as it is not found in the other fragments) is reported in the book 2 of his *Saga munjip* (Collection of writings of Saga) and says: 新羅殊異傳 所記 第一 毘婆尸佛始創 羅代九聖人住處者也 (According to the *Silla Sui-jōn*, that is the place where the Buddha Vipasyin विपश्यन् stayed first, and in the Silla period nine saints stayed too).

³³ It is exactly the episode of Pogae.

³⁴ It is always the episode of Pogae, enriched with some details, according to which King Kyōngdōk 景德 would have made devotional visits to the Minjang temple every year on the eighth day of the fourth month and Pogae and Changch'un would have enjoyed special honors by having a precious copy of the *Lotus Sūtra* made and organizing meetings among the faithful. The author of the *Pōphwa yōnghōm-jōn*, however, does not quote the *Sui-jōn* among his sources, but the *Chronicles of the Minjang temple* (*Minjangsa-gi* 敏藏寺記), the *Old chronicles of Kyerim* (*Kyerim kogi* 鷄林古記), and the *Biographical catalogue of Korea's Pōphwa School* (*Haedong Pōphwa chōnhongnok* 海東法華傳弘錄). All these works are now lost.

³⁵ The *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 reports the life of T'arhae in its first book, in the section dedicated

<i>Kim Hyŏn kamho</i> 金現感虎 (Kim Hyŏn moves a tigress) ³⁶	<i>Samguk yusa</i> , V
<i>Yŏnorang Seonyŏ</i> 延鳥郎細鳥女 (Yŏno e Seo)	<i>Samguk yusa</i> , I
<i>Shuangnü fen</i> (<i>Ssangnyŏ pun</i>) 雙女墳 (<i>The tombs of two women</i>)	<i>Liuchao shiji bianlei</i> , II

In conclusion, the only certain thing is that the last word on the genesis of the *Sui-jŏn* is far from having been written. A mysterious and multifaceted work, apparently with serious internal contradictions (if we are to consider the very different length and literary level of the various anecdotes as a particularity present since its first draft), it still manages to give a reasonable idea of the enormous folkloric heritage which must have existed in the kingdom of Silla. The fact that numerous works of the following periods have drawn inspiration and narrative material from the *Sui-jŏn* suggests how much the anecdotal literature of Korea (but, I dare to say, all the fantastic literature of the Far East) owes to this work.

3. Themes and symbols of the *Sui-jŏn*: some hints for a comparative/structuralist analysis

The stories of the *Sui-jŏn* sometimes bring back real characters such as Queen Sŏndŏk and Kim Yusin, but often the protagonists of the stories are overwhelmed and obscured by the supernatural element, which is certainly predominant. In fact, the *Sui-jŏn* is above all a forest of symbols and speaks by symbols, and since it is the oldest text of fantastic literature that has come down to us, albeit partially, it becomes the archetype, the point of reference and the touchstone of all subsequent Korean symbology.

to the main testimonies on Silla (*Silla pon'gi* 新羅本紀). However, a part of modern Korean scholarship does not consider this episode related to the *Sui-jŏn* and instead promotes the tale *Poyang imok* 寶壤梨木 (Poyang and the pear tree), an extremely confusing story reported in *Samguk yusa*: book 4, where the deeds of the not better known monk Poyang intersect at one point with the figure of Wŏngwang, who actually lived at least three hundred years earlier. Poyang, in fact, lives between Silla and Koryŏ, but the misunderstanding of some modern philologists is mainly based on what Iryŏn wrote at the end of the episode: '...後人改作新羅異傳, 濫記鵲塔瑞日之事于圓光傳中, 系犬城事于毗盧傳, 既謬矣'. (...Later, those who corrected the *Silla i-jŏn* quite arbitrarily inserted the stories relating to the Magpie Pagoda and the Imok snake in the biography of Wŏngwang. Likewise, they mistakenly added the material concerning the Dog Fortress to the biography of Pihŏ.). The simple quotation of the *Sui-jŏn* (assuming that it really is) should not authorize any inferences regarding the relationship with the Poyang episode, also because the contents of the latter are quite different from the biography of Wŏngwang as we know it, and they refer to a very late period, even later than the Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn adventure itself.

³⁶ It corresponds to the episode 'Hope of a Tigress'.

Although far-eastern fantastic literature is mostly linked to Buddhism, still *Sui-jŏn* presents, among others, stories more properly linked to the indigenous cultural substratum. None of the stories, however, escape the structuralist principle, according to which, in the face of the same situation, man tends to react in the same way, albeit in different forms and modalities according to the various cultures.³⁷

We will now analyse some elements, present in the various texts, deeply linked (in many cases still today) to the world of symbology in Korea and the Far East in the context, however, of a 'deep brain structure' common to all cultures of the world.

Wind

Present and active in the episodes of Pogae 寶開 and 'The beautiful women in the bamboo box', the wind boasts a remarkable symbolism in the oriental world and in Korea.

Among the three hundred and sixty followers who accompanied Hwanung 桓雄 on earth there was also the lord of the wind. In Korean folklore we still find the figure of the *Yŏngdŭng halmi* 靈登할미 literally 'old woman of the ascension of the spirit' who descends to Earth at the beginning of the second lunar month (a particularly windy period) and returns to heaven after twenty days, after having been the object of veneration and sacrifices to ask for a good year.³⁸ It is also believed that if there is rain at the time of its descent, then it will be a lucky year, while if there is wind it will be a negative year.

The wind is thus a personified manifestation of nature, capable of dispensing both good and evil at the same time, a primordial element whose sinogram takes on various meanings and which appears in numerous Korean words of Chinese origin, such as *p'ungsu* 風水 (geomancy), *p'ungsok* 風俗 (habits,

³⁷ In few words, it is the difference between 'nature' and 'culture'. The common response to the same phenomenon, thus, is the 'nature' that resides in the deep structure of the human brain, in that part that structuralist philosophers call 'reptilian brain'. The latter, in a more properly medical habit also called 'triune brain' (or R-complex), is the anatomically most archaic part of the brain that presides over primordial instincts such as, for example, the territorial, sexual, and hierarchical ones. The external differentiation with which the response is activated, on the other hand, belongs to the 'structured' brain, which houses the cultural superstructures and therefore the 'culture' itself. On this question see, among others, LABORIT 1971: 55–80, and, in the more specifically psychiatric field, MACLEAN 1990: 15–16, 243–244, 519.

³⁸ The 'Yŏngdŭng halmi' is probably to be identified with the god of the wind called 'Yŏngdŭng sin 靈登神' in the *Tongguk sesŏgi* 東國歲時記. The 'Yŏngdŭng halmi' itself, then, forms, with the 'Mul halmi 물 할미' (Old woman of the water) and 'San halmi 산 할미' (Old woman of the mountain), the trio of 'Old aunts 老姑'.

customs), *p'ungmo* 風貌 (appearance), *p'unggyōng* 風景 (view, panorama), but also *chungp'ung* 中風 (paralysis of the body).

In Buddhism, humans are clouds and the wind is the karma that drives them. The wind as a 'driver of the soul' is also often associated with Taoism and, at a lower level, with eroticism and debauchery: expressions such as 'param nada 바람 나다', 'param tūlda 바람 들다', 'param p'iuda 바람 피우다' mean 'betraying conjugal fidelity', 'abandoning oneself to carnal pleasures', while the noun 'paramdungi 바람둥이' indicates the dissolute person, one who is dedicated to libertinage. Not surprisingly, in a famous Korean classic novel that tells of the tragicomic misadventures of a libertine, the name of the protagonist is Ch'unp'ung 春風, or 'spring wind'. A libertine may also have been Pogae's son (whose name is Changch'un 長春 or 'Long Spring') and therefore the black wind encountered by the ship also becomes the symbol of his depravity.

Precisely for this reason, the wind may well be an obscurantist element capable of concealing, thanks to the raised dust, the right path to the human being, thus leading to the perdition of the body and soul. In the episode of Pogae, which is in fact a hymn to the Buddhist faith, the 'black wind' encountered by the ship in which Pogae's son sails symbolises a Dantean 'dark forest' in which the protagonist loses his way (which is above all the path of righteousness), only to later refind it thanks to an imperishable memory of his mother and the holiness of a monk capable of rewarding the memory of that sentiment capable of rising above any possible deviance. In the episode of the beautiful women in the bamboo box, however, the wind becomes a magical instrument, probably evoked, capable of placing an impenetrable curtain between the common mortal (even if he is a hero like Kim Yusin 金庾信) and the sphere of the incomprehensible, the secret accessible only to initiates. Here, in fact, the wind is once again linked to the world of the unfathomable and the arcane.

Sea

Present in various episodes of *Sui-jōn*, the sea immediately appears for what it is: something that unites and divides, a place of escape and a treacherous trap. From Gilgamesh to Odysseus, from Saint Brendan to Gulliver, sea is a mobile element between two safe points of the mainland and crossing it often generates transformation, atonement and redemption.

In Korean folklore, sea plays a major role.³⁹ It is the abode of the dragon-god (or dragon-king) of the abyss who also demands human sacrifices, as

³⁹ In the multicultural society of Silla, sea was a true 'protagonist', as rightly underlined by Sō Ch'ōrwōn 2012: 80–101.

clearly reflected in the story of Sim Ch'ŏng 沈淸, a literary and theatrical masterpiece (it is one of the most famous *p'ansori* 판소리 *madang*) exalting the filial devotion of the protagonist who agrees to be sacrificed to the sea in order to restore sight to the old blind father. Probably, history hides the memory of a remote antiquity, when human sacrifices were actually practiced on the Korean peninsula, but sacrifices are made to the dragon-god to this day. In the case of the island of Cheju 濟州, shamanic rites are celebrated in honor of the dragon-god and his 44,000 followers in order to console the souls of the dead at sea and promote a good fishing season.

Various taboos are linked to the sea: those who do business on the sea usually do not breed dogs or eat dog meat. Women are not allowed in the rites celebrated inside boats or ships and wishing a good trip and a good return to sailors (and fishermen in particular) brings bad luck. On the other hand, Korean Buddhism contemplates the figure of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara of the sea (Haesu Kwanūm 海水觀音), particularly venerated in the Naksan 洛山 temple erected in what is considered his place of origin, near the coast of the East Sea. The Bodhisattva Kwanūm 觀音 (Chinese: Guanyin; Japanese: Kwannon) is the one who pays attention to the pains of the world and the association with the sea symbolises the extension of his magnanimity also to the kingdom of water. In this way, the Korean abode of the Bodhisattva of the sea becomes the equivalent of Mount Potalaka पोटलक, the abode of Avalokiteśvara in the south Indian sea.

In the episode of Pogae the sea represents the harshness of life, the element that rages against the mortal and deludes him with his instability and volubility. Crossing the sea, therefore, is an act of penance and redemption and this will happen to the son of Pogae who seems to succumb to the force of the sea (the illusory of the senses of worldly life), but in the end he will survive and return to his mother, thanks to his redemption rewarded by the Bodhisattva Kwanūm.

In the episodes of T'arhae and the spouses Yŏng'o and Seo, the sea serves to unite the destinies of men to distant countries, perhaps echoing the numerous sea voyages that even in the protohistoric period had to take place between the Korean peninsula, the Asian continent and the Japanese archipelago. Another proof of the ambiguity of this element, capable of destroying, but also of giving birth to a new life.

Fox

A benign protagonist of the episode of Wŏngwang, this animal usually has a negative value in Korea.⁴⁰ Equipped with diabolical cunning and demonic

⁴⁰ In the episode of Wŏngwang reported in *Haedong kosŭng-jŏn*: book 2, the fox (狐) is replaced

power, it often represents the extreme degeneration of the female sex: *If you do not beat your wife, she will become a fox* (아내를 때리지 않으면 여우가 된다), says an old proverb. Particularly feared are the ‘red foxes’ or ‘fire foxes’ (불 여우) and the old foxes (*paengnyŏn yŏu* 백년 여우: literally, ‘hundred year old foxes’). Even the nine-tailed foxes (*kumiho* 九尾狐), which are usually also the oldest, since the number of tails is often directly proportional to age, are sadly infamous.⁴¹

The fox is often associated with the idea of death. Its nocturnal cry predicts mourning and misfortune, as another old proverb suggests: If a fox makes its cry heard in the mountain opposite this predicts a death, but if it makes its cry heard in the mountain behind, then someone will die (앞산에서 여우가 울면 흉년이 들어오고 뒷산에서 여우가 울면 사람이 죽는다). In the second hypothesis, the worst, the misfortune would happen inside the village, while in the first case the news of a mourning from another area would arrive. The fox, therefore, became a true god of the underworld, capable of heralding the end of a person and accompanying him on his journey to the afterlife.

According to popular belief, the fox is an unclean animal, even capable of profaning a grave to feed on the corpses contained therein. Then, if a fox manages to wear a human skull, it will be able to transform itself into what it wants, thus increasing its own danger.⁴²

But then, how come in the text of *Sui-jŏn* does the fox reveal himself as a positive spirit able to help the Buddhist Master find his way? I would say that, first of all, the very attitude of Buddhism towards animals differs somewhat from that expressed by local tradition. We can therefore already glimpse an affirmation of the ‘superiority’ of Buddhist civilisation and therefore of its right to conquer philosophical and religious primacy at the expense of previous cults, which also implies the justification of the political power in office which was inspired by Buddhism. The fox, an evil symbol of primordial intellectual darkness, but also a creature subject to its karma, recognises, certainly behind a divine inspiration that comes from Heaven itself, the holiness of Master Wŏngwang and becomes an instrument of his religious and political success. It is therefore an act of submission of the uncontrolled primitive forces to the new creed and new values that make up the official ideology of the country (in fact the disturbing monk, a neighbor of Wŏngwang, is ruthlessly annihilated)

by the leopard cat (狸: *Prionailurus bengalensis*. In pure Korean *salk* 살 or *salk'oengi* 살쟁이), also a quick-change animal and part of ancient Far Eastern folklore.

⁴¹ However, there are some differences in the perception of the fox in the Far East: on the question see KIM Honggyŏm 2011: 50–59.

⁴² More details are found in PAK and YU 2010.

and they reaffirm its identification as a blessed land belonging to the Maitreya. A further meeting point, therefore, in the infinite relationship between religion and politics common to every culture in the world.

Fire

An incredible primal force revered (and worshipped) in many cultures and religions, the fire that devours Chigwi is undoubtedly one of the major elements of discussion. A symbol of life and luck, fire is a vivifying, purifying, and creative element, but also deadly and destructive, capable of periodically raging in the fields and inhabited centres whose houses were mostly built of wood.⁴³ By means of her exorcism, Queen Söndök symbolically confines him to a remote place, preventing him from returning. But since fire also symbolises uncontrolled sentiment, wild passion, the destructive forces of the darkest part of the irrational, the Queen's act becomes one of appropriation and control, of moderation and justice towards the nation. A variant of the Chigwi's episode, reported in the *Samguk yusa*, narrates that the fire generated by a man expands to attack the pagoda of the temple, symbolically threatening the official Silla religion itself and a return to the 'darkness' of pre-Buddhist civilisation. For this reason, the act of the Queen, the highest representative and guarantor of national faith and identity, is even more sacred and justified.⁴⁴

Dominating fire, therefore, is the prerogative of kings (royal diadems of the Three Kingdoms indisputably show flame motifs), but also of blacksmiths, men almost sacred, venerated and feared in the same way as shamans. The King, or that which represents him, can give fire but he can also perish of it: in the 'Song of the Turtle' (*Kuji-ga* 龜旨歌), which represents an authentic request for the coming of a sovereign, the animal is threatened to be roasted and eaten if he is unable to fulfill the wishes of the assembled tribes.

But the story of fire is much older. If in Greek mythology fire is given to men by Prometheus, in Korea it is Puso 夫蘇, the third son of Tan'gun 檀君,

⁴³ The Korean term 'pul 불' connected with the idea of 'fire' and 'light', probably derives from a root *p/b-r/l, at the basis of many Indoeuropean words, within that possible proto-boreal linguistic *koiné* which is being investigated today by various researchers (see, for example, PALIGA 2007: 13–30). From the Proto-Indoeuropean root *b^hrenw, therefore, we have the Indian divine being 'Puruṣa' more or less meaning 'someone who has burnt up the evil of external contact'. This same root is also found in the ancient Greek πῦρ, and today it is traceable in English 'burn' (through Old English *birnan), in Italian 'bruciare' and 'braciare' (through Gothic *brasa), in French 'brûler' (perhaps from Germanic *brōjan), etc.

⁴⁴ Ōm Kiyōng (2007: especially 31–36) finds a link between the tale of Chigwi and the fires that struck the Yōngmyo 靈妙 temple (frequently visited by Queen Söndök) between 662 and 669. On the symbolism of this tale also see YU Kyōnghwan 1998, and RIOTTO 2017: 130–131.

who invented it.⁴⁵ Once passed to humans, the fire becomes both a threat and the soul of the house, representing a perennial danger but also giving heat and cooking food. In some areas of Korea, such as the Yangsan 梁山 area, in southern Kyōngsang 慶尙南道, fire is often associated with a domestic female deity familiarly called *Chowang halmi* 竈王 할미 or ‘Grandma Chowang’, to whom simple offerings on the kitchen hob are done. Therefore, in this occasion the kitchen hob becomes an authentic altar impregnated with the *sōnghwa* 聖火, or ‘sacred fire’. *Chowang halmi* is usually asked, rubbing her hands to emphasise the invocation, the protection of the house and its inhabitants.⁴⁶

Preserving the ‘seed’ of fire so as not to have to rekindle it somewhere else was, in Korean homes as in any other house of antiquity, an almost absolute priority. In the case of a move, the embers also had to be transported to the new home: giving up it would have meant, in fact, also giving up good luck. In the rites for the ancestors, the fire of the candles with which the sacrificial paper (*soji* 燒紙) with the name of the deceased is burned represents, in its vital force, a point of union between Heaven and Earth, the world and the beyond, the ancestors and their descendants.

Terrible and evil if unchecked, fire is nevertheless capable of keeping misfortune at bay if managed well. On the occasion of the first full moon of the lunar year (*taeborimnal* 대보름날), huge bundles of straw and various tree branches light up in Korea, expressing hopes and desires. Similar customs are also widespread in various parts of the residual world of ancient propitiatory rites for the new year.

A symbolic curtain of fire, made of small torches, had to be passed through by the Korean bride in ancient times when she reached her home as a married woman. In fact, it was believed that the fire would block any evil entity that by chance dared to attack or follow the woman.

Fire is connected to Buddhism as an essential component of funeral rites. The cremation (*hwajang* 火葬), in fact, begins in Korea only in the period of the Three Kingdoms, precisely following the introduction of Buddhism,

⁴⁵ See ANONYMOUS 1992: 371–372. On Tan’gun’s offspring see O Kangwŏn 2015.

⁴⁶ In Chinese, the pronunciation of the character 火 (fire) is similar to that of 活 (life) and therefore, every New Year, people invite, by lighting fires, the spirits of wealth, but also of longevity. Japan, given the many volcanoes in its territory, can only have a particular relationship with fire. The creative goddess Izanami-no Mikoto 伊邪那美命 goes to her underworld after having given birth to Kagutsuchi 迦具土 (also called Homasubi 火産靈), god of fire, in a myth that perhaps alludes to the overthrow of an ancient matriarchy. In this regard, Mount Fuji itself 富士 seems perhaps to owe its name to Huchi, the ancient fire deity of the Ainu, even if such a hypothesis is still highly debated.

a religion of Indian (and therefore Indo-European) origin. Buddhist iconography, too, will show the halo of fire relative to heroism and holiness in the images of the Enlightened One, and which is no other than the Iranian *pharn*, which will also influence Western religious art and which still remains today in names of Iranian origin such as Caspar, linguistic outcome of Gathaspar ← Gondophares/Vindapharna.

Sun and Moon

In the episode of Yŏng'o 迎烏 (Yŏn'o 延烏 in the *Samguk yusa*) and Seo 細烏, the two spouses are clearly two supernatural beings and the very emanations, respectively, of the sun and the moon. Korean mythology has numerous connections with the sun: Haemosu 解慕漱, founder of the northern Puyŏ State and father of Chumong 朱蒙, founder of Koguryŏ, is the son of the Ruler of Heaven. He travels in a chariot drawn by five dragons (*oryonggŏ* 五龍車), wears a raven feather crown (*ouguan* 烏羽冠) and girds the 'sword of the shining dragon' (*yonggwanggŏm* 龍光劍) beside him. All these attributes are linked to the solar symbolism, but Haemosu also used to be among men only during the day, while the night returns to the Celestial Palace, a habit that makes himself a sun that, setting and rising, marks the time of life on the Land.

The founder of Silla, Pak Hyŏkkŏse, presents himself as a divine infant radiating light, and from this very characteristic he takes the name: 'Hyŏkkŏse 赫居世', in fact, is a contracted form for 'Kwangmyŏng ise 光明理世', that is 'Light and splendor that rules the world'.

The myth of Hyŏkkŏse, which is born from an egg, is easily traceable in East Asia and its connection with solar cults is also demonstrated by a linguistic analysis.⁴⁷ The pure Korean term 'al' (egg 알), in fact, is surely connected with the Mongol word 'üre' (seed) and then with the generative strength of the sun. In the ancient language, 'al' also indicates the sun, as today proven by expressions such as 'sahŭl' (three days) and 'nahŭl' (four days), which are old transpositions of 三日 and 四日, where the character of 'sun' is transliterated 'ül', the equivalent of 'al'. In this regard, the word 'ach'im' (morning 아침) derives from a primitive 'at' 알 or 'al' (sun) and the nominalisation of the verb 'ch'ida' 차다, the latter of which carries the meaning of 'to raise' or 'to illuminate'. The substantial identity between sun and egg might have led to the birth from eggs as an effect of the solar fecundation, as in the case of Yuhwa 柳花, mother of Chumong 朱蒙, the founder of Koguryŏ.

⁴⁷ On the etymologies provided here see, among others, Sŏ Chŏngbŏm 2000 and ANONYMOUS 1992.

Being the very essence of *yang*, the sun represents the sons, the sovereign, the father or the husband. And as the sun is one, so is the father, the sovereign, the husband. An eclipse of the sun indicates the loss of power of a sovereign. Indeed, the concept of sun/light associated with Korean kings is traceable in other cases.⁴⁸

Dreaming of the sun shining high in the sky is a good omen, especially with regard to work, just as seeing the first sun brings good luck. Even now, on the last evening of the year, many Koreans flock to the easternmost areas of the country in order to greet the first dawn of the new year. Also in the art of dream interpretation (*haemong* 解夢), then, dreaming of the sun and the moon bursting into the room will indicate the birth of a son who will become illustrious. Conversely, dreaming of the fall of the sun and the moon will be a harbinger of grave concern for parents.

If Yŏng'o is the sun, then Seo is the moon.⁴⁹ The pure Korean term for 'moon' (or 'month', since one 'moon' corresponds to one month) is 'tal 달'. In more ancient times, however, the word 'porŭm 보름' existed as a synonym for 'tal', and the two terms are found together today in the expression 'porŭm tal 보름 달', meaning 'full moon'. As for the etymology, the term 'porŭm' is formed by a root 'pol-' ('por-') connected with 'biya' or 'pa' (ba), which is an identifying root of 'moon' in the Manchu/Tungus peoples. In this way, the modern expression 'porŭm tal' (Manchurian: 'biyatari (Chinese: 每月)' in the sense of 'every month') literally means 'double moon', or 'the moon of moons', the 'moon par excellence', indicating our satellite in the fullness of its dimensions and its brilliance. After all, joining two words of the same meaning (even of different languages) to obtain one of increased meaning is not, in linguistics, a rare phenomenon: just think, in Sicily, of Mount Etna, called by the locals 'Mongibello'. In this case, the hybrid term that combines the Latin 'mons' and the Arabic 'ġabal (ġebel لَبَج)' indicates the majesty of Etna, the 'mountain par excellence'. Regarding 'tal', however, the etymology is more uncertain: the term is the homophone of a root that in ancient Korean was connected with the concept of 'height' and is still recognisable, for example, in the verb *talda* 달다 (to hang) and in the substantive *tarak* 다락 (tower). An alleged noun **tah-* (*다ㅎ-) was also hypothesised as the origin of the term, which later evolved into 'tal' and originally meant 'other land', 'other world'.

⁴⁸ King Pich'ŏ 毗處 of Silla, better known as Soji 炤知, reigned from 479 to 500. It is very likely that 'Pich'ŏ' is the indigenous name of the sovereign, being connected with the pure Korean 'pit 빛' which is a term related to light and to the splendor, whereas 'Soji' (the character So 炤 equally means 'to shine'), is the 'sinicised' counterpart, while maintaining the same meaning.

⁴⁹ Yu Yungnye 2020: 1799–1802 identifies in the sun and the moon the very origin of a civilisation transplanted from the Korean peninsula to Japan. On the question also see KIM Kangsan 2011.

In a lunar calendar such as the traditional one in Korea, the moon can only have a primary importance in determining recurrences, sacred and profane times. The recurrence of the Ch'usök 秋夕,⁵⁰ which falls on the full moon of the fifteenth day of the eighth month (and therefore around the autumn equinox), is an ancient harvest festival various religious and philosophical experiences have gradually been stratified, such as the Confucian one, which ended up associating it with the cult of the dead and ancestors.⁵¹ The first full moon of the year (*chōngwŏl tae porŭm* 正月 대보름), then, is a very heartfelt event in which protective totems⁵² are erected in the villages and Heaven is asked for health and prosperity throughout the year.

Typically associated with the sphere of *yin*, the moon indicates immobility, passivity, coldness and, as in many other cultures, feminine nature. Later cultural stratifications also place as a blessed rabbit⁵³ and a magical cinnamon tree.

In the eyes of men, the moon changes continuously, enlarging and shrinking, and for this eternal mutability it symbolises the various cases of life: prosperity and ruin, success and fall (*hŭngmang sŏngsoe* 興亡盛衰). For this reason, it also symbolises eternity and rebirth, associating with all those animals that fall into hibernation in winter to return to active life in spring. For this reason, the moon also plays a part in divination, as in the case of the so-called 'Method of observation of the Pleiades (*chomsaengi pogi* 줍생이 보기)' in which the position and distance between the moon and these stars, at the beginning of the

⁵⁰ Also said *Han'gawi* 한가위.

⁵¹ In ancient times, the offerings following the harvest were probably addressed above all to the gods. This festival seems to have originated in Silla, where it was called *kabae* 가배 and on the occasion of which, for the duration of a month, a weaving competition was held between two teams, at the end of which the defeated side was required to invite the winner. There is also another hypothesis for which this festival would have been proclaimed instead after a great victory by Silla over Paekche 百濟.

⁵² They are the *sottae* 솟대, whose use, however, is not limited to Korea. Other Tungusic people like the Evenki use them but with different meanings: while in Korea the ducks that are on top of the poles protect the villages from air, land and water disasters (the ducks, in fact, in addition to walking are also skilled in swimming and flying), the figures on poles of the Evenki poles symbolise the return of the birds from their migration at the end of winter, which renews the spiritual strength of the shamans that had weakened during the cold season. On Evenki (and Siberian) Shamanism see HAMAYON 1990.

⁵³ According to the *Śasajātaka* शशजातक, in one of his former lives the Buddha was a rabbit who voluntarily jumped on the fire offering himself as food for a poor man (see Jātaka n. 316 in COWELL ed. 1957: 34–37). For this reason, the poor man who actually was the god Śakra शक्र, daubed the sign of a hare in the orb of the moon. In the Far East the myth has been revisited in various ways: in China the rabbit becomes the keeper of the cinnamon tree, grinding the bark to prepare the elixirs of immortality, while in China and Korea it produces rice cakes.

second month, they predict the positive or negative developments of the year. In addition, due to its influence on the tides, the moon becomes a symbol of cosmic force, capable of managing the natural elements on Earth at will.

Due to its suffused and soft light, the moon inspires purity and harmony, and on account of its coldness and position in the night it inspires loneliness and sadness. Its eternity stimulates regret in transient beings, who use it as a unit of time (as in the case of menstruation) for the flow of life itself.

Finally, the moon also symbolises the Queen. In the case of Seo, the moon is a celestial body that has changed position, but which nevertheless remains under the same sky and above man. The move to Japan, thus, probably alludes to a political change that took place in Silla (or in a neighboring state) at the very beginning of its existence.⁵⁴

Egg

The episode of T'arhae is undoubtedly one of the richest in symbology; it would be appropriate to say, *ab ovo*.

In many parts of the world, the egg is associated with fertility, abundance, rebirth or resurrection. In Korea, however, we find the egg at the basis of many myths of origin, given the stories about the birth of the eponyms of the kingdoms that would have started the history of the country. In fact, the founders of Koguryō 高句麗, Silla and Kaya 伽倻 are born from eggs; if we consider Paekche a collateral branch of Koguryō, having both states originated from the old kingdom of Puyō 夫餘 in Manchuria, then we see that practically all the Korean kingdoms (and therefore the history of Korea itself) are born from eggs. In fact, there is apparently a clear split between the prehistoric age, dominated by figures of celestial origin such as Tan'gun, and the proto-historical age, more linked to myths of Earth. Eggs, as a proposal for rebirth or resurrection, could be symbolised by those jar-burials (*onggwanmyo* 甕棺墓) very common in the south of the Korean peninsula from the 3rd–2nd century BCE to the 5th century CE.

The pure Korean term for 'egg', as a general concept, is 'al 알', a word now also used to indicate objects such as marbles or pawns in board games

⁵⁴ CHŌN Suyōn 2018 sees, at the basis of Yōn'o and Seo's migration, political and economic reasons. In particular, the population of what is today P'ohang 浦項 area (Togi 都祈), would have fled to Japan under the pressure of Silla. The migrants would have brought with them the techniques of silk production, and for this they would have been welcomed with great favor by the Japanese. The term 'Togi', however, is not reported in *Sui-jōn*. A possible change in rituals (as a consequence of a new political order) is hypothesised by KIM Yōngjun 2019.

such as *paduk* 바둑. Chicken eggs, due to their great use, have specific names: together with the pure Korean ‘talgyal 달걀’, the result of the meeting of the Korean words ‘talk 닭’ (chicken) and, in fact, ‘al 알’ (egg), we also have the Sino-Korean ‘kyeran 鷄卵’.

The rattles of the shamans, which with their shape resemble eggs, become vehicles of life when they help the officiant of the rite to transmit the message of the dead called ‘kongsu 공수’. And precisely life is the idea that is most associated with the egg, starting from the concept of ‘cosmic egg 宇宙卵’ from which, according to the Chinese, the god Pangu 盤古 would come out to separate Heaven and Earth from Chaos. As a matter of fact, egg symbolises the primal androgynous entity from which the masculine nature and the feminine nature are extracted. This presupposes (at least theoretically) a primitive parity of vital force capable of balancing itself as in *yin-yang* 陰陽, which in the West is already theorised by in the ancient philosophical doctrines such as Hermeticism. In this regard, Pangu 盤古’s ‘cosmic egg’ of Chinese mythology and the ‘philosophical egg’ of the Hermetic tradition may have had a common matrix to be searched, in all probability, between ancient Mesopotamia and India. Even more likely, the Chinese myth of Pangu derives from western models: it is true, in fact, that Pangu separates the *Yang* and the *Yin* from the hermaphroditic/genderless cosmic egg/chaos by means of an axe, but it is also true that the figure of Pangu does not belong to traditional Chinese folklore, as it very probably arrived in China together with Buddhism at the time of the later Han. Pangu himself, therefore, could have assumed the role of the Indian Puruṣa पुरुष, a term whose semantics is very complicated but is essentially associated with the concept of ‘cosmic man’, ‘soul’ (in the sense of ‘Holy Spirit’ or ‘Logos’) and ‘Supreme Being’. In any case it is an entity whose creative power is put into practice through self-sacrifice: in this way, the parts of Pangu’s body became the primary elements of Earth, whereas Puruṣa, the ‘cosmic man’, sacrifices a part of himself to give rise to mankind and the Universe.⁵⁵ After the division of primitive genderless/androgyny in many cases a character emerges as a progenitor. If Yuhwa is the ancestor of Koguryō, Nüwa 女媧 creates mankind and she has her divine colleague/*alter ego* in the Xiwangmu 西王母, the Queen Mother of the West, whose peaches of immortality are reminiscent of the pomes of the Hesperides.⁵⁶ Women born

⁵⁵ In ancient Indian texts quotation of the term Puruṣa (with its many meanings) are legion. As ‘cosmic man’ see *Rgveda* ऋग्वेद, book 10.90. Also see RENDICH 2018: 188.

⁵⁶ It is interesting to note, in this regard, that both the Xiwangmu peach garden and the Hesperides’ Garden are located in the far west of the cultural areas that ‘created’ them. This identification with the West starts from the very names: the character ‘xi’ 西 means ‘west’, and ‘Hesperides’ derives from the Greek ἑσπέρα, meaning ‘west’ or ‘evening’, as an area where the sun sets.

from others' 'side' or 'flank' (or rib-bone, if you will) may be ancestors (Eve is the Mother of mankind), and the history of Silla/Kaya shows, according to the sources, had much to do with characters (and then cultural patterns) from other geographical places: I will only recall Kim Alchi 金闕智 (notice that the character 闕 also is in the name 'Ar'yŏng 闕英') a possible descendant of Kim Ilche 金日磾,⁵⁷ King T'arhae 脫解, Hogong 瓠公, Ch'ōyong 處容 and Princess Hō Hwang'ok 許黃玉.

The oviparous myths of Korea must probably be framed in the more general context of Tungusic mythology,⁵⁸ in turn within the 'deep structure' of the perception of the egg around the world. However, it cannot be excluded that the 'cultural superstructure' for which the mythology of the egg is extended to the institutional reality of a single state (and not only to the cosmic order) could have been influenced in some way by China, which already at the end of the first millennium BCE had a complex political order and a complicated bureaucracy. What is certain is that the message of the birth of the first sovereigns from an egg, in Korea, is precisely that of establishing a moral and civil order, of separating good from evil, of founding laws against anarchy. Inside the egg all this is indiscriminately enclosed, just as it is enclosed in a kingdom that does not have a virtuous guide.⁵⁹ Coming out of the egg then means not only coming to life, but also defeating Chaos and ushering in the age of reason.

⁵⁷ From *Samguk sagi*: books 1 and 34, we know that in the year 65 King T'arhae heard the crying of a cock west of the capital. He then sent Hogong to find the origin of the cry and the latter found, hanging from the branch of a tree, a golden box, under which there was a white cock. Hogong reported the discovery to the king, and the latter open the box. Inside was a splendid child who was given the name of 'Alchi' and the surname 'Kim' as he had been found in a golden box. After growing up, Kim Alchi changed the primitive name of 'Sirim 始林' to 'Kyerim 鷄林'. However, another legend has it that Kim Alchi is closely related to the episode of Kim Ilche 金日磾 (Chinese: Jin Ridi) described, among others, in *Han shu* 漢書: book 68, and in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑: books 19–23, where the use of sacrifice to a gold statue by the Xiongnu 匈奴 is also mentioned. The statue was captured by the Chinese in 122/121 BCE. (See *Han shu*: book 55; *Shiji* 史記: books 110–111) and Kim himself (who later seems to be considered the progenitor of various personalities of Silla) is a Prince Xiongnu also captured by the Chinese who assumes this surname precisely by virtue of the sacrificial custom towards what is called the 'golden man'. According to tradition, Kim Ilche's father was precisely Hyudo 休屠 (or Hyujō), leader of the Xiongnu. On the question see RIOTTO 2009: 23–25. On the possible relation between Kim Ilche and Kim Alchi see RIOTTO 2022: 102 N. 15.

⁵⁸ See KIM Hwagyŏng 2018, where the author decisively refutes Mishina Akihide 三品彰英's theory according to which Korea's oviparous myths had originated in south-eastern Asia.

⁵⁹ In this regard, it should be noted that Korea's ancient states (such as ancient Rome) has neither cosmogonic nor anthropogenic myths: the creation of the State, therefore, is the very creation of the world.

4. Conclusions

There is much more to say,⁶⁰ but doing so would greatly exceed the length parameters usually required for articles in journals. I will therefore conclude by recalling that the *Sui-jŏn* must have been, in its time, a work of vast proportions and various topics, not limited only to fantastic tales but also extended to history and mythology. Indeed, it is no mystery that the themes of Chinese *chuanqi* are also varied, even while favouring fantastic topics. This detail, largely missed until now by specialists, was to make the *Sui-jŏn* a sort of literary encyclopedia, which, not by chance, is already mentioned in various historical texts of the Koryŏ period. It is not known why only some episodes were saved and not others: in this regard, it cannot even be excluded that there are more extant fragments but that they are now ‘camouflaged’ in other works that do not mention their origin, and therefore are not identifiable and recognisable. In any case, it is certain that the *Sui-jŏn* remains an important work, in the panorama of ancient Korean literature, and should therefore deserve more attention.

Funding

This work was supported by Humanities Korea Plus Project through the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2019S1A6A3A03058791).

References

Primary Sources

- Chewang un'gi*. 帝王韻紀 [Versified register of kings and emperors]. 1999. 2 books. Written by Yi Sŭnghyu 李承休 (1224–1300), completed in 1287. Seoul: Tosŏ ch'ulp'an Yŏkrak.
- Chŭngbo munhŏn pigo*. 增補文獻備考 [Revised and expanded encyclopedia of civilization]. 1989. Published in 1908, but the first edition dates back to 1770 and is known by the title of *Tongguk munhŏn pigo* 東國文獻備考 [Encyclopedia of the civilization of the Eastern Country = Korea]. 250 books. Seoul: Sejong taewang kinyŏm saŏphoe.
- Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 [Treatise on the Great Prajñāpāramitā]. 100 scrolls. Attributed to Nāgārjuna 龍樹 (2nd–3rd centuries), translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (344–413) between 402 and 406 from an original text in Sanskrit today lost. References are to T.25 n. 1509.

⁶⁰ Details on plots, motifs, characters and the works reporting *Sui-jŏn*'s fragments are found in RIOTTO 2014: 56–83.

- Haedong chamnok* 海東雜錄 [Various chronicles of Korea]. 1986. 14 books. Written by Kwŏn Pyŏl 權輿. Completed in 1670. Seoul: T'aehaksa.
- Haedong kosŭng-jŏn* 海東高僧傳 [Biographies of the eminent monks of Korea]. 1987. At least 5 books originally, only 2 extant. Completed on royal order in 1215 by the monk Kakhun 覺訓. References are to T.50 n. 2065. Also published in Seoul: Minjoksa, 1991, and Seoul: Ŭryu mungo, 1975. Also in *Silla munhwa* 新羅文化, 3–4: 195–257.
- Han shu* 漢書 [History of former Han. Also said *Qian Han shu* 前漢書]. 1962. 120 books. Compiled by Ban Gu 班固 (32–92) and others. Peking: Zhonghua shuju.
- Hongzan fahua zhuan* 弘贊法華傳 [Biographical recounts for the diffusion and praise of the *Lotus Sūtra*]. 10 books. Written by Huixiang 慧詳 (ca 639–706), completed around 706. References are to T. 51 n. 2067.
- Kyun'yŏ-jŏn* 均如傳 [Biography of Kyun'yŏ]. 1986. Written by Hyŏgyŏn Chŏng 赫連挺 in 1075. Seoul: Saemunsa.
- Liuchao shiji bianlei* 六朝事蹟編類 [Classification of deeds of the Six Dynasties]. 2 books. Written by Zhang Dunyi 張敦頤 at the time of the Southern Song 南宋 (1127–1279). <https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/六朝事迹編類> (accessed 11 March 2022).
- Mukchae ilgi* 默齋日記 [Diary of Mukchae, pseudonym of the author]. 2019. 1 book. Written by Yi Mungŏn 李文楨 (1494–1567). Seoul: Kyŏngin munhwasa.
- P'aegwan chapki* 稗官雜記 [Various notes of a low officer]. 1909. 6 books. Written by Ŏ Sukkwŏn 魚叔權 probably during the reign of Chungjong (1506–1544). Seoul: Chŏsen kosho kankŏkai.
- P'irwŏn chapki* 筆苑雜記 [Various notes of the garden of the brush]. 2012. 2 books. Written by Sŏ Kŏjŏng 徐居正 (1420–1488), completed in 1487. Seoul: Chisik mandŭnŭn chisik.
- Pŏphwa yŏnghŏm-jŏn* 法華靈驗傳 [Miraculous tales of the *Lotus sūtra*]. 2017. 2 books. Written by Yowŏn 了圓 in the 14th century and reprinted for the first time in 1534. Seoul: Tongguk taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu.
- R̥gveda* ऋग्वेद. 2014. 10 *maṇḍalas* (books). 3 vols. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Saga munjip* 四佳文集 [Collection of writings of Saga (Author's pseudonym)]. 1997. 6 books plus 2 books of *addenda*. Written by Sŏ Kŏjŏng 徐居正 (1420–1488). Taegu: Kyemyŏng University.
- Samguk sagi* 三國史記 [Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms]. 1986. 50 books. Commissioned by King Injong 仁宗 (r. 1122–1146) of Koryŏ 高麗, written by Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075–1151) and completed in 1145. Seoul: Ŭryu munhwasa.
- Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 [Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms]. 1992. 5 books. Written by Iryŏn 一然 (1206–1289), completed around 1280. Seoul: Ŭryu munhwasa.
- Samguksa chŏr'yo* 三國史節要 [Epitome of the History of the Three Kingdoms]. 1996. 14 or 15 books, depending on whether a chapter originally detached from the work

is considered an integral part of it. Commissioned by King Sejo 世祖(r. 1455–1468), completed in 1476. The main authors were Sō Kōjōng 徐居正 (1420–1488) and No Sasin 盧思愼 (1427–1498), assisted by other literati such as Yi P'a 李坡 (1434–1486), Kim Kyech'ang 金季昌 (?–1481) and Ch'oe Sukchōng 崔淑精 (1433–1480). Seoul: Sejong taewang kinyōm saōphoe.

Shiji 史記 [Memoirs of a historiographer]. 1959. 130 books. Written by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–86 BCE) and his father Sima Tan 司馬談. Completed around 90 BCE. Peking: Zhonghua shuju.

Söl Kongch'an-jōn 설공찬전 [Story of Söl Kongch'an]. 1997. Edited by Yi Pokkyu 이복규. Seoul: Siinsa.

Sui shu 隋書 [Book of Sui]. 1973. 85 books. Written by Wei Zheng 魏徵 et al. between 636 and 656. Peking: Zhonghua shuju.

Taedong unbugunok 大東韻府群玉 [Gems collected among the rhymes of Korea]. 2003–2009. 20 books. Compiled by Kwōn Munhae 權文海 (1534–1591), completed in 1589. Seoul: Minsogwōn.

T. = *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 [Buddhist Canon: New Compilation of the Taishō Era] 1924–1932. 85 volumes. Compiled under the direction of Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭 and Ono Gemmyō 小野玄妙. Tōkyō: Issaikyō kankōkai. To this work are added 12 volumes of illustrations (zuzō 圖像) published in Tōkyō by Daizō shuppan in 1933–34 and a three-volumes appendix (bekkan 別卷) published as *Shōwa hōbō somokuroku* 昭和法寶 總目錄 (General Index of the Treasures of Law of the Shōwa Era) printed by Issaikyō kankōkai and Daizō shuppan between 1929 and 1934.

T'aep'yōng t'ongjae 太平通載 [Comprehensive text of T'aep'yōng Era]. 2009. Only some books (12?) are extant, of an unknown original number, plus various fragments and quotations. Compiled by Sōng Im 成任 (1421–1484) on the model of the Chinese work *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 [Enlarged Records of Taiping Era] completed in 978 by Li Fang 李昉 and others during the Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279). Seoul: Hakkojae.

Tongguk sesigi 東國歲時記 [Almanac of the East Country = Korea]. 1911. 1 book. Written by Hong Sōngmo 洪錫模 (1781–1857) during the reign of Sunjo. Seoul: Chosōn kwangmunhoe.

Wangnang panhon-jōn 王郎返魂傳 [Tale of the return of the spirit of Mr. Wang]. 1954. Also said *Wangnang-jōn* 王郎傳. Taegu: Kyōngbuk taehakkyo.

Zizhi tongjian 資治通鑑 [Comprehensive mirror for aid to governance]. 1963. 294 books. Compiled by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) et al., presented to the throne in December 1084. Peking: Zhonghua shuju.

Secondary Publications

AN, Ch'angsu 安昌수. 1997. 'T'aep'yōng t'ongjae sojae Ch'oe Ch'iwōn-ūi sosōlsōng kōmt'o 太平通載所在崔致遠의 小說性 檢討' [A research on the novel-like nature

- of the episode of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn reported in the *T'aep'yŏng t'ongjae*. *Hanminjok ōmunhak* 韓民族語文學 32: 187–228.
- ANONYMOUS. 1992. *Han'guk munhwa sangjing sajŏn* 韓國文化상징사전 [A dictionary of symbols in Korean culture]. Vol. II. Seoul: Tong'a ch'ulp'ansa.
- BIANCHI, Nunzio and Claudio SCHIANO, eds 2016. *Fozio, Biblioteca*. 2 vols. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale.
- CAMPANY, Robert F. 1996. *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- CHŎN, Suyŏn 전수연. 2018. 'Samguk yusa Yŏn'orang Seonyŏ-ŭi Togiya' 삼국유사 연오랑세오녀의 '도기야' [The 'Togi' of the Yŏn'o and Seo in the *Samguk yusa*]. *Yŏlsang kojŏn yŏn'gu* 열상고전연구 63: 195–226.
- COWELL, Edward B., ed. 1957. *The Jātaka, or stories of Buddha's former births*. Vol. III. London: Luzac & Company.
- HAMAYON, Roberte. 1990. *La chasse à l'âme. Esquisse d'une théorie du chamanisme sibérien*. Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie.
- KIM, Chisŏn 金芝鮮. 2003. 'Silla sui-jŏn-gwa yukcho chigoe ch'angjak t'odae-e taehan pigyo yŏn'gu' 新羅 殊異傳과 六朝 志怪 창작 토대에 대한 비교 연구' [A comparative study on the *Silla sui-jŏn* and the creation of the Six Dynasties' *zhiguai* literature]. *Chungguk ōmunhak nonjip* 中國語文學論集 24: 423–445.
- KIM, Chonggun 김중근. 2022. 'Sui-jŏn chiŭn i-e taehan nambuk-ŭi kwanjŏm-gwa che 3-ŭi sigak 수이전 지은이에 대한 남북의 관점과 제3의 시각' [The viewpoints on the author of the *Sui-jŏn* in North and South Korea and the prospective of a third way]. *T'ongil inmunhak* 통일인문학 91: 157–185.
- KIM, Honggyŏm 김홍겸. 2011. 'Han-Chung-Il yŏu imiji-ŭi yusasŏng-gwa ch'ai 한-중-일 여우 이미지의 유사성과 차이' [Similarities and differences in the image of the fox in Korea, China and Japan]. *Tongyanghak* 東洋學 50: 43–64.
- KIM, Hwagyŏng 김화경. 2018. 'Han'guk nansaengsinhwa-ŭi yŏn'gu. Nansaengsinhwa-ŭi nambang kiwŏn sŏr-e taehan pip'anjŏk chŏpkŭn 한국 난생신화의 연구. 난생신화의 남방기원설에 대한 비판적 접근' [A study on oviparous myths of Korea, with a critical approach to the theory of their origin in south Asia]. *Minsokhak yŏn'gu* 民俗學研究 43: 5–26.
- KIM, Hyŏnyang 김현양 et al., eds 1996. *Sui-jŏn ilmun* 殊異傳逸文 [The fragments of *Sui-jŏn*]. Seoul: Pak Ijŏng.
- KIM, Kangsan 김강산. 2011. 'Yŏn'orang-gwa Seonyŏ-ga Ilbonŭro kan kkadalk 연오랑 (延烏郎)과 세오녀 (細烏女)가 일본으로 간 까닭' [The reason why Yŏn'o and Seo went to Japan]. *Kangwŏn minsokhak* 江原民俗學 25: 197–243.
- KIM, Kŏngon 金乾坤. 1988. 'Silla sui-jŏn-ŭi chakcha-wa chŏjak paegyŏng 新羅 殊異傳의 作者와 著作 背景' [The author of the *Silla sui-jŏn* and the setting for the composition of the work]. *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'gu* 정신 문화 연구 34: 259–278.

- KIM, Taehyŏn 김대현. 1996. 'Sui-jŏn ilmun-gwa *Susingi-ŭi pigyo yŏn'gu* 수이전 일문과 수신기의 비교 연구' [A comparative study of *Sui-jŏn* and *Soushenji*]. *Han-Chung inmunhak yŏn'gu* 한중인문학연구 1: 107–129.
- KIM, Yŏngjun 김영준. 2019. 'Silla irwŏlje-ŭi yangsang-gwa pyŏnhwa 신라 일월제 (日月祭)의 양상과 변화' [Aspects and changes of the sun-moon rites at Silla]. *Han'gukhak yŏn'gu* 한국학연구 52: 345–371.
- KWAK, Sŭnghun 광승훈. 2011. 'Suijŏn-ŭi ch'ansulbon – gwa chŏnsŭng yŏn'gu 殊異傳의 撰述本과 傳承 연구' [A study on the compilation of the *Sui-jŏn* and its textual transmission]. *Chindan hakpo* 震檀學報 111: 45–75.
- LABORIT, Henri. 1971. *L'homme et la ville*. Paris: Flammarion.
- MACLEAN, Paul D. 1990. *The Triune Brain in Evolution: Role in Paleocerebral Functions*. New York: Plenum Press.
- O, Kangwŏn 오강원. 2015. 'Chŏngŭndaesigi Tan'gun segye insik-ŭi hwakdae kwajŏng-gwa maekrak 전근대시기 단군 세계 인식의 확대 과정과 맥락' [The expansion process and context of perception of Tan'gun and his descendants during the pre-modern period]. *Chindan hakpo* 震檀學會 124: 1–25.
- ÖM, Kiyŏng 엄기영. 2007. 'Chigwi sŏrhwa-ŭi hyŏngsŏng paegyŏng-gwa yŏksajŏk ŭimi 志鬼 설화의 형성 배경과 역사적 의미' [A study on the social background and the historical meaning of the tale of Chigwi]. *Minjok munhwa yŏn'gu* 民族文化研究 47: 25–53.
- PAK, Taebok 박대복 and Hyŏngdong YU 유형동. 2010. 'Yŏu-ŭi ch'owŏlchŏk sŏnggyŏk-kwa pyŏnmo yangsang 여우의 超越의 性格과 變貌樣相' [The transforming ability and the transcendent character of the fox]. *Tong Asia kodaehak* 동아시아 古代學 23: 279–315.
- PALIGA, Sorin. 2007. *Lexicon Proto-Borealicum et alia lexica etymologica minora*. Bucarest: Evenimentul.
- RENDICH, Franco. 2018. *Dizionario etimologico comparato delle lingue classiche indoeuropee. Dizionario indoeuropeo (sanscrito-greco-latino)*. Venezia: La indoeuropea editrice.
- RIOTTO, Maurizio. 2009. 'Ancient Koreans and Xiongnu: What Was the Nature of Their Relationship?'. *The Journal of Northeast Asian History* 6(2): 5–35.
- RIOTTO, Maurizio. 2014. *I misteri di Silla. Storia di storie meravigliose*. Napoli: Orientalia parthenopea.
- RIOTTO, Maurizio. 2017. 'Oedipus in Korea: Echoes of Social Clashes in the Legends of Silla'. *The Review of Korean Studies* 20(2): 111–143.
- RIOTTO, Maurizio. 2022. 'A Hypothesis on the Hen-Dragon (Gyeryong) of Silla'. *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 35(1): 97–129.
- Sŏ, Chŏngbŏm 徐廷範. 2000. *Kugŏ ōwŏn sajŏn* 國語語源辭典 (Etymological dictionary of the Korean language). Seoul: Pogosa.

- Sŏ, Ch'ŏrwŏn 서철원. 2012. 'Suro-wa Ch'ŏyong, kŭrigo Silla sŏrhwa-ui pada 水路와處容, 그리고 新羅 설화의 바다' [Suro-wa Ch'ŏyong: the sea in Silla folktales]. *Han'guk kojŏn yŏn'gu* 한국고전연구 26: 75–103.
- So, Inho 소인호. 1987. 'Suijŏn-ŭi chŏja-wa munhŏn sŏnggyŏk-e kwanhan pansŏngjŏk koch'al 수이전의 저자와 문헌 성격에 관한 반 성적 고찰' [Reflections on the philological aspect and the author of the *Sui-jŏn*]. *Kososŏl yŏn'gu* 古小說研究 3(1): 137–158.
- Sŏ, Yonggyu 徐龍奎. 1993. 'Suijŏn-go: sŏmyŏng, p'yŏnjŏja, kanhaeng yŏndae-rŭl chungsimŭro 殊異傳考: 書名, 編著者, 刊行年代를 中心으로' [A study on the *Sui-jŏn*, with particular reference to the title, the author/editor and the epoch of its publication]. *Kaya taehakkyo nonmunjip* 가야대학교 논문집 1: 5–18.
- Yi, Taehyŏng 이대형 ed. 2018. *Sui-jŏn* 殊異傳 [Unusual stories]. Seoul: Somyŏng ch'ulp'an.
- Yi, Tonggŭn 이동근 ed. 2011. *Sui-jŏn* 殊異傳 [Unusual stories]. Seoul: Chisig-ŭl mandŭnŭn chisik.
- YU, Chŏngil 유정일. 2004. 'Sui-jŏn ilmun-ŭi pullyu-wa changnŭjŏk sŏnggyŏk: chigoe sŏsa chŏnt'ong-ŭi maengnag-ŭl chungsimŭro 殊異傳 逸文의 분류와 장르적 성격: 志怪敘事 전통의 맥락을 중심으로' [A classification of the fragments of the *Sui-jŏn* on the basis of their genres, with particular reference to the narrative tradition of the *chigoe*]. *Ŭmunhak* 語文學 85: 217–240.
- YU, Kyŏnghwan 유경환. 1998. 'Simhwa yot'ap sŏrhwa-e nat'anan pul sangjingsŏng 心火繞塔 說話에 나타난 불 (火) 象徵性' [The symbolism of fire as it emerges from the tale *Simhwa yot'ap*]. *Kugŏ kungmunak* 국어국문학 122: 73–94.
- YU, Yungnye 유옥례. 2020. 'Yŏn'orang Seonyŏ sorhwa-ŭi kujo-wa sangjingsŏng yŏn'gu 연오랑 세오녀 설화의 구조와 상징성 연구' [A study on the structure and the symbolism of the tale of Yŏn'o and Seo]. *Inmun sahoe* 인문사회 11(6): 1797–1806.
- ZHAO, Xiaohuan. 2005. *Classical Chinese supernatural fiction: A morphological history*. Lewiston (NY): The Edwin Mellen Press.

Synonyme in der *Mahāvyutpatti*.
Zum Verständnis der mit (*ma*) '*dom na* gebildeten
Einträge

Johannes SCHNEIDER

Abstract: At the beginning of the 9th century, official guidelines for translating Indian texts into Tibetan were issued. A Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary, called *Mahāvyutpatti*, was also compiled at that time: its approximately 9,500 entries had a lasting influence on Tibetan lexicography. For many Sanskrit words, the *Mahāvyutpatti* offers several possible translations (synonyms). This paper deals with entries which characterise synonyms by means of the terms '*dom na* and *ma* '*dom na*. The structure and function of these definitions are examined in detail, the text of the critical edition by Ishihama and Fukuda (published in 1989) is corrected if necessary. In fact, these definitions follow a general rule given in the *Sgra-sbyor-bam-po-gnyis-pa*: literal translations should only be used if in the context ('*dom na*) synonyms are given that enable an easy understanding; if not (*ma* '*dom na*), more common but less precise renderings should be chosen from the outset. The Tibetan equivalents marked with '*dom na* are very often loan translations: as a rule, they render the traditional etymologies of the underlying Sanskrit words quite exactly. However, they are often difficult to understand, especially in Tibet, outside the Indian context from which they originated. Thus *ma* '*dom na* and '*dom na* are tags referring to the usage of the words in question. Except for minor irregularities these prescriptions are confirmed by findings from the '*Dul ba*, the Tibetan version of the *Vinaya*. This shows that the rules in the *Mahāvyutpatti* are consistent with the older canonical literature. The (*ma*) '*dom na* entries in the *Mahāvyutpatti* thus provide important clues to the historical development of the vocabulary of classical Tibetan.

Keywords: *Mahāvyutpatti*, synonym(s), Tibetan, Sanskrit, translation, lexicography

English title: Synonyms in the *Mahāvyutpatti*. On the understanding of the entries formed with (*ma*) '*dom na*

Johannes SCHNEIDER, Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Munich;

Johannes.Schneider@zos.badw.de;  0009-0007-5414-8376

Während der sogenannten „früheren Verbreitung“ (*snga dar*) des Buddhismus in Tibet wurden religiöse Texte aus Indien, vornehmlich aus dem Sanskrit, zunächst ohne festes Konzept und verbindliche Terminologie ins Tibetische übersetzt. Unter dem Herrscher Khri-srong-lde-btsan (742–796) änderte sich dies. Der Buddhismus wurde von Staats wegen gefördert und beaufsichtigt, neue Texte wurden übertragen und alte überarbeitet. Zur Regulierung der Übersetzungstätigkeit wurden Richtlinien erlassen, die im Einleitungsteil zum *Sgra-sbyor-bam-po-gnyis-pa* überliefert sind; vgl. die Ausgabe von ISHIKAWA 1990 und die Übersetzungen von ISHIKAWA 1993 (japanisch), SIMONSSON 1957 (deutsch) und SCHERRER-SCHAUB 2002 (englisch, mit Studie). Darüber hinaus wurden terminologische Festlegungen getroffen, an die sich die Übersetzer fortan gebunden wissen sollten: Im zweiten Teil des *Sgra-sbyor-bam-po-gnyis-pa* werden gut vierhundert sanskrit-tibetische Wortgleichungen diskutiert. Besondere Beachtung verdient aber auch ein zweites Werk, das Anfang des 9. Jahrhunderts zusammengestellt wurde: der *Bye-brag-tu-rtoḡs-par-byed-pa-chen-po*, besser bekannt als *Mahāvyutpatti* (abgekürzt: Mvy). In ihr sind, nach Sachgruppen geordnet, weit über neuntausend sanskrit-tibetische Wortgleichungen gelistet.

Als erstes umfassendes Wörterbuch des Tibetischen hat die *Mahāvyutpatti* die einheimische Lexikographie nachhaltig beeinflusst; zahlreiche tibetische Wörterlisten aus späterer Zeit nehmen Material aus ihr auf (vgl. MAURER 2018). Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts hatte bereits CSOMA DE KÖRÖS den Text bearbeitet, vollständig wurde seine Ausgabe jedoch erst in den Jahren 1910 bis 1944 veröffentlicht (Nachdruck 1984). Etwa zeitgleich dazu erschien SAKAKIS Ausgabe von 1916 (Nachdruck 1970). ISHIHAMA und FUKUDA legten 1989 eine kritische Ausgabe vor. Diese ist nun maßgeblich, konnte in der Praxis jedoch die Edition Sakakis noch nicht verdrängen. Eine im Internet abrufbare Fassung stellten BRAARVIG und LILAND 2010 zur Verfügung.

Von Anfang an fanden die Vokabeln der *Mahāvyutpatti* Eingang in westliche Wörterbücher – in solche zum Tibetischen wie etwa JÄSCHKE 1871 und davon abhängig JÄSCHKE 1881 sowie DAS 1902, aber auch in solche zum Sanskrit: BÖHTLINGK und ROTH 1855–1875 usw. Insbesondere sind hier die großen Tibetisch-Sanskrit-Lexika von Lokesh CHANDRA 1959–1961, 1992–94 und 2007 sowie NEGI 1993–2005 zu nennen. Auch das seit 2005 in München erscheinende *Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache* dokumentiert ausgewählte Stellen aus *Mahāvyutpatti* und *Sgra-sbyor-bam-po-gnyis-pa* (vgl. *Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache*, Bd. 4, Lfg. 24, S. V; MAURER 2018: 133 f.).

Somit ist der größte Teil der Einträge aus der *Mahāvyutpatti* über moderne Nachschlagewerke leicht zugänglich. Gleichwohl ist es für linguistische und

philologische Fragestellungen zuweilen nötig, den Text der *Mahāvyutpatti* unmittelbar zu konsultieren: Weil das Werk thematisch gegliedert ist, lässt der Kontext benachbarter, bedeutungsähnlicher oder thematisch verwandter Termini Rückschlüsse auf die Semantik eines Wortes zu, die aus der einfachen Wortentsprechung nicht ohne weiteres hervorgehen. Wer für solche Zwecke den Originaltext der *Mahāvyutpatti* benutzt, kann freilich immer wieder feststellen, dass dieses Wörterbuch nicht nur lexikalische Äquivalente bietet. Vielmehr gibt es zu vielen Einträgen zusätzliche Angaben, die über die Gebrauchsweise der Begriffe Aufschluss geben. Diese metasprachlichen Informationen sind bisher noch nicht eingehend untersucht worden. In diesem Beitrag möchte ich einen Schritt in diese Richtung tun.

1. Synonyme

In den Mittelpunkt meiner Betrachtungen stelle ich eine Reihe eigentümlich formulierter Einträge, die von Synonymen handeln. Die *Mahāvyutpatti* kennt mehrere Arten, Synonyme zu verzeichnen. Die einfachste besteht darin, Begriffe aneinanderzureihen:

[5185] *hanyate* : *rdeg* go *'tshog* go *gsod* do.

[5185] *hanyate* ist *rdeg* (wird geschlagen), *'tshog* (wird erschlagen), *gsod* (wird getötet).

Häufiger jedoch werden die Wörter mit *'am* gegeneinander abgesetzt:

[5344] *saṃkāryam* : *'dres pa'am 'chol ba*.

[5344] *saṃkāryam* ist *'dres pa* (vermischt) oder *'chol ba* (wirr).

Hier ist aber Vorsicht geboten: Zuweilen wird die Partikel *'am* nicht nur für Synonyme, sondern auch für gegenläufige Bedeutungen gebraucht:

[6469] *vibhavaḥ* : *'byor ba'am 'jig pa*.

[6469] *vibhavaḥ* ist *'byor ba* (Reichtum) oder *'jig pa* (Untergang).

Daher besagt *'am* zunächst nur, dass ein Sanskritwort zwei Übersetzungen zulässt. Die damit verbundenen tibetischen Begriffe sind oft, aber keineswegs immer Synonyme.

Daneben erscheint häufig die Formulierung *skabs dang sbyar ba*, „der Gelegenheit angepasst“ (JÄSCHKE 1871 s. v. *skabs* 1): Sie macht darauf aufmerksam, dass ein Sanskritwort je nach Kontext verschiedene tibetische Übersetzungen zulässt. Das folgende Beispiel behandelt das Wort *ārāt* in seinen beiden Bedeutungen „aus der Ferne“ und „in der Nähe“ (BÖHTLINGK und ROTH 1855–1875 s. v.):

[7050] *ārāt* : *ring ba*’am *thung ba* skabs dang sbyar.

[7050] *ārāt* ist *ring ba* (lang) oder *thung ba* (kurz), je nach Kontext.

Darüber hinaus erlaubt der metasprachliche Terminus *skabs* weitere Präzisierungen, vgl. *Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache* s. v. *skabs* 2. Hier sei nur die Form *skabs su* mit vorausgehendem Genitivattribut „im Hinblick auf“ erwähnt:

[5316] *maryādām vyavasthāpayati* : zhing gi skabs su *mu thug bres* khrims kyi skabs su *bka’ khrims bcas*.

[5316] *maryādām vyavasthāpayati* ist im Hinblick auf ein Feld *mu thug bres* (hat eine Grenze gezogen), mit Hinblick auf das Gesetz *bka’ khrims bcas* (hat ein Gesetz erlassen).

Definitionen dieser Art sind leicht verständlich und bedürfen keiner weiteren Vertiefung. Anders steht es um Synonyme, die mit den Termini *’dom na* oder *ma ’dom na* gegeneinander abgegrenzt werden. Sie sind besonders schwierig zu deuten, vor allem aus zwei Gründen: Zum einen ist die Negation *ma* häufig instabil – in manchen Textzeugen steht sie, in anderen fehlt sie, zuweilen ist sie verschrieben als *la*. Zum anderen ist oft unklar, ob vor diesen Begriffen Sanskritwörter, tibetische Wörter oder Lehn- bzw. Fremdwörter aus dem Sanskrit stehen. Je nachdem gehen die Deutungen auseinander, die diesen Einträgen abgewonnen werden. Das soll nun geklärt werden.

Den Schlüssel zum Verständnis der Definitionen mit *’dom na* und *ma ’dom na* liefert eine Bestimmung des eingangs angeführten *Sgra-sbyor-bam-pognyis-pa* (ISHIKAWA 1990: 3):

*rnam grangs su gtogs pa’i tshig rnam ni ma ’dom na ming gang bod
skad du spyir grags shing tshig tu gar bde bar gdags so / ’dom na so sor
btags pa bzhin du thogs shig //*

Die Begriffe betreffend, die zu Synonymreihen gehören: Kommen sie nicht zusammen vor (*ma ’dom na*), dann verwende man jenes Wort, das im Tibetischen allgemein bekannt und als Ausdruck möglichst günstig ist. Kommen sie aber zusammen vor (*’dom na*), dann verwendet sie gemäß dem, was jeweils festgelegt ist!

Bereits SIMONSSON 1957 erkannte die Bedeutsamkeit dieser Stelle. Er wies darauf hin, dass *rnam grangs* hier synonyme Ausdrücke in Aufzählungen bezeichnet. Die Begriffe *’dom na* und *ma ’dom na* verstand er als „wenn es zusammen vorkommt“ und „wenn es nicht zusammen vorkommt“. Damit

setzte er sich bewusst von der älteren Interpretation „compound, compounded“ (CSOMA DE KÖRÖS: 355) ab. Allerdings konnte er seine Deutung nur für eine einzelne Stelle ausführen (Mvy 8216, vgl. unten S. 252, Nr. 38). Eine Untersuchung der zahlreichen anderen Einträge lag außerhalb seines Vorhabens. Er wies die meisten der betreffenden Stellen nach, bemerkte aber, die Phrase mit dem Wort *'dom* sei hier „in mehr oder weniger unverständlicher Form geboten“. Schuld daran waren nicht zuletzt die angesprochenen textlichen Unsicherheiten. Daher regte er an, dass dies einmal gründlich bearbeitet werde: „Ein Studium aller dieser Aufzählungen an Hand der obigen Vorschrift wäre für das Verständnis der *Mahāvvyutpatti* wichtig“ (SIMONSSON 1957: 256).

Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden nun alle betreffenden Stellen vorgestellt und im Detail besprochen, die dargebotene Sammlung geht über die bei Lokesh CHANDRA 1959–1961: 1269 verzeichneten Belegstellen hinaus. In dieser Besprechung werden, wenn nötig, auch die verschiedenen Lesarten neu bewertet, die bei ISHIHAMA und FUKUDA 1989 häufig ohne Gewichtung einander gegenüberstehen. Diese Ausgabe bildet die Grundlage dieser Untersuchung, sie wird mit dem Kürzel „Mvy“ zitiert; die Nummerierung der Einträge folgt jedoch der durch SAKAKI 1970 eingebürgerten Zählung. In den Definitionen sind die sanskrit-tibetischen Äquivalente *kursiv* hervorgehoben. Tibetisch wird nach der Umschrift von Wylie wiedergegeben, außer wenn Sanskritwörter in tibetischer Schrift erscheinen: Diese werden, wie überhaupt alles Sanskrit in diesem Beitrag, nach heutigem indologischem Standard transliteriert. Kleinere Unstimmigkeiten bei der tibetischen Transliteration des Sanskrits wurden stillschweigend normiert. Die Sigla folgen EIMER und HARRISON 1997: C bezeichnet Co-ni, D Sde-dge, N Snar-thang, Q Beijing. Der Text der kritischen Ausgabe wurde nochmals anhand der kanonischen Textzeugen überprüft und wenn nötig korrigiert; die Handschrift G (Dga'-ldan) wurde nachgetragen. Das Siglum L (Leningrad) bezeichnet das St. Petersburger Manuskript. Soweit es Überlieferungsgeschichtlich möglich ist, wird unter den Varianten der *Mahāvvyutpatti* jene zugrunde gelegt, die vom Gesamtbefund her die stimmigste ist. Die Interpunktion wurde hinzugefügt, um Sinneinheiten hervorzuheben; in den Textzeugen ist sie nicht vorhanden.

Bei einer solchen Untersuchung stellt sich naturgemäß die Frage, ob die hier besprochenen Regeln der *Mahāvvyutpatti* tatsächlich für die Übersetzungspraxis von Bedeutung waren. Dies soll in geeigneten Fällen anhand ausgewählter Beispiele betrachtet werden. Hierfür wurde hauptsächlich die Vinaya-Abteilung im tibetischen Kanjur herangezogen, da sie der älteren Zeit der Übersetzungstätigkeit angehört, in der auch die *Mahāvvyutpatti* entstanden ist. Aus praktischen Gründen wird nach der Ausgabe aus Sde-dge zitiert

(Abt. 'Dul-ba, Bde. ka bis pa). Eine umfassende Untersuchung, auch anhand weiterer Textgruppen der älteren Übersetzungsperiode, sowie in kontrastiver Gegenüberstellung mit späteren Übersetzungen wäre wünschenswert, war im Rahmen dieses Beitrags jedoch nicht möglich.

2. Wörter für Ozean

An den Anfang sei das Wort gestellt, zu dem die *Mahāvvyutpatti* die meisten Synonyme anführt: der Ozean. Dieses Beispiel macht besonders gut verständlich, weshalb und wie die *Mahāvvyutpatti* die Angaben 'dom na und ma 'dom na verwendet:

[4161] *samudraḥ*¹ : *rgya mtsho*.

[4162] *sāgaraḥ* : *dug can*.

[4163] *jaladhiḥ* : *chu 'dzin*.

[4164] *mahārṇavaḥ* : *chu chen*.

[4165] *jalanidhiḥ* : *chu gter*².

[4166] *lavaṇodakaḥ* : *tshwa*³ *mtsho*. 'di rnams⁴ 'dom na 'di ltar bsgyur. ma⁵ 'dom na *rgya mtsho*.

¹samudraḥ LGNQ : sumudraḥ CD. — ²gter CDLQ : gtor GN. — ³tshwa CDL : rgya GNQ. — ⁴rnams CDL : ma GNQ. — ⁵ma CDL : om. GNQ.

[4161] *samudra* ist *rgya mtsho* (weiter See).

[4162] *sāgara* ist *dug can* (mit Gift).

[4163] *jaladhi* ist *chu 'dzin* (Wasserhalter).

[4164] *mahārṇava* ist *chu chen* (großes Wasser).

[4165] *jalanidhi* ist *chu gter* (Wasserbehälter).

[4166] *lavaṇodaka* ist *tshwa mtsho* (Salzsee). Man übersetze diese [Wörter] in dieser Art, wenn sie zusammen vorkommen. [Man übersetze sie mit] *rgya mtsho*, wenn sie nicht zusammen vorkommen.

Das heißt: Jedes Sanskritwort für „Ozean“ wird mit *rgya mtsho* übersetzt, außer es steht mit anderen Wörtern zusammen, die auch den „Ozean“ bezeichnen: Nur in diesem letzteren Fall sind die hier für die jeweiligen Sanskritwörter aufgelisteten Entsprechungen zu verwenden.

Warum eine derartige Bestimmung? Warum werden zuerst Äquivalente festgelegt, die dann wieder verworfen werden und nur in Ausnahmefällen noch gestattet sind?

Ein Blick auf die Art dieser Äquivalente gibt Aufschluss: Fast alles sind Lehnübersetzungen. Sie sind, nach dem damaligen Verständnis, etymologisch genau und somit sehr wörtlich. In einem fremden kulturellen Kontext jedoch wirken sie künstlich, sie haben keine Sprachwirklichkeit und sind daher oft schwer oder gar nicht verständlich. Besonders deutlich ist das bei tib. *dug can* für skt. *sāgara*. Die indische Mythologie erklärt die Entstehung des Ozeans damit, dass in der Vorzeit die Söhne des Königs Sagara, die Sāgaras, eine ungeheure Grube aushoben, die später mit dem Wasser des Gangesflusses gefüllt wurde. Im Sanskrit wurde das Wort *sāgara*, das als Patronymikon zunächst die „Söhne Sagaras“ benennt, auf ihre Arbeit übertragen, und so bezeichnet *sāgara* auch den „Ozean“. Gerne übersetzten die Tibeter auch Namen. Daher zerlegten sie den des Königs Sagara etymologisch in die beiden Bestandteile *sa*° „mit“ (tib. *can*) und *gara* „Gift“ (tib. *dug*) – sie bildeten ihn als Dug-can nach.

Zu der Zeit freilich, als die *Mahāvyutpatti* entstand, war eine solche Nachbildung für Tibeter nicht verständlich: Die eben angeführte indische Sage war in Tibet nicht bekannt. Tibeter konnten in *dug can* kaum mehr ausmachen als „etwas Giftiges“. Hinzu kommt, dass nur die wenigsten unter ihnen je das Meer gesehen haben dürften. Um Missverständnissen vorzubeugen, war es daher in der Regel besser, nicht die eigentlich dafür vorgesehene und dazu passende Lehnübersetzung zu nehmen, sondern auf eine andere Bezeichnung ausweichen, die leichter zu verstehen war – auf *rgya mtsho*. Als einziges Wort in der Liste ist dies keine Lehnübersetzung, sondern umschreibt das Bezeichnete, den Ozean, behelfsmäßig als „weiter (*rgya*) See (*mtsho*)“. Eine solche Wiedergabe war in jedem Fall einigermaßen verständlich.

Etwas anderes war es, wenn mehrere Wörter für „Ozean“ beieinanderstanden (*'dom na*): In diesem Falle sollten tatsächlich die jeweiligen Lehnübersetzungen genommen werden – wobei idealerweise auch das Wort *rgya mtsho* mit dabei war. Dieses eine *rgya mtsho* war als „Ozean“ zu verstehen und konnte damit die Richtung vorgeben, in der auch die anderen Begriffe zutreffend gedeutet werden sollten. In der Praxis wurde dieser Grundsatz sinngemäß auch auf Sanskritwörter angewandt, die in der *Mahāvyutpatti* nicht ausdrücklich genannt werden. Dies zeigt die folgende Stelle (DUTT, Bd. 3,1: 163; vgl. WILLE 1990: 71; *'Dul-ba, kha* 281 b 7):

[...] *ito yato jalavahasāgaramgamā
nadyaś catasraḥ prasṛtāś caturdiśam |*

*de las rgya mtsho dug can dag tu 'gro ba yi ||
chu bo chen po bzhi po 'di dag phyogs bzhir 'bab ||*

[...] denn von hier sind die vier Flüsse, die zum wasserführenden (*jalavaha*) Ozean (*sāgara*) gelangen, in die vier Himmelsrichtungen hervorgeströmt.

Die Tibeter wählten für *sāgara* die wörtliche Lehnübersetzung *dug can*. Diese ist hier nicht missverständlich, weil *rgya mtsho* davorsteht. Allerdings steht dieses *rgya mtsho* nicht für *samudra*, sondern für *jalavaha*, das in der *Mahāvyutpatti* fehlt. Und doch handelten die Übersetzer ganz in ihrem Sinne, wenn sie anstelle dessen *rgya mtsho* als das einfachste Wort für den Ozean setzten.

Umgekehrt gibt es auch Fälle, in denen die Regel aus der *Mahāvyutpatti* (scheinbar) nicht beachtet wurde ('*Dul-ba*, ka 32 a 5, vgl. EIMER 1983: 83, Strophe 33):

chu srin gnas kyi dug can pa //
dus las 'da'bar 'gyur srid kyi //
sangs rgyas gdul la byams pa ni //
dus las 'da'bar mi 'gyur ro //

Der Ozean, in dem Seeungetüme hausen,
 kann mit der Zeit überquert ('*da*') werden;
 aber die Zuneigung der Buddhas zu ihren Jüngern
 kann mit der Zeit nicht übertroffen ('*da*') werden.

Nach strikter Anwendung der Regeln aus der *Mahāvyutpatti* sollte hier *rgya mtsho*, nicht *dug can pa* stehen. Die Übersetzer sahen aber keine Veranlassung dazu: Die Nennung der Seeungetüme, sowie der Schwierigkeit, ihren Wohnort zu überqueren, macht deutlich, dass der Ozean gemeint ist. Die wörtliche Übersetzung ist daher nicht missverständlich: Im Gegenteil steigert die hier herauszulesende Giftigkeit zusätzlich den bedrohlichen Eindruck des Meeres. Im weiteren Sinne konnte die '*dom-na*-Forderung auch so verstanden werden, dass der Kontext – mit oder ohne Synonyme – hinreichend klar ist.

Die Regel der *Mahāvyutpatti* konnte also sinngemäß auf vergleichbare Fälle ausgeweitet werden; sie konnte aber auch ausgesetzt werden, wo sie im Textzusammenhang entbehrlich schien. Beides ist bei den folgenden Betrachtungen im Auge zu behalten.

Die Definitionen zum Ozean zeigen deutlich, dass es in der *Mahāvyutpatti* stets wichtig ist, die nähere Umgebung der Einträge zu betrachten. Wenn der Kontext zu Mvy 4161 nicht beachtet würde, könnte man den irrigen Schluss daraus ziehen, hinter jedem tib. *rgya mtsho* stehe im Regelfall skt. *samudra*.

Fünf Eintragungen später macht aber Mvy 4166 mit dem Zusatz *ma 'dom na* deutlich: Immer, wenn nur ein einzelnes Wort für Ozean steht, und zwar ein beliebiges einzelnes Wort, ist *rgya mtsho* die regelmäßige Übersetzung. Eine eindeutige Rekonstruktion des Sanskrits ist auf dieser Grundlage im Fall von Synonymen nicht möglich.

Daraus folgt, dass das einfachere Wort im tibetischen Kanon wesentlich häufiger vorkommt als das entsprechende einfachere Wort im ursprünglichen Sanskrit. Die schwierigeren tibetischen Wörter für Ozean, die in der *Mahāvyūtpatti* gelehrt werden, sind im *Vinayavastu* daher äußerst schlecht belegt: Für *dug can (pa)* ließen sich nur insgesamt sechs Stellen anführen, darunter mehrere Dubletten; sie alle sind durch die eben gegebenen Beispiele abgedeckt. Gar nicht belegt ist *tshwa mtsho*. Für *chu 'dzin* gibt es nur einen Beleg, jedoch nicht in der Bedeutung „Ozean“, sondern als „Wolke“ (*'Dul-ba, ka* 310 b 6). Die insgesamt neun Belege für *chu chen (po)* bezeichnen in ihren jeweiligen Kontexten tatsächlich nur ein „großes Gewässer“, nicht aber den Ozean. Acht Belege gibt es für *chu gter*, von diesen sind fünf textidentisch; nur in einem Fall steht *rgya mtsho* daneben (*'Dul-ba, nga* 289 a 3), bei den anderen ist jedoch der Kontext hinreichend aufschlussreich: *chu gter gos su gyon zhing* [...] *sa* „die Erde, die mit dem Ozean als Gewand bekleidet ist“ (*'Dul-ba, kha* 222 b 6), bzw. *chu gter ltar ting nge ba* „tief wie der Ozean“ (*'Dul-ba, ca* 165 a 4). Demgegenüber ist das gewöhnliche Wort für Ozean, *rgya mtsho*, insgesamt 577-mal belegt. Die vorigen Ausführungen machen klar, dass in vielen Fällen gerade nicht das Wort *samudra* dahintergestanden haben kann.

3. Stellensammlung

Es folgt eine Zusammenstellung sämtlicher Belege für Definitionen aus der *Mahāvyūtpatti*, die mit *'dom na* und *ma 'dom na* gebildet sind.

1. [671] *sūryagarbhaḥ* : *nyi ma'i snying po*. [...]
 [708] *ādityagarbhaḥ* : *sūrya dang ma 'dom na nyi ma'i snying po*. 'dom na *nyi*¹ *gdugs*² *snying po*.

¹nyi CDGNQ : gnyi L. — ²gdugs CDL : gdug GNQ.

- [671] *sūryagarbha* ist *nyi ma'i snying po*. [...]
 [708] *ādityagarbha* ist *nyi ma'i snying po*, wenn es nicht mit *sūrya[garbha]* zusammen vorkommt; wenn es damit zusammen vorkommt, ist es *nyi gdugs snying po*.

Namen von Bodhisattvas. Die beiden Eintragungen stehen getrennt, der Bezug ist aber durch die Nennung von *sūrya* in 708 klar. *nyi gdugs* ist eigentlich „Sonnenschirm“ (vgl. ZHĀNG 1985 s. v.).

2. [1046] *tiṣyaḥ* : 'od *ldan*. *puṣya*¹ dang ²ma 'dom² na *skar rgyal*³.

¹pu ṣya CD : pu ṣya L, pus G, pu ssa ? N, sus Q. — ²ma 'dom CD : 'dom LNQ, 'dos G. — ³rgyal CDGNQ : rgyal du gdags L.

[1046] *tiṣya* ist 'od *ldan*; es ist *skar rgyal*, wenn es nicht mit *puṣya* zusammen vorkommt.

Namen von Śrāvakas, für beide verwendet man *rgyal*. Kommen beide, *Tiṣya* und *Puṣya*, zusammen vor, steht für *Tiṣya 'od ldan*, für *Puṣya skar rgyal*. Das Wort *rgyal* bezeichnet auch das Mondhaus *Puṣya* (Mvy 3192), daher der Zusatz *skar*, sowie den Herrscher *Tiṣya* (Mvy 3605), es ist offenbar eine geläufige Wiedergabe. Daher ist *ma 'dom na* CD, nicht 'dom na LNQ zu lesen.

3. [1615] *damaḥ* : *dul ba*¹.

[1616] *suvinītaḥ* : *shin tu*² *dul ba*. (add. L: *dama*³ dang 'dom na *vinīta* bya ba'am grangs la 'gro.)

¹ba CDGLQ : bi N. — ²tu CDGNQ : du L. — ³dama *ex conj.* : dam L *ed.*

[1615] *dama* ist *dul ba*.

[1616] *suvinīta* ist *shin tu dul ba*. (Zusatz L: *vinīta* gilt als Handlung oder Zahl, wenn es mit skt. *dama* zusammen vorkommt.)

Wörter für „Disziplin“ und „sehr diszipliniert“. Der Zusatz in der Handschrift L ist nicht ursprünglich, die Deutung sehr unsicher. Vor *dang 'dom na* ist ein Sanskritwort zu erwarten; daher ist *dama 'dom na* zu lesen, nicht *dam 'dom na*, wie es die kritische Ausgabe hat.

4. [2157] *aṅgaṇam* : *nyon mongs pa*¹ i ming ste¹. 'dom na *skor*² *ba*.

¹ste CDLQ : sta GN. — ²skor CDLQ : bskor GN.

[2157] *aṅgaṇa* ist eine Bezeichnung für *nyon mongs pa*; es ist *skor ba*, wenn es [mit *kleśa*] zusammen vorkommt.

Begriffe für „Befleckung“. Vor 'dom na ist das übliche Äquivalent zu *nyon mongs pa* sinngemäß zu ergänzen: *kleśa*, vgl. die Ableitungen von √*kliś* in Mvy 126, 167, 184, 419 und öfter. *skor ba* ist eine Lehnübersetzung, vgl. *aṅgaṇa* „Hof“; sie ist zu vermeiden, daher wird auch *anaṅgaṇam* durch *nyon mongs pa med pa* übersetzt (Mvy 2607).

5. [2346] *nindā* : *smad pa*. [...]

[2635] *kutsanam* : *ngan par brtsi*¹ *ba*. (add. L: *nindā* la sogs pa dang ma 'dom na *smad par* gdags.)

¹brtsi LGNQ: rtsi CD.

[2346] *nindā* ist *smad pa*. [...]

[2635] *kutsana* ist *ngan par rtsi ba*. (Zusatz L: [...] es wird *smad pa* genommen, wenn es nicht mit *nindā* usw. zusammen vorkommt.)

Begriffe für „Tadel, Schmähung, Geringschätzung“ usw. Die beiden Einträge stehen getrennt und sind zunächst unabhängig voneinander. Erst der spätere Zusatz L stellt eine Verbindung her; er legt dar, dass auch für *kutsana* gewöhnlich *smad pa* stehen solle; tatsächlich ist *ngan par rtsi ba* eine artifizielle und sehr schlecht belegte Bildung.

6. [2613] *stutiḥ* : *bstod pa*.

[2614] *stomitam*¹ : *bkur ba*. ma² 'dom na *bstod pa*.

¹stomitam CDLNQ : stoṣitam G. — ²ma CDL : la GNQ.

[2613] *stuti* ist *bstod pa*.

[2614] *stomita* ist *bkur ba*; es ist *bstod pa*, wenn es nicht [mit *stuti*] zusammen vorkommt.

Begriffe für „Lob, Preis“. *bstod pa* ist im Kanon etwa doppelt so häufig wie *bkur ba*, dieses kommt jedoch oft unabhängig von *bstod pa* vor. Diese Bestimmung wurde also nicht genau befolgt.

7. [2622 f.] *prasiddhaḥ* : *rab tu grub pa*'am¹ grags pa.

[2624] *pratītaḥ* : *kun la grags pa*. *prasiddha*² dang ma 'dom na *grags par gdags*³.

¹pa'am CDGNQ : pa'am rab tu L. — ²prasiddha LNQ : srasidha CDG. — ³gdags CDGLQ : dgags N.

[2622 f.] *prasiddha* ist *rab tu grub pa* oder (*rab tu*) *grags pa*.

[2624] *pratīta* ist *kun la grags pa*; es wird *grags pa* genommen, wenn es nicht mit *prasiddha* zusammen vorkommt.

Begriffe für „bekannt, berühmt“.

8. [2750 f.] *kalyāṇam* : *dge legs sam dge ba*.

[2752] *kuśalam* : *dge mkhas bde ba* skabs dang sbyar. (add. L: *dge ba*'am *mkhas pa*'am *bde ba* skabs dang sbyar te gdags. ma 'dom na *kalyāṇa* yang *dge bar gdags*.)

[2750 f.] *kalyāṇam* ist *dge legs* oder *dge ba*.

[2752] *kuśala* ist je nach Kontext *dge*, *mkhas* oder *bde ba*. (Zusatz L: *dge ba*, *mkhas pa* oder *bde ba* werden je nach Kontext genommen; auch für *kalyāṇa* wird *dge ba* genommen, wenn es nicht zusammen [mit *kuśala*] vorkommt.)

Begriffe für „gut, heilvoll“. Der Zusatz in L fügt hinzu, dass für ein allein stehendes *kalyāṇa* auch *dge ba* (und nicht *dge legs*) zu nehmen sei.

9. [2816] *marīciḥ* : *smig rgyu*¹.

[2817] *mṛgaṭṛṣṇikā* : *marīci* dang ma 'dom na *smig*² *rgyu*³. 'dom na *ri dags skom*⁴.

¹rgyu CDGNQ : sgyu L. — ma ri tsi dang CDLN : ma ri rtsi dang GQ. —

²smig CDL : mig GNQ. — ³rgyu CDGNQ, sgyu L. — ⁴skom CDGLQ : sgom N.

[2816] *marīci* ist *smig rgyu*.

[2817] *mṛgaṭṛṣṇikā* ist *smig rgyu*, wenn es nicht mit *marīci* zusammen vorkommt; es ist *ri dags skom*, wenn es [mit *marīci*] zusammen vorkommt.

Begriffe für Sinnestäuschungen. *ri dags skom*, wörtlich „Gazellendurst“, ist eine Lehnübersetzung aus dem Sanskrit; sie mutet künstlich an. *smig rgyu*, von unbekannter Etymologie, ist das übliche Wort.

10. [2823] *pratiśrutkā* : *brag ca*¹.

[2824] *pratiśabdaḥ*² : *brag ca*³ 'i³ ming ste. *pratiśrutkā*⁴ dang 'dom na *sgra brnyan*⁵ du gdags.

¹ca CDGNQ : cha L. — ²śabdaḥ LNQ : °śabdā CD, °śabda G. — ³ca 'i CDGNQ : cha 'i L. — ⁴pratiśrutkā CDLNQ : sraṭisrududka G. — ⁵brnyan CDL : snyan GQ, bsnyan N.

[2823] *pratiśrutkā* ist *brag ca*.

[2824] *pratiśabda* ist eine Bezeichnung für *brag ca*; aber es wird *sgra brnyan* genommen, wenn es mit *pratiśrutkā* zusammen vorkommt.

Begriffe für „Echo, Widerhall“. *sgra brnyan* ist eine Lehnübersetzung für *pratiśabda*: *brnyan* entspricht in manchen Wortbildungen *prati*^o (vgl. Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache s. v. *brñan* 2), und so bedeutet *sgra brnyan* „gebogter Schall“, d. h. „Widerhall“. Das Wort ist äußerst selten. Im *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* steht für die Begriffsreihe *svapna-pratiśrutkā-pratibhāsa-marīci-māyā* (VAIDYA 1960: 102) im Tibetischen *rmi lam* dang *sgra brnyan* dang *mig yor* dang *smig rgyu* dang *sgyu ma* (*Bka*-'gyur, Abt. *Brgyad-stong*, ka 114 b 6): Entgegen der Bestimmung Mvy 2824 steht *sgra brnyan* ohne *brag ca*; an dieser Stelle konnte die Vorschrift jedoch ausgesetzt werden, weil alle angeführten Begriffe Illusionäres bezeichnen und ein Missverständnis dadurch ausgeschlossen ist.

11. [2929] *tuṣṭaḥ* : (CD:) *tshim pa* 'am *dga* 'ba / (GNQ:) *dga* 'ba / (L:) *tshim pa*. ma 'dom na *dga* 'ba.

[2929] *tuṣṭa* ist (nach CD:) *tshim pa* oder *dga' ba* (bzw. nach GNQ:) *dga' ba* (bzw. nach L:) *tshim pa*; es ist *dga' ba*, wenn es nicht zusammen vorkommt.

Begriffe für „zufrieden, froh“. Der Text geht in den Ausgaben auseinander. L erklärt *dga'* zum gewöhnlichen Äquivalent für *tuṣṭa*, nur in L gibt es die Bestimmung *ma 'dom na*; ein Sanskritsynonym fehlt jedoch, und dies zeigt, dass der Zusatz nicht ursprünglich ist.

12. [2984] *cyutiḥ, cyavanam* : *ma 'dom na 'chi 'pho. 'dom na cyavanam¹ 'chi ba.*

[2985] *cyutisaṃkramam* : *'chi ba dang 'pho ba.*

¹*cyavanam*: *tsyābanam* CDLNQ, *tsyāba'am* G.

[2984] *cyuti* und *cyavana* sind *'chi 'pho*, wenn sie nicht zusammen vorkommen. *cyavana* ist *'chi ba*, wenn sie zusammen vorkommen.

[2985] *cyutisaṃkrama* ist *'chi ba dang 'pho ba.*

Begriffe für „vom Himmel herabfallen um als Mensch geboren zu werden“ (BÖHTLINGK und ROTH 1855–1875 s. v. ¹*cyu* 6). Gemäß dieser Bestimmung ist *'chi 'pho* das gewöhnliche Äquivalent. *'chi ba* ist als Wiedergabe semantisch nicht vollständig, man würde es nur als „sterben“ verstehen; daher soll es nur zusammen mit *'chi 'pho* genommen werden. Die kritische Ausgabe transliteriert *tsyābanam*; es ist jedoch *cyavanam* zu schreiben, denn es ist nicht als Lehnwort in der tibetischen Zielsprache zu verstehen, sondern als Wort der Ausgangssprache.

13. [3130] *viṣṇuḥ* : *khyab 'jug.*

[3131] *kṛṣṇaḥ* : *khyab 'jug gi ming ste. 'dom¹ na nag po.*

¹*'dom* CDGNQ : *viṣṇuḥ dang 'dom L.*

[3130] *viṣṇu* ist *khyab 'jug.*

[3131] *kṛṣṇa* ist eine Bezeichnung für *khyab 'jug*; es ist *nag po*, wenn es zusammen (Zusatz L: mit *viṣṇu*) vorkommt.

Namen des Gottes Viṣṇu bzw. Kṛṣṇa. Der Zusatz in der Handschrift L ist nicht ursprünglich, aber sachlich zutreffend. Die Lehnübersetzung *nag po* wird vermieden, es wird *khyab 'jug* genommen. In der tibetischen Übersetzung von Prajñāvarmans *Devāṭīśayastotraṭīkā* zum Beispiel erscheint in einer Auflistung der zehn Herabkünfte (*avatāra*) Viṣṇus *nag po* für *kṛṣṇa*, weil wenig später Viṣṇu als *khyab 'jug* genannt wird (vgl. SCHNEIDER 2014: 165).

14. [3139] *śakro devendraḥ* : *lha'i dbang po brgya byin.*

[3140] *daśaśatanayanah¹* : *brgya² byin. 'dom na mig stong pa.*

¹*daśa°* CDLNQ : *jaśa°* G. — ²*brgya* CLGNQ : *rgya* D.

[3139] *śakra devendra* ist *lha'i dbang po brgya byin*.

[3140] *daśaśatanayana* ist *brgya byin*; es ist *mig stong pa*, wenn es zusammen [mit *śakra*] vorkommt.

Namen für Indra. Die Lehnübersetzung *mig stong pa* („Tausendäugiger“) für *Daśaśatanayana* ist zu vermeiden. Ein Beispiel für die sinngemäße Anwendung dieser Regel findet sich in der tibetischen Übersetzung von Vāgbhaṭas *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā* (VOGEL 1965), Strophe 1.1.3. Dort steht *brgya byin* für *sahasrākṣa*, ein Synonym für *daśaśatanayana*.

15. [3220] *asuraḥ* : *lha ma yin*.

[3221] *daityaḥ* : *lha ma yin*. 'dom¹ na *sbyin byed ma'i bu*.

'dom CDGNQ : dang 'dom L.

[3220] *asura* ist *lha ma yin*.

[3221] *daitya* ist *lha ma yin*; es ist *sbyin byed ma'i bu*, wenn es zusammen [mit *asura*] vorkommt.

Bezeichnung Daitya für Asura. Die Lehnübersetzung *sbyin byed ma'i bu* „Ditis Sohn“ wird vermieden; *lha ma yin* oder auch *lha min* ist das gebräuchliche Wort. Das Manuskript L liest *lha ma yin dang 'dom na* statt *lha ma yin 'dom na*: Diese Variante ist später entstanden und nicht normgerecht, da vor der soziativischen Erweiterung von 'dom gewöhnlich das Sanskritwort steht.

16. [3222] *garuḍaḥ* : *nam mkha' lding*. [...]

[4872] *suparṇiḥ* : *garuḍa* dang 'dom na 'dab bzang¹.

'bzang CDGNQ : bzangs L.

[3222] *garuḍa* ist *nam mkha' lding*. [...]

[4872] *suparṇi* ist 'dab bzang, wenn es mit *garuḍa* zusammen vorkommt.

Bezeichnungen für den mythischen Vogel Garuḍa. Die Einträge stehen getrennt, doch bezieht sich der zweite deutlich auf den ersten. Die tibetische Lehnübersetzung 'dab bzang „der Schöngefiederte“ für skt. *suparṇi(n)* ist zu vermeiden: Sie kommt im Vinaya nur siebenmal vor – zwar nicht zusammen mit *nam mkha' lding*, wie Mvy 4872 fordert, aber doch immer in der Phrase 'dab chags kyi rgyal po 'dab bzangs „der König der Geflügelten, 'Dab-bzangs“ (z. B. 'Dul-ba, ka 95 b 6, vgl. EIMER 1983: 248). Der Zusatz 'dab chags kyi rgyal po war hinreichend, um 'dab bzang korrekt zu verstehen, so dass die Regel sinngemäß befolgt wurde.

17. [3630] *śūraḥ* : *dpa' ba*.

[3631] *vīraḥ* : *brtul' phod pa*. [...]

[5037] *vīraḥ* : *dpa' bo*. [...]

[6866] *śūrah* : *vīra* dang ma 'dom² na *dpa'* ba. 'dom na *rtul*³ *phod* *pa'am* nyam rtsal che ba⁴.

¹brtul CDGNQ : rtul L. — ²'dom CDL : 'doms GNQ. — ³rtul CDL : btul GNQ. — ⁴pa'am nyam rtsal che ba⁴ CD : pa'am rtsal che ba L, pa GNQ.

[3630] *śūra* ist *dpa'* ba.

[3631] *vīra* ist *rtul phod pa*. [...]

[5037] *vīra* ist *dpa'* bo. [...]

[6866] *śūra* ist *dpa'* ba, wenn es nicht mit *vīra* zusammen vorkommt; es ist *rtul phod pa* oder *nyam rtsal che ba*, wenn es [mit *vīra*] zusammen vorkommt.

Wörter für „Held“. Sie werden an zwei verschiedenen Stellen der *Mahāvvyutpatti* behandelt; dabei sind die Bestimmungen nicht deckungsgleich. Mvy 6866 zeigt jedoch, dass *dpa'* ba und *dpa'* bo die gebräuchlichen Wörter sind; (*b*)*rtul phod pa* „Tapferer“ und *nyam rtsal che ba* „großer Kämpfer“ sind weniger geläufige Umschreibungen, sie sind zu meiden. Tatsächlich ist *nyam rtsal che ba* im Vinaya nicht belegt. *rtul phod (pa)* kommt insgesamt 39-mal vor, davon steht in 36 Fällen *dpa'* ba unmittelbar daneben.

18. [3670] *rājā* : *rgyal po*.

[3671] *pārthivaḥ* : *sa bdag*. *rājā*¹ dang ma² 'dom³ na *rgyal po*⁴.

¹rādzā CDL : rgyal po GNQ. — ²ma CDL : om. GNQ. — ³'dom CDLGQ : 'do N. — ⁴po CDGNQ : po zhes gdags L.

[3670] *rājan* ist *rgyal po*.

[3671] *pārthiva* ist *sa bdag*; es ist *rgyal po*, wenn es nicht mit *rājan* zusammen vorkommt.

Begriffe für „König“. Da vor (*ma*) 'dom na regelmäßig ein Sanskritwort steht, ist in 3671 *rājā* CDL, nicht *rgyal po* GNQ zu lesen. Das übliche Wort ist *rgyal po*; zu meiden ist *sa bdag*, eine Lehnübersetzung für *pārthiva*, das nach Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.1.42 (BÖHTLINGK 1887), von *pr̥thivī* „Erde“ mit Hilfe des Suffixes *añ* im Sinne von „Herr über“ abgeleitet ist. Tatsächlich gibt es im Vinaya nur acht Belege für *sa('i) bdag (po)*; nicht immer steht *rgyal po* dabei, doch macht jeweils der Kontext deutlich, dass Könige gemeint sind.

19. [3696] *dharmādhikāraṇam* : *chos bzhin gcod*¹ *pa*. *pradeṣṭā* dang ma 'dom² na *zhal che bar* gdags.

[3697] *pradeṣṭā* : *zhal che*³ ba.

¹gcod DCL : spyod GNQ. — ²'dom CDGLQ : 'doms N. — ³che GLNQ : ce CD.

[3696] *dharmādhikāraṇam* ist *chos bzhin gcod pa*; es wird *zhal che ba* genommen, wenn es nicht mit *pradeṣṭṛ* zusammen vorkommt.

[3697] *pradeṣṭṛ* ist *zhal che ba*.

dharmādhikāraṇa „Gerichtshof“ und *pradeṣṭṛ* „Richter“: Trotz semantischer Nähe sind beide im Sanskrit keine Synonyme, werden aber im Tibetischen zusammen behandelt. Die Lehnübersetzung *chos bzhin gcod pa* „der gemäß dem Dharma entscheidet“ für *dharmādhikāraṇa* ist zu vermeiden. Im Vinaya ist *zhal che* 17-mal belegt, davon oft in Verbindung mit Formen von *gcod*; *chos bzhin gcod pa* hingegen ist nicht nachweisbar.

20. [3868 f.] *caṇḍālaḥ*, *mātaṅgaḥ* : ma 'dom¹ na gnyis ka *gdol² pa*. 'dom na *caṇḍālaḥ gtum byed* du gdags.

¹'dom CDGL : 'doms NQ. — ²gdol LGQ : gdos CD, 'dol N.

[3868 f.] *caṇḍāla* und *mātaṅga* sind beide *gdol pa*, wenn sie nicht zusammen vorkommen; es wird *gtum byed* für *caṇḍāla* genommen, wenn sie zusammen vorkommen.

Begriffe für den Kastenlosen. *gtum byed* „Hitze machend“ entspricht der traditionellen Etymologie von *caṇḍāla* (*caḍi ālac*, vgl. BHATTĀCĀRYA 1970: 2849) und ist sehr schlecht belegt.

21. [3930–33] *kāyaḥ*, *śarīram*, *gātram*, *kalevaram*¹ : *lus kyi ming*. 'di rnams 'dom na *lus dang gzugs dang khog pa* la² sogs³ nye nyer⁴ gdags⁵.

¹kalevaram *ed.* : kaḍevaram *mss.* — ²la CDNQ : *om*. G, las L. — ³sogs CDGNQ : sogs pa L. — ⁴nyer CDGNQ : ner L. — ⁵gdags L : gdags / lus CD, gdags / lus lus lus GNQ.

[3930–33] *kāya*, *śarīra*, *gātra* und *kalevara* sind Bezeichnungen für *lus*; wenn diese zusammen vorkommen, wird nacheinander *lus*, *gzugs* und *khog pa* usw. genommen.

Begriffe für „Körper“. Dem Kontext nach zu schließen bedeutet *nye nyer* „der Reihe nach“, „eins nach dem anderen“: Es ist zu beachten, dass im Kanon *lus* das häufigste Wort für „Körper“ ist, gefolgt von *gzugs*, während *khog pa* seltener belegt ist. Wenn im Sanskrit eine Häufung von Wörtern für „Körper“ vorlag, sollten im Tibetischen die Wörter entsprechend ihrer Gebräuchlichkeit gewählt werden.

22. [3983] *muṣṭiḥ* : *khu tshur*.

[3984] *khaṭakaḥ* : *muṣṭi* dang ma 'dom na *khu tshur*. 'dom na *ltag¹ dbyug*.

¹ltag CDLNQ : stag G.

[3983] *muṣṭi* ist *khu tshur*.

[3984] *khaṭaka* ist *khu tshur*, wenn es nicht mit *muṣṭi* zusammen vorkommt; es ist *ltag dbyug*, wenn es [mit *muṣṭi*] zusammen vorkommt.

Begriffe für „Faust“. Das Wort *ltag dbyug* ist ungewöhnlich, auch die Etymologie ist ungewiss; bezeichnet es als Zusammensetzung aus „Oberem“ und „Stock“ den Körperteil, mit dem man den Stock am oberen Ende ergreift? Die Tibeter wussten wohl, dass das Wort *khaṭaka* auch im Sanskrit selten ist, und gaben es durch ein ebenso unübliches Wort wieder. Nur eine einzige Belegstelle lässt sich im Vinaya dafür anführen: *mu lto ba [...] rnam kyis de ltag dbyug dang thal lcag dang / dbyug pa la sogs pas śin tu brdeg nas* (‘Dul-ba, nga 141 b 5 f.) „die Bettler verprügelten ihn mit Faust[hieben], Ohrfeigen und Stöcken usw.“ Entgegen der Definition in der *Mahāvyutpatti* steht *khu tshur* hier nicht in der Nähe; gleichwohl gibt der Kontext (Ohrfeigen, Stockhiebe) eine ungefähre Vorstellung davon, was das seltene tibetische Wort bedeutet.

23. Wörter für „Ozean“, siehe oben S. 236.

24. [4869] *pakṣī* : *bya*. [...]

[4907] *pakṣaguptaḥ* : *bya*’i ming ste¹. *pakṣī*² dang ’dom na ’*dab skyob*³ ces gdags.

¹ste CDNQ : la ste G, te L. — ²*pakṣī* ex conj. : pa kṣi ed. — ³*skyob* L : skyod CDNQ, skyed G.

[4869] *pakṣin* ist *bya*. [...]

[4907] *pakṣagupta* ist eine Bezeichnung für *bya*; es wird ’*dab skyob* genommen, wenn es mit *pakṣin* zusammen vorkommt.

Begriffe für „Vogel“. Die Einträge sind nicht benachbart; der Bezug zu 4907 wird durch die nochmalige Nennung von *pakṣin* hergestellt. Die Lehnübersetzung ’*dab skyob* wird vermieden und ist schlecht belegt.

25. [5151] *balam* : *stobs*.

[5152] *sthāma*¹ : ma ’dom na *mtu*. ’dom na *stobs*.

[5153] *anubhāvaḥ* : *mtu*.

[5154] *prabhāvaḥ* : *mtu stobs*.

[5155] *śaktiḥ* : *nus pa*’am *mtu*.

¹*sthāma* GLNQ : *sthāmaḥ* CD.

[5151] *bala* ist *stobs*.

[5152] Es ist *mtu*, wenn es nicht mit *sthāman* zusammen vorkommt; es ist *stobs*, wenn es damit zusammen vorkommt.

[5153] *anubhāva* ist *mtu*.

[5154] *prabhāva* ist *mtthu stobs*.

[5155] *śakti* ist *nus pa* oder *mtthu*.

Wörter für „Kraft, Macht“ usw. Gemäß 5152 hat das Wort *mtthu* Vorrang. So wird im *Aṣṭasāhasrikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (VAIDYA 1960: 37), *yathābalaṃ yathāsthāmaṃ* „gemäß [ihrer] Kraft und Wirkung“ durch *stobs ci lta ba dang mtthu ci lta bar* übersetzt (*Bka'* 'gyur, *Brgyad stong*, ka 43a2); und im *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* (NOBEL 1937: 182) wird *sthāmalavīryeṇa samanyāgatā* „mit Fähigkeiten, Kräften und Tatkraft ausgestattet“ durch *mtthu dang stobs dang brtson 'grus dang ldan par* wiedergegeben (NOBEL 1944: 142). An beiden Stellen steht *stobs* für *bala* und *mtthu* für *sthāma*.

26. [5159] *garbhaḥ* : *snying po* am *mngal*.

[5160] *sāraḥ* : *snying po* am *sra ba*.

[5161] *maṇḍaḥ* : *snying po* am *snying*. *skabs dang sbyar zhing gdags. sāra dang garbha dang* 'di *gsum ma 'dom na snying por gdags*.

[5159] *garbha* ist *snying po* oder *mngal*.

[5160] *sāra* ist *snying po* oder *sra ba*.

[5161] *maṇḍa* ist *snying po* oder *snying*. Sie werden je nach Kontext genommen. Es wird *snying po* genommen, wenn *sāra* und *garbha* nicht mit diesem [*maṇḍa*] als drittem zusammen vorkommen.

Begriffe für „Essenz“ usw. Die Bestimmung *skabs dang sbyar zhing gdags* „sie werden je nach Kontext genommen“ zeigt, dass man um die Komplexität der Wortbedeutungen wusste und auch darum, dass diese sich nicht mit der Bedeutungsbreite der indischen Wörter deckte. Für *garbha* „Schoß, Leibesfrucht“, *sāra* „Gehalt, Essenz“ und *maṇḍa* „Substanz“ soll je nachdem *mngal* „Schoß, Keim“, *snying po* „Essenz“, *sra ba* „Masse“ oder *snying* „Herz“ genommen werden. Diese semantischen Differenzierungen werden aber nicht ausgeführt. Gemäß Mvy 5161 ist im allgemeinen *snying po* vorzuziehen.

27. [5887] *pariṣkāraḥ*¹ : *yo byad*².

[5888] *upakaraṇam* : *ma 'dom na yo byad*³. *'dom na*⁴ *'tshog chas*.

¹pariṣkāraḥ : pariskāraḥ CD, pariskāra GNQ. — ²byad CDGNQ : spyad L. —

³byad CDNQ : byas G. — ⁴'dom na CDL : om. GNQ.

[5887] *pariṣkāra* ist *yo byad*.

[5888] *upakaraṇa* ist *yo byad*, wenn es nicht mit *pariṣkāra* zusammen vorkommt; es ist *'tshog chas*, wenn es [mit *pariṣkāra*] zusammen vorkommt.

Begriffe für „Werkzeug, Gerät“. Wie der Vergleich mit den anderen Definitionen zeigt, ist die Auslassung von *'dom na* in den Textzeugen GNQ

fehlerhaft. Gebräuchlich ist *yo byad*; *'tshog chas* ist äußerst schlecht belegt, es findet sich nur einmal im Vinaya ('*Dul-ba, kha* 210 b 3).

28. [6000] *alaṃkārah* : *rgyan*.

[6001] *ābharaṇam* : *phyang phrul*¹ *lam spud pa*². *ma*³ 'dom na *rgyan*.

¹phrul CDGL : 'phrul N, phul Q. — ²pa L : pa'am CDG, pa'i N, la'am Q. —
³ma CDL : om. GNQ.

[6000] *alaṃkāra* ist *rgyan*.

[6001] *ābharaṇa* ist *phyang phrul* oder *spud pa*. Es ist *rgyan*, wenn es nicht [mit *alaṃkāra*] zusammen vorkommt.

Begriffe für „Schmuckstück“. Das gewöhnliche tibetische Wort ist *rgyan*; die Synonyme *phyang phrul* und *spud pa* sind weniger gebräuchlich.

29. [6070] *vaijayantī patākā* : *ma* 'dom na ¹*ba dan* nam, 'dom na¹ *rnam par rgyal ba* 'i *ba dan*². [...]

[6110] *patākā* : *ba dan*.

¹ba dan nam 'dom na¹ CD : ba dan L, om. GNQ. — ²ba dan CDL : ba dan nam ba dan GNQ.

[6070] *vaijayantī* und *patākā* sind *ba dan*, wenn sie nicht zusammen vorkommen, oder *rnam par rgyal ba* 'i *ba dan*, wenn sie zusammen vorkommen. [...]

[6110] *patākā* ist *ba dan*.

Begriffe für „Fahne“. Die Einträge stehen getrennt, wobei 6110 *ba dan* als Wiedergabe festlegt; die Lehnübersetzung *rnam par rgyal ba* für *vaijayantī* soll nach Möglichkeit nicht für sich allein verwendet werden. An diesem Eintrag ist auffällig, dass in *rnam par rgyal ba* 'i *ba dan* beide Synonyme zusammen genannt und mit Genitiv verbunden sind.

30. [6145] *utpalam* : *ut pa la*. [...]

[6215] *kuvalapuṣpa* : *ma* 'dom na *me tog ut pa la*. 'dom na *ku ba la*.

[6145] *utpala* ist *ut pa la*. [...]

[6215] *kuvalapuṣpa* ist *me tog ut pa la*, wenn es nicht [mit *utpala*] zusammen vorkommt; es ist *ku ba la*, wenn es [mit *utpala*] zusammen vorkommt.

Bezeichnungen für eine Seerose (Nymphaea). Die beiden Einträge stehen getrennt voneinander. Als Fremdwort ist *ut pa la* ins Tibetische eingegangen und auch als zweisilbiges Lehnwort *utpal* sehr geläufig; *kuvala* hingegen ist nicht eingebürgert.

31. [7322] *vaṅkaḥ* : *yon po*.

[7323] *vakraḥ*¹ : *ya yo. ma 'dom na yon po*.

¹*vakraḥ* CDL : *tsakkraḥ* GNQ.

[7322] *vaṅka* ist *yon po*.

[7323] *vakraḥ* ist *ya yo*. Es ist *yon po*, wenn es nicht [mit *vaṅka*] zusammen vorkommt.

Hier ist die freilich sinnlose Variante *tsakkraḥ* GNQ nachzutragen, sie fehlt in der kritischen Ausgabe. *ya yo* ist weniger gebräuchlich als *yon po*; noch JÄSCHKE 1871: 521 stuft *ya yo* als umgangssprachlich ein (*vulgo*).

32. [7367] *bhogah* : *longs¹ spyod*.

[7368] *upabhogaḥ* : *nye bar spyod pa*.

[7369] *paribhogah* : *yongs su spyod pa*. 'di rnam² dang² ma 'dom na *longs³ spyod⁴*.

¹*longs* CDGLQ : *long* N. — ²*dang* GLNQ : *om*. CD. — ³*longs* CDL : *long* GNQ. — ⁴*spyod* : *du gdags add*. L.

[7367] *bhoga* ist *longs spyod*.

[7368] *upabhoga* ist *nye bar spyod pa*.

[7369] *paribhoga* ist *yongs su spyod pa*. Sie sind *longs spyod*, wenn sie mit diesen nicht zusammen vorkommen.

Bezeichnungen für „Gebrauch, Genuss“, Ableitungen der skt. Wurzel *bhuj*. Wenn *upabhoga* und *paribhoga* alleine auftreten, sollen die Präfixe *upa* und *pari* nicht übersetzt werden; wenn aber Differenzierungen nötig sind, steht *nye bar* und *yongs su*.

33. [7397 f.] *hutāśanaḥ, hutabhuk* : *ma 'dom na me. 'dom na gcig¹ sreg² za³*.

¹*gcig* CDL : *cig* GNQ. — ²*sreg* CDL : *bsreg* GNQ. — ³*za* CDLNQ : *bya* G.

[7397 f.] *hutāśana* und *hutabhuj* sind *me*, wenn sie nicht zusammen vorkommen. Eines [davon] ist *sreg za*, wenn sie zusammen vorkommen.

Bezeichnungen für den Feuergott bzw. das Feuer. Die Lehnübersetzung *sreg za* „Opferverzehrter“ soll vermieden werden. Auffällig ist *gcig*: Es zeigt deutlich, dass beim Zusammenkommen mehrerer Namen einer davon *me* sein soll. Vgl. oben die Behandlung der Beinamen Indras (Nr. 14).

34. [7399] *ākāśam* : *ma 'dom na nam mkha'*. 'dom¹ na² go 'byed.

[7400] *gaganam, kham* : ³*nam mkha'*³.

¹'dom CDGNQ : *mdom* L. — ²na CDGNQ : *na a ka sha* L. — ³*nam mkha'*³ CDGNQ : *gagana nam mkha' kham ni mkha'* L.

[7399] *ākāśa* ist *nam mkha*’, wenn es nicht [mit einem Synonym] zusammen vorkommt; es ist *go ’byed*, wenn es [mit einem Synonym] zusammen vorkommt.

[7400] Skt. *gagana* und *kha* sind *nam mkha*’.

Begriffe für „Luftraum“. Es ist ungewöhnlich, dass die Phrase *ma ’dom na* bereits beim ersten Synonym erscheint. Die eigenartige Anordnung ist dennoch sinnvoll, weil nur für skt. *ākāśa* als wörtliche Übersetzung tib. *go ’byed* in Betracht kommt; diese ist indes zu vermeiden. Die Handschrift L macht die wörtlichen Entsprechungen deutlich: *ākāśa* ist *go ’byed*, *gagana* ist *nam mkha*’ und *kha* ist *mkha*’. Diese Klarstellung ist jedoch ein späterer Zusatz.

35. [7403] *bhūtadhātṛī* : *sa*’i ming ste. ’dom na *’byung po*’i *rtēn*.

[7403] *bhūtadhātṛī* ist eine Bezeichnung für *sa*; es ist *’byung po*’i *rtēn*, wenn es [mit einem Synonym] damit zusammen vorkommt.

Ein Beiname für „Erde“. Die Lehnübersetzung „Trägerin der Wesen“ soll vermieden werden; stattdessen ist das Standardwort *sa* zu nehmen. Nur im Fall von *’dom na* ist wörtliches *’byung po*’i *rtēn* zulässig; tatsächlich wird es kaum verwendet.

36. [7563] *citrīkāraḥ*: *mtshan mar ’dzin pa dang ’dom na bkra bar ’dzin pa*.
[7563] *citrīkāra* ist *bkra bar ’dzin pa*, wenn es mit *mtshan mar ’dzin pa* zusammen vorkommt.

Bei diesem Eintrag steht vor *’dom na* das tibetische Äquivalent, und nicht wie sonst das Sanskritwort; es wird nicht deutlich, an welches Sanskritwort im Falle von *’dom na* gedacht ist. NEGI 1993–2005 zitiert s. v. *mtshan mar ’dzin pa* einzelne Stellen, an denen *mtshan mar ’dzin pa* für *nimittodgraha* und *nimittodgrahaṇa* steht; bedeutsam ist der Beleg aus dem *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya*, wo es heißt: *mtshan mar ’dzin pa ni tshor ba de nyid la yang dang yang bkra bar ’dzin par rig par bya ’o*, d. i. *nimittīkāraḥ tasyaiva veditasya punaḥ punaś citrīkāro veditavyaḥ* (TATIA 1976: 8). Hier stehen die beiden Begriffe im Sinne des vorliegenden Eintrags zusammen: „als Merkmal festhalten“ wird als „zum Merkmal machen“ verstanden; bemerkenswert ist die Wiedergabe der *cvi*-Bildung mit °*kāra* durch *’dzin pa*.

37. [7624] *hetuḥ* : *rgyu*’am *gtan tshigs*.

[7625] *kāraṇam* : *byed pa*’am¹ *rgyu. hetu dang nimitta dang ’dom na byed rgyu*.

[7626] *nimittam* : *mtshan ma*’am *rgyu. hetu dang kāraṇa*² *dang ’dom na rgyu mtshan*.

¹pa’am CDLGQ : pa’i N. — ²kāraṇa : karaṇa CDLGNQ.

[7624] *hetu* ist *rgyu* oder *gtan tshigs*.

[7625] *kāraṇa* ist *byed pa* oder *rgyu*; es ist *byed rgyu*, wenn es mit *hetu* und *nimitta* zusammen vorkommt.

[7626] *nimitta* ist *mtshan ma* oder *rgyu*; es ist *rgyu mtshan*, wenn es mit *hetu* und *kāraṇa* zusammen vorkommt.

Wörter für „Grund“, „Ursache“. Für jeden Begriff sind grundsätzlich zwei Wiedergaben möglich; für die beiden letzten gibt es zudem eine dritte Möglichkeit, mit der im Fall *'dom na* die Wiederholung gleicher Wörter vermieden werden soll: Das gebräuchliche Wort für diese Begriffe ist demnach *rgyu*; die anderen tibetischen Termini werden insbesondere zur Differenzierung und Abgrenzung gegeneinander verwendet.

38. [8216] *kāla*, *velā*, *samayaḥ* : *'di rnam* *ma 'dom na*¹ *dus*². *'dom na kālaḥ dus*, *velā dus tshod*³, *samayaḥ tshod dam tshe*⁴ *skabs dang sbyar te*⁵ *gdags*.

¹na CDLGQ : ma N. — ²dus CDGNQ : dus su gdags L. — ³tshod CDL : tshad GNQ. — ⁴tshe CDLGN : tsho Q. — ⁵te CDLGQ : ste N.

[8216] *kāla*, *velā* und *samaya* sind *dus*, wenn sie nicht zusammen vorkommen. Für *kāla* wird *dus*, für *velā* wird *dus tshod*, und für *samaya* wird, je nach Kontext, *tshod* oder *tshe* verwendet, wenn sie zusammen vorkommen.

Wörter für „Zeit“. Hier handelt es sich nicht um Lehnübersetzungen, sondern um genuine tibetische Äquivalente; lediglich *dus tshod* ist weniger gut belegt. Als übliches Wort soll, diesen Bestimmungen zufolge, *dus* gebraucht werden; die anderen tibetischen Begriffe sollen nur in dem Fall verwendet werden, dass mehrere Begriffe beisammenstehen. Tatsächlich aber werden die Begriffe sehr oft unabhängig voneinander verwendet.

4. Auswertung

Soweit die Belege aus der *Mahāvvyutpatti*. Es hat sich gezeigt, dass bei den betreffenden Eintragungen die Formulierung (*ma*) *'dom na* in der Regel gleichermaßen in allen Textzeugen vorkommt (1 f., 4, 6 f., 9 f., 12–38). In vier Fällen sind es nur Zusätze in der Handschrift L, die in den kanonischen Ausgaben fehlen und offenbar nicht ursprünglich sind (3, 5, 8, 11). Etwa zwei Drittel der Eintragungen enthalten keine weiteren metasprachlichen Angaben (1 f., 6, 9, 11 f., 14–18, 22, 25, 27, 28–34, 36 f.); manche Definitionen verwenden zusätzlich Formulierungen wie *-r gdags* (5, 7 f., 10, 19–21, 24, 26), *skabs dang sbyar te* (oder *zhing*) *gdags* (8, 26, 38) und *'i ming ste* (4, 10, 13, 21, 24, 35). In der Regel folgen die Synonyme unmittelbar aufeinander oder erscheinen in derselben Definition (2 f., 6–10, 12–15, 18–23, 25–28, 31–34, 37–38); in acht

Fällen sind sie durch andere Eintragungen voneinander getrennt (1, 5, 16–17, 24, 29 f.). In vier Fällen fehlt das Synonym im Sanskrit ganz (4, 11, 35 f.). In Anfangsstellung ist das *ma-*'*dom-na*-Synonym (1 f., 6–9, 11 f., 17–20, 22, 25–31, 33, 38) etwas häufiger als das '*dom-na*-Äquivalent (3 f., 10, 13–16, 21, 23 f., 32, 34–37). Regelmäßig steht vor (*ma*) '*dom na* das Sanskrit-, nicht das tibetische Synonym (1–3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16–20, 22, 24–27, 29 f., 33 f., 37 f.); nur in einem einzelnen Fall steht davor das tibetische Äquivalent (36); in allen übrigen Fällen steht nichts davor, das Sanskritsynonym ist aus dem Kontext zu ergänzen oder hinzuzudenken (4, 6, 8, 11, 13–15, 21, 23, 28, 31 f., 35). Die kritische Edition der *Mahāvyutpatti* muss an zwei Stellen geändert werden (31, 37), bei elf weiteren Eintragungen wird durch die vorliegende Untersuchung die richtige Lesart der Mvy festgelegt (2, 6, 18, 23, 27–29, 32–34, 38); in allen übrigen Fällen bleibt der Text der kritischen Edition unverändert (1, 3–5, 7–17, 19–22, 24–26, 30, 35 f.).

Der Wert dieser Definitionen liegt vor allem darin, dass sie Wertungen enthalten: Sie zeigen, welche Wörter damals, als die *Mahāvyutpatti* zusammengestellt wurde, als gebräuchlich oder empfehlenswert galten, und welche schwer verständlich waren oder nur unter bestimmten Bedingungen verwendet werden sollten; so erfahren wir etwa, dass *brag ca* das eigentliche Wort für „Echo“ war, während *sgra brnyan* als weniger verständlich galt; das gewöhnliche Wort für Faust war *khu tshur*, weniger üblich war *ltag dbyug*; tibetisch *spud pa* für „Schmuck“ war weniger bekannt als *rgyan*, *yon po* für „krumm“ galt für besser als *ya yo* usw. Im Anhang ist das alles noch einmal übersichtlich dargestellt.

Eine erste Durchsicht der kanonischen Belege für die hier angeführten Wörter hat ergeben, dass die von der *Mahāvyutpatti* als gebräuchlicher empfohlenen Begriffe in der Regel signifikant häufiger vorkommen als die anderen. Dabei ist durchaus zu vermuten, dass manches hier als schwierig gewertete Wort bei der Überarbeitung der alten Übersetzungen ausgemerzt wurde, nachdem im Zuge der Sprachreform (*skad gsar bcad*) die Vorschriften der *Mahāvyutpatti* in Kraft getreten waren. Wie auch immer: Bei den meisten Eintragungen lassen sich die Regeln, die die Autoren der *Mahāvyutpatti* gegeben haben, mit dem tatsächlichen Gebrauch in Texten gut in Bezug setzen, die Übersetzer waren generell bemüht, die Bestimmungen der *Mahāvyutpatti* zu befolgen. Es gibt aber auch Ausnahmen (6, 25); das Komitee, das die *Mahāvyutpatti* zusammengestellt hat, entwarf zuweilen auch Konzepte, die eher Fragen aufwerfen als dass sie sich praktisch leicht umsetzen lassen (21, 25, 37 f.). Gleichwohl war die Zielrichtung dieser Bestimmungen doch weitgehend klar: Daher wandten Übersetzer die Prinzipien, die hinter diesen Regelungen standen, sinngemäß auch auf Synonyme an, die in der *Mahāvyutpatti* gar nicht

namentlich angeführt wurden (vgl. *jalavaha*, 23), auch hatte man dabei nicht so sehr die lexikalische Gestalt der ausgangssprachlichen Wörter, sondern ihren semantischen Gehalt im Auge (vgl. 14). Und schließlich wurde der Begriff *'dom na* weiter verstanden als nur im Sinne eines engen Beieinanderstehens: Wenn der Kontext die klare Deutung eines schwierigen Wortes ermöglichte, konnte dieses genommen werden, auch ohne dass weitere Synonyme dabeistanden (z. B. Nr. 10, 16, 18).

Zusammenfassend bleibt festzuhalten: Die (*ma*)-*'dom-na*-Einträge sind im Zusammenhang mit der oben angeführten Regel des *Sgra-sbyor-bam-po-gnyis-pa* zu verstehen; sie bestätigen, präzisieren und veranschaulichen sie. Wenn an einer Stelle nur eines der Synonyme vorkommt, wird das geläufigste tibetische Wort gewählt. Wenn mehrere Synonyme zusammen vorkommen, wird für jedes einzelne die wörtliche Wiedergabe genommen. So versuchte man, beim Übersetzen drei verschiedene Ziele miteinander zu vereinbaren:

1. *Verständlichkeit*: Grundsätzlich sollte mit gebräuchlichen Wörtern übersetzt werden. Genauere, aber schwer verständliche Wiedergaben sollten vermieden werden; dies betraf insbesondere die an Sanskrit-Etymologien orientierten Lehnübertragungen.
2. *Vollständigkeit*: Jedes Wort der Sanskritvorlage sollte in der Übersetzung erhalten bleiben. Standen dort mehrere Synonyme beieinander, so sollten sie auch in der Übersetzung durch eine entsprechende Anzahl von Wörtern wiedergegeben werden.
3. *Guter Stil*: Die Wiederholung desselben Wortes galt es zu vermeiden, Synonyme mussten durch verschiedene Wörter wiedergegeben werden. Hier waren nun auch schwierigere Äquivalente zulässig, der Kontext erleichterte in diesem Fall das Verständnis.

Die hier untersuchten Eintragungen der *Mahāvyutpatti* sind wegen der darin enthaltenen Wertungen sprachgeschichtlich bedeutsam und bei der Erforschung der historischen Entwicklung des tibetischen Wortschatzes zu berücksichtigen. Sie können zugleich als Beispiel dafür dienen, wie eng der Zusammenhang zwischen Grundsätzen aus dem *Sgra-sbyor-bam-po-gnyis-pa* und metasprachlichen Bestimmungen der *Mahāvyutpatti* ist.

Anhang: Verzeichnis der behandelten Wörter

Die folgende Übersicht stellt die tibetischen Wörter zusammen, die in den oben behandelten Eintragungen der *Mahāvyutpatti* genannt sind. Die Synonyme sind jeweils in Klammern angegeben; diejenigen, denen bei Übersetzungen

der Vorzug gegeben werden soll – sie sind in der Regel mit *ma 'dom na* markiert – wurden **fett** hervorgehoben.

ku ba la Nymphaea (**me tog ut pa la**) [30]

kun la grags pa bekannt ((**rab tu**) **grags pa**) [7]

bkur ba Lob (**bstod pa**) [6]

bkra bar 'dzin pa als Merkmal festhalten (**mtshan mar 'dzin pa**) [36]

skar rgyal der Śrāvaka Tīṣya (**'od ldan**) [2]

skor ba Befleckung (**nyon mongs pa**) [4]

khu tshur Faust (*ltag dbyug*) [22]

khog pa Körper (**lus**) [21]

khyab 'jug der Gott Kṛṣṇa (*nag po*) [13]

mkhas pa Heilsames (**dge ba**) [8]

go 'byed Luftraum (**nam mkha'**) [34]

dga' ba freudig (*tshim pa*) [11]

dge ba Heilsames (*dge legs, mkhas pa, bde ba*) [8]

dge legs Heilsames (**dge ba**) [8]

rgya mtsho Ozean (*chu chen, chu gter, chu 'dzin, dug can, tshwa mtsho*) [23]

rgyan Schmuckstück (*spud pa, phyang phrul*) [28]

rgyal po König (*sa bdag*) [18]

rgyu Grund (*rgyu mtshan, byed rgyu*) [37]

rgyu mtshan Grund, Merkmal (**mtshan ma / rgyu**) [37]

sgra brnyan Echo (**brag ca**) [10]

brgya byin der Gott Indra (*mig stong pa*) [14]

ngan par brtsi ba Schmähung (**smad pa**) [5]

mngal Essenz (**snying po**) [26]

chu chen Ozean (**rgya mtsho**) [23]

chu gter Ozean (**rgya mtsho**) [23]

chu 'dzin Ozean (**rgya mtsho**) [23]

chos bzhin gcod pa rechtsprechen (**zhal che ba**) [19]

'chi 'pho Existenzwechsel (**'chi ba**) [12]

'chi ba Sterben (**'chi 'pho**) [12]

nyam rtсал che ba Held (**dpa' ba**) [17]

nyi gdugs snying po der Bodhisattva Ādityagarbha (**nyi ma'i snying po**) [1]

- nyi ma'i snying po** ders. (*nyi gdugs snying po*) [1]
nyon mongs pa Befleckung (*skor ba*) [4]
snying po Essenz usw. (*mngal, sra ba*) [26]
gtum byed Kastenloser (**gdol pa**) [20]
rtul phod pa Held (**dpa' ba**) [17]
ltag dbyug Faust (**khu tshur**) [22]
stobs Kraft (**mthu**) [25]
mthu Kraft (*stobs*) [25]
bstod pa Lob (*bkur ba*) [6]
dug can Ozean (**rgya mtsho**) [23]
dul ba sehr diszipliniert (**shin tu dul ba**) [3]
dus Zeit (*dus tshod, tshe, tshod*) [38]
dus tshod Zeit (**dus**) [38]
gdol pa Kastenloser (*gtum byed*) [20]
bde ba Heilsames (**dge ba**) [8]
'dab skyob Vogel (**bya**) [24]
'dab bzang Garuḍa (**nam mkha'lding**) [16]
nag po Gott Kṛṣṇa (**khyab 'jug**) [13]
nam mkha' Luftraum (*go 'byed*) [34]
nam mkha'lding Garuḍa (*'dab bzang*) [16]
rnam par rgyal ba Fahne (**ba dan**) [29]
dpa' ba Held (*nyam rtsal che ba, rtul phod pa*) [17]
spud pa Schmuckstück (**rgyan**) [28]
phyang phrul Schmuckstück (**rgyan**) [28]
ba dan Fahne (*rnam par rgyal ba*) [29]
bya Vogel (*'dab skyob*) [24]
byed rgyu Grund (**byed pa / rgyu**) [37]
byed pa Grund (*byed rgyu*) [37]
brag ca Echo (*sgra brnyan*) [10]
'byung po'i rten Erde (**sa**) [35]
sbyin byed ma'i bu Asura (**lha ma yin**) [15]
mig stong pa Gott Indra (**brgya byin**) [14]
me Feuer (*sreg za, sreg za*) [33]

- me tog ut pa la** Blüte der Nymphaea (*ku ba la*) [30]
smad pa Schmähung (*ngan par brtsi ba*) [5]
smig rgyu Sinnestäuschung (*ri dags skom*) [9]
tshe Zeit (**dus**) [38]
tshim pa freudig (**dga' ba**) [11]
tshod Zeit (**dus**) [38]
tshwa mtsho Ozean (**rgya mtsho**) [23]
mtshan ma Merkmal (**rgyu mtshan**) [37]
mtshan mar 'dzin pa als Merkmal festhalten (*bkra bar 'dzin pa*) [36]
'tshog chas Hilfsmittel (**yo byad**) [27]
'od ldan der Śrāvaka Tīṣya (*skar rgyal*) [2]
zhal che ba Gerichtshof (*chos bzhin gcod pa*) [19]
gzugs Körper (**lus**) [21]
ri dags skom Sinnestäuschung (**smig rgyu**) [9]
(rab tu) grags pa bekannt (*kun la grags pa*) [7]
ya yo krumm (**yon po**) [31]
yo byad Hilfsmittel (*'tshog chas*) [27]
yongs su spyod pa Genuss (**longs spyod**) [32]
yon po krumm (*ya yo*) [31]
lus Körper (*gzugs, khog pa*) [21]
longs spyod Genuss (*yongs su spyod pa*) [32]
shin tu dul ba sehr diszipliniert (*dul ba*) [3]
sa Erde (*'byung po'i rten*) [35]
sa bdag König (**rgyal po**) [18]
sra ba Essenz (**snying po**) [26]
sreg za Feuer (**me**) [33]
lha ma yin Asura (*sbyin byed ma'i bu*) [15]

Abkürzungen und Sigel

- add. *addidit* (hat hinzugefügt)
C Ausgabe von Co-ni
D Ausgabe von Sde-dge
ed. *editio* (Ausgabe)

<i>ex conj.</i>	<i>ex conjectura</i> (Verbesserung)
G	Ausgabe aus Dga'-ldan
L	Handschrift aus St. Petersburg
<i>ms.</i>	Manuskript bzw. Blockdruck
Mvy	<i>Mahāvvyutpatti</i>
N	Ausgabe Snar-thang
<i>om.</i>	<i>omisit</i> (hat weggelassen)
Q	Ausgabe aus Beijing
skt.	sanskrit
s. v.	<i>sub voce</i> (unter dem Stichwort)
tib.	tibetisch

Literatur

- BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA, Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati 1970. *Vācaspatyam. Bṛhat saṃskṛtābhīdhānam*. [Nachdr. d. Ausg. 1873–1884]. 7 Bde. Caughambi Samskrta Granthamālā 94. Vārāṇasī: Caughambi Samskrta Śrīrja Āphisa.
- BÖHTLINGK, Otto 1887. *Pāṇini's Grammatik*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt, erläutert und mit verschiedenen Indices versehen. Leipzig: Haessel.
- BÖHTLINGK, Otto und Rudolf ROTH 1855–1875. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. 7 Bde. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- BRAARVIG, Jens und Fredrik LILAND 2010. *Mahāvvyutpatti with sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa*. Bibliotheca Polyglotta. <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=volume&vid=263> (besucht am 3. Dez. 2022).
- CHANDRA, Lokesh 1959–1961. *Bod dan legs sbyar kyi mdzod. Bhoṭa-saṃskṛtābhīdhānam. Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*. Based on a close comparative study of Sanskrit originals and Tibetan translations of several texts. 12 Bde. Bhoṭaṭaṭa 1, Śatapiṭaka 3. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- CHANDRA, Lokesh 1992–1994. *Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary. Supplementary volumes*. 7 Bde. Śatapiṭaka 369, 371–372, 374–375, 377–378. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan.
- CHANDRA, Lokesh 2007. *Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary*. Being the reverse of the 19 volumes of the Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary. Śata-Piṭaka Series 617. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture / Aditya Prakashan.
- CSOMA DE KÖRÖS, Alexander 1984. *Sanskrit-Tibetan-English vocabulary. Being an edition and translation of the Mahāvvyutpatti*. [Nachdr. d. Ausg. Calcutta 1910–1944]. Collected works of Alexander Csoma de Körös 3. Edited by J. Terjék. Budapest: Akad. Kiadó.

- DAS, Sarat Chandra 1902. *A Tibetan-English dictionary with Sanskrit synonyms*. Revised and edited by Graham Sandberg and A. William Heyde. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.
- DUTT, Nalinaksha, Hrsg. 1939–1959. *Gilgit manuscripts*. 4 Bde. Kashmir series of texts and studies 71. Srinagar: Govt. of Jammu und Kashmir.
- EIMER, Helmut, Hrsg. 1983. *Rab tu 'byuñ ba'i gzi. Die tibetische Übersetzung des Pravrajyāvastu im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins*. Nach Vorarbeiten von F.-R. Hamm und weiteren Materialien herausgegeben. 2 Teile. Asiatische Forschungen 82. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- EIMER, Helmut und Paul HARRISON 1997. „Kanjur and Tanjur sigla. A proposal for standardization“. [In:] Eimer, Helmut, Hrsg., *Transmission of the Tibetan canon. Papers presented at a panel of the 7th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 257. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, S. xi–xiv.
- ISHIHAMA, Yumiko und Yoichi FUKUDA, Hrsg. 1989. *A new critical edition of the Mahāvyūtpatti. Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary of Buddhist terminology*. Studia Tibetica 16 / Materials for Tibetan-Mongolian Dictionaries 1. Tōkyō: The Toyo Bunko.
- ISHIKAWA, Mie, Hrsg. 1990. *A critical edition of the Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa. An old and basic commentary on the Mahāvyūtpatti*. Studia Tibetica 18 / Materials for Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries 2. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko.
- ISHIKAWA, Mie, Übers. 1993. *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*. Studia Tibetica 28 / Materials for Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries 3. Tōkyō: Tōyō Bunko.
- JÄSCHKE, Heinrich A. 1871. *Handwörterbuch der tibetischen Sprache*. Gnadau: Unitätsbuchhandlung.
- JÄSCHKE, Heinrich A. 1881. *A Tibetan-English dictionary. With special reference to the prevailing dialects, to which is added an English-Tibetan vocabulary*. London: Routledge / Kegan Paul.
- MAURER, Petra 2018. „Lexicography of the Tibetan Language with Special Reference to the ‚Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache‘“. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 71(2): 118–145. <https://doi.org/10.24425/ro.2019.127209>.
- NEGI, J. S. 1993–2005. *Bod skad dang legs sbyar gyi tshig mdzod chen mo. Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary*. 16 Bde. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.
- NOBEL, Johannes, Hrsg. 1937. *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra, das Goldglanz-Sūtra, ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus*. Nach den Handschriften und mit Hilfe der tibetischen und chinesischen Übertragungen herausgegeben. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- NOBEL, Johannes, Hrsg. 1944–1950. *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-Sūtra, das Goldglanz-Sūtra, ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus*. Die tibetischen Übersetzungen mit einem Wörterbuch herausgegeben. Bd. 1. *Die tibetischen Übersetzungen*. 2. *Wörterbuch Tibetisch-Sanskrit-Deutsch*. Leiden / Stuttgart: Brill / Kohlhammer.

- SAKAKI, Ryōzaburo, Hrsg. 1970. *Mahāvīyūtpatti. Bonzō kanwa yonyaku taikō, Honyaku myōgi taishū*. 3. Aufl. Suzuki Research Foundation. Reprint series 1. Tōkyō: Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan.
- SCHERRER-SCHAUB, Cristina A. 2002. „Enacting words. A diplomatic analysis of the imperial decrees (*bkaś bcad*) and their application in the sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa tradition“. In: *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25(1–2): 263–340. <https://doi.org/10.2143/JIABS.25.1.3157103>.
- SCHNEIDER, Johannes, Hrsg. und Übers. 2014. *Eine buddhistische Kritik der indischen Götter. Śaṃkarasvāmins Devātiśayastotra mit Prajñāvarmans Kommentar*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 81. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien.
- SIMONSSON, Nils 1957. *Indo-tibetische Studien. Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells.
- TATIA, Nathmal, Hrsg. 1976. *Abhidharmasamuccaya-bhāṣyam*. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 17. Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.
- VAIDYA, Paraśurāma L., Hrsg. 1960. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. With Haribhadra's commentary called Āloka*. 2. Aufl. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 4. Darbhanga: Mithila Institute.
- VOGEL, Claus, Hrsg. und Übers. 1965. *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā*. The first five chapters of its Tibetan version edited and rendered into English. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 37(2). Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- WILLE, Klaus 1990. *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Vinayavastu der Mūlasarvāstivādin*. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Suppl.-Bd. 30. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache* 2005–. Im Auftrag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften hrsg. v. Herbert Franke, Jens-Uwe Hartmann und Thomas O. Höllmann. Bearb. v. Petra Maurer, Jampa Losang Panglung, Samyo Rode, Johannes Schneider, Nikolai Solmsdorf und Helga Uebach. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kommission beim Verlag C. H. Beck. <http://wts-digital.badw.de/> (besucht am 3. Dez. 2022).
- ZHĀNG, Yísūn 1985. *Zāng-Hàn Dàcǐdiǎn. Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. Bèijīng: Mǐ rìgs dpe skrun khang. 3 Bde.

Pigeons and Doves in Classical Sanskrit Literature

Anna TRYNKOWSKA

Abstract: The main aim of the present study is to indicate the most salient elements of the image of pigeons and doves in Classical Sanskrit literature (*kāvya*). The author has identified three groups of such elements, which are dealt with in three separate sections of the paper: pigeons and doves are discussed as birds closely associated with humans, as well as symbols of love and sorrow. With the help of this information, in another section of the paper, selected *kāvya* stanzas featuring pigeons or doves are analysed in more detail.

Keywords: pigeons, doves, Classical Sanskrit literature, *kāvya*

Anna TRYNKOWSKA, University of Warsaw; a.trynkowska@uw.edu.pl;

 0000-0001-7045-3513

1. Introduction

In South Asia, the Columbidae family is currently represented by as many as 33 species of pigeons, doves, green pigeons and imperial pigeons divided into eight genera (PRAVEEN and JAYAPAL 2022). The most common species include the rock pigeon (*Columba livia*; also known as the blue rock pigeon, common pigeon or rock dove), the Eurasian collared dove (*Streptopelia decaocto*; also known as the ring dove), the red collared dove (*Streptopelia tranquebarica*; also known as the red turtle dove), the spotted dove (*Streptopelia chinensis*) and the laughing dove (*Streptopelia senegalensis*; also known as the little brown dove), as well as the yellow-footed green pigeon (*Treron phoenicopterus*; also known as the common green pigeon).¹

K. N. Dave, in chapter 53 ('Pigeons and Doves') of his impressive study, *Birds in Sanskrit Literature* (DAVE 2005: 250–264), searches a wide range of source texts (including Vedic *saṃhitās*, the *Mahābhārata* and the

¹ According to ALI 1943: 278–285.

Rāmāyaṇa, *purāṇas*, *dharmaśāstras*, Sanskrit medical treatises and lexicons, Classical Sanskrit literature, etc.) in order to determine the names by which the species of the Columbidae family common in South Asia are referred to in Sanskrit. He claims, e.g., that the rock pigeon is known as *nīlakapota* or *bhaṣmāṅgapārāvata* in Sanskrit sources, while the Eurasian collared dove, the red collared dove, the spotted dove and the laughing dove are referred to as *dhalalakapota*, *aruṇakapota* or *kāṇakapota*, *citrakapota* or *citrapakṣakapota* and *kumkumadhūmrakapota* or *dhūsarakapota*, respectively (DAVE 2005: 251).

However, in Classical Sanskrit literature (*kāvya*), such names for the members of the Columbidae family occur only exceptionally (see stanzas 951 and 1175 of Vidyākara's anthology *Subhāṣitaratnaśoṣa*,² both discussed below). Three broader terms are commonly used instead.

The name *hārīta* (from *harita* 'yellowish, pale yellow, fallow, pale red, pale, greenish [...], green', MONIER-WILLIAMS 2002: 1291) appears to be reserved for South Asian green pigeons (members of the genus *Treron*), arboreal frugivores remarkable for their beautiful colouration (ALI 1943: 279; WHISTLER 1949: 392–394), which we will not be concerned with in the present paper.³

The names *kapota* and *pārāvata* are probably treated as synonyms in *kāvya* literature; the authors seem to use them for both pigeons and doves in general. Elsewhere, as DAVE 2005: 250–251 points out, *kapota* is applied to doves and *pārāvata* refers to pigeons, or to the wild rock pigeon in particular; in other texts, *pārāvata* is reserved for pigeons, while *kapota* is a broader term. DAVE 2005: 250 admits, however, that 'the poets have not always observed the distinction'.⁴

Klaus Karttunen devotes several paragraphs to pigeons and doves in his excellent paper 'Ornithology and Poetry: Ideas and Fancies Connected with Birds in Classical India' (KARTTUNEN 2020: 199–201). It would be difficult to add a lot of new material to his thoroughly searched source texts (ranging from Vedic *saṃhitās* to Classical Sanskrit literature, similarly to Dave's sources) or to substantially enrich his conclusions. I make no such attempt in this paper.

² Probably 11th or 12th century AD (STERNBACH 1974: 15). Cf. INGALLS 1965: 30: 'the latter half of the eleventh century A.D.'; D. D. Kosambi in SRK, p. vii: 'The first edition was compiled about A.D. 1100, the expanded edition about A.D. 1130'; STERNBACH 1978: 3: 'cca 1100–1130'; WARDER 2004: 1: 'the beginning of the +12'.

³ According to DAVE 2005: 251, 259, however, the Asian emerald dove (*Chalcophaps indica*) is also called *hārīta* or *hārīta kapota* in Sanskrit sources.

⁴ He goes too far, though, in claiming that 'Kālidāsa and other poets do not refer to a Dove as such and both the terms *kapota* and *pārāvata*, when used by them, always mean a Pigeon, domestic or wild' (DAVE 2005: 252).

The paper focuses on Classical Sanskrit literature (*kāvya*), which is my main area of research. I have explored here a few new texts in addition to those used by Karttunen. Firstly, I have decided to take into account selected treatises on branches of knowledge relevant to *kāvya* literature. I have found useful pieces of information in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. I have also examined Daṇḍin's⁵ *Kāvyaḍarśa*, from which I have taken only one – but very interesting – stanza (KĀ 2.10). As for *kāvya* itself, I have searched one more anthology besides Vidyākara's *Subhāṣitaratnaḥa*, namely Śrīdharadāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmrta*,⁶ which contains a separate section with five stanzas on pigeons and doves (*pārāvata*). However, only two of them (SKA(1) 5.5.1 = SKA(2) 2021; SKA(1) 5.5.2 = SKA(2) 2022) have turned out to be new, as one of the three remaining stanzas (SKA(1) 5.5.3 = SKA(2) 2023) is the above-mentioned KĀ 2.10 and two are also included in the *Subhāṣitaratnaḥa* (SKA(1) 5.5.4 = SKA(2) 2024 = SRK 1154; SKA(1) 5.5.5 = SKA(2) 2025 = SRK 1153).

The main aim of my study is to indicate, on the basis of careful examination of the source texts, the most salient elements of the image of pigeons and doves in Classical Sanskrit literature. I have identified three groups of such elements, which will be dealt with in sections 2–4 of the paper. In each section, I will try to point out which characteristics of the appearance and behaviour of pigeons and doves are of interest to *kāvya* authors and to show how they are represented in their works, including their metaphorical uses and symbolic meanings. With the help of this information, I will analyse selected *kāvya* stanzas featuring pigeons or doves in more detail in section 5.

2. Pigeons and doves in Classical Sanskrit Literature as birds closely associated with humans

The rock pigeon needs no introduction, as it is one of the most familiar birds of the world and the first species that comes to mind when talking about pigeons. In South Asia, there are colonies of wild rock pigeons breeding on coastal cliffs and inland rock formations, as well as populations of semi-domesticated or feral rock pigeons breeding on buildings in practically every village, town and city of the region (ALI 1943: 280; WHISTLER 1949: 388–390).

The Eurasian collared dove, the spotted dove and the laughing dove also keep close to human habitations, in both rural and urban areas. All three species are confiding birds that freely enter village roads and paths, gardens

⁵ 7th or 8th century AD (GEROW 1977: 228).

⁶ 1205 AD (STERNBACH 1974: 16).

and residential compounds. Sometimes they build their nests on the cornices of houses, in the rafters of the verandas or on the window-sills (ALI 1943: 283–284; WHISTLER 1949: 396–400).

The only exception here is the red collared dove, which is rarely found in the immediate proximity of men (ALI 1943: 283; WHISTLER 1949: 401–402). Therefore, the species will not be discussed further in this paper.

The situation must have been very similar as early as the Classical period. Classical Sanskrit literature, indeed, frequently depicts pigeons and doves as birds closely associated with humans. In some texts, we see them feeding in the fields (see SRK 264 and SRK 315, both by Yogeśvara⁷) or hear them cooing in a village garden (see SRK 1175, anonymous). Elsewhere, they appear in an urban setting.

In descriptions of cities and city scenes, pigeons or doves usually roost on the turrets or pinnacles (*valabhi/valabhī*⁸ or *viṭaṅka*⁹) of tall buildings (see stanza 8.37 of Aśvaghoṣa's¹⁰ *Buddhacarita*, stanza 6.8 of Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda* and stanza 40 of Kālidāsa's¹¹ *Meghadūta*). They are among the first objects that characters in urban scenes notice upon going out onto the roofs of their mansions. For example, in S 6.8 mentioned above, Sundarī, who has been waiting for the return of Prince Nanda in a pavilion on the top of their palace, suddenly hears a noise; certain that her beloved husband is back, she hurries towards the stairs – and scares the pigeons on the roof with the clinking of her anklets.

Since all the species of pigeons and doves most common in South Asia, with the exception of the red collared dove, thrive near humans, in both rural and urban areas, and are quite tame, it is easy to watch them at close quarters. No wonder that we find extremely detailed depictions of these birds' appearance and behaviour in *kāvya* works.

Tellingly, in his famous treatise on literary theory (*alaṃkāraśāstra*) *Kāvyaḍarśa*, while dealing with figures of speech (*alaṃkāra*), Daṇḍin illustrates the discussion of *kriyāsvabhāvokti* (a type of *svabhāvokti* 'realistic description' in which the behaviour of the subject is described in great detail,

⁷ Second half of the 9th century AD (STERNBACH 1980: 275). Cf. D. D. Kosambi in SRK, p. xcii: 'not later than the ninth century'; INGALLS 1965: 32: '800–900'.

⁸ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2002: 927: 'the ridge of a roof, top or pinnacle of a house [...]; a turret or temporary building on the roof of a house, upper room'.

⁹ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2002: 961: 'the loftiest point, tip, pinnacle'.

¹⁰ 1st century AD (WARDER 1990a: 144).

¹¹ 5th century AD (WARDER 1990b: 123).

GEROW 1971: 324–325) with an exquisitely accurate depiction of a courting male pigeon:

*kalakvaṇitagarbheṇa kaṇṭhenāghūrṇitekṣaṇaḥ /
pārāvataḥ paribhramya riraṃsuś cumbati priyām // KĀ 2.10*

A pigeon wanders about with eyes rolling
and soft cooings coming from its throat,
and, desiring its mate, kisses her. (Trans. GEROW 1971: 325).

Here, the name *pārāvata* must refer specifically to the rock pigeon, with its characteristic courtship routine,¹² which is very different from aerial courtship displays of the Eurasian collared dove (ALI 1943: 284), the spotted dove (WHISTLER 1949: 397) and the laughing dove (BAKER 1913: 217).

Edwin GEROW 1971: 324–325 argues that the poetic basis of the figure of *svabhāvokti* ‘is probably to be sought in the genre called *jāti*: short verses, extremely condensed yet full of minute detail, each one attempting to seize the instantaneous totality of a certain event, or an individual as wholly characteristic of a genus’.

The whole section 35 of the *Subhāṣitaratnaḥ* is dedicated to the genre of *jāti*¹³. Unsurprisingly, among other stanzas, it contains two examples of verses that depict the appearance and behaviour of pigeons or doves in great detail (SRK 1153 and SRK 1154). Let us have a look at SRK 1153¹⁴ (SRK 1154 will be discussed below):

*pakṣābhyām sahitaḥ prasārya caraṇāv ekaikaśaḥ pārśvayor
ekikṛtya śirodharopari śanaiḥ pāṇḍūdare pakṣatī /*

¹² ‘The male coos long and frequently [...]. He stretches his neck now up, now down and, with puffed out breast, displays to full advantage his brilliant iridescent feathers. His tail is spread and scrapes stiffly on the ground and his wings are drooped slightly. At times the amorous bird advances and retreats, pirouettes now this way now that [...]. At times he makes little jumps into the air, and occasionally flies a few feet. At times [...] he caresses his mate by kissing or billing [...].’ (TOWNSEND 1915: 308–309).

¹³ In his translation of Vidyākara’s anthology, Daniel H. H. INGALLS 1965: 326 renders the term as ‘characterization’ and explains it as ‘a verse which portrays an object or scene by means of a few characteristic traits and with a minimum use of figures of speech. The traits must be carefully drawn from the poet’s observation of nature, but are strictly limited in number. The method, then, is the method of impressionism; the result, in the hands of a good poet, can be vividly realistic.’

¹⁴ It is also included in the *Saduktikarṇāmrta* as the fifth stanza of the section on pigeons and doves. It is ascribed to a certain Bhṛṅgara (SRK, p. 207) or Śṛṅgara (SKA(1), p. 281; SKA(2), p. 550).

*nidrāśeṣaviśeṣaraktanayano niryāya nīḍodarād
āṣṛkkāntavidāritānanapuṭaḥ pārāvato jṛmbhate //*

SRK 1153 = SKA(1) 5.5.5 = SKA(2) 2025

From his sides the pigeon stretches
one by one his feet and wings,
slowly joining above his neck
his wingtips, feathered white beneath.
Then, coming from his nest,
his eyes deep red from their unfinished sleep,
he yawns, stretching to its corners
the hollow of his beak. (Trans. INGALLS 1965: 329).

This realistic miniature portrait of a bird waking up at dawn and getting ready for the day ahead most probably also depicts a rock pigeon, since these birds have brownish-orange irises and the underside of their wings is indeed very pale grey or white (cf. *pāṇḍu* ‘pale’ in the original Sanskrit text of the stanza) in contrast to the rest of their plumage, which is darker, slate grey almost throughout (WHISTLER 1949: 392).

Predictably, as such a well-known constant component of urban life in Classical India, pigeons and doves figure in similes and metaphors that draw on the domain of the city in *kāvya* literature. Thus, in Subandhu’s¹⁵ *Vāsavadattā*, the moon in the sky is compared to a white pigeon or dove (i.e. either a white domestic pigeon or a Eurasian collared dove¹⁶) perching on a palace.¹⁷ In SRK 951 (anonymous), the night sky is also conceived of as a palace, whitewashed with moonlight, with the moon for its turret.¹⁸ The dark spots on the moon are here imagined as ‘a blue pigeon’ (*nīlapārāvata*, i.e. a rock pigeon) on the turret’s roof:

*gate jyotsnāsītavyomaprāsādāddṛkatulyatām /
himāmśumaṇḍale lakṣma nīlapārāvātāyate //* SRK 951

Its mark, like a blue pigeon,
sits upon the moon, which seems to be
a turret of the palace of the sky,
whitewashed with moonlight. (Trans. INGALLS 1965: 281).

¹⁵ 6th century AD (WARDER 1990b: 234).

¹⁶ The species is usually called *dhavalakapota* ‘white dove’ in Sanskrit (DAVE 2005: 251).

¹⁷ *ambaraprāsādasya pārāvata iva* (V1: 192); *śvētapārāvata ivā ’mbaramahāprāsādasya* (V2: 175).

¹⁸ INGALLS 1965: 535: ‘I emend *-prasādāddṛka-* to *-prasādātṭaka-*; *aṭṭaka* means a turret or minaret’.

In their descriptions of the moon in the night sky, both authors utilise the image of pigeons or doves roosting on the roofs of tall city buildings to create effective figures of speech, appealing to the listeners or readers thanks to their familiarity with the appearance and behaviour of the birds.

3. Pigeons and doves in Classical Sanskrit literature as birds of love

Many characteristics of pigeons and doves make them ideal candidates for the role of birds of love in the literatures of the world.

Modern research suggests that all the species of the Columbidae family are monogamous and mate for life (BRITANNICA, PIGEON). While this could not have been known for sure in Classical India, other facts about South Asian pigeons and doves are easier to notice.

All the species that interest us here have a long breeding season. In the Indian subcontinent, the laughing dove breeds from January until October (WHISTLER 1949: 398); the breeding of the rock pigeon (ALI 1943: 280; WHISTLER 1949: 394), the Eurasian collared dove (ALI 1943: 284; WHISTLER 1949: 400) and the spotted dove (ALI 1943: 283; WHISTLER 1949: 397) continues practically throughout the year. As already mentioned (see the discussion of KĀ 2.10 above), the courtship routine of all four species is quite conspicuous.

Bonded pairs stay close together, even among the rock pigeons, which are gregarious birds. The male and the female frequently caress each other.¹⁹ Both sexes share in building the nest, incubating the eggs and feeding the young (ALI 1943: 280, 283, 284; BAKER 1913: 139, 208, 217).

Most of these traits of South Asian pigeons and doves (with the exception of sharing parenting duties) are indeed accurately depicted in Classical Sanskrit literature. A detailed description of a courting male rock pigeon presented in KĀ 2.10 has already been discussed above. Not only the courtship but also the

¹⁹ 'The mutual caressing commonly indulged in by pigeons (at least by all species of *Columba* and *Streptopelia* known to me) is a behaviour-pattern that appears to have both psychological and "utilitarian" significance. [...] The caressing consists of gentle-looking nibbling movement of the bill, which is thrust into, and moves about among, the partner's feathers apparently in contact with the skin. [...] The rump, back, wings and breast of the partner may be treated very briefly in this manner, but in general the caressing bird confines its attentions to the other's head and nape. [...] I think there can be no doubt that the function of caressing – on the physical level – is the removal of ectoparasites, and perhaps also other foreign bodies, from the mate's head. [...] the bird caressing its mate [...] appears [...] to be in a mood of affectionate tenderness' (GOODWIN 1956: 31–32).

subsequent copulation of pigeons is sometimes mentioned in *kāvya* works. In the second chapter (*ucchvāsa*) of Daṇḍin's²⁰ *Daśakumāracarita* (DKC, p. 122), a cunning female character Śṛgālikā, while standing next to Princess Ambālikā on the roof of the royal palace, throws a waterlily at a male character who appears below to attract his attention (she intends to trick the man into believing that Ambālikā is in love with him); the sneaky woman, however, pretends that she just wants to scare off a pair of copulating pigeons (*pravṛttakuharapārāvata*). Daṇḍin quite convincingly makes Śṛgālikā use this particular pretext (boldly suggestive and thus perfectly suitable for the occasion), as the copulations of these confiding birds with a long breeding season are a common sight. In one of the aphorisms attributed to Bhartṛhari (Bh 797), the author even maintains that male pigeons get sexually aroused (*kāmī*) every day and wonders at their high libido.²¹ The strong sexual appetite of pigeons is possibly alluded to in the *Kāmasūtra* as well (KS-V 2.7.8): the cooing of these birds (*pārāvata*[...] *virutāni*) is placed at the top of the list of sounds that women are advised to imitate when hit by their partners during intercourse (obviously, this practised moaning is meant to serve as further stimulation for the men).

The affectionate behaviour of male and female pigeons towards each other is also not ignored in *kāvya* literature. Let us look, for example, at the charming first stanza of the section on pigeons and doves in the *Saduktikarṇāmrta* (ascribed to a certain Pāṇini²²), which is a unique depiction of a bonded pair of wild rock pigeons resting in a mountain cave where they have taken shelter from the heat:

*asau gireḥ śītalakandarasthaḥ
pārāvato manmathacāṭudakṣaḥ /
gharmālasāṅgīm madhurāṇi kūjan
saṁvījate pakṣaputeṇa kāntām // SKA(1) 5.5.1 = SKA(2) 2021*

This male pigeon, while staying in a cool mountain cave,
coos sweetly, skilful in loving flatteries,
and fans his beloved, whose limbs are languid from the heat,
with his curving wings. (Translation mine).

²⁰ 7th century AD (WARDER 1983: 165).

²¹ As pointed out by KARTTUNEN 2020: 200. I probably would not have found this stanza myself.

²² STERNBACH 1980: 41: 'Probably different from the famous grammarian and posterior to him. [...] If different from Pāṇini, the grammarian, must have lived in the beginning of the 12th century or earlier [...] but probably earlier.'

See also the second stanza of the same section of the *Saduktikarṇāṃṛta* (SKA(1) 5.5.2 = SKA(2) 2022²³), in which it is a female pigeon or dove (*pārāvātī*) that lovingly takes care of her mate after their copulation (*līlā*).

Stanza 1154 of the *Subhāṣitaratnaḥ* (already mentioned above), which is found in the section devoted to the genre of *jāti*,²⁴ is worthy of special attention:

*prātar vāravilāsiniṇjanaraṇanmañjīramañjusvanair
udbuddhaḥ paridhūya pakṣatipuṭaṃ pārāvataḥ saspr̥ham /
kiṃcituñcītalocanāṃ saha-carīm samcumbya cañcivā ciraṃ
mandāndolitakaṇṭhakuṇṭhitagalaḥ sotkaṇṭham utkūjati //*

SRK 1154 = SKA(1) 5.5.4 = SKA(2) 2024

The cock pigeon wakes to the sound of jingling anklets
as the prostitutes walk home at dawn.
He shakes his curving wing tips and kisses with his beak
his companion's half-closed eyes.
Lovingly he coos with throat that is muted
by the gentle swaying of his neck. (Trans. INGALLS 1965: 329).

The stanza depicts a pair of pigeons or doves roosting close to human habitations in great detail, as required by the genre. The description contains elements which we have encountered before: the male bird wakes up at dawn, is immediately filled with desire (*saspr̥ham*) and eagerly (*sotkaṇṭham*) caresses his mate.

However, the text introduces us to yet another aspect of the perception of pigeons and doves in Classical Sanskrit literature. Prostitutes, who return home at dawn after entertaining their clients, are here juxtaposed with a bonded pair of birds that has spent the whole night together – evidently, the male and the female are perfectly happy in each other's company. This clearly demonstrates that a pair of pigeons or doves not only stands for mutual love and tenderness, but also symbolises conjugal fidelity in *kāvya* works. (See also S 6.30 discussed below).

²³ Ascribed to Mātāṅgarāja (SKA(1), p. 281) or to Matirāja (SKA(2), p. 550) but actually taken from the drama *Tāpasavatsarāja* by Anaṅgahaṛṣa (9th century AD). See STERNBACH 1978: 67–68.

²⁴ It is also included in the *Saduktikarṇāṃṛta* as the fourth stanza of the section on pigeons and doves. It is ascribed to Vikramāditya (SKA(1), p. 281; SKA(2), p. 550) or 'Vikramāditya and an ascetic' (*vikramādityatapasvinoḥ*, SRK, p. 207). D. D. Kosambi in SRK, p. xcix: 'a legendary figure from the usual prose-poetic tales'.

4. Pigeons and doves in Classical Sanskrit literature as birds of sorrow

From the times of the *R̥gveda*, doves (*kapota*) have been considered birds of ill omen and harbingers of death in Indian culture (DAVE 2005: 250, 252, 260–263; INGALLS 1965: 548). Although I have not found any direct expression of this belief in Classical Sanskrit literature, doves and pigeons (*kapota/pārāvata*) do seem to be associated with the emotion of sorrow in *kāvya* works, especially that caused by the loss of one's beloved (separation from him/her or his/her death). This may be a natural extension of their role as birds of love or an echo of the unfavourable perception of doves.

According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the compassionate aesthetic flavour (*karuṇarasa*), which has the emotion of sorrow (*śoka*) as its basis, is 'dove-coloured' or 'pigeon-coloured' (*kapota*; NŚ 6.42), i.e. grey²⁵. Kālidāsa uses this symbolic meaning of the colouration of doves and pigeons in stanza 4.27 of his *Kumārasambhava*, which will be discussed in detail below.

More often, however, it is the mention of the familiar, easily recognisable call of pigeons or doves in the background of the scene that helps to convey a character's sorrow in *kāvya* works (see BC 8.37 and S 6.30, both discussed in detail below), and/or to create an overall atmosphere of sadness, as in the following anonymous stanza from the *Subhāṣitaratnaḥ*:

*kaiścid vītadayena bhogapatinā niṣkāraṇopapluta-
prakṣīṇair nijavaṃśabhūr iti mitair atyajyamānāḥ kulaiḥ /
grāmā nistr̥ṇajīrṇakuḍyabahulāḥ svairam bhramadbabhrahvaḥ
prāyah pāṇḍukapotakaṇṭhamukharārāme na yānti utkatām // SRK 1175*

When villages are left by all but a few families
wasting under undeserved disaster
from a cruel district lord
but still clinging to ancestral lands,
villages without grass, where walls are crumbling
and the mongoose wanders through the lanes;
they yet show their deepest sadness
in a garden filled with the cooing of gray doves.

(Trans. INGALLS 1965: 333).

²⁵ Monier-Williams: 'lead-grey' (MONIER-WILLIAMS 2002: 251); Ghosh: 'ash-coloured' (GHOSH 1951: 107); Masson and Patwardhan: 'light grey' (MASSON and PATWARDHAN 1970: 48).

The name *pāṇḍukapota* (lit. ‘pale dove’ or ‘white dove’) that appears in the last *pāda* of the stanza most probably refers to the Eurasian collared dove.²⁶ The distinctive call of this species ‘is a trisyllabic “coo” repeated softly two or three times’ (BAKER 1913: 224). Baker describes the sounds as ‘very melodious and sweet’ and ALI 1943: 284 considers them ‘pleasant’. However, anyone who has heard this persistent, monotonous cooing will surely agree that it can also indeed be perceived as hauntingly sad.

5. Selected stanzas in more detail

We will now analyse four selected *kāvya* texts featuring pigeons or doves (all already mentioned above) in more detail. Let us begin with two stanzas by the Buddhist author Aśvaghōṣa, taken from his two Sanskrit court epic poems (*mahākāvya*), which are the earliest examples of the genre. Since the stanzas are quite similar, it will be best to discuss them both together.

In the fifth canto (*sarga*) of the *Buddhacarita* (*The Life of the Buddha*), Prince Sarvārthasiddha flees the royal palace and the city of Kapilavāstu on horseback, accompanied by his faithful groom Chandaka. Having reached the forest, the future Buddha sends Chandaka back with the horse (canto 6) and enters the ascetic path of life (canto 7), which will eventually lead him to his enlightenment and liberation. In the eighth canto, the groom returns to Kapilavāstu. Upon seeing him without his master, the whole city, beginning with Sarvārthasiddha’s wife Yaśodharā and other women in the royal palace, is overcome with grief. Even the mansions seem to lament:

imāś ca vikṣiptaviṭaṅkabāhavaḥ prasaktapārāvataḍṛghanisvanāḥ /
vinākṛtās tena sahāvarodhanair bhr̥ṣaṃ rudantīva vimānapañktayaḥ //
 BC 8.37

And these rows of pavilions seem to weep together with the women, on separation from him, casting up their pinnacles for arms and heaving long sighs with their enamoured doves. (Trans. JOHNSTON 1936: 112).

In the fifth canto of the *Saundarananda* (*The Beautiful Nanda*), the Buddha tricks his younger half-brother, Prince Nanda, into leaving Kapilavāstu and following him to the monastery, as he wants to make him enter the path to liberation. In the sixth canto, Nanda’s wife Sundarī, who has been waiting for her beloved husband’s return in a pavilion on the top of their palace, learns that he has just been ordained a monk. Predictably, she plunges into despair:

²⁶ Usually called *dhalavalakapota* ‘white dove’ in Sanskrit (DAVE 2005: 251).

*sā cakravākīva bhṛṣaṃ cukūja śyenāgrapaksakṣatacakravākā /
vispardhamāneva vimānasamsthaiḥ pārāvataiḥ kūjanalolakaṇṭhaiḥ //*
S 6.30

She moaned loudly, like a *chakra-vaka* bird when a hawk has wounded the tip of her mate's wing, as if to compete with the pigeons gathered on the palace roof, their throats tremulous with cooing. (Trans. COVILL 2007: 123).

In each of the above two stanzas, all three aspects of the image of pigeons and doves in Classical Sanskrit literature that have been pointed out in this paper are skilfully combined into one coherent whole.

Firstly, since both texts depict an urban scene, the mentions of pigeons and doves, these common city dwellers, should not surprise us here. On the contrary, it is completely natural that upon entering the royal palace in Kapilavāstu, Chandaka is greeted by the sight and sounds of pigeons (BC 8.37). It is also perfectly normal that Sundarī, while waiting for Nanda on the palace roof, sees and hears pigeons nearby (S 6.30), as the turrets and pinnacles of tall buildings are their favourite roosting spots.

However, in both stanzas, pigeons and doves are much more than just typical elements of the urban landscape. They are obviously to be perceived as birds of sorrow. The author makes the coos of the city pigeons, which he compares to sighs (BC 8.37) or moans (S 6.30), echo the lamentations of the women, and thus he is able to emphasise the intensity of their grief.

As we remember, in *kāvya* literature, pigeons and doves are also symbols of love. This aspect is perhaps less obvious but equally important in our two texts. In BC 8.37, it is activated through the use of the epithet *prasakta* (lit. 'attached'; MONIER-WILLIAMS 2002: 696), which may refer to spatial or emotional closeness (and hence the differing translations: OLIVELLE 2008: 223: 'cuddling' but JOHNSTON 1936: 112: 'enamoured'). Both interpretations, however, conjure up the same image of an affectionate bonded pair of doves or pigeons roosting side by side. In S 6.30, a similar effect is achieved by juxtaposing pigeons with another symbol of love and conjugal fidelity in Classical Sanskrit literature, i.e. a pair of *cakravāka* birds or ruddy shelducks (*Tadorna ferruginea*).²⁷ The listeners or readers are thus reminded of the times when the women in the royal palace in Kapilavāstu could happily enjoy the company of Prince Sarvāthasiddha, as well as of the marital bliss of Sundarī

²⁷ For information on the ruddy shelduck, see ALI 1943: 412–413 and WHISTLER 1949: 524–525. For more on *cakravāka* birds in *kāvya* literature, see KARTTUNEN 2000: 202 and DAVE 2005: 450–453.

and Nanda. This makes the descriptions of the present suffering of the women in separation ever more poignant.

Let us now turn to two stanzas by the eminent Kālidāsa. In both of them, the mentions of pigeons or doves are very short but surprisingly rich in meaning.

The fourth canto of the *Kumārasambhava*, one of Kālidāsa's two *mahākāvya*s, is devoted to the lamentations of the goddess Rati over the loss of her husband, the god of love Kāma, who has just been burnt to ashes by the great god Śiva with his fiery third eye. In stanza 27, Rati addresses Kāma's friend Vasanta (spring):

*iti cainam uvāca duḥkhitā suhṛdaḥ paśya vasanta kiṃ sthitam /
tad idaṃ kaṇaśo vikīryate pavanair bhasma kapotakarburam //*

KS-K 4.27

And grief-stricken she said to him,
'See, Spring, what remains of your friend:
these particles of ash, dove-gray,
blown about in the wind.' (Trans. SMITH 2005: 143).

The variegated (*karbura*; MONIER-WILLIAMS 2002: 258) grey colouration of doves and pigeons is a perfect standard of comparison for the colour of burnt body remains. Surely, however, it was not chosen by the author merely because of its visual resemblance but also due to its symbolic associations with both love and sorrow. Similarly to BC 8.37 and S 6.30, the stanza indirectly compares the happily married couple Kāma and Rati to a bonded pair of doves or pigeons. The grieving Rati, who is devastated by the loss of her beloved husband, is thus to be conceived of in terms of a female dove that has lost her mate. This beautiful, moving metaphor aptly conveys the pain of the goddess to the listeners or readers and cannot but fill their hearts with compassion.

In the first half of stanza 40 of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (*The Cloud Messenger*), the hero advises his messenger, a rain cloud, where to spend the night in the city of Ujjayinī:

*tām kasyāṃcid bhavanavalabhau suptapārāvātāyām
nītvā rātriṃ ciravilasanāt khinnavidyutkalatraḥ / MD 40*

You should pass the night
on some rooftop where pigeons sleep,
your wife lightning exhausted
from her long *lovmaking* : *display* [...]. (Trans. MALLINSON 2006: 47).

At first glance, pigeons or doves appear in the stanza just as a typical element of urban scenes, especially those taking place on the roof. However, when imagining a fluffy dark rain cloud next to a pair or flock of grey-feathered birds, which respond to the cloud's gentle rumbles with their soft cooing, we start to wonder if perhaps not merely their juxtaposition but also their indirect comparison was intended by the author. A closer look at the text seems to confirm this. As Mallinson rightly notices in his translation, the word *vilasana* has two meanings here. The cloud messenger's wife, lightning, is exhausted in the evening not only from her constant flashes in the sky but also from making love all day long – and so are probably all the female pigeons on the rooftop, given the well-known high sexual drive of their mates! As we can see, the suggestion of similarities between the rain cloud and pigeons enhances the erotically charged atmosphere of the stanza and adds to its charm.

6. Conclusions

Summing up, in Classical Sanskrit literature, pigeons and doves are depicted as birds closely associated with humans. Their appearance and behaviour are often described in great detail. They sometimes appear in a rural setting; however, they are especially frequent in descriptions of cities and city scenes. In an urban setting, the birds are usually seen roosting, and heard cooing, on the roofs of tall buildings. They also figure in similes and metaphors that draw on the domain of the city and its elements.

Moreover, pigeons and doves play the role of birds of love in *kāvya* literature. The authors depict their courtship and copulation, wonder at the high sexual drive of the male, point out the affectionate behaviour of both sexes towards each other. An image of a bonded pair of pigeons or doves can sometimes be interpreted as a symbol of marital fidelity.

Pigeons and doves are also symbols of sorrow in *kāvya* works, especially that caused by the loss of one's beloved. By mentioning the birds, their grey colouration and their distinctive calls, the authors are thus able to create an overall atmosphere of sadness in their texts and to convey the sorrow felt by the characters.

Kāvya texts featuring pigeons or doves should be read very carefully. They sometimes combine all three aspects of the literary image of these birds into one coherent whole. Even the short mentions of the birds can be surprisingly rich in meaning.

References

Primary Sources

- BC *Aśvaghoṣa. Buddhacarita. The Buddhacarita: Or, Acts of the Buddha.* Part 1: Sanskrit text. Ed. by E. H. Johnston. 1935. Panjab University Oriental Publications 31. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.
- Bh *The Epigrams Attributed to Bhartṛhari Including the Three Centuries.* For the first time collected and critically ed. by D. D. Kosambi. 1948. Singhi Jain Series 23. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- DKC *Daṇḍin. Daśakumāracarita. The Daśakumāracharita of Daṇḍin,* with Three Commentaries – the *Padadīpikā*, *Padachandrikā*, the *Bhūṣhaṇā* and the *Laghudīpikā*. Ed. by Nārāyaṇa Bālkrishṇa Godabole and Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang Parab. 1906. 5th revised edition. Bombay: “Nirṇaya-sāgara” Press.
- KĀ *Daṇḍin. Kāvyaḍarśa. The Kāvyaḍarśa of Śrī Daṇḍin.* Ed., with a commentary, by Premachandra Tarkabāgīśa. 1862. Fasc. 2. Bibliotheca Indica, New Series 33. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.
- KS-K *Kālidāsa. Kumārasambhava. The Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa,* with the Commentary (the *Sanjīvinī*) of Mallināth. Ed. by Vāsudev Laxman Shāstrī Fansikar. 1906. 4th edition. Bombay: ‘Nirṇaya-sāgara’ Press.
- KS-V *Vātsyāyana. Kāmasūtra. The Kāmasūtra by Śrī Vātsyāyana Muni,* with the Commentary *Jayamangala* by Yashodhar. Ed. by Gosvāmī Dāmodar Shastri. 1929. The Kāshi Sanskrit Series (Haridās Sanskrit Granthamālā) 29. Benares: Jai Krishnadas-Haridas Gupta.
- MD *Kālidāsa. Meghadūta. Kālidāsa’s Meghadūta, or The Cloud-Messenger,* with the Commentary of Mallinātha. Ed. and trans. by Kashinath Bapu Pathak. 1916. 2nd edition. Poona: The Oriental Book-Supplying Agency.
- NŚ *Nāṭyaśāstra. The Nāṭyaśāstra Ascribed to Bharata-muni.* Ed. by Manomohan Ghosh. 1967. Vol. 1. Calcutta: Manisha Granthalaya.
- S *Aśvaghoṣa. Saundarananda. The Saundarananda of Aśvaghoṣa.* Ed. by E. H. Johnston. 1928. Panjab University Oriental Publications. London: Oxford University Press.
- SKA *Śrīdharaḍāsa. Saduktikarṇāmṛta. (1) Saduktikarṇāmṛta of Śrīdharaḍāsa.* Ed. by Rāmāvētāra Śarmā. 1933. The Punjab Oriental Series 15. Lahore: The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot. (2) *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta of Sridharadāsa.* Ed. by Sures Chandra Banerji. 1965. Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay.

- SRK Vidyākara. *Subhāṣitaratnaḥaṣa. The Subhāṣitaratnaḥaṣa compiled by Vidyākara*. Ed. by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale, with an introduction by D. D. Kosambi. 1957. Harvard Oriental Series 42. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- V Subandhu. *Vāsavadattā*. (1) *The Vāsavadattā. A Romance by Subandhu, Accompanied by Śivarāma Tripāṭhin's Perpetual Gloss, Entitled Darpaṇa*. Ed. by Fitzedward Hall. 1859. Bibliotheca Indica. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press. (2) *Vāsavadattā: A Sanskrit Romance by Subandhu*. Trans. by Louis H. Gray [with a transliteration of the edition of the *Vāsavadattā* printed in Telugu script at Madras in 1862]. 1913. Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series 8. New York: Columbia University Press.

Secondary Publications

- ALI, Sālim 1943. *The Book of Indian Birds*. 2nd edition, revised and enlarged. Bombay: The Bombay Natural History Society.
- BAKER, E. C. Stuart 1913. *Indian Pigeons and Doves*. London: Whiterby and Co.
- BRITANNICA, PIGEON. 'Pigeon'. [In:] *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/animal/pigeon> (accessed 23 August 2022).
- COVILL, Linda, trans. 2007. *Handsome Nanda by Ashva-ghosha*. Clay Sanskrit Library 39. New York: New York University Press and JJC Foundation.
- DAVE, K. N. 2005. *Birds in Sanskrit Literature*. Revised edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. (1st edition: 1985).
- GEROW, Edwin 1971. *A Glossary of Indian Figures of Speech*. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.
- GEROW, Edwin 1977. *Indian Poetics. A History of Indian Literature*. Vol. 5, fasc. 3. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- GHOSH, Manomohan, trans. 1951. *The Nāṭyaśāstra Ascribed to Bharata-muni*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- GOODWIN, Derek 1956. 'The Significance of Some Behaviour Patterns of Pigeons'. *Bird Study* 3(1): 25–37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00063655609475836>.
- INGALLS, Daniel H. H., trans. 1965. *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry: Vidyākara's "Subhāṣitaratnaḥaṣa"*. Harvard Oriental Series 44. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- JOHNSTON, E. H., trans. 1936. *The Buddhacarita: Or, Acts of the Buddha*. Part 2: Cantos i to xiv translated from the original Sanskrit supplemented by the Tibetan version. Panjab University Oriental Publications 32. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.

- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 2000. “‘Sparrows in Love’ – The Display and Pairing of Birds in Sanskrit Literature’. [In:] Balcerowicz, Piotr and Marek Mejer, eds, *On the Understanding of Other Cultures. Proceedings of the International Conference on Sanskrit and Related Studies to Commemorate the Centenary of the Birth of Stanisław Schayer (1899–1941), Warsaw University, Poland, October 7–10, 1999*. Warsaw: Oriental Institute, Warsaw University. *Studia Indologiczne* 7: 199–205. (Reprint in: Balcerowicz, Piotr and Marek Mejer, eds 2004. *Essays in Indian Philosophy, Religion and Literature*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 261–269).
- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 2020. ‘Ornithology and Poetry: Ideas and Fancies Connected with Birds in Classical India’. [In:] Brandt, Carmen and Hans Harder, eds, *Wege durchs Labyrinth: Festschrift zu Ehren von Rahul Peter Das*. Heidelberg and Berlin: CrossAsia-eBooks, pp. 189–214.
- MALLINSON, James, trans. 2006. *Messenger Poems by Kalidasa, Dhoyi and Rupa Gosvamin*. Clay Sanskrit Library 37. New York: New York University Press and JJC Foundation.
- MASSON, J. L. and M. V. PATWARDHAN 1970. *Aesthetic Rapture. The Rasādhyāya of the Nāṭyaśāstra*. Vol. 1: *Text*. Poona: Deccan College.
- MONIER-WILLIAMS, Monier 2002. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*. Corrected edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (1st edition: Oxford University Press 1899).
- OLIVELLE, Patrick, trans. 2008. *Life of the Buddha by Āśvaghoṣa*. Clay Sanskrit Library 10. New York: New York University Press and JJC Foundation.
- PRAVEEN, J. and R. JAYAPAL 2022. ‘Checklist of the birds of India (v6.1)’. <http://www.indianbirds.in/india> (accessed 23 August 2022).
- SMITH, David, trans. 2005. *The Birth of Kumāra by Kālidāsa*. Clay Sanskrit Library 33. New York: New York University Press and JJC Foundation.
- STERNBACH, Ludwik 1974. *Subhāṣita, Gnostic and Didactic Literature*. A History of Indian Literature. Vol. 4, part 1. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- STERNBACH, Ludwik 1978. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Poets Quoted in Sanskrit Anthologies and Inscriptions*. Vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- STERNBACH, Ludwik 1980. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Poets Quoted in Sanskrit Anthologies and Inscriptions*. Vol. 2. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- TOWNSEND, Charles W. 1915. ‘Notes on the Rock Dove (*Columba domestica*)’. *The Auk* 32(3): 306–316.
- WARDER, A. K. 1983. *Indian Kāvya Literature*. Vol. IV: *The Ways of Originality (Bāṇa to Dāmodaragupta)*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- WARDER, A. K. 1990a. *Indian Kāvya Literature*. Vol. II: *The Origins and Formation of Classical Kāvya*. 2nd revised edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (1st edition: 1974).

- WARDER, A. K. 1990b. *Indian Kāvya Literature*. Vol. III: *The Early Medieval Period (Śūdraka to Viśākhadatta)*. 2nd revised edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (1st edition: 1977).
- WARDER, A. K. 2004. *Indian Kāvya Literature*. Vol. VII: *The Wheel of Time*, Part I. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- WHISTLER, Hugh 1949. *Popular Handbook of Indian Birds*. 4th edition, revised and enlarged by Norman B. Kinnear. London: Gurney and Jackson (first published: 1928).

Cliché-ridden Online *Danmei* Fiction? A Case Study of *Tianguan ci fu*

Aiqing WANG

Abstract: Popular literature online is often misconstrued as being cliché-ridden and formulaic, and has thus not attained as much critical attention as ‘serious’ literature. I propound that popular literature published in China’s cyberspace deserves more attention and hermeneutic scrutiny, and I place an emphasis on *danmei* (耽美) fiction that features male-male romantic and/or erotic relationships and is predominantly published on a female-oriented website called Jinjiang Literature City. In this research, I investigate an online *danmei* novel entitled *Tianguan ci fu* (天官赐福) that concerns a homosexual romance against a background of ‘immortality cultivation’ (*xiuxian* 修仙 or *xiuzhen* 修真), which had been maintaining the highest ranking on readers’ voting list since its release on Jinjiang Literature City in 2017. I postulate that *Tianguan ci fu* does not deploy clichéd plots pertaining to quasi-heterosexual relationships, which frequently occur in *danmei* fiction. Apart from conveying the theme of love, the narrative concerns the complexity of human nature via an array of characters possessing multifaceted personality traits. More significantly, with a setting of mortal and immortal realms, the narrative entails religious ideologies, especially the indigenous Daoist ascension, mortality-immortality polarity and *yin-yang* integration. Furthermore, ethic-religious Confucian precepts such as benevolence and filial piety are also demonstrated, along with the Sinicised Buddhist creeds of reincarnation and retribution, which embodies the amalgamation of (sub)religions as a preponderant ideal of ‘the unity of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism’ (*san jiao he yi* 三教合一). Therefore, analysing this exemplary online novel can shed light on (a)theistic attitudes adopted by creators and consumers of Internet *danmei* literature.

Keywords: *Danmei* literature, BL, Internet literature, Jinjiang, *xiuxian/xiuzhen* fiction

Aiqing WANG, University of Liverpool, Department of Languages, Cultures and Film;
 Aiying.Wang@liverpool.ac.uk;  0000-0001-7546-4959

1. Introduction

Boys Love (aka BL) is a literature genre featuring male-male romantic and/or erotic relationships, predominantly produced and consumed by heterosexual adolescent girls and adult women (McLELLAND 2000, 2009, 2017, McLELLAND and WELKER 2015, WELKER 2015). BL literature is comprised of anime, comics and games (ACG) as well as other textual and visual pieces (SUZUKI 2015, ZSILA and DEMETROVICS 2017a, 2017b). BL subculture originated in Japan in the early 1970s and spread to Hong Kong and Taiwan within a decade (DASGUPTA 2006, LIU 2009). Since the era of socio-economic reform and opening up in the late 1970s, overseas media and cultural products have been imported into Mainland China (SHAO 2016, ZHAO 2017), including BL, which entered China's niche market in the mid-1990s as a Japanese cultural export. The equivalent of BL in China is *danmei* (耽美), and its literal meaning is 'indulgence in beauty; addicted to beauty', in which the 'beauty' traditionally denotes that of youthful male characters exclusively.¹ In contemporary China, *danmei* subculture has attracted a prodigious number of female creators and audiences (FENG 2009, XU and YANG 2013, GALBRAITH 2015, HESTER 2015, NAGAIKE 2015, YANG and XU 2016, 2017a, 2017b), who are referred to as 'rotten girls' (*funü* 腐女) that is coined based on a Japanese terminology *fujoshi* (GALBRAITH 2015, HESTER 2015, NAGAIKE 2015).

Owing to its dual interconnection with homosexuality and pornography, *danmei* literature in China is stringently regulated and subjected to moral scrutiny and state censorship (NG 2015, McLELLAND 2016, ZHAO et al. 2017, WANG 2019). As for audio-visual forms of *danmei*, although radio plays and animations adapted from fiction may retain homosexual implications, media representation is under the review of the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television, so in online serials, the visibility of homosexuality must be eliminated via 'top-down expurgation' (WANG 2019). In order to create erotic representations while not be subjected to state censorship, some Jinjiang writers resort to innovative circumvention strategies, which illuminates their resistance (see WANG 2020a for detailed discussions). In addition to rebellion, *danmei* producers and consumers also manifest tactful collaboration with the consumer culture and conformity to the official discourse and legal regulations (WANG 2018, TIAN 2020). For instance, Chinese *danmei* practitioners create and publish under noms de plume for self-protection (XU

¹ As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, *danmei* literature has been developing with the passage of time and has been diverging from its original definition. There have emerged narratives entailing elderly protagonists labelled as *dashu* (大叔. Lit. 'big uncle'), such as works composed by a writer pseudonymised Lanlin 蓝淋.

and YANG 2013). Having said that, the restriction on *danmei* subculture has its positive influence, in that it induces and nourishes women's enterprise: female fan communities in China have developed an efficient network of production and sales based on a Japanese-style archetype (ZHENG 2019).

In China, the most-consumed subcategory of *danmei* literature is textual narratives (WEI 2014), and the vast majority of *danmei* novels are published online (FENG 2011). A pioneering and leading female-oriented literature website hosting *danmei* fiction in China is called JINJIANG LITERATURE CITY (晋江文学城), which is celebrated for its prodigious readership (LINDER 2005, YIN 2005, FENG 2009, 2011, XU and YANG 2013, CHANG and TIAN 2020). By April 2022, Jinjiang Literature City (henceforward Jinjiang) had accommodated over 4.83 million narratives and 53.66 million registered users, among whom 91% are female (JINJIANG LITERATURE CITY 2022).

Notwithstanding the popularity and increasing visibility of *danmei* literature in commercial and marketing aspects, *danmei* is misconstrued as Internet literature that is void of artistic merit, so it fails to attain sufficient scholarly attention. As pointed out by SHAO 2015, Internet literature, parallel to its printed counterpart, is of equal literary value and creative, thought-provoking content. Consequently, Internet literature should be included as part of the analytical framework pertaining to contemporary literature, and should be evaluated by a set of bespoke criteria and discourses (SHAO 2018). Therefore, in this research, I discuss online *danmei* literature, scrutinising a novel entitled *Tianguan ci fu* (天官赐福. Lit. 'Heaven official's blessing') in terms of its defiance against cliché-ridden *danmei* narration and embodiment of religious amalgamation.

Tianguan ci fu (henceforward *Tianguan*) is a 1.14-million-character, 252-chapter novel published on Jinjiang, and after its release in 2017, it used to rank the highest on readers' voting list. *Tianguan* is the chef-d'oeuvre of a contracted Jinjiang writer pseudonymised Moxiangtongxiu 墨香铜臭 (Lit. 'fragrance of ink and odour of money',² henceforward Moxiang), who was nominated as the '2017 Most Popular Jinjiang Writer' and ranked fourteenth among the '2017 Top fifty female Internet writers in China' (SHEN 2017). After its impressive success on Jinjiang, the influence of *Tianguan* has spread to traditional and social media. On Weibo, China's largest social media platform, fans have established a 'super topic' dedicated page for *Tianguan*-related content and discussions; by May 2022, the '*Tianguan* super topic' had attracted more than five billion visits. The author Moxiang has also attracted

² Unless specified otherwise, all extracts, examples and titles are translated by myself.

an enormous fanbase on Weibo – she had over three million Weibo followers by May 2022. Apart from an impressive home readership, *Tianguan* also has legions of non-Chinese-speaking fans abroad. For instance, there is a range of hashtags on Twitter, such as #Tianguancifu and #HeavenOfficialsBlessing, names of the protagonists and popular characters, as well as #Hualian, which is short for Hua Cheng × Xie Lian (the two protagonists) and those ‘shipping’ other couples. Following its commercial success online, *Tianguan* has been published in print versions and sold on home and international markets, and the fiction has been adapted into anime, manga and radio plays. Additionally, *Tianguan* has worked in collaboration with KFC and launched *Tianguan*-themed restaurants in major Chinese cities.

Following (or due to) the rocketing popularity of *Tianguan* and its author, the artistic value of *Tianguan* has been castigated on social media platforms, and the novel anathematised as an overhyped commercial product. Critics’ key arguments include: 1) Moxiang is passionately worshiped by her overzealous fans and eulogised as ‘the light of *danmei*’; 2) Moxiang’s fanbase has been participating in quarrels, conflicts and trolling with those of other *danmei* writers, which might fall into the category of toxic fan practices; and 3) Moxiang’s new novel was ranked topic five on Jinjiang’s voting list, even though she has not published a single word yet, which indicates the irrationality of her fan readers.

2. *Tianguan ci fu*

Tianguan has its setting in ancient China, with one of the protagonists Xie Lian 谢怜 being a benevolent and insightful crown prince admired by his subjects. Lian’s aspiration is to salvage the living via strict cultivation and self-regulation and his well-known quote is ‘body in an abyss; soul in paradise’ (身无间, 心在桃源). During a preponderant ceremonial parade, he ceases the worship performance in order to catch a vagrant child falling from a city wall, which is construed as portending a bad augury for his kingdom. Although afterwards Lian ascends to the heavens as a talented young martial god, he fails to save his motherland from plague and wars, and hence is abominated by his previous believers and deemed ominous. Tortured by repentance of causing a pubescent soldier and a spirit to perish for him, Lian volunteers to be banished from the heavens twice and wears permanent imprecated shackles to be deprived of all his magic and luck. To keep body and soul together and support his fugitive parents, the impoverished former prince is reduced to a labourer, busker and scrap collector. Eight hundred years later, Lian ascends for the third time, but since he has been a laughing stock of all three realms as

a scrap-collecting deity, he is immediately sent down to the mortal realm for arduous chores. Lian meets a charismatic, intelligent ghost called Hua Cheng 花城, who turns out to be the most depredated and powerful lord of demons. Hua has loved Lian since their mortal lives and become invincible so as to protect him as his only believer, yet it takes Hua eight hundred years to find Lian. During a series of escapades and fighting side-by-side with Hua, Lian gradually falls in love with Hua and finds out that Hua is the child he saves as well as the soldier and spirit who died for him twice in previous incarnations. In the ultimate battle with the Heavenly Emperor who is disguised by one of the Four Great Calamities, Hua dies for Lian for the third time, so Lian has been waiting for him until his final rebirth.

‘Romance till death’ (*langman zhisibuyu* 浪漫至死不渝) is the title of Moxiang’s column on Jinjiang, which can serve as the motto of *Tianguan*. In this sense, *Tianguan* might be regarded as bearing a resemblance to the illustrious ‘Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School’ (*yuanyang hudie pai* 鸳鸯蝴蝶派). As a genre renowned for its sentimental stories pertaining to unfulfilled romantic desires including sorrowful, bitter, miserable, wronged and chaste love, the ‘Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School’ can be traced back to the late Qing (1644–1912) era and had sustained its popularity for decades in multimedia forms (LINK 1977, 1981, TAN 2016). Although ‘Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School’ came under censure as a pejorative label while the May Fourth Movement gained momentum (HSIA 1982, CHOW 1986, 1991: 36–38), it contributed to Chinese popular literature and the development of early publishing industry (LI 2012). The discourse of love in 20th-century Chinese fiction served as a hybrid signifier that played a preponderant role in the topography of emotions (LEE 2007: 9).

In addition to romance, *Tianguan* also illustrates faith and belief. The short introduction of *Tianguan* is *wei ni, suoxiangpimi* 为你, 所向披靡, in which *suoxiangpimi* is a fixed idiom literally indicating ‘invincible’ (XINHUA IDIOM DICTIONARY 2002: 669). As for *wei*, it can constitute prepositions ‘because of’ (*yinwei* 因为) or ‘for’ (*weile* 为了), rendering the meaning of *wei ni* polysemous, i.e. ‘because of you’ or ‘for you’. I suggest that in this context *wei* should express both meanings, as indicated in Hua’s confession (1). This expression embodies Hua’s creed, because his self-loathing for not being powerful enough to shield Lian from psychological and physical trauma drives him to an unbeatable condition.

- (1) 我的心上人, 是个勇敢的金枝玉叶的贵人。他救过我的命, 我从很小的时候就仰望着他。但我更想追上他, 为他成为更好

更强的人。虽然，他可能都不太记得我，我们甚至没有说过几句话。我想保护他。

My beloved is a brave, distinguished person. He saved my life, so I've been admiring him since I was a child. But what I want more is to keep pace with him and become a better and stronger man because of and for him. He probably doesn't even remember me, because we haven't spoken to each other much, but I want to protect him.

(*Tianguan*. Chapter 241. Trans. mine)

It is worth mentioning that apart from becoming 'more powerful', Hua becomes a 'better' person because of and for Lian. Hua's weapon is a sentient scimitar forged with his own eye – when he is incarcerated with a group of mortals, he chooses to dig out his own eye to forge a weapon instead of sacrificing another's life, even if he can easily do so, because he is impinged upon by Lian's benevolence (Chapter 237).

Additionally, Hua also takes an oath to Lian upon the latter becomes an immortal, namely, 'I'm always your most devoted believer' (我永远是你最忠诚的信徒), in both romantic and religious senses. This oath occurs in an array of scenes throughout the plot line, and acts as Hua's last line before he perishes for the third time (Chapter 244). A similar expression is 'to die for you is my supreme honour' (为你战死是我至高无上的荣耀) (Chapter 181), which is employed by Hua to reduce Lian's sense of guilt for causing him to become a vulnerable wandering spirit. It is noteworthy that these expressions might have been inspired by vampire narratives and Western fantasies.³ In this sense, there is an affinity between *Tianguan* and a subcategory of *danmei* fiction on Jinjiang, which is dubbed 'Western' (*xifang* 西方). Moreover, in *danmei* fiction under a subgenre called 'quick transmigration' (*kuaichuan* 快穿), storylines regarding Western knighthood and religion are prevalently deployed (see WANG 2021a for more detailed discussions of the subgenre). Having said that, this hypothesis does not invalidate the argument that *Tianguan* is consistent with the 'Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School' and *wuxia* discourse (see below for detailed discussions).

Another significant aspect of the relationship between Lian and Hua is unreserved mutual trust. There is a sentimental custom in the Ghost Realm that a ghost could present their beloved one with their ashes, which are their fatal weakness. As soon as Hua finds Lian after eight hundred years, he disguises his ashes as an ordinary gift and gives it to Lian without hesitation or explanation. As for Lian, even after languishing in glumness and loneliness for hundreds

³ I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing it out.

of years, he unconditionally believes Hua's promises. For instance, since Hua vanishes into the air in the ultimate battle, other divinities all assume his decease, yet Lian insists to wait for him, as Hua has promised to return (Chapter 241–243).

3. Defiance against cliché-ridden *danmei* narration

There is no denying the fact that some *danmei* novels exhibit clichés and limitations. Female readers of contemporary online literature, including *danmei*, are impinged upon by Confucian ethics, rituals and precepts prevailing in pre-modern Chinese society. Although anathematising the persecution and oppression imposed on women by Confucianism, web readers might quote Confucian canons to rationalise the predicaments and travails of female characters and advocate traditional familial hierarchy as a blatant sell out to the patriarchal ethos (FENG 2013). Moreover, since a heteronormative order is affirmed in reality and fantasy, some Chinese 'rotten girls' tend to consume *danmei* through a heteronormative frame. As a consequence, this cohort of 'rotten' readers prefer *danmei* fiction entailing: 1) societal and familial approval, e.g. marriage/wedding and male pregnancy/childbirth; 2) everlasting romantic relationships; 3) traditional masculine-feminine binarism and gender stereotypes in appearance, demeanour, personality and social roles; and 4) absence of 'reversible' penetrant-penetrated sexual roles (ZHAO and MADILL 2018). In terms of the fourth point, to be more specific, *danmei* narratives are prone to a conspicuous bipartite dichotomy between 'seme' *gong* 攻 (top; insertive) and 'uke' *shou* 受 (bottom; receptive) roles, which defines a dominant penetrator and the uke as a passive receiver featured by physical and emotional androgyny (YANG and XU 2017b).

Nevertheless, Moxiang does not ingratiate themselves with *danmei* consumers by producing clichéd plots pertaining to quasi-heterosexual relationships. Before discussing three characteristics of Moxiang's writing, it is worth mentioning that there are other well-established *danmei* writers whose works do not abound with formulaic depictions or plots, exemplified by Priest, Huaishang 淮上, Xizixu 西子绪, Qijingnanqu 骑鲸南去, etc. In particular, I have analysed the exemplary novels composed by a male *danmei* writer, pseudonymised as Feitianyexiang 非天夜翔, whose works are celebrated for their innovative themes, magnificent imagination, literary and historical allusions, as well as elaborate portrayals (see WANG 2021b for detailed discussions).

First, as specified by a tag on Jinjiang, Hua in *Tianguan* assumes the seme role and Lian the uke role, whereas there is void of masculine-feminine binarism, in that neither of the protagonists is effeminate. In pre-modern China, male-male same-sex intimacy and eroticism were comprehensively tolerated and even embraced during the vast majority of historical periods (RUAN and TSAI 1987, HINSCH 1990, LOUIE 2002, 2012, LI 2009). Classical Chinese literature is replete with depictions of feminised boys and men assuming the penetrated role, such as masterpieces ‘The Plum in a Golden Vase’ (*Jin ping mei* 金瓶梅) (CHENG and LEI 2014, ZHANG 2014) and ‘The Story of the Stone’ (*Hong lou meng* 红楼梦) (ZHU 1986, EDWARDS 1990, 2001, ZHOU 1993, 1998). In a contemporary context, the entire Chinese fandom, including *danmei* fangirls, currently exhibit an overwhelming fascination with effeminate-looking, delicate-featured and makeup-clad young male idols who are collectively labelled as ‘little fresh meat’ (*xiao xian rou* 小鲜肉). These idols reflect a new type of male aesthetics, viz. ‘soft masculinity’ that signifies the increasing (purchase) power of women and a shift from consuming female sexuality to the ‘consumption of sexualised men’ (JUNG 2009, 2011: 39, LOUIE 2012, HU 2017, LUO 2017, WANG 2017, ZHOU 2017, LI 2020). In contemporary China, heterosexual women, who are surmised to constitute the vast majority of the ‘rotten’ fandom (LOUIE 2012, YI 2013, XU and YANG 2014, SHAO 2016, ZHOU and LI 2016, ZENG 2017), typically demonstrate preference for men with feminised faces, in stark contrast to homosexual men’s preference (LIU and WU 2016, ZHENG 2019). As a consequence, there is a multitude of *danmei* writers who ingratiate themselves with fan readers by means of creating feminised uke and even seme characters, as epitomised by narratives with tags of ‘sissy uke’ (*niangpao shou* 娘炮受), ‘maiden seme’ (*shaonü gong* 少女攻), ‘soft cute seme’ (*ruanmeng gong* 软萌攻), etc (see WANG 2021c for detailed discussions).

Nonetheless, in *Tianguan*, Moxiang does not characterise either protagonist with effeminacy, malleability or vulnerability. Although Lian assumes the uke role that is stereotypically presumed to be more enfeebled, he demonstrates robust personality, adamant will and positive mentality, thereby being competent to morally support (Chapter 31) and physically protect (Chapter 136) the seme. Under most circumstances, Lian and Hua are equally formidable and well matched in perseverance and unrelentingness. In this sense, *Tianguan* can be regarded as a work under a subcategory dubbed ‘strong-strong’ (*qiang-qiang* 强强) that depicts both seme and uke characters as being mature, independent and resilient, as opposed to the prevalent strong seme × weak uke bipartite dichotomy (see WANG 2021b, 2021d for detailed discussions). There is no denying the fact that instead of ‘versatile’ (*hugong* 互攻. Lit. ‘mutual

seme'), *Tianguan* accords with the conventional seme-uke dyad that is adopted by the vast majority of *danmei* narratives on Jinjiang.⁴ In stark contrast to the Western slash, which is characterised by versatility (XIAO 2018), *danmei* fiction is prone to manifest a conspicuous, non-reversible bipartite dichotomy between seme and uke characters, which tends to stereotype the latter as being physically and emotionally feminine and weak. This stigma is partially impinged upon by conventions of Japanese BL works (YANG and XU 2017b), and it is censured for complying with a patriarchal gender hierarchy and a heteronormative framework (PAGLIASSOTTI 2010, ZHANG 2016, ZHAO and MADILL 2018). Notwithstanding its conventional seme-uke dyad, *Tianguan*, as a work manifesting salient 'strong-strong' elements, is commendable in terms of characterisation.

Additionally, although enjoying beautiful male characters in BL has become formulaic and clichéd (OMOTO 2015), the two protagonists created by Moxiang are not featured by their flawless beauty. In *Tianguan*, Hua's right eye is covered by a black blindfold (Chapter 36), and Lian is always in austere garments and an old grass hat (Chapter 244). There is no denying the fact that being a fully-fledged literary genre, *danmei* indeed encompasses relatively newly-emerged subcategories that do not entail protagonists with impeccable demeanour.⁵ For instance, a profusion of Jinjiang *danmei* narratives are tagged as having 'disabled seme/uke' (*canji gong/shou* 残疾攻/受) or 'wheelchair seme/uke' (*lunyi gong/shou* 轮椅攻/受). The fact that the two protagonists in *Tianguan* do not possess perfect or androgynous appearance is in line with fiction composed by the male writer Feitianyexiang. Seme characters in Feitianyexiang's fiction do not accord with stereotypical *danmei* representation, in that they are predominantly depicted as being stallion-like and having bulging muscles and a dark complexion (see WANG 2021b for detailed discussions). In some of Feitianyexiang's novels, the protagonists do not even have decent clothing or personal hygiene, not to mention 'beauty'. For instance, in his 2015 novel entitled 'Training announcement of level-one state registered exorcists' (*Guojia yiji zhuze qumoshi shanggang peixun tongzhi* 国家一级注册驱魔师上岗培训通知), the seme protagonist is described as an impoverished young man with greasy hair and accumulated grime behind his ears (Chapter 1). Such realistic depictions of imperfect protagonists can also be attested from 'Six accounts of life' (*Fusheng liuji* 浮生六记) by Nankangbaiqi 南康白起, which is arguably the author's semi-autobiography.

⁴ Although versatile narratives only occupy a small proportion of *danmei* fiction on Jinjiang, there are writers who are famed for this subgenre and have legions of devoted fan readers, exemplified by a writer pseudonymised as Wuzhe 巫哲.

⁵ I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing it out.

Second, there is no male pregnancy or childbearing portrayal in *Tianguan* to represent the completeness of a patriarchal family with male heirs, or similar acts such as child adoption, pet raising and surrogacy that frequently appear in *danmei* works. In contemporary China, a *danmei* subgenre called ‘childbearing writing’ (*shengzi wen* 生子文) that features male pregnancy and childbirth is increasingly visible, as illustrated by the expanding amount of such works on Jinjiang and related online discussions (TIAN 2015). In narratives under the category of ‘childbearing writing’, feminised uke characters are depicted as being able to deliver offspring, predominantly male heirs, though the biological feasibility is mostly left unexplained. I postulate that analogous to the strong seme × weak uke pattern, childbearing storylines also encapsulate heteronormative norms (PAGLIASSOTTI 2010, ZHANG 2016, ZHAO and MADILL 2018), and they are even more typical than the seme-uke dyad. Furthermore, although ‘rotten’ producers and consumers are construed and/or self-claimed to be defiant, their production and consumption of narratives concerning male offspring are consistent with a Confucian precept of filial piety and China’s immemorial, infamous and irresistible son preference that is inextricably intertwined with filial piety, ancestral worship and agricultural civilisation (HWANG 1999, GUSTAFSSON and LI 2000, CHAN and TAN 2004, GE and ZENG 2011, GUO and YAN 2015). Moreover, in *Tianguan*, Lian and Hua never have a wedding ceremony that signifies social acceptance in some *danmei* fiction, which further indicates *Tianguan*’s defiance against conventional *danmei* discourse, rather than compliance with it.

Third, *Tianguan* does not contain explicit sexual depictions. BL’s homoerotic representation of beautiful men allows women to express emerging sexual identities without subjugating themselves to oppressive hegemonic paradigms of sex and gender (HARTLEY 2015). As consumers of sexual fantasy, female readers demonstrate sexual desires via self-expression and performance, which means homoerotic content is essentially ‘pleasure-oriented’ for female consumers and pornographic scenes enable their autonomous pleasure-seeking impulse (KANEDA 2007, GALBRAITH 2015, NAGAIKE and AOYAMA 2015, OTOMO 2015). Nonetheless, since 2014, Jinjiang has been under surveillance and prescribed to expurgate explicit depictions of sexual encounters. Therefore, a ‘stricter-than-government’ self-censorship standard has been issued by Jinjiang, which proscribes ‘any depiction of body parts below the neck’ (YANG and XU 2017a: 174, WANG 2019, ZHENG 2019). To accommodate readers while simultaneously circumventing state and Jinjiang censorship, a number of *danmei* writers opt to publish the main text with Jinjiang, yet take refuge at Archive of Our Own – on this non-profit, open-source online repository for transformative works, Jinjiang writers post erotic scenes for their

readership without charge. Additionally, there is a variety of circumvention strategies, such as metaphor, code-switching and satire, which are adopted by *danmei* writers to circumnavigate Jinjiang's stringent self-censorship (see WANG 2020a for detailed discussions). *Tianguan*, however, does not contain graphic descriptions regarding homosexual intercourse, which might fail to accommodate a certain cohort of 'rotten' readers.

In terms of everlasting romantic relationships, although the two protagonists indeed reflect this formulaic plot, the author deploys other characters' stories to convey that 'forever is never possible' (永远是永远都不可能的) (Chapter 242) and 'all feasts come to an end' (天下无不散之宴席) (Chapter 241). For instance, a strong-willed female general is obsessed with a libertine, so she betrays her own country to ingratiate herself with him and breaks her own legs as moral coercion. The libertine takes her in but refuses to marry her, so she commits suicide to make him guilty and becomes a demon slaughtering happy brides out of jealousy (Chapter 11). After hundreds of years of entanglements, she finally reconciles with herself and disappears for reincarnation without a word (Chapter 242). Another paradigm concerns an aristocrat who is reduced to prostitution after her country's destruction. She falls in love with a frequenter and is impregnated with his son, but in order not to encumber him, she conceals the truth and leaves him. After the frequenter becomes a deity and finds her, she leaves again with her son, so as to maintain her final dignity and a decent recollection (Chapter 242).

Tianguan is also featured by an encyclopedic portrayal of the trials and tribulations of various characters. The protagonists in *Tianguan* are by no means single-faceted, flawless role models, as in so-called 'feel-good writing' (*shuangwen* 爽文). Some Internet-based 'feel-good' fantasies harness the fan economy (SHAO 2018) and enhance reading enjoyment via unrealistic plots and depictions. They are anathematised for explicit exploration of mental lascivious fulfilment, viz. 'lust of the mind' (*yiyin* 意淫) (CHAO 2012: 225, HOCKX 2015: 112). Some male-oriented and male-authored works are dubbed 'stud fiction' (*zhongma wen* 种马文), in that the male protagonists are admired by the female characters for their stud-like virile prowess (FENG 2011, 2013). In patriarchal time-travel 'stud fiction', protagonists are also facilitated by a 'golden finger' (*jin shou zhi* 金手指) that enables them to reverse history and conquer the past and legions of women (FENG 2013, SHAO et al. 2016, SHAO 2019, SHAO 2020). Additionally, web-based literature also abounds with 'Mary Sue' (*Mali Su* 玛丽苏) heroines and 'Gary Stu' (*Jieke Su* 杰克苏) heroes. For instance, in a phenomenal 2015 television serial 'Nirvana in Fire' (*Langya bang* 琅琊榜), the hero is characterised by charisma, intelligence,

righteousness and in particular, attractiveness (SHAO 2016); the original novel was initially published online under the category of *danmei*, and the hero was designed as a ‘Gary Stu’ assuming the uke role (GUAN 2016, WANG 2017).

In *Tianguan*, however, driven by impoverishment, grief and desperation, the protagonist Lian nearly resorts to robbery (Chapter 184) and vengeance (Chapter 191), but he manages to refrain himself due to self-determination and a stranger’s unintentional philanthropic deed. As a noble crown prince, Lian is well-versed in art and music, so he overcomes the shame and deploys a talent for street performances; he used to be waited upon by a myriad of servants, so after he becomes impoverished, the food he has to cook by himself is devastating and only Hua can eat it without being poisoned. These contrasts are supposed to exacerbate Hua’s tragic fate, whereas the author’s depictions render the protagonist multifaceted in a humorous manner. The other protagonist Hua also demonstrates multifacetedness: he treats Lian with utmost care and veneration but is self-abased in front of him; he is passionate about Lian but shows a nonchalant and sometimes indifferent attitude towards others. The author also gives Hua a shortcoming to make this character more real: Hua is adept at virtually everything from fighting to farming and carpentry, whereas his poor handwriting is virtually indecipherable, so although he has tattooed Lian’s name on his arm, the latter does not recognise it.

Apart from the two main characters, there is a wide range of fully fledged characters who embody the complexity of human nature. Significantly, they do not serve as ‘a barrier to the male characters’ developing a relationship’ (BLAIR 2010: 113), tools to accelerate the development of the romantic bond, or ‘cannon fodder’ who are obsessed with protagonists but never get accepted. By contrast, even minor characters in the fiction are imagery-evoking and thought-provoking. A salient property of characters in *Tianguan* is that none of them is mono-faceted: they are enriched by contradictory acts and perplexed emotions, so none of them can be simply summarised in just a few words. Typical examples include a couple who stab Lian in a hope to render their child immune to plague (Chapter 190), a courageous and straightforward martial god who is known for his dread of women and misogyny yet who has an illegitimate son with a prostitute (Chapter 48/242), as well as a short-tempered farmer who shouts obscenities at the downhearted Lian for tripping him over yet later gives Lian a bamboo hat to shelter from the rain as an apologetic gesture, which restores Lian’s faith in human kindness (Chapter 196).

Tianguan is also characterised by humorous depictions that mitigate sorrowful plots and enhance reading pleasure. For instance, the description of a telepathic communication system for heavenly officials bears resemblance to

the ‘group chat’ function of WeChat, a leading social media platform in China. As a deity who is antediluvian in heavenly trends owing to his long banishment in the mortal realm, Lian always shares outdated content such as beautifully composed lyrics and secret know-how to release waist and leg pain (Chapter 13), which reminds readers of their elderly families who struggle to keep up with the topics of younger generations. However, even after hundreds of years’ agony, Lian is still young at heart, in that the password of his private telepathic communication system is ‘just recite *The book of the way* for a thousand times’, which tricks other deities but in reality is just the phrase itself (Chapter 139).

4. Religious ideology: Amalgamation of religions

Tianguan abounds in religious implications and falls into the category of ‘immortality cultivation’ (*xiuxian* 修仙 or *xiuzhen* 修真). As an indigenous Chinese literary genre highlighting magical arts and imaginary worlds, *xiuxian/xiuzhen* is grounded in Chinese culture and religion, especially Daoist (aka Taoist) alchemy. *Xiuxian/xiuzhen* literature in postsocialist China is postsecular, in that it captures the influence of the religious revival since the 1980s on popular culture and challenges the state’s secularisation projects in the 20th century. The postsecularity of ‘superstitious’ fantasies alters the utopian dreams of socialism and deviates from the anti-religious and anti-superstitious ideology in this modern secular country (ZHANG 2020a, 2020b). Correlated with traditional novels and influenced by mass-market Western novels, ‘immortality cultivation’ fantasies do not simply generate reality-escaping and wish-fulfilling reverie. More significantly, they serve as a platform for Chinese readers to orient themselves in a postsocialist, neoliberal capitalist context, by means of enabling them to reconsider the contemporary, Western, triad of religion, science and superstition (NI 2020a). *Xiuxian/xiuzhen* fantasies are enriched by magical transhumanism beyond boundaries of ‘legitimate’ religion and science, thereby inventing a posthuman subject and a utopian world (NI 2020b); Daoist alchemy, in particular, bears resemblance to transhumanist technology in terms of theories and visions (KOHN 2009, 2014).

Although on Jinjiang, *Tianguan* is tagged as *xiuxian/xiuzhen*, I propound that it bears similitude with another illustrious indigenous Chinese genre, i.e. *wuxia* 武侠, which is inextricably intertwined with ‘Mandarin Duck and Butterfly’ literature (ZHENG 1984, WONG 2007). Within this terminology, *wu* denotes militaristic and martial qualities, while *xia* denotes ‘chivalry, gallantry, qualities of knighthood and heroism’ (TEO 2009: 2). *Wuxia*, therefore, has been rendered into a diversity of versions, e.g. ‘Chinese knighthood’ (LIU 1967), ‘novels of martial chivalry’ (HUANZHULOUZHU 1991: 7), ‘martial arts heroes’

(To 2019), etc. Modern Chinese *wuxia* literature can be divided into three subcategories, recounting: 1) historical occurrences and their glorification; 2) martial feats and exotic weapons; and 3) immortality and the supernatural (WANG 1988). Significantly, *wuxia* is deeply rooted in the spiritual and ideological mores of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism (LI 2011, FU 2012, REHLING 2012). For instance, in *wuxia* fantasies, chivalry functions as an all-inclusive conception appertaining to Confucian ethics. The *wuxia* spirit is also pertinent to ideals such as loyalty, fidelity, charity, trust and peace (DU 1968: 63, TEO 2009: 73–74, 2012), which, I propound, are analogous to the five cardinal virtues of Confucianism, viz. ‘benevolence’ (*ren* 仁), ‘righteousness’ (*yi* 义), ‘propriety’ (*li* 礼), ‘wisdom’ (*zhi* 智) and ‘faithfulness’ (*xin* 信) (CHENG and CHENG 1989: 105, WILKINSON 1996, HUANG 2013), as well as the advocacy of social harmony (*he* 和) (AMES 1991, 2011, NEVILLE 2011, YU 2013, WONG 2020). As mentioned previously, *Tianguan* bears resemblance to ‘Mandarin Duck and Butterfly’ literature. This romance-themed genre also manifests religious characteristics, particularly a Confucian configuration of feelings derived from Confucian ethos, e.g. ‘propriety’ (*li* 礼), ‘righteousness’ (*yi* 义), ‘loyalty; patriotism’ (*zhong* 忠) and ‘filial piety’ (*xiao* 孝) (LINK 1977, CHOU 1986, 1991: 54, LEE 2007: 15, TAN 2016).

It is notable that *Tianguan*, as a *xiuzhen/xiuxian* narrative with *wuxia* and ‘Mandarin Duck and Butterfly’ elements, embodies the coexistence of three institutionalised religious credos and practices, viz. indigenous Confucianism and Daoism, as well as Sinicised Buddhism of foreign provenance, which illuminates the three-hold division of Chinese religion. In China, there is harmonious condominium of three teachings, which is referred to as ‘the unity of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism’ (*san jiao he yi* 三教合一), analogous to syncretism. Institutionalised ethics and religious traditions, i.e. Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, along with sub-religions and folk religion (or popular religion, *minjian zongjiao* 民间宗教), have coexisted with a considerable degree of harmony (COHEN 1992: 17–31, TEISER 1996, GENTZ 2011, NORENZAYAN 2016). The extant ideal of *san jiao he yi* can be attested during the Tang (618–907 CE) dynasty (BROOK 1993, GONG and GONG 2010), based on integration of indigenous Confucianism and Daoism with Buddhism that is of foreign origin (FAN and WHITEHEAD 2011, SHAHAR 2013). Notwithstanding divergent canons and liturgies (HUANG 1998, ADLER 2002), the harmonious contemporaneousness of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism is regarded as syncretism. According to a proverb extracted from a 1605 classic ‘Investiture of the gods’ (*Fengshen yanyi* 封神演义) (KAO 2002, LU 2011), ‘[t]he three teachings – the gold and cinnabar of Daoism, the relics of Buddhist figures, as well as the Confucian virtues of humanity and

righteousness – are basically one tradition’ (PLOPPER 1926: 16, TEISER 1996: 3, TILAK 2008). Since it first attained embracement in the late Ming (1368–1644) era (DUARA 2008), syncretism has underpinned a construct in which Confucianism is treated as the mainstay, with Daoism and Sinicised Buddhism functioning as branches (HAN 2011, SHAN 2012, SUN 2012).

In *Tianguan*, the dominant religion is Daoism, which accords with the *xiuxian/xiuzhen* genre. The morality-immortality binary dichotomy in the novel is based on a pivotal Daoist notion of ‘ascension’ (*sheng* 升 or *feisheng* 飞升), viz. attainment of official positions in the heavens. Western ascension is established in Shangqing scriptures and functions as the essential idea of following mystical literature, so this connotation becomes a synonym of Daoist realisation (KOHN 1991: 7, 76). Moreover, in *Tianguan*, there are Four Great Calamities: 1) Black Water Submerging Boats, who exhibits a tendency of gluttony (Chapter 91); 2) Green Light Wandering Nights, who is featured by ferociousness and bloodthirstiness (Chapter 49); 3) White Garment Cursing World, who tempts people into evil (Chapter 86); and 4) Blood Rain Reaching Flowers (i.e. Hua), who is chastised by hypocrites for harbouring ghosts (Chapter 137). Given their one-to-one matched colours, I presume that these four demon lords of the ghost realm are created based on the propitious Daoist ‘Four Symbols’ (*sixiang* 四象), viz. Black Tortoise of the North (Xuanwu 玄武), Azure Dragon of the East (Qinglong 青龙), White Tiger of the West (Baihu 白虎) and Vermilion Bird of the South (Zhuque 朱雀) (BATES 2007: 108). The attributes of the Four Great Calamities, however, are pertinent to figures collectively referred to as ‘Four Perils’ (*sixiong* 四凶), viz. ‘Chaotic’ (Hundun 混沌), ‘Bizarre’ (Qiongqi 穷奇), ‘Mischievous’ (Taowu 罔两) and ‘Avaricious’ (Taotie 饕餮) (ZDIC.NET 2022a). I posit that the contradictory yet harmonious combination of both auspicious and menacing implications in the Four Great Calamities embodies the integration and inseparability of *yin* and *yang* as quintessential Daoist construals (AMES 2001, KIRKLAND 2004: 221, CHAN 2010).

I posit that *Tianguan* does not simply contain fundamental Daoist concepts, in that Daoist culture is implied throughout the novel in the form of religious allusions. For instance, a hint auguring the bond between Lian and Hua is coral bead: it is Lian’s earring worn for the ceremonial performance, and when he catches the young Hua falling from the city wall with his arms, the latter takes the bead and wears it for eight hundred years. According to a Daoist treatise *Taishanglaojun Neiriyong Miaojing* (太上老君内日用妙经) (circa 1046–771 BCE), coral is one of the seven Daoist propitious treasures representing different human organs, and it corresponds to heart specifically (BENN 2019:

185), so the plot can be interpreted in a sense that Hua stole Lian's heart as his predestined partner when he was a child. Another example is an immortal's pseudonym Fuyao 扶摇 that is derived from a Daoist classic *Zhuangzi* 庄子 during the Warring States (475–221 BCE) period. In Chapter 'Wandering beyond' (*Xiaoyao you* 逍遥游), an elephantine primordial birth called Peng 鹏 is able to rock and rise ninety thousand leagues upwards (抟扶摇而上者九万里) (COUTINHO 2016: 69). The expression *fuyao* in *Zhuangzi* originally denotes strong upwards wind and is later employed to metaphorically describe expeditious promotion in official careers (ZDIC.NET 2022b). This connotation accords with the situation of the relevant god in *Tianguan*, as he used to be a low-ranking servant of Lian, but soon after his treachery of his master, he successfully becomes a martial god overseeing the southwest of China with more than seven thousand temples dedicated to him. Furthermore, *Tianguan* abounds in expressions indicating its Daoist setting, exemplified by 'genuine lord' (*zhenjun* 真君) as a title for Daoist divinities, 'Daoist friend' (*daoyou* 道友) as a way to address peer religious practitioners, as well as 'Daoist robe' (*daopao* 道袍), 'Daoist master' (*daozhang* 道长), 'Daoist temple' (*daoguan* 道观), etc.

In *Tianguan*, Buddhism, as a Sinicised religion, coexists with the indigenous Daoism. Two representative precepts of Buddhist theology are reincarnation and karmic retribution. Reincarnation, namely rebirth or transmigration, denotes a construct of 'taking on the flesh again' and cyclical existence, viz. a process that a living being starts a new life in a disparate physical body or species after each biological decease (REASONER 2010, BURLEY 2013, NAGARAJ et al. 2013). According to Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist credence, it takes forty-nine days for unresolved karmas to locate a new home, during which the remains of a person take a ghostly form and re-enter the realm of samsara (CHAPPLE 2017). In order to enable or accelerate the process of reincarnation, a ceremonial performance needs to be conducted to facilitate souls, especially those of premature death, to find peace (COHEN 1992). Reincarnation is implied in *Tianguan*, as in Example (2) involving the conceptions of rebirth and afterlife.

- (2) 半月国人极重丧葬礼仪, 他们相信, 死者逝去时, 尸体是什么样子, 他们来世就会是什么样子。

The Banyue people took funeral rituals extremely seriously, because they believed that the appearance of the corpse would be that of the deceased when he or she was reborn.'

(*Tianguan*. Chapter 26. Trans. mine)

In terms of retribution, or reciprocity, it can be divided into two subcategories, namely, ethical retribution that falls within the purview of human beings, and divine retribution dominated by divinities with supernatural power (CAMPANY 1996: 367–394, ZHANG 2013). The Chinese concept of *baoying* 报应 ‘retribution’ is karmic, triggered by the law of causation in Buddhist philosophy. Punishment and reward in causal relationships are realised either in the current life or in the subsequent life or lives, and they can be conducted via agency as an instrument, e.g. the ten Buddhist hells (CHEN 1973: 110–111, KAO 1989, HELLER 2017). In *Tianguan*, there is a karmic construal that sinfulness and abhorrent wrongdoings will be anathematised and imprecated in a form of contrition. The narrative is also enriched by an intuition of immanent justice that abhorrent deeds ineluctably beget odious aftermaths in the fullness of time, and they may rebound on sinners’ kith and kin. The tenet of retribution is typically epitomised by two brothers Master Water and Master Wind. To rescue his cursed brother from doom, Master Water exchanges his lugubrious fate with an innocent mortal, leading to the perishing of the latter’s entire family. His brother, however, ascends as Master Wind. After the victim becomes Black Water Submerging Boats and forces punitive justice, Master Water pleads for mercy for his brother and volunteers to be decapitated as repentance. As an innocent young man of a compassionate and cheerful personality, Master Wind did not know his brother’s ignominious misconduct, whereas after Black Water’s vengeance, he voluntarily becomes a disabled mortal beggar and lives in torment, thereby atoning the sin on behalf of Master Water (Chapter 124–125).

Moreover, the harmonious unification of religious teachings is also reflected by the Confucian mores of ‘benevolence’ (*ren* 仁) and ‘filial piety’ (*xiao* 孝) in *Tianguan*. The anthropological source of ethically evaluative sentiments of imperial China is adumbrated in Confucian classics, exemplified by ‘Analects’ (*Lunyu* 论语) (circa 5th–3rd c. BCE) and ‘Mencius’ (*Mengzi* 孟子) (circa 4th c. BCE). Benevolence, or human-heartedness, is regarded as the cardinal virtue that applies without being restricted by social hierarchy. Benevolence is fundamentally the paradigmatic virtue or ethical domain of the ruling class and Confucian ‘gentlemen’ (*junzi* 君子), which is deployed to govern through moral suasion, instead of brute force (VAN NORDEN 2004, WANG 2004, GODIN 2011: 19–21, KIM and CSIKSZENTMIHALYI 2014, HARBSMEIER 2015, CSIKSZENTMIHALYI 2020). As for the virtue of filial piety, it is construed as the core pillar of the Confucian ethical system. Being role-based, filial piety specifies moral norms that encompass material and emotional aspects of not only parent-child and authority-subordination relationships, but also societal structure, ethical requirements and power dynamics (HO 1986, IKELS 2004:

187–191, YEH and BEDFORD 2019, BEDFORD and YEH 2020). Filial piety serves as the source of one's construction of personality and personal identity, as well as one's service-mindedness to their superiors whose authority is unconditional and conceptually independent of moral excellence (YAO 1995, HARBSMEIER 2015). Under the palpable Confucian moral codes and precepts, filial impiety was the most abominable form of crime in pre-modern China (RUSKOLA 1994). In *Tianguan*, Lian demonstrates filial piety in a form of veneration and obedience not only to his parents in a familial context, but also to his imperial tutor and the Heavenly Emperor as his superordinates in the social hierarchy. Additionally, the reciprocal concern and responsibility between Master Water and Master Wind epitomise another Confucian creed regarding brotherhood, namely, 'fraternal reverence/love' (*ti* 悌), which appertains to filial piety and serves as one of the five fundamental human relationships, viz. the 'five constant relationships' (*wu lun* 五伦) (HSÜ 1970, FANG 2012, LEE 2012: 88, TAN 2018).

In addition to orthodoxies and ethics of the three institutionalised teachings, *Tianguan* also embraces mythology pertaining to folk religion. For instance, I posit that the archetype of a jinx monster in Chapter 103 is derived from an anthology of folk religion anecdotes, which is entitled 'In search of the supernatural: the written record' (*Sou shen ji* 搜神记) and compiled by a court historian Gan Bao 干宝 circa 350 CE (DEWOSKIN and CRUMP 1996: xxv, XIE 2014). In this 'strange writing' (*zhiguai* 志怪) collection, a rat with occult powers is recorded as being able to foresee and announce one's date of decease, which is analogous to the baleful jinx monster in *Tianguan*. Another paradigm is the Lord of Land (*Tudi shen* 土地神 or *Tudi gong* 土地公), who is among the most ancient divinities within the pantheon of folk religion (STEVENS 2001: 68, HODOUS 2020). In Chapter 246 of *Tianguan*, Lian breaks some trees out of fury, so the Lord of Land immediately emerges from the earth and begs Lian not to vandalise his belongings. The plot regarding the Lord of Land is consistent with his status in folk religion, namely a low-ranking deity who serves as a patron of denizens, flora and fauna (YANG 1967: 97, HALL 2009), agricultural harvest (FEUCHTWANG 2001) and commercial success (DELL'ORTO 2002: 149) in local communities.

I have propounded that the overarching rationale accounting for the contemporaneous of religious theologies is attributed to the practicality and pragmatism of the Chinese nation (WANG 2020b). Such attributes are illuminated in *Tianguan*. As can be seen from Example (3), villagers pray in a temple, without even caring which divinity they are praying to. I postulate that such pragmatism encapsulated in this *danmei* work is in line with the

pragmatic orthodoxy prevailing in contemporary China. For instance, there is an illustrious statement correlated with the reforms and opening up of the late 1970s, namely ‘It doesn’t matter whether a cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice’ (不管黑猫白猫, 捉到老鼠就是好猫), which was proposed by the Chinese communist leader Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 (CHAI 2003, YU 2014, PANTSOV and LEVINE 2015: 222, BUCKLE 2018). Additionally, as can be seen from Example (4), upon finding out that the divinity cannot satisfy their requirements, worshippers annihilate sacred shrines, without apprehension about their profanity. I posit that this example in *Tianguan* embodies the atheist ideology advocated in contemporary China (LEUNG 2005, XIE et al. 2017, LI et al. 2018), as well as quotidian people’s subjectivity.

- (3) 村民们虽然压根都不知道这观里供的是哪路神仙, 但纷纷强烈要求在此上一炷香, 反正不管什么仙, 统统都是仙, 拜一拜总归不会有什么坏处。

The villagers did not even know which god the temple was devoted to, yet they all insisted to burn an incense stick here – anyway, no matter which god he was, a god was still a god, and praying to gods would never do any harm.

(*Tianguan*. Chapter 16. Trans. mine)

- (4) 原来, 他们奉为天神的太子, 根本没有他们想象得那么完美强大...满身伤痛的百姓愤怒地涌入太子殿中, 推倒了神像, 烧毁了神殿。从那以后, 一位守护平安的武神便消失了, 而一位招来灾祸的瘟神诞生了。人们说你是神你就是神, 说你是屎你就是屎, 说你是什么你就得是什么。本来如此。

It turned out that the crown prince they had been worshipping was not as formidable or perfect as they had imagined ... Furious people covered in wounds stampeded into the crown prince’s shrines, tore down his statues and burned his shrines. From then on, a martial god blessing peace faded away, while a demonic god who begot disasters loomed. If people said you were a god, you were a god; if they said you were shit, you were shit. Whatever people said you were, that would be what you become. It had always been like this.

(*Tianguan*. Chapter 1. Trans. mine)

5. Conclusion

To summarise, online *danmei* novels deserve more critical and scholarly attention, as exemplified by *Tianguan*. *Tianguan* not only portrays romance, but also manifests the complexity of human nature via a range of multifaceted

characters. Although *Tianguan* has not been classified into the category of serious literature, it avoids clichéd *danmei* plots pertaining to quasi-heterosexual relationships. To be more specific, *Tianguan* does not deploy three cliché-ridden elements prevailing in *danmei* fiction. First, there is void of androgyny of seme and/or uke roles, which strives to constitute a masculine-feminine bipartite dichotomy. Second, there is void of male pregnancy or childbearing portrayal, which embodies the completeness of a patriarchal family with male heirs. Third, there is void of explicit homoerotic depiction accommodating female readers' sexual desire and pleasure-seeking impulse. Furthermore, *Tianguan* embodies Confucian, Daoist and Buddhist precepts and teachings, as well as the harmonious contemporaneous of the three institutionalised religions and folk religion. Therefore, the popularity of *Tianguan* can indicate the prevailing theistic belief and *san jiao he yi* ideal among writers and readers of Internet *danmei* literature.

There is no denying the fact that the humorous, insightful depictions and religious tropes are not exclusive to *Tianguan*, and there is a multitude of other commendable *danmei* narratives on Jinjiang. Nonetheless, the artistic value, including narrative configuration, character design and theme construction, along with the ideological bent of *Tianguan*, render it more exceptional than its cliché-ridden counterparts. The hermeneutic scrutiny of *Tianguan* also exhibits the significance and value of online *danmei* literature as a prominent category of contemporary Chinese literature.

Abbreviations

ACG	anime, comics and games.
BL	Boys Love, a literature genre.
Jinjiang	JINJIANG LITERATURE CITY.

References

- ADLER, Joseph A. 2002. *Chinese Religious Traditions*. New York: Pearson.
- AMES, Roger T. 1991. 'The Mencian Conception of Ren Xing: Does It Mean Human Nature?'. [In:] Rosemont, Henry, ed., *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts: Essays Dedicated to Angus C. Graham*. La Salle, IL: Open Court, pp. 143–175.
- AMES, Roger T. 2001. 'The Local and the Focal in Realizing a Daoist World'. [In:] Girardot, N. J., James Miller and Liu Xiaogan, eds, *Daoism and Ecology: Ways within a Cosmic Landscape*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, pp. 265–322.

- AMES, Roger T. 2011. *Confucian Role Ethics: A Vocabulary*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- BATES, Roy 2007. *Ten Thousand Chinese Numbers*. Beijing: China History Press.
- BEDFORD, Olwen and Kuang-Hui YEH 2019. 'The History and the Future of the Psychology of Filial Piety: Chinese Norms to Contextualized Personality Construct'. *Frontiers in Psychology* 10:100. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00100>.
- BENN, Charles D. 2019. *The Cavern-Mystery Transmission: A Taoist Ordination Rite of A.D. 711*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- BLAIR, M. M. 2010. "'She Should Just Die in a Ditch': Fan Reactions to Female Characters in Boys' Love Manga". [In:] Levi, Antonia, Mark McHarry and Dru Pagliassotti, eds, *Boys' Love Manga: Essays on the Sexual Ambiguity and Cross-Cultural Fandom of the Genre*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, pp. 110–125.
- BROOK, Timothy 1993. 'Rethinking Syncretism: The Unity of the Three Teachings and their Joint Worship in Late-Imperial China'. *Journal of Chinese Religions* 21(1): 13–44.
- BUCKLE, Mark 2018. 'Black cat, white cat ...'. *China Daily*, 2 August 2018. <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201808/02/WS5b728ae4a310add14f385b4a.html> (accessed 6 June 2022).
- BURLEY, Mikel 2013. 'Retributive karma and the problem of blaming the victim'. *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 74: 149–165.
- CAMPANY, Robert Ford 1996. *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- CHAI, Winberg 2003. 'The Ideological Paradigm Shifts of China's World Views: From Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the Pragmatism-Multilateralism of the Deng-Jiang-Hu Era'. *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 30(3): 163–175.
- CHAN, Alan 2010. 'Introduction'. [In:] Chan, Alan K. L. and Yuet-Keung Lo, eds, *Philosophy and Religion in Early Medieval China*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, pp. 1–22.
- CHAN, Alan and Sor-Hoon TAN 2004. 'Introduction'. [In:] Chan Alan K. L. and Sor-Hoon Tan, eds, *Filial piety in Chinese thought and history*. London: Routledge Curzon, pp. 9–16.
- CHANG, Jiang and Hao TIAN 2020. 'Girl power in boy love: Yaoi, online female counterculture, and digital feminism in China'. *Feminist Media Studies* 21(4): 604–620. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2020.1803942>.
- CHAPPLE, Christopher 2017. 'Reincarnation: Mechanics, Narratives, and Implications'. *Religions* 8(11): 236.
- CHEN, Kenneth 1973. *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- CHENG, Doudou and Yong LEI 2014. "'Yuwang" yu "zhiqing" – Jinpingmei yu Hongloulou zhong de tongxinglian shuxie "欲望"与"至情"——《金瓶梅》

- 与《红楼梦》中的同性恋书写' [Desire and ultimate emotion – The Plum in the Golden Vase and Dream of the Red Chamber]. *Journal of Shaanxi University of Technology (Social Science Edition)* 2014(4): 25–28.
- CHENG, Hao and Yi CHENG 1989. *Er Cheng Ji* 二程集 [Collected Works of Cheng Brothers]. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
- CHIANG, Sing-chen Lydia 2005. *Collecting the Self: Body and Identity in Strange Tale Collections of Late Imperial China*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- CHOW, Rey 1986. 'Rereading Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: A Response to the "Postmodern" Condition'. *Cultural Critique* 5: 69–93.
- CHOW, Rey 1991. *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading Between West and East*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- COHEN, Myron L. 1992. 'Religion in a State Society: China'. [In:] Cohen, Myron L., ed., *Asia: Case Studies in the Social Sciences*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc, pp. 17–31.
- COOK, Rufus 1997. 'Cross-Cultural Wordplay in Maxine Hong Kingston's China Men and The Woman Warrior'. *MELUS* 22(4): 133–146.
- COUTINHO, Steve 2016. *Zhuangzi and Early Chinese Philosophy: Vagueness, Transformation and Paradox*. London, New York: Taylor & Francis Group.
- CSIKSZENTMIHALYI, Mark 2020. 'Confucius'. [In:] Zalta, Edward N., ed., *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2020 Edition). <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2020/entries/confucius/> (accessed 6 June 2022).
- DASGUPTA, Romit 2006. 'The Film Bishonen and Queer(N)Asia through Japanese Popular Culture'. [In:] Allen, Matthew and Rumi Sakamoto, eds, *Popular Culture, Globalization and Japan*. Abingdon, England: Routledge, pp. 36–55.
- DELL'ORTO, Allesandro 2002. *Place and spirit in Taiwan: Tudi Gong in the stories, strategies, and memories of everyday life*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- DEWOSKIN Kenneth J. and James Irving CRUMP, trans. 1996. *In Search of the Supernatural: The Written Record*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- DU, Yunzhi 1968. 'Wuxia pian yu xiayi jingshen 武侠片与侠义精神 [Wuxia film and the spirit of chivalry]'. *Xianggang Yinghua* [Hong Kong Movie News] 1968, February: 62–63.
- DUARA, Prasenjit 2008. 'Religion and Citizenship in China and the Diaspora'. [In:] Yang, Mayfair Mei-hui, ed., *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 43–64.
- EDWARDS, Louise 1990. 'Gender Imperatives in Honglou meng: Baoyu's Bisexuality'. *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 12: 69–81.
- EDWARDS, Louise 2001. *Men and Women in Qing China: Gender in the Red Chamber Dream*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

- EDWARDS, Louise 2010. 'Transformations of The Woman Warrior Hua Mulan: From Defender of The Family To Servant of The State'. *Nan Nü* 1: 175–214.
- FAN, Lizhu and James, D. WHITEHEAD 2011. 'Spirituality in a Modern Chinese Metropolis'. [In:] Palmer, David A., Glenn Shive and Philip L. Wickeri, eds, *Chinese Religious Life*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 13–29.
- FANG, Xudon 2012. 'Confucian Ethics and Impartiality: On the Confucian View about Brotherhood'. *Frontiers of Philosophy in China* 7(1): 1–19.
- FENG, Jin 2009. "'Addicted to Beauty": Consuming and Producing Web-Based Chinese Danmei Fiction at Jinjiang'. *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 21(2): 1–41.
- FENG, Jin 2011. 'Men Conquer the World and Women Save Mankind: Rewriting Patriarchal Traditions through Web-based Matriarchal Romances'. *Journal of Popular Romance Studies* 1(2). <https://www.jprstudies.org/2011/03/men-conquer-the-world-and-women-save-mankind/> (accessed 6 June 2022).
- FENG, Jin 2013. 'Men Conquer the World and Women Save Mankind'. [In:] Feng, Jin, *Romancing the Internet: Producing and Consuming Chinese Web Romance*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 85–108. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004259720_005.
- FENG, Lan 2003. 'The Female Individual and the Empire: A Historicist Approach to Mulan and Kingston's Woman Warrior'. *Comparative Literature* 55(3): 229–245.
- FEUCHTWANG, Stephan 2001. *Popular religions in China: The imperial metaphor*. Richmond, England: Curzon.
- FU, Qiang 2012. 'Jin Yong wuxia xiaoshuo ru, dao, fo chuangzuo sixiangde yanbian ronghe' 金庸武侠小说儒、道、佛创作思想的衍变融合 [Evolution and integration of Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism in Jin Yong's swordman novel]. *Journal of Hebei University of Arts and Science* 33(6): 71–74.
- GALBRAITH, Patrick W. 2015. 'Moe talk: Affective communication among female fans of yaoi in Japan'. [In:] McLelland, Mark, Kazumi Nagaike, Katsuhiko Suganuma and James Walker, eds, *Boys Love Manga and Beyond: History, Culture, and Community in Japan*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, pp. 153–168.
- GE, Yuhao and Xiangquan ZENG 2011. 'The effect of marker discrimination on gender wage Gap in Urban China'. *Economic Research Journal* 46(6): 45–56.
- GENTZ, Joachim 2011. 'Rational choice and the Chinese discourse on the Unity of the Three Religions (sanjiao heyi)'. *Religion* 41(4): 535–546.
- GOLDIN, Paul 2011. *Confucianism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- GONG, Wanlin and Dazhong GONG 2010. 'Rushidao sanjiao heyi yu sengjia chongbai tuxiang 儒释道三教合一与僧伽崇拜图像 [Unity of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism and totems of monks]'. *Aesthetics* 4: 87–89.
- GUAN, Xuelian 2016. 'Malisu shenhuade lishi yiju, xushi fanwei he shenmei quwei 玛丽苏神话的历史理据、叙事范式和审美趣味 [History, narrative scopes and aesthetic preference of Mary Sue stories]'. *Literary Review* 4: 165–170.

- GUO, Kaiming and Se YAN 2015. 'Gender gap in labor market and the related regulations'. *Economic Research Journal* 50(7): 42–56.
- GUSTAFSSON, Björn and Shi Li 2000. 'Economic transformation and the gender earnings gap in urban China'. *Journal of Population Economics* 13: 305–329.
- HALL, Christopher A. 2009. 'Tudi Gong in Taiwan'. *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* 31: 97–112.
- HAN, Xing 2011. 'Quanzhendao sanjiaoheyi de lilun tezhen 全真道三教合一的理论特征 [Quan zhen dao: a combination of Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism]'. *Journal of Lanzhou University* 5: 1–6.
- HARBSMEIER, Christoph 2015. 'On the Nature of Early Confucian Classical Chinese Discourse on Ethical Norms'. *Journal of Value Inquiry* 49: 517–541.
- HELLER, Natasha 2017. 'Understanding Retribution in a Changing Religious Landscape: The Case of Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–591 CE)'. [In:] Poo, Mu-chou, H. A. Drake and Lisa Raphals, eds, *Old Society, New Belief: Religious transformation of China and Rome, ca. 1st–6th Centuries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 231–244.
- HESTER, Jeffery T. 2015. 'Fujoshi emergent: Shifting popular representations of yaoi/BL fandom in Japan'. [In:] McLelland, Mark, Kazumi Nagaïke, Katsuhiko Suganuma and James Welker, eds, *Boys Love Manga and Beyond: History, Culture, and Community in Japan*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, pp. 169–189.
- HINSCH, Bret 1990. *Passions of the Cut Sleeve: The Male Homosexual Tradition in China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- HO, D. 1986. 'Chinese patterns of socialization: a critical review'. [In:] Bond, Michael Harris, ed., *The Psychology of the Chinese People*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, pp. 1–37.
- HODOUS, Lewis 2020. 'Folk Religion'. [In:] MacNair, Harley Farnsworth, ed., *China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 231–244.
- HSIA, Chih-ting 1982. 'Hsü Chen-ya's Yü-li hun: An Essay in Literary History and Criticism'. *Renditions* 17 & 18: 199–240.
- HSÜ, Dau-lin 1970. 'The Myth of the "Five Human Relations" of Confucius'. *Monumenta Serica Journal of Oriental Studies* 29(1): 27–37.
- HU, Chaokai 2017. 'Deciphering "Nan Se consumption" under consumerist culture'. *Journal of News Research* 8(22): 83–86.
- HUANG, Xinchuan 1998. 'Sanjiaoheyi zai woguo fazhan de guocheng, tedian jiqi dui zhoubian guojia de yingxiang '三教合一'在我国发展的过程,特点及其对周边国家的影响 [The development, characteristics and influence on neighbouring countries of sanjiaoheyi in China]'. *Philosophical Research* 8: 25–31.
- HUANG, Yong 2013. 'Between Generalism and Particularism: The Cheng Brothers' Neo-Confucian Virtue Ethics'. [In:] Angle, Stephen and Michael Slote, eds, *Virtue Ethics and Confucianism*. New York, Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, pp. 162–170.

- HUANZHULOUZHU 1991. *Blades from the Willows – A Chinese Novel of Fantasy and Martial Arts Adventure*. Trans. Robert Chard. London: Wellsweep Press.
- HWANG, Kwang-Kuo 1999. 'Filial piety and loyalty: Two types of social identification in Confucianism'. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 2(1): 163–183.
- IKELS, Charlotte 2004. *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University.
- JINJIANG LITERATURE CITY 2022. *Guanyu Jinjiang* 关于晋江 [About Jinjiang]. <https://www.jjwxc.net/aboutus/#fragment-28>, <https://www.jjwxc.net/aboutus/> (both accessed 26 May 2022).
- JUNG, Sun 2009. 'The Shared Imagination of *Bishōnen*, Pan-East Asian Soft Masculinity'. *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* 20. <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue20/jung.htm> (accessed 6 June 2022).
- JUNG, Sun 2011. *Korean masculinities and transcultural consumption: Yonsama, Rain, Oldboy, K-pop idols*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- KANEDA, Junko 2007. 'The world surrounding "seme X uke": Searching for the attractiveness of male bodies'. *Yuriika* 39(16): 13–14.
- KAO, Karl S. Y. 1989. 'Bao and Baoying: Narrative Causality and External Motivations'. *CLEAR* 11: 115–138.
- KAO, Karl S. Y. 2002. 'Domains of Moral Discourse: Self, History, and Fantasy in "Fengshen yanyi"'. *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 24: 75–97.
- KIM, Tae Hyun and Mark CSIKSZENTMIHALYI 2014. 'History and Formation of the Analects'. [In:] Olberding, Amy, ed., *Dao Companion to the Analects*. New York: Springer, pp. 21–36.
- KOHN, Livia 1991. *Taoist Mystical Philosophy: The Scripture of Western Ascension*. Albany, N.Y.: Suny Press.
- KOHN, Livia 2009. 'Told You So: Extreme Longevity and Daoist Realization'. [In:] Maher, Derek F. and Calvin Mercer, eds, *Religious Implications of Radical Life Extension*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 85–96.
- KOHN, Livia 2014. 'Daoism – Enhancing Cosmic Energy: The Daoist Body in the Twenty-first Century'. [In:] Maher, Derek F. and Calvin Mercer, eds, *Transhumanism and the Body: The World Religions Speak*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 35–50.
- LEE, Haiyan 2007. *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900–1950*. Stanford: Sandford University Press.
- LEE, Pauline C. 2012. *Li Zhi, Confucianism, and the Virtue of Desire*. New York: University of New York Press.
- LEUNG, Beatrice 2005. 'China's Religious Freedom Policy: The Art of Managing Religious Activity'. *The China Quarterly* 184: 894–913.
- LI, Bin 2012. 'The School of Mandarin Duck and Butterfly's Creative Push on Early Chinese Publishing Industry'. *Asian Social Science* 8(12): 164–170.

- LI, Miao, Yun LU and Fenggang YANG 2018. 'Shaping the Religiosity of Chinese University Students: Science Education and Political Indoctrination'. *Religions* 9(10), 309. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel9100309>.
- LI, Qiaoling 2011. 'Ru, Dao, fojiao sixiang dui wushu wenhuade yingxiang 儒、道、佛家思想对武术文化的影响 [The impact of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism on Chinese wushu]'. *Wushu Studies* 8(7): 20–23.
- LI, Xiaomeng 2020. 'How powerful is the female gaze? The implication of using male celebrities for promoting female cosmetics in China'. *Global Media and China* 5(1): 55–68.
- LI, Yinhe 2009. *Tongxinlian yawenhua 同性恋亚文化* [Homosexual subculture]. Hohhot: Inner Mongolia University Press.
- LINDER, Birgit 2005. 'Web Literature'. [In:] Davis, Edward L., ed., *Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Chinese Culture*. Oxon: Routledge, p. 647.
- LINK, E. Perry 1977. 'Traditional-Style Popular Urban Fiction in the Teens and Twenties'. [In:] Goldman, Merle, ed., *Modern Chinese Literature in the May Fourth Era*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, pp. 327–349.
- LINK, E. Perry 1981. *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-century Chinese Cities*. Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- LIU, James J. Y. 1967. *The Chinese Knight Errant*. London: Routledge.
- LIU, Jianan and Zhen Wu 2016. 'Xingbie ertaixing xiansuoxia daxueshengde miankong pianhao 性别二态性线索下大学生的面孔偏好 [Preferences for sexual dimorphic faces among university students]'. *The Guide of Science and Education* 1: 166–167.
- LIU, Ting 2009. 'Conflicting Discourses on Boys' Love and Subcultural Tactics in Mainland China and Hong Kong'. *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* 20. <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue20/liu.htm> (accessed 6 June 2022).
- LOUIE, Kam 2002. 'Theorising Chinese masculinity: Society and gender in China'. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge.
- LOUIE, Kam 2012. 'Popular culture and masculinity ideals in East Asia, with special reference to China'. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 71(4): 929–943.
- LU, Tina 2011. 'The literary culture of the late Ming (1573–1644)'. [In:] Chang, Kang-i Sun and Stephen Owen, eds, *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 63–151.
- LUO, Wei 2017. 'Television's "leftover" bachelors and hegemonic masculinity in postsocialist China'. *Women's Studies in Communication* 40(2): 190–211.
- MCLELLAND, Mark 2000. 'The Love Between "Beautiful Boys" in Japanese Women's Comics'. *Journal of Gender Studies* 9(1): 13–25.

- McLELLAND, Mark 2009. '(A)cute Confusion: The Unpredictable Journey of Japanese Popular Culture'. *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* 20. <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue20/mcLelland.htm> (accessed 6 June 2022).
- McLELLAND, Mark 2016. 'New Media, Censorship and Gender: Using Obscenity Law to Restrict Online Self-Expression in Japan and China'. [In:] Hjorth, Larissa and Olivia Khoo, eds, *Routledge Handbook of New Media in Asia*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 118–129.
- McLELLAND, Mark 2017. 'Introduction: Negotiating “cool Japan” in research and teaching'. [In:] McLelland, Mark, ed., *The End of Cool Japan: Ethical, legal, and cultural challenges to Japanese popular culture*. London, New York: Routledge, pp. 1–30.
- McLELLAND, Mark and James WELKER 2015. 'An introduction to “Boys Love” in Japan'. [In:] McLelland, Mark, Kazumi Nagaïke, Katsuhiko Suganuma and James Welker, eds, *Boys Love Manga and Beyond: History, Culture, and Community in Japan*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, pp. 3–20.
- NAGAIKE, Kazumi 2015. 'Do heterosexual men dream of homosexual Men?: BL fudanshi and discourse on male feminization'. [In:] McLelland, Mark, Kazumi Nagaïke, Katsuhiko Suganuma and James Welker, eds, *Boys Love Manga and Beyond: History, Culture, and Community in Japan*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, pp. 199–209.
- NAGAIKE, Kazumi and Tomoko AOYAMA 2015. 'What is Japanese “BL Studies?” A Historical and Analytical Overview'. [In:] McLelland, Mark, Kazumi Nagaïke, Katsuhiko Suganuma and James Welker, eds, *Boys Love Manga and Beyond: History, Culture, and Community in Japan*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, pp. 119–140.
- NAGARAJ, Anil Kumar Mysore, Raveesh Bevinahalli NANJEGOWDA and S. M. PURUSHOTHAMA 2013. 'The mystery of reincarnation'. *Indian Journal of Psychiatry* 55(2): 171–176.
- NEVILLE, Robert Cummings 2011. 'Confucian Humaneness (REN) Across Social Barriers'. [In:] Yang, Fenggang and Joseph Tamney, eds, *Confucianism and Spiritual Traditions in Modern China and Beyond: Confucianism and Spiritual Traditions In Modern China and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 295–308.
- NG, Lynda 2015. 'China's elusive truths: Censorship, value and literature in the Internet age'. [In:] Moore, Nichole, ed., *Censorship and the Limits of the Literary: A Global View*. New York, London: Bloomsbury, pp. 233–246.
- NI, Zhange 2020a. 'Xiuzhen (Immortality Cultivation) Fantasy: Science, Religion, and the Novels of Magic/Superstition in Contemporary China'. *Religions* 11(1), 25. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11010025>.
- NI, Zhange 2020b. 'Reimagining Daoist alchemy, decolonizing transhumanism: the fantasy of immortality cultivation in twenty-first century China'. *Zygon* 55(3): 748–771.

- NORENZAYAN, Ara 2016. 'Theodiversity'. *Annual Review of Psychology* 67(1): 465–488.
- OTOMO, Rio 2015. 'Politics of utopia: Fantasy, pornography, and Boys Love'. [In:] McLelland, Mark, Kazumi Nagaike, Katsuhiko Suganuma and James Welker, eds, *Boys Love Manga and Beyond: History, Culture, and Community in Japan*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, pp. 141–152.
- PAGLIASSOTTI, Dru 2010. 'Better than romance? Japanese BL manga and the subgenre of male/male romantic fiction'. [In:] Levi, Antonia, Mark McHarry and Dru Pagliassotti, eds, *Boys' Love Manga: Essays on the Sexual Ambiguity and Cross-Cultural Fandom of the Genre*. Jefferson, NY: McFarland, pp. 59–83.
- PANTSOV, Alexander V. and Steven I. LEVINE 2015. *Deng Xiaoping: A Revolutionary Life*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- PLOPPER, Clifford H. 1926. *Chinese Religion Seen through the Proverb*. Shanghai: The China Press.
- REASONER, Paul 2010. 'Reincarnation and Karma'. [In:] Taliaferro, Charles, Paul Draper and Philip L. Quinn, eds, *A Companion to Philosophy of Religion*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. 639–647.
- REHLING, Petra 2012. 'Harry Potter, wuxia and the transcultural flow of fantasy texts in Taiwan'. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 13(1): 69–87.
- RUAN, Fang-fu and Yung-mei TSAI 1987. 'Male homosexuality in traditional Chinese literature'. *Journal of Homosexuality* 14: 21–33.
- RUSKOLA, Teemu 1994. 'Law, Sexual Morality, and Gender Equality in Qing and Communist China'. *The Yale Law Journal* 103(8): 2531–2565. <https://doi.org/10.2307/797055>.
- SHAHAR, Meir 2013. 'Violence in Chinese Religious Traditions'. [In:] Jerryson, Michael, Mark Juergensmeyer and Margo Kitts, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199759996.013.0009>.
- SHAN, Chun 2012. *Major Aspects of Chinese Religion and Philosophy*. Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer.
- SHAO, Hailun 2020. 'Mengxiang yu xianshide shuangchong bianzou – 2019 nian nvping xuanhuan wenxue yuedu zhaji 幻想与现实的双重变奏 – 2019年女频玄幻小说阅读札记 [Dual depiction of fantasy and reality – Notes on 2019 female-oriented fantasy literature]'. *Wenyi Bao*. 20 March 2020. <http://wyb.chinawriter.com.cn/content/202003/20/content53886.html> (accessed 19 November 2022).
- SHAO, Yanjun 2015. 'Wangluo wenxue de wangluoxing yu jingdianxing 网络文学的“网络性”与“经典性” [The Internetization and Classicization of Internet Literature]'. *Journal of Peking University* 52(1): 143–152.
- SHAO, Yanjun 2016. 'Zaijian meifengyi yu funv wenhua de nixi – Yichang jingqiaoqiao fashengde xingbie geming 再见“美丰仪”与“腐女文化”的逆袭——一场静悄悄发生的性别革命 [The pursuit of beauty and the development of “rotten girl” culture – A silent gender revolution]'. *Southern Cultural Forum* 2: 55–58.

- SHAO, Yanjun 2018. 'Wangluo wenxue 20 nian: meijie geming yu daiji gengdie 网络文学20年: 媒介革命与代际更迭 [Internet literature in twenty years: media revolution and generations]'. *Changjiang Literature & Art* 4: 126–128.
- SHAO, Yanjun 2019. 'Wangluo wenxuede duandaishi yu chuantong wangwende jingdianhua 网络文学的“断代史”与“传统网文”的经典化 [The chronicle of Internet literature and the classification of traditional Internet literature]'. *Modern Chinese Literature Studies* 2: 1–21.
- SHAO, Yanjun, Yunfei Ji and Yingrong XIAO 2016. '2015 nian wangluo wenxue: Shunshi erwei yu neili suoqu, 2015年网络文学: 顺势而为与内力所趋 [Internet literature in 2015: External and internal driving forces of development]'. *China Writer*, 19 February 2016. <http://www.chinawriter.com.cn/zs/2016/2016-02-19/265689.html> (accessed 6 June 2022).
- SHEN, Jiequn 2017. "'2017 nian zhongguo wangluo wenxue zuojia yingxiangli bangdan" fabu, Chendong, Tangjiasanshao, Yefeiye deng shangbang' 《2017年中国网络文学作家影响力榜单》发布 辰东、唐家三少、叶非夜等上榜 [‘2017 most influential Chinese Internet writers’ is released, Chendong, Tangjiasanshao and Yefeiye are nominated]. *China Youth Online*. http://m.cyol.com/yuanchuang/2017-12/23/content_16805730.htm (accessed 6 June 2022).
- STEVENS, Keith G. 2001. *Chinese Mythological Gods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- SUN, Xiaojin 2012. 'Lun ruxue zai sanjiaoheyi zhong de zhudao zuoyong 论儒学在三教合一中的主导作用 [The dominant function of Confucianism in Sanjiaoheyi]'. *Theoretical Exploration* 6: 37–39.
- SUZUKI, Kazuko 2015. 'What Can We Learn from Japanese Professional BL Writers?: A Sociological Analysis of Yaoi/BL Terminology and Classifications'. [In:] McLelland, Mark, Kazumi Nagaike, Katsuhiko Suganuma and James Welker, eds, *Boys Love Manga and Beyond: History, Culture, and Community in Japan*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, pp. 93–118.
- TAN, See Kam 2016. *Tsui Hark's Peking Opera Blues*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- TAN, Sor-hoon 2018. 'Rethinking Confucianism's Relationship to Global Capitalism: Some Philosophical Reflections for a Confucian Critique of Global Capitalism'. [In:] Ames, Roger T. and Peter D. Herschok, eds, *Confucianisms for a changing world cultural order*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 9–28.
- TEISER, Stephen F. 1996. 'The Spirits of Chinese Religion'. [In:] Lopez, Donald S., ed., *Religions of China in Practice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 9–28.
- TEO, Stephen 2009. *Chinese Martial Arts Cinema: The Wuxia Tradition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- TEO, Stephen 2012. 'Film Genre and Chinese Cinema: A Discourse of Film and Nation'. [In:] Zhang, Yingjin, ed., *A Companion to Chinese Cinema*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. 284–298.

- TIAN, Xi 2020. 'More than Conformity or Resistance: Chinese "Boys' Love" Fandom in the Age of Internet Censorship'. *Journal of the European Association for Chinese Studies* 1: 189–213.
- TIAN, Xiaofei 2015. 'Slashing Three Kingdoms: A Case Study in Fan Production on the Chinese Web'. *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 27(1): 224–277.
- TILAK, Shrinivas 2008. 'Cāturdharmya: Hermeneutics of Integrative Differentiation'. [In:] Sherma, Rita and Arvind Sharma, eds, *Hermeneutics and Hindu Thought: Toward a Fusion of Horizons*. Milton Keynes: Springer, pp. 95–120.
- TO, Nathan 2019. 'Disrupting the sword: The Wuxia legacy of Adam Cheng and the embodiment of Hong Kong cultural memory'. *Celebrity Studies* 10(2): 268–275.
- VAN NORDEN, Byran 2004. 'Mencius'. [In:] Zalta, Edward N., ed., *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2019 Edition). <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2019/entries/mencius/> (accessed 6 June 2022).
- WANG, Aiqing 2020a. 'Censorship and Circumvention in China: How Danmei Writers "Drive a Car" on Jinjiang'. *International Journal of Media Culture and Literature* 6(2): 137–169.
- WANG, Aiqing 2020b. 'Unveiling Religious Ideology of Chinese Aristocracy in Imperial Qing from a Literary Perspective'. *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* 14(1): 99–133.
- WANG, Aiqing 2021a. 'Male Writers of Dānměi Literature: An Analysis of Fēitiānyèxiáng'. *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage* 10(1): 97–136.
- WANG, Aiqing 2021b. 'Tower of Myriad Mirrors: The First BL "Quick Transmigration" Novel?' *Logos & Littera: Journal of Interdisciplinary Approaches to Text* 8: 38–50.
- WANG, Aiqing 2021c. 'Contemporary Danmei Fiction and Its Similitudes with Classical and Yanqing Literature'. *Jentera: Jurnal Kajian Sastra* 10(1): 127–148.
- WANG, Aiqing 2021d. 'Nonnormative Masculinity in Danmei Literature: "Maiden Seme" and Sajiao'. *Moment* 8(1): 106–123.
- WANG, Cathy Yue 2019. 'Officially Sanctioned Adaptation and Affective Fan Resistance: The Transmedia Convergence of the Online Drama Guardian in China'. *Series: International Journal of TV Serial Narratives* 5(2): 45–58. <https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2421-454X/9156>.
- WANG, Hailin 1988. *Zhongguo Wuxia Xiaoshuo Shilue* 中国武侠小说史略 [Strategies in Chinese Wuxia Literature]. Taiyuan: Beiyue Literature & Art Publishing House.
- WANG, Meng 2017. 'Lun dangxia wangwen gaibianju zhongde malisu shi IP shengxing xianxiang 论当下网文改编剧中的“玛丽苏”式IP盛行现象 [Discussion on the widespread phenomenon of Mary Sue style TV serials adapted from online literature]'. *Radio and TV Journal* 1: 52–53.
- WANG, Yifan 2017. 'Nan Se consumption in entertainment era: A criticism of "little fresh meat"'. *Shanghai Artists* 3: 56–60.

- WANG, Yunping 2004. 'Zaoqi rujia pinde lunlixue yu xiao de 早期儒家品德伦理学与“孝”德 [Early Confucian moral ethics and the value of filial piety]'. *Confucius Studies* 4: 55–63.
- WANG, Yusu 2018. 'Yuanze fucong yu xuanze xiangxin – Erciyuan cunzai zhuyi de neihan yu shijian “选择服从” 与 “选择相信”——“二次元存在主义” 的内涵与实践 [“Choosing to Obey” and “Choosing to Believe” – The Connotation and Practice of “Nijigen Existentialism”]'. *Theory and Criticism* 4: 86–106.
- WEI, John 2014. 'Queer Encounters between Iron Man and Chinese Boys' Love Fandom'. *Transformative Works and Cultures* 17. <https://doi.org/10.3983/twc.2014.0561>.
- WELKER, James 2015. 'A Brief History of Shōnen'ai, Yaoi, and Boys Love'. [In:] McLelland, Mark, Kazumi Nagaike, Katsuhiko Suganuma and James Welker, eds, *Boys Love Manga and Beyond: History, Culture, and Community in Japan*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, pp. 42–75.
- WILKINSON, Barry 1996. 'Culture, institutions and business in East Asia'. *Organization Studies* 17(3): 421–447.
- WONG, David 2020. 'Chinese Ethics'. [In:] Zalta, Edward N., ed., *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2020 Edition). <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2020/entries/ethics-chinese/> (accessed 6 June 2022).
- WONG, Timothy C. 2007. "“On Its Own Terms”: Butterfly-Saturday Fiction in the Xiaosbuo Tradition". *Comparative Literature: East & West* 9(1): 17–30.
- XIE, Wenjuan 2014. 'Encountering Ghost Princesses in Sou shen ji: Rereading Classical Chinese Ghost Wife Zhiguai Tales'. [In:] Greenhill, Pauline and Diane Tye, eds, *Unsettling Assumptions: Tradition, Gender, Drag*. Logan: Utah State University Press, pp. 244–259.
- XIE, Ying, Yunping TONG and Fenggang YANG 2017. 'Does Ideological Education in China Suppress Trust in Religion and Foster Trust in Government?' *Religions* 8(5), 94. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel8050094>.
- XINHUA IDIOM DICTIONARY 2002. *Xinhua chengyu cidian* 新华成语词典 [Xinhua Idiom Dictionary]. Beijing: Commercial Press.
- XU, Yanrui and Ling YANG 2013. 'Forbidden love: incest, generational conflict, and the erotics of power in Chinese BL fiction'. *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics* 4(1): 30–43.
- XU, Yanrui and Ling YANG 2014. 'Funv Funan: Kuaguo wenhua liudongzhongde danmei, fuwenhua yu nanxingqizhide zaizao 腐女“腐”男: 跨国文化流动中的耽美、腐文化与男性气质的再造 [Rotten girls and rotten boy: Danmei, rotten culture and representation of masculinity in transcultural communication]'. *Cultural Studies* 3: 3–25.
- YANG, Ching Kun 1967. *Religion in Chinese society: A study of contemporary social functions of religion and some of their historical factors*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- YANG, Ling and Yanrui XU 2016. 'Danmei, Xianqing, and the making of a queer online public sphere in China'. *Communication and the Public* 1(2): 251–256.
- YANG, Ling and Yanrui XU 2017a. "'The love that dare not speak its name': The fate of Chinese danmei communities in the 2014 anti-porn campaign'. [In:] McLelland, Mark, ed., *The End of Cool Japan: Ethical, Legal, and Cultural Challenges to Japanese Popular Culture*. London: Routledge, pp. 163–183.
- YANG, Ling and Yanrui XU 2017b. 'Chinese Danmei Fandom and Cultural Globalization from Below'. [In:] Maud, Lavin, Ling Yang and Jamie Jing Zhao, eds, *Boys' Love, Cosplay, and Androgynous Idols: Queer Fan Cultures in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 3–19.
- YANG, Qing 2018. 'Mulan in China and America: From Premodern to Modern'. *Comparative Literature: East & West* 2(1): 45–59.
- YAO, Xinzong 1995. 'Jen, Love and Universality – Three Arguments. Concerning Jen in Confucianism'. *Asian Philosophy* 5: 181–195.
- YEH, Kuang-Hui and Olwen BEDFORD 2020. 'The psychology of filial piety and moral decision-making in Chinese people'. [In:] Jensen, Lene Arnett, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Moral Development: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 385–401. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190676049.013.21>.
- YI, Erika Junhui 2013. 'Reflection on Chinese boys' love fans: An insider's view'. *Transformative Works and Culture* 12. <https://doi.org/10.3983/twc.2013.0424>.
- YIN, Pumin 2005. 'Web Writing'. *Beijing Review* 48(34): 31.
- YU, Fu-Lai Tony 2014. 'China's Economic Change in Entrepreneurial Perspective: Mao Zedong (Transformative Entrepreneurship) versus Deng Xiaoping (Adaptive Entrepreneurship)'. *International Journal of China Studies* 5(3): 599–625.
- YU, Jiyuan 2013. 'The Practicality of Ancient Virtue Ethics: Greece and China'. [In:] Angle, Stephen and Michael Slote, eds, *Virtue Ethics and Confucianism*. New York, Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, pp. 127–140.
- YUAN, Shu 2001. 'Cultural Politics and Chinese-American Female Subjectivity: Rethinking Kingston's Woman Warrior'. *MELUS* 26(2): 199–223.
- ZDIC.NET 2022a. 'Si xiong 四凶[Four perils]'. *Zdic.net*. <https://www.zdic.net/hans/四凶> (accessed 1 June 2022).
- ZDIC.NET 2022b. 'Fuyao 扶摇 [Strong upwards wind; expeditious promotion in official careers]'. *Zdic.net*. <https://www.zdic.net/hans/扶摇> (accessed 1 June 2022).
- ZENG, Wenting 2017. 'Qianxi danmei wenhua chuanbo guocheng – Yi wangluo chuanbo he funv jiaodu fenxi 浅析耽美文化传播过程——以网络传播和腐女角度分析 [Analysis of the spread process of danmei culture – From the aspects of Internet communication and rotten girls]'. *Chuanbo yu Banquan* 44(1): 136–137.
- ZHANG, Chunyu 2016. 'Loving Boys Twice as Much: Chinese Women's Paradoxical

- Fandom of “Boys’ Love” Fiction’. *Women’s Studies in Communication* 39(3): 249–267.
- ZHANG, Guo-pei 2014. ‘The Description of Male Homosexuality in The Plum in a Golden Vase’. *Journal of Anqing Teachers College (Social Science Edition)* 2014(3): 106–110.
- ZHANG, Ni 2020a. ‘Xiuzhen (Immortality Cultivation) Fantasy: Science, Religion, and the Novels of Magic/Superstition in Contemporary China’. *Religions* 11(1), 25. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11010025>.
- ZHANG, Ni 2020b. ‘Reimagining Daoist Alchemy, Decolonizing Transhumanism: The Fantasy of Immortality Cultivation in Twenty-First Century China’. *Zygon* 55(3): 748–771.
- ZHANG, Zhenjun 2013. ‘From demonic to karmic retribution – Changing concepts of bao in early mediaeval china as seen in the You ming lu’. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 66(3): 267–287.
- ZHAO, Jing Jamie 2017. ‘Queering the Post-L Word Shane in the “Garden of Eden”: Chinese Fans’ Gossip about Katherine Moennig’. [In:] Maud, Lavin, Ling Yang and Jamie Jing Zhao, eds, *Boys’ Love, Cosplay, and Androgynous Idols: Queer Fan Cultures in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 63–90.
- ZHAO, Jing Jamie, Ling YANG and Maud LAVIN 2017. ‘Introduction’. [In:] Maud, Lavin, Ling Yang and Jamie Jing Zhao, eds, *Boys’ Love, Cosplay, and Androgynous Idols: Queer Fan Cultures in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 11–33.
- ZHAO, Yao and Anna MADILL 2018. ‘The heteronormative frame in Chinese Yaoi: integrating female Chinese fan interviews with Sinophone and Anglophone survey data’. *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics* 9(5): 435–457.
- ZHENG, Lijun 2019. ‘Preference for Male Facial Masculinity as a Function of Mental Rotation Ability in Gay and Bisexual Men, but Not in Heterosexual Men and Women in China’. *Frontiers in Psychology* 10: 2419. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.02419>
- ZHENG, Xiqing 2019. ‘Survival and Migration Patterns of Chinese Online Media Fandoms’. *Transformative Works and Cultures* 30. <https://doi.org/10.3983/twc.2019.1805>.
- ZHENG, Yimei 1984. ‘Wuxia xiao shuo de tongbing 武侠小说的通病 [Common Faults in Martial Arts Novels]’. [In:] Rui, Heshi and Boqun Fan, eds, *Yuanyang hudie pai wenxue ziliao 鸳鸯蝴蝶派文学资料 [Literary Materials of the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School]*, Vol 1. Fuzhou: Fujian People’s Publishing House, pp. 132–133.
- ZHOU, Chunfa 2017. “‘Nan Se consumption”: Cultural analysis of advertisements featuring male celebrities for female cosmetics’. *Culture & Communication* 6(1): 1–5.
- ZHOU, Ruchang 1993. ‘Honglouloumeng yu “qingwenhua” 红楼梦与情文化 [Dream

of the Red Chamber and the “culture of sentiment”]. *Honglouloumeng xuekan* 1: 67–78.

ZHOU, Ruchang 1998. ‘*Honglouloumeng xinzheng* 红楼梦新证 [New evidence on *Dream of the Red Chamber*]’. Taipei: Huayi chubanshe.

ZHOU, Yiqi and Qi Li 2016. ‘Funv qunti yu danmei yawenhua de xinmeiti chuanbo 腐女问题与耽美亚文化的新媒体传播 [New media communication of rotten girl groups and danmei subculture]’. *Media Observation* 6: 31–33.

ZHU, Yixuan 1986. *Honglouloumeng renwu pu* 红楼梦人物谱 [Characters in *Dream of the Red Chamber*]. Tianjin: Baihua Wenyi.

ZSILA, Ágnes and Zsolt DEMETROVICS 2017a. ‘The boys’ love phenomenon: A literature review’. *Journal of Popular Romance Studies* 6: 1–16.

ZSILA, Ágnes and Zsolt DEMETROVICS 2017b. ‘Redrawing the Boundaries of Gender and Sexuality: A Psychological Reconceptualisation of the Boys’ Love Phenomenon’. *Intensities: The Journal of Cult Media* 9: 34–49.

Nagarjunakonda: Monasteries and Their School Affiliations

Monika ZIN

Abstract: Narrative representations have not been found in all Buddhist monasteries. In some areas, for instance in the region of modern Sannati in ancient Āndhradeśa, only one *stūpa*, known today as Kanaganahalli, was decorated with opulent narrative reliefs, while the others display none at all. It appears that some Buddhist schools were interested in narrative representations while others were not. The area now known as Nagarjunakonda – the historical Vijayapurī of the Ikṣvāku dynasty in the 3rd century CE – offers the best opportunity to investigate which monasteries the narrative reliefs came from. Among the approximately 40 Buddhist complexes that have been excavated, some of which actually name the schools the resident monks belonged to, and which were built following different layouts, all narrative reliefs were discovered in only a few of the complexes. All of these complexes show a very similar layout with a *stūpa* outside the monks' cells, which are positioned in a U-shape, and two apsidal temples facing each other. One of these complexes gives the name of the related school as Aparamahāvinaśaīla. It seems that this school was one of those interested in narrative representations, while all the others mentioned in inscriptions at Nagarjunakonda (Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas, and Bahuśrutīyas) were not.

Keywords: Buddhism, school affiliations, Āndhradeśa, Nagarjunakonda, Mahāvinaśaīla

Monika ZIN, Saxon Academy of Sciences and Humanities / Leipzig Universität, Leipzig,
Germany; zin@saw-leipzig.de;  0000-0002-3539-5773

The following considerations¹ grew out of my project aiming at a new publication and explanation of the narrative reliefs from the so-called 'Andhra school of sculptures' – a term typically used in order to refer to the reliefs from Amaravati and other sites including Kanaganahalli, Ghantasala,

¹ This paper is only a slightly revised presentation read by the author at the conference 'Buddhism across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Interchange', in Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in February 2009.

Nagarjunakonda or Goli, i.e. reliefs from Buddhist sites in ancient Āndhradeśa datable to between the 1st century BCE and the 4th century CE.

As I stated previously (see, for example, ZIN 2004, 2016, 2018a, 2018b), the reliefs from the Andhra should rather be related to the textual sources preserved today in ‘northern’ Buddhism than to the Pali tradition, since they contain many scenes which illustrate texts such as the *vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and find no counterpart in Pali literature. Establishing the literary sources of the reliefs is often a problem, not only because the relevant texts, unlike their Pali counterparts, have not yet been translated into English but are often only available either in the original Sanskrit or in their translations into Chinese and Tibetan. What constitutes even more of a problem is the fact that a lot of reliefs cannot be explained at all. Given the large number of narrative scenes which must be labelled as ‘unidentified’, it seems reasonable to suppose that the Andhra reliefs were based on a now lost Buddhist narrative tradition. In other words, we are bound to assume that the literature of the once flourishing Buddhist culture of Andhra has only survived in the reliefs that illustrate it.² In fact, this assumption should not be surprising to Buddhologists, as it is commonly known that not even a single text has been preserved from Andhra Buddhism.

Hundreds of narrative reliefs are extant in Andhra. In many cases we also possess information where reliefs exactly originate from. Interesting, not to say perplexing, is the phenomenon that while the *stūpas* in some monasteries are excessively decorated with illustrations of narrative material, other monasteries, despite being located in the immediate vicinity, contain no such decoration at all. Sometimes archaeology exposes what the monasteries from which the reliefs were excavated might have looked like. In some cases, epigraphy reveals which Buddhist schools those monasteries belonged to. This essay is an attempt to establish the school affiliations of the reliefs by combining the above-mentioned pieces of information. The attempt will concern one of the most important find spots of the region, Nagarjunakonda, the ancient Vijayapurī of the Ikṣvāku in the 3rd century CE.

Nagarjunakonda was discovered in the 1920s and excavated some years later (LONGHURST 1938; RAMACANDRAN 1953). The most extensive excavations were made in the 1950s before the dam was built and the entire valley – which subsequently became known as Nagarjunasagar – was submerged by the waters of the river Krishna, covering the archaeological sites forever. Today

² In the scenes of *Māravijaya* in Andhra, four daughters of Māra are depicted; among the literary sources extant today, this tradition is only found in an ancient version of the *Lalitavistara*, preserved today only in a Chinese translation, Taisho no. 186, cf. ZIN 2018a: 551–552.

the reliefs from those excavations are held in the ASI museum on Nagarjuna Island as well as in different museums in India and other parts of the world, e.g. Paris and New York. As for the archaeological sites, some of them were dismantled and reconstructed in higher places (**Fig. 1** and **Fig. 2**), half-size models were made from several others, but in the case of the majority of them, only diminutive models exist, presented in the garden of the Archaeological Site Museum on the Island (*vide infra* Fig. 14).



Fig. 1. Nagarjunakonda, apsidal *caitya* temple enshrining a *stūpa*, reconstruction of the Archaeological site Museum on the island, photograph © Wojtek Oczkowski.

It is certainly true that the damming of the Krishna River saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of people in Andhra Pradesh, but the fact is that it *did* destroy one of the most interesting archaeological areas in India with 129 sites, among them 39 Buddhist ones (*vide infra* Fig. 3).

Inscriptions provide information about four Ikṣvāku kings who were ruling over the valley between approximately the year 210 and the end of the 3rd century (SARKAR 1985), or, according to another chronology (STONE 1994: 7), approx. 20 years later. The town of Vijayapurī was founded earlier by the Sātavāhanas whose subordinates the Ikṣvāku were at that time.³ At a later point in time the by then independent local dynasty of Ikṣvāku tried to imitate the model of the great Sātavāhanas from Dharaṇikoṭa, a site approx. 125 km

³ That can be derived from an inscription of the Sātavāhana King Vijaya Sātakaṃi, cf. SARKAR 1965–1966: 273–275; cf. also: SARKAR 1985: 30.



Fig. 2. Nagajunakonda, apsidal *caitya* temple enshrining a statue of the Buddha, reconstruction of the Archaeological site Museum on the island, photograph © Wojtek Oczkowski.

downstream, in the vicinity of which stands the ‘great *stūpa*’ known today as Amaravati (see e.g. SHIMADA and WILLIS 2016). Like the Sātavāhanas, the Ikṣvāku were not Buddhists themselves, but their wives, sisters and many of their subjects were (S. DUTT 1962: 126–137; STONE 1980). Buddhism must have been very important and must have had the support of the rulers, since there were nearly forty Buddhist sites – including *stūpas*, temples and monasteries for a large number of monks – in the immediate vicinity of the capital Vijayapurī.

The results of the archaeological campaigns from the 1950s, particularly *Volume II, The Historical Period*, were published only in 2006 (SOUNDARARAJAN 2006). An analysis of the monasteries was undertaken as early as 1966 by Haribishnu Sarkar, who dedicated a chapter of his *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India* to Nagajunakonda.⁴ His investigations shaped subsequent research on Nagajunakonda and its possible influence on the Buddhist world.⁵

⁴ SARKAR 1966: 78: ‘It is apparent [...] that the sects did not have identical types of establishments and that ideological differences manifested themselves in monastic architecture.’

⁵ Cf. the important book about the Pyu of Burma by Janice STARGARDT 1990: 311–336.

Sarkar investigated the archaeological findings in Nagarjunakonda primarily to demonstrate changes in Buddhist ideology, mainly the transition between traditional Buddhism and Mahāyāna. His key evidence for the transition was the occurrence of the Buddha image, which he equated with the turn towards Mahāyāna. The premise that the shrines for the Buddha images constitute the latest development of the architecture in Nagarjunakonda caused Sarkar to assign a late date to them, although this is difficult to support based on the available material. Sarkar went even further in his hypotheses and claimed that the Buddhist school was split whenever it was impossible for him to explain the archaeological findings in another way, for example when the inscriptions ascribe two sites to one particular school, one of which contained Buddha images while the other one did not.⁶

The current state of knowledge does no longer allow us to take the presence of Buddha images as an indicator for the Mahāyāna character of a site. It must also be stated that there are other observations in Sarkar's pioneering work which should be treated as open to discussion rather than taken for granted, as has been the case so far. To give just one example, it is always possible that some monastic units were not rebuilt as a result of economic factors and not necessarily due to the conservative attitudes of its monks.

Sarkar in his investigations failed to take one important factor into account, namely the possibility that part of the buildings could have been made of perishable materials. Furthermore, one should not forget that archaeology may provide us with good materials for a relative chronology of each site but it fails to provide an uncontested piece of information on for example which apsidal *caitya* temple (compare Figs. 1 and 2) was built first, since it does not necessarily have to be the one which bears the inscription.

The inscriptions are available on no more than three *caityas* among two dozen excavated ones. Out of almost 40 Buddhist sites excavated in Nagarjunakonda (**Fig. 3**) only six (1, 5, 7/8, 9, 38 and 43) bear inscriptions mentioning Buddhist schools. Of these, site 1 and site 9 belonged to the same school; the same also holds true for sites 38 and 43, as they also belonged to one school. Therefore, only four Buddhist schools are named at all.

Nearly 40 Buddhist sites in Nagarjunakonda came into being during a period of approximately 100 years. It is self-evident that all those monasteries existed side by side, each displaying different architectural forms. The

⁶ SARKAR 1966: 77: 'The original sect living in Site 1 thus did not accept the idea of image-worship till the end. On the other hand, the Buddha-image did find place in the other monastery, Site 9. Thus, it may safely be concluded that the Aparā-mahāvīna-seliyas of Nagarjunakonda become divided into two sub-sects.' The conclusions of Sarkar have been accepted and perpetuated by subsequent research.

monastery with two apsidal *chaityas*, both adorned with statues of the Buddha (similar to our Fig. 2; interpreted by Sarkar as the climax in the development towards Mahāyāna), must have existed side by side monasteries with only one or without any Buddha shrine.

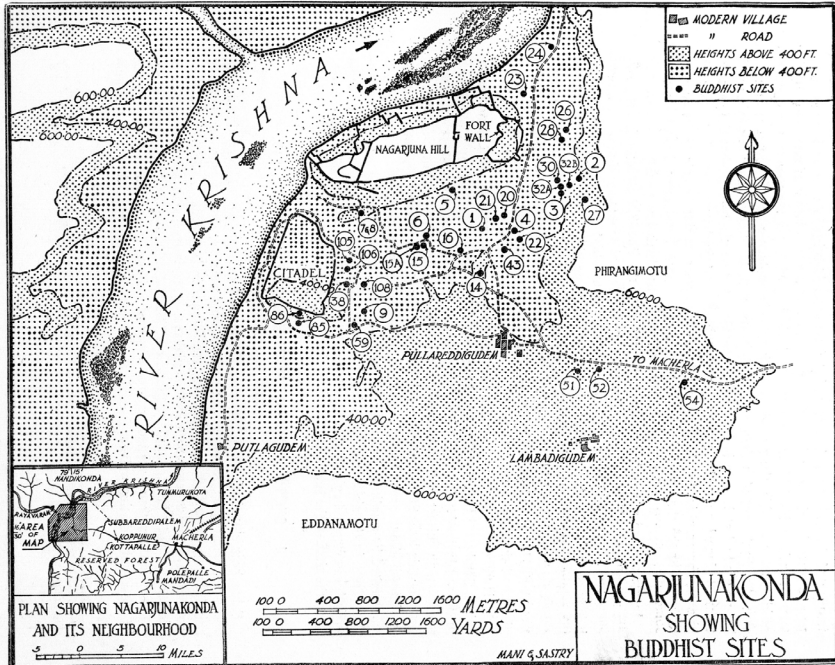


FIG. 22

Fig. 3. Buddhist sites at Nagarjunakonda, from SARKAR 1966, fig. 22.

In my opinion, such differences in the layout of monasteries cannot be taken as a mirror reflection of successive developments of the Buddhist doctrine⁷ but rather as the result of different attitudes among the schools co-existing in the region. As the inscriptions found on the territory of the modern Andhra Pradesh and Telangana prove,⁸ there were many different schools settled in the region.

⁷ SARKAR 1966: 76: '[I]t is hard to decide whether ideological beliefs had any influence on the lay-out or in the arrangement of monastic units in all cases. The present study attempts to trace, as far as evidence is available, a doctrinal imprint on the development of Buddhist architecture of Nagarjunakonda [...].'

⁸ LAMOTTE 1958: 578–584; on pp. 571–597, Lamotte gives an overview of the distribution of the schools, lists of the schools after primary sources and references to the secondary literature on the subject; cf. also N. DUTT 1970.

Nagarjunakonda is unique. If we bear in mind that in the valley, to the east of the residential area and south of the hill (the hill is today the island, with the Archaeological Site Museum), such a large number of Buddhist establishments was built on a territory of approx. 12 km² (see Fig. 3), it is worthwhile making an attempt to re-evaluate the available data – even if well aware that they are not complete, if only for the reason that the excavations certainly did not meet today's standards and were carried out under enormous time pressure. One thing is certain at the outset: it is futile to expect any new material to come to light.

It was to Sarkar's merit to see the Buddhist establishments in the valley as units and not as separate *stūpas* and cloisters (which is how they were treated by archaeologists excavating the sites). We have thus 39 Buddhist units. Several of them were surrounded by stone enclosures, separating them from each other. In such cases or in the cases where architectural devices comprise a group, it is certain that they form a single monastery. However, things are not always that easy; as already discussed, some structures, including fences, may have been built of perishable materials like wood or clay, e.g. the site no. 21⁹ or 30,¹⁰ in which the distance between the monastery and the *stūpa* reaches almost a hundred meters. Either there were buildings standing in the places where today there are none, which disappeared without leaving any traces, or we are dealing with two units and the preserved *vihāras* and *stūpas* originally did not belong together. In most cases, however, the assignment of the structures to a monastic unit is clear.

What I present below should by no means be taken as established knowledge. On the contrary, I do hope it will instigate a scholarly discussion on the subject.¹¹ I am fully aware that there might be some errors in my argumentation, since the available materials are only incidental findings. My attempt will be to combine the archaeological data, hoping that it will be possible to establish the school affiliations of the monasteries in which narrative reliefs have been unearthed. The most difficult matter is to establish the criteria on which the identification of similarities and dissimilarities in the monasteries' plans – and thus their classification – is based. Improper classification can lead

⁹ *Indian Archaeology 1955–56*: 24 (called 'Site VIII'), pl. 39b (relics); SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 178, 180 and fig. 48 (plan), pl. 60a–b.

¹⁰ *Indian Archaeology 1955–56*: 25 (called 'Site XXV'); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 188 and fig. 53 (plan of the *stūpa*), in SARKAR 1966 pl. 11a (photo of the *stūpa* with visible urn burials), pl. 13 (plan); STARGARDT 1990, fig. 19a.

¹¹ I am extremely grateful to Dr. René van Oosterwijk (University of Leiden) and further participants of the advanced seminar at the Institute for Indology and Tibetology of the University of Munich for our discussions on the subject.

to erroneous conclusions. Some monasteries, for example, are three-winged, i.e. U-shape arrangements of monk cells around the pillared assembly hall, one side of the square being left open. Other units have monk cells on all four sides. Should such factors be considered as indicative of the character of the school (open or close for the laity?) or rather as a signal that the school had many monks and erecting an additional row of cells was merely a practical necessity? It is possible that the criteria have not been recognised or are lost to us. Furthermore, the architecture of the sites, for instance, may have something to do with the sacred content of the *stūpa*; but relic deposits have only been discovered by chance.

Determining any possible meaning of the inner structure of the *stūpas* appears to be another difficult task. Some of the *stūpas* are filled with rubble, while others have an interior structure resembling a wheel with spokes. Sarkar has demonstrated that the number of spokes inside the *stūpas* depends on the size of the monument,¹² which suggests that the spokes may have had a function in the engineering of the monument. The carefully set up and tidily executed room dividers inside the tumuli (which were not seen from the outside after the *stūpa* was completed) apparently had some importance for their erectors. Perhaps the construction was somehow related to the pre-Buddhist methods of building sepulchral monuments. Vedic sources describe the tombs (*śmaśāna* or *loṣṭa-citti*) as holding ashes from cremations and should be built using bricks (even giving the exact number of bricks required) and filling material (see *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* XIII.8.1–3). Those *stūpas* in Nagarjunakonda in which relics were found were all constructed with ‘spokes’. In the valley, relics of the Buddha or important persons were found in the *stūpas* of sites 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 21, deposited in reliquary caskets with added golden objects etc. Furthermore, in the *stūpas* of sites 4, 5, 9, 21 and 30 monastic urn burials were discovered: these were simple pots covered with bowls but without any grave goods. Similar pots were also found standing in the cells of the monasteries, which were probably kept there until a sepulchral monument was constructed or the existing one was opened (LONGHURST 1938: 20). Interestingly, not only human remains have been discovered. There were also bones of ox, deer and hare inside the *stūpa* at site 9, bones of hare and field-rats at site 4 and bones of peafowl inside the *mahācaitya*, i.e. site no. 1 (*vide infra*).

If the construction inside the *stūpas* was related to a school, it is almost impossible to establish its affiliation; *stūpas* without this construction and

¹² SARKAR 1966: 86, Table IV; the *stūpas* up to approx. 9 m of diameter have 4–6 spokes, from approx. 9 to 18 m – 8 spokes. Three *stūpas* of 12–15 m of diameter can have either 10 spokes or a complicate system of spokes in an inner and outer circle. The *mahācaitya* with almost 28 m of diameter displays this system as well.

without the *āyaka* projections may, however, possibly be connected with the Theravādins. Two units with such *stūpas* bear inscriptions.

The monastery known as site no. 38 (**Fig. 4**) is unusual.¹³ It is a four-winged establishment (with 20 cells) with *stūpa* and *caityagrha* as well as small votive *stūpas* inside the compound. The brick *stūpa* was filled inside, i.e. it had no structure, only rubble, and it stood on a square brick base. Since the apsidal temple, the *caityagrha*, contained no *stūpa* it is quite possible that it once contained a Buddha figure, although it has never been found. Near the entrance to the *stūpa* enclosure, a *buddha-pada* slab was placed which bore an inscription connecting the monastery with the school of the **Mahāvihāravāsins**,¹⁴ a school of the **Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda** from Sri Lanka.¹⁵

¹³ 'Dhāriṇī vihāra' cf. *Indian Archaeology 1955–56*: 23–24 (called 'Site V-6') and pl. 39c (the *buddhapada*); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 192 and fig. 54 (plan), in SARKAR 1966, pl. 9a–b, pl. 13 (plan) = STONE 1994, fig. 2, 28.

The site should not be confused with site no. 106 in its vicinity, which was also referred to as 'Dhāriṇī Vihāra' by the excavators, cf. SOUNDARARAJAN 2006, pl. 67b.

¹⁴ The first translation of the reading of the inscription was made shortly after its excavation in *Indian Archaeology 1955–56*: 23–24: '[O]ne of the inscriptions gave the name of the Buddhist sect *Mahaviharavasin* of Theravada-Vibhajjavada which constituted the third division of Theravada of Ceylon at Nagarjunakonda [...]. One of the slabs found near the entrance into the *stupa* was carved with a pair of *Buddha-pada* [...]. There was an inscription on it, ascribable to the middle of third century, recording that the sacred feet were of the Buddha and were designed and consecrated by or for the *Mahaviharavasin*s of the Theravada-Vibhajjavada school of Ceylon in a *vihara* described as *Dharana-vihara* situated on the Praveni. The *Mahaviharavasin*s are described as adepts in reading the marks on the human body and fixing horoscopes which constitute the eight *sasana* (*abbhuto*) of the *navanga* promulgated by Buddha.' The photography of the inscription, transcription and translation (with different interpretation) can be found in: SIRCAR and LAHIRI 1960: 250:

I Siddham āchariyaṇaṃ Theriyānaṃ Vibhajja-vādānaṃ Kasmira-Gaṃdhāra-Yavana-Vanavāsa-Tambapaṇṇidipa-pasādakanam 2 Mahāvihāra-vāsinaṃ nava[m]ga-Sathu-sasana-atha-vyajana-vinichhaya-visaradanam ariyava[m]sa-paveni-dharanam 3 vihāre Bhagavato pāda-saṃghāḍā nipatīthapito sava-satānaṃ hita-sukh-athanāya ti.
Translation: 'Let there be success! The pair of feet of the Lord (i.e. the Buddha) has been installed, with the prayer for welfare and happiness of all beings, in the monastery of the teachers who are Theriyas (i.e. Thera-vādins) (and) Vibhajja-vādas (i.e. Vibhajja-vādins); who caused delight to (i.e. converted the Buddhist doctrine) (the people of) Kāsmīra, Gandhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa and Tāmrapaṇṇī-dvīpa; who are residents of the Great Monastery; who are experts in the determination of the meaning and implication of the nine-fold teachings of the Śāstrī (i.e. the Buddha); (and) who know the tradition of the (four) classes of (Buddhist) recluses by heart.'

Sircar and Lahiri understand the Mahāvihāravāsins not as the name of a Buddhist school but of the inhabitants of the monastery of this name in the valley (SIRCAR and LAHIRI 1960: 249). For a different interpretation and the affiliations of the Vibhajjavādins cf. N. DUTT 1970: 223ff., first of all 223–237.

¹⁵ For the School of the Theravādin of the Mahāvihāra cf. BAREAU 1955: 205–240 (with references); Nandasena Mudiyanse in: *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 6: 508–511 (with references); literary references from the Pali literature also in: MALALASEKERA 1937–1938, vol. 2: 557–560. For the Vibhajjavādin cf. BAREAU 1955: 167–180, 168: 'Les Theravādin singhalais du Mahāvihāra se désignent plusieurs fois eux-mêmes sous le nom de Vibhajjavādī' (with references).

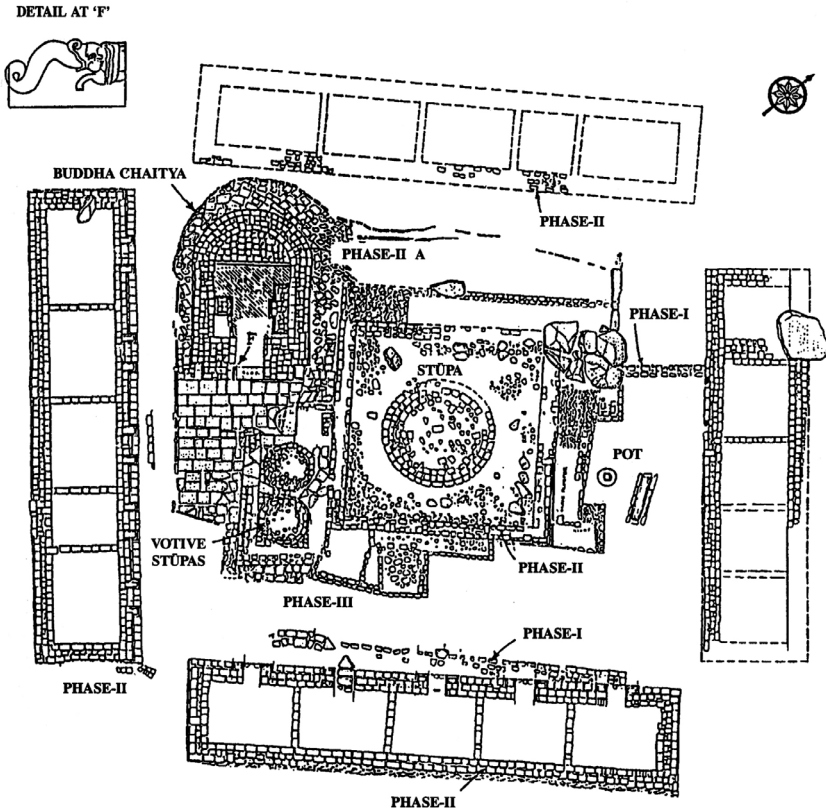


Fig. 4. Nagarjunakonda, site 38, from SOUNDARARAJAN 2006, fig. 54.

It seems plausible that, as Sarkar postulated, the fact that a *stūpa* lacks the *āyaka*-projections is a criterion to identify a Theravāda monastery. Such a *stūpa* belongs to another monastery complex, known as site no. 43,¹⁶ which is described in the inscription as built for the monks (*theriya*) of Sri Lanka (*taṃbapaṃṇa*).¹⁷ Both inscriptions, in sites 38 and 43, bear similarities (for

¹⁶ LONGHURST's 'Monastery 1 and Temple 2', 'Cula-dhammagiri vihāra' cf. LONGHURST 1938: 9–10 and pl. 5a (photo) and 5b (plan of the monastery); SARKAR and MISRA 1966 (1972, 1980), pl. 6 (photo showing *chaitya* shrine); SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); = STONE 1994, fig. 2, 29; SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 164.

¹⁷ Inscription from year 14 of Vīrapuruṣadatta, see VOGEL 1929–1930, F, transl. on p. 23: 'Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha [...]. In the fourteenth – 14th – (year) of King Mātharīputa, in the sixth – 6th – fortnight of winter, on the thirteenth – 13th – day. For the benefit of the masters and of the fraternities (of monks) of Taṃbapaṃṇa (Ceylon) [transcript on p. 22: *Taṃbapaṃṇi-dīpa-pas[ā]dakānaṃ theriyānaṃ Taṃbapa[m]nakānaṃ*] who have converted

example, a listing of the countries converted by the monks), so it was probably the same school that inhabited both sites. The cloister of site 43 also has four wings (19 cells), but the *stūpa* and the *caitya*, which here contains a *stūpa*, are situated outside of it. In the monastery, one small Buddha image has been unearthed.

There are no further inscribed monasteries in Nagarjunakonda with *stūpas* lacking *āyaka* projections. Taking such *stūpas* as a criterion, it is possible to find more in the valley (for example, the tiny monastery no. 86,¹⁸ with only two monk cells), which can possibly be connected with Theravāda Buddhism. Site no. 108¹⁹ is the only known counterpart to no. 38 (Fig. 4). Both form a complex with a *stūpa*, a votive *stūpa* and an apsidal temple within the monastery (the monastery in this case merely consists of two wings). Also, the *caityagrha* in this case did not contain a *stūpa*, so probably a sculpture of the Buddha was once placed inside. One remarkable difference between sites 38 and 108 is that the *stūpa* in the latter site has an interior structure consisting of four spokes, which form a *svastika* in the centre.

If we consider the absence of the *āyakas* to be an important criterion, the monastery known as site no. 15²⁰ can be treated as a similar one: the *stūpa* was built from rubble, placed on a quadrangular platform. There were also two votive *stūpas*, but no apsidal *caitya* temple. With only three wings (12 cells), the monastery was small. A number of broken Buddha images has been discovered. The monastery known as site no. 23²¹ also had a *stūpa* without any inner structure and *āyakas*. It was accompanied by four votive *stūpas*. The

Kashmir, Gandhāra, Chīna, Chīlāta (=Skt. Kīrāta), Tosali, Avaramta (=Skt. Aparānta), Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana(?), Damila(?); Palura(?) and the Isle of Tambapamni (Ceylon). At Siripavata (=Skt. Śrīparvata) on the east side of Vijayapurī at the Convent on the Lesser Dhammagiri a *chaitya*-hall with flooring of slabs, with a *chaitya* and provided with all the necessities, was caused to be made by the female lay-member Bodhisiri (Skt. Bōdhisirī) for the sake of [...]. In addition, other donations are listed: '[...] And even thuswise a *chaitya*-hall at the Kulaha-vihāra, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Sīhala-vihāra one – 1 – cell at the Great Dhammagiri, a *maṇḍava*-pillar at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practices at the Devagiri, a tank, verandah and *maṇḍava* at Puvaseḷa (=Skt. Pūrvaśaila), a stone *maṇḍava* at the eastern gate of the Great Chaitya at Kaṇṭakaśela (=Skt. Kaṇṭakaśaila), three – 3 – cells at Hirumuṭhuva, seven – 7 – cells at Papilā, a stone *maṇḍava* at Puphagiri (=Skt. Pushpagiri), a stone *maṇḍava* at the vihāra.' Cf. LAMOTTE 1958: 581: 'Sinhalese Theras' *Tambapa[m]naka*.

¹⁸ SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 196.

¹⁹ SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 199 and fig. 62 (plan).

²⁰ *Indian Archaeology 1954–55*: 22 (called 'Site VI'); SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 174 and fig. 46 (plan).

²¹ SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan) = STONE 1994, fig. 2; SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 180 and fig. 50 (plan) = *Indian Archaeology 1955–56*: 24 (called 'Site XI'): '[...] a three-winged "U"-shaped monastery, consisting of eight cells on each side, complete with an apsidal *stupa*-*chaitya* and a pillared hall. Of great interest was an inscribed frieze of limestone with an inscription reading (*Bha*)*gavato mulache(ti)ya(ve) patithapita* [...].'

monastery, which has been rebuilt three times, is large and consists of 24 cells in three wings. The *caitya* temple, containing a *stūpa*, was placed inside the monastery (like in no. 38, our Fig. 4).

It is interesting to observe that the inhabitants of the monasteries connected with the Theravāda tradition (or who at least adhere to a conservative building style for their *stūpas* which do not display projections) obviously do not object to the worship of statues of the Buddha (in nos. 38 and 108, the Buddha icon was probably the object of veneration inside the apsidal hall). This resembles the situation known from Sri Lanka, where statues of the Buddha are frequently preserved – unlike narrative reliefs.

If the absence of the *āyakas* is accepted as a criterion indicative of monasteries with a Theravādin connection, it may be argued that they were quite frequently represented in the valley.

As we have seen, the *stūpas* without *āyaka* projections may indicate an affiliation with the Theravāda order, since both inscriptions from such sites name them. However, introducing the projection does not have to denote a change in the doctrine of the monks inhabiting the monastery; it rather reflects some kind of change in the ritual. The projections must have been used for putting lamps or flowers on them. Cases of projections being added to an already existing building are therefore of particular interest. The rubble *stūpa* of site no. 20²² was originally built without *āyaka* platforms, though they were added in the course of a later rebuilding. The *stūpa* in this case stood in a square brick enclosure on one side of the two-winged monastery. No Buddha statues or narrative reliefs were found here, only slabs with the representations of ‘vases of plenty’, *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, and lions. The small *stūpa* in the two-winged (five cells?) monastery site no. 27²³ originally also had no *āyakas*; they were added later, but only on two sides. As opposed to the *stūpas* described before, this one contained a brick structure inside, which was made of four spokes forming a cross. For the sake of completeness, it should be noted additionally that there are rubble or brick *stūpas* without an inner structure but with *āyakas* (sites 22²⁴, 32²⁵ and 59²⁶; the last one with stones set inside the *stūpa* in the

²² SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 178 and fig. 60a (photo); SARKAR (1966, pl. 12a) gives a picture of a *svastika* of stones from this site, which is, however, not visible in Soundararajan.

²³ SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 184, 188 and fig. 52 (plan of an early period, without *āyakas*), SARKAR 1966, pl. 10a.

²⁴ SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan of the *stūpa*); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 180 and fig. 49 (plan of the *stūpa*).

²⁵ SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan).

²⁶ *Indian Archaeology 1958–59*: 6, pl. 4b; SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 192 and fig. 56 (plan).

shape of a *svastika*). The *stūpa* of site no. 32 (a two-winged monastery and an apsidal temple with a *stūpa* inside) also had only two *āyakas* (about rubble *stūpas* with *āyakas* in sites 7 and 26 *vide infra*).

All other *stūpas* in Nagarjunakonda are provided with *āyaka* projections and have a structure with spokes inside; in other words, most of the *stūpas* with an inner structure have *āyakas*.

The sites designated as nos. 7 & 8²⁷ form an interesting case (**Fig. 5**); these two sites are actually only one facility, but rebuilt on nearly the same place. The *stūpa* in site no. 7 was built from rubble; site no. 8 had a structure with spokes. Both had *āyaka* projections. Both the former and the latter complex consisted of a monastery and a *stūpa*. Neither had an apsidal *caitya* temple. The former monastery must have been built using perishable materials, since only the surrounding rubble wall remained. The latter was a four-winged cloister with 20 cells and a pillared hall in the middle. An inscription²⁸ on one of the pillars states that the monastery was donated for the benefit of the *ācharyas* of the **Mahīśāsaka** school.²⁹ In the *stūpa* built with an eight-spoked internal structure, an elaborate reliquary has been found. The reliquary consists of five containers, one inside the other: a stone casket, one of terracotta, one of copper, one of silver, and the innermost of gold containing a bone relic and other artefacts. Although no inscription accompanies this reliquary, it is obvious that the relics must have belonged to an important personage. No reliefs or images of the Buddha have been found in the site.

The site no. 7 & 8 are too unusual to attribute other monasteries to the Mahīśāsakas solely on the basis of similarities of their building scheme. The complex that was most similar was no. 21 (see fn. 9) where, however,

²⁷ LONGHURST 1938: 22, pl. 17; SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan) = STONE 1994, fig. 2, 25; SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 170 and fig. 43 (plan).

²⁸ VOGEL 1929–1930: 24–25: ‘Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha. In the 11th year of (*the reign of*) Mahārāja Vāsethīputa Siri-Ehuvula-[Chāta]mūla of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus, the 1st (*fortnight of*. ?), the 7th day. Mahādevi [Ko]da[ba]lisiri, (*who is*) the grand-daughter of Mahārāja Vāsethīputa, Siri-Chātamūla of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus, etc. [...] has erected this pillar and monastery for the benefit of the Masters of the Mahi[sā]saka sect [ed. on p. 24: *khanīyaṃ vihāro cha achariyānaṃ Mahi[sā]sakānaṃ*], on behalf of the community of the Four Quarters, and for the sake of the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings. (*It has been*) carried out by the Master, the great preacher of the Law, the *thera* Dhamma[gho]sa.’

²⁹ BAREAU 1955: 181–189, 181: ‘Toutes nos sources s’accordent pour considérer les Mahīśāsaka comme la principale des sectes issues du tronc des Sthavira après les schismes successifs des Haimavata, des Vātsīputrīya et des Sarvāstivādin. Si, d’accord en cela avec les tradition des Sammatīya et des Mahāsaṅghika citées par Bhavaya et aussi, semble-t-il, avec la tradition singhalaise, on désigne sous le nom de Vibhājyavādin les Sthavira qui refusèrent d’accepter la doctrine des Sarvāstivādin, les Mahīśāsaka constituent la plus importante secte de ce groupe’; for the doctrine cf. N. DUTT 1970: 129–134; M. KARALUVINNA in: *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 6. 4: 556–558 (with references).

the *vihāra* only consisted of three wings. Inside the eight-spoked *stūpa*, apart from two small relic caskets with bones, pearls and gold, ‘pot offerings’, i.e. monastic burials, were also found. Without attempting to assign them to the Mahīśāsaka school, another group of monasteries consisting of a *vihāra* and a spoked *stūpa* can be listed here, i.e. sites 14,³⁰ 54³¹ and 105³². The monasteries had four or three wings, all *stūpas* had four-spoked internal structures (in no. 14 the *stūpa* was rebuilt) and a circular hub, not filled with bricks. None of the monasteries contained reliefs. However, at site 105, inside the three-winged monastery, in the space usually taken by the pillared central hall, a shrine chamber with the Buddha image was added during the process of rebuilding.

The next monastic community known from the inscription³³ is the **Bahuśrutīyas**.³⁴ The monastery dedicated to them is site no. 5 (**Fig. 6**).³⁵ The monastic unit is relatively large. The monastery consists of 28 cells in four wings surrounding a pillared hall. The big *stūpa* with its complicated internal structure consisting of a hub with eight spokes in the inner ring and twelve in the outer one had four *āyaka* projections each with five *āyaka* pillars. The *stūpa* contained the remains of six monks whose ashes were buried in simple pots covered with bowls, without grave goods (LONGHURST 1938: 21). Around the *stūpa*, supplementary *maṇḍapas* were placed. The most characteristic

³⁰ *Indian Archaeology 1954–55*: 23 (called ‘Site V’), pl. 44a; SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 172, 174 and pl. 58b.

³¹ SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 192 and fig. 55 (plan), pl. 65a.

³² SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 196 and fig. 60 (plan) = *Indian Archaeology 1958–59*: 8.

³³ VOGEL 1929–1930: 24: ‘Success! [...] Mahādevī Bhaṭṭidevā (*who is*) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsethīputa Siri-Chātāmūla, of (*the house of*) the Ikḥākus, etc. [...]; (*who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Mādharīputa Siri-Vīrapurisadatta of the house of the Ikḥākus; (*and who is*) the mother of Mahārāja Siri-Ehuvuḷa (?)–Chātāmūla has erected..... this monastery provided with all essentials (?) for the **Masters of the Bahusutīya** sect. (ed.: 24: [...] *vihāro sava-jāta-niyuto achariyā[naṃ Bahusutīyānaṃ paṭiṭhā[pito]*).’

³⁴ BAREAU 1955: 81–83: 81: ‘Ils seraient nés d’un schisme survenu à la fin du II^e s. E. N. selon les traditions du Nord-Ouest, directement au sein des Mahāsāṅghika selon celles-ci, ou parmi les Gokulika selon les traditions des Theravādin et des Sammatīya. [...] Selon Paramārtha et K’ouei-Ki, leur secte aurait été fondée par l’Arhant ou Āśaiksa Yājñavalkya qui, s’étant retiré dans l’Himālaya du vivant du Buddha, serait resté en *samādhi* pendant près de deux centes ans. S’étant éveillé à la fin de ce temps et ayant quitté ses montagnes, il se serait alors rendu compte que les Mahāsāṅghika ne développaient que le sens superficiel du *Tripiṭaka* et non le sens profond. Il aurait donc énoncé le sens profond avec le sens superficiel, et créé une école nouvelle portant le nom de Bahuśrutīya. D’après Paramārtha, le sens profond du *Tripiṭaka* serait la doctrine du Mahāyāna, et le *Satyasiddhiśāstra* de Harivarman appartiendrait à cette secte. Le *Satyasiddhiśāstra*, dont il existe une traduction chinoise due à Kumārajīva (T. S. 1646), semble bien appartenir à cette école. Son auteur, Harivarman, serait originaire de l’Inde centrale et aurait vécu au III^e s. P. C.’ (with references); Engl. in: *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 2: 501–502; cf. also N. DUTT 1970: 125–126.

³⁵ LONGHURST 1938: 10–11, 20–21, pl. 8a, pl. 15c–d; SARKAR 1966, pl. 9b, pl. 13 (plan) = STONE 1994, fig. 2, 26; SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 166 and fig. 40, pl. 55b.

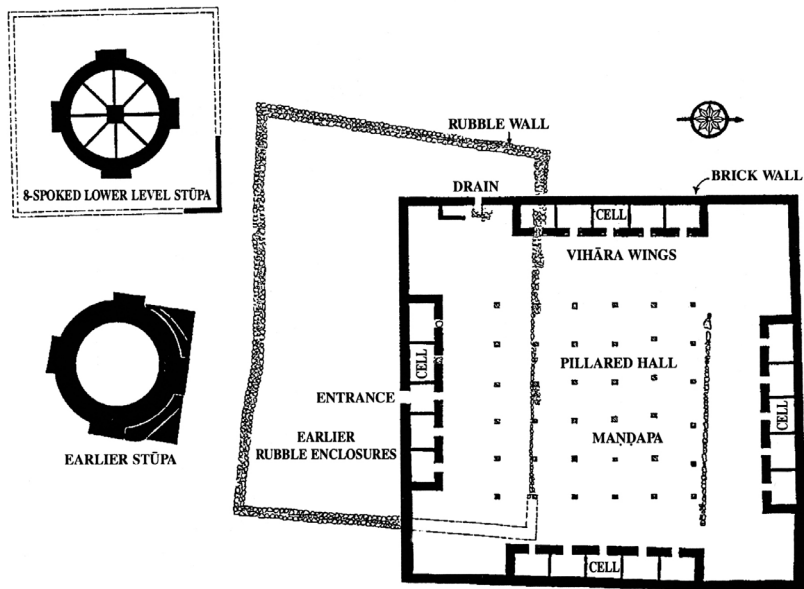


Fig. 5. Nagarjunakonda, site 7/8, from SOUNDARARAJAN 2006, fig. 43.

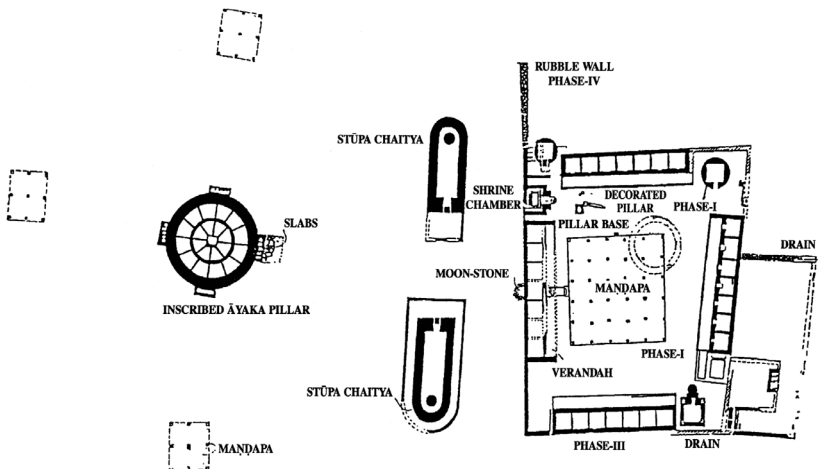


Fig. 6. Nagarjunakonda, site 5, from SOUNDARARAJAN 2006, fig. 40.

feature of the monastery of the Bahuśrutīyas were two apsidal temples, facing each other, placed between the *stūpa* and the *vihāra*, both of which enshrined a *stūpa*. In the complex, no reliefs or Buddha images were found, but in one of the corners of the *vihāra* there was a shrine chamber with an increased pedestal on which Buddha sculptures might have been standing.

Two apsidal temples, facing each other and both containing *stūpas*, are also part of one other monastic unit in Nagarjunakonda, i.e. site no. 26.³⁶ This site got this final shape only after being thoroughly rebuilt (there are remains of an older *stūpa* underneath one of the apsidal *caitya* temples). The monastery consists of three wings and a *stūpa*, with *āyakas* (but no *āyaka* pillars) and without a spoked structure inside. It is unlike site 5 (which had *āyaka* pillars), but the two *caityagrhas* with *stūpas* inside are so characteristic that the monastery could probably be assigned to the same school of the Bahuśrutīyas; particularly since in site 26, too, no reliefs came to light.

What is also characteristic of these two monasteries, site 5 and site 26, is that in both some interesting additional structures have been excavated. They are round on the outside and square on the inside. As far as I am aware, there is no convincing explanation for such buildings.³⁷ They might have served as libraries, i.e., repositories for manuscripts; they may have been square inside in order to fit the shelving into place easily. If this assumption proves right, the ‘Bahuśrutīyas’ could really be treated as knowledgeable (their name literally means: ‘those who heard a lot’).

Another complex with two identical apsidal temples is site no. 4 (**Fig. 7**).³⁸ The big difference is, however, that neither of these temples contained a *stūpa*.³⁹

³⁶ *Indian Archaeology 1955–56*: 25 (called ‘Site XV’), pl. 37; SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 183–184 and pl. 63a.

³⁷ RAMACHANDRAN 1953: pl. 31a: ‘Guard room or Strong Room’; SARKAR and MISRA 1980: 34: ‘These chambers were probably meant for the dignitaries of the monastery, who preferred separate cells of their own.’

³⁸ LONGHURST 1938: 9–10, 20 and pl. 5c–d (plan), 6–7; SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan) = STONE 1994, fig. 2, 21, fig. 20 (photo of the model); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 164, 166 and pl. 55a (photo).

³⁹ There is considerable confusion about this site. It is clearly stated by LONGHURST 1938: 9: ‘In one of those we found two broken statues of the Buddha [...] but nothing in the other’, and it is also depicted on the plan (LONGHURST 1938: pl. 5d) and the old photo (LONGHURST 1938: pl. 5c). The monastery is shown here from the front (apparently from the *stūpa* hill), in the left *caitya* there are two white pieces of stones, probably two fragments of Buddha statues (cf. LONGHURST 1938: pl. 6a), there is no *stūpa* in the right one. The *stūpa* is also not represented in any of the apsidal buildings in the picture of the model of the site in STONE (1994, fig. 20). SARKAR 1966: 81 groups the site with the units containing a *stūpa* in one of the *caityas*. It is in the model today, where in one apsidal temple stands a prominent white *stūpa*. The *stūpa* was apparently ‘reconstructed’ in the monastery rebuilt to receive the ‘ideal model’ of the Nagarjunakonda establishment. The reconstruction of the site includes the *stūpa*.

In one of them, two broken Buddha statues were discovered; another contained no finds. The monastery consisted of three wings with flanking extensions, one of which most likely served as a refectory. The six-spoked *stūpa* contained the mortal remains of twelve monks (ashes in water-pots covered with inverted food-bowls) and a silver casket contained a tiny golden *stūpa*-shaped relic box.

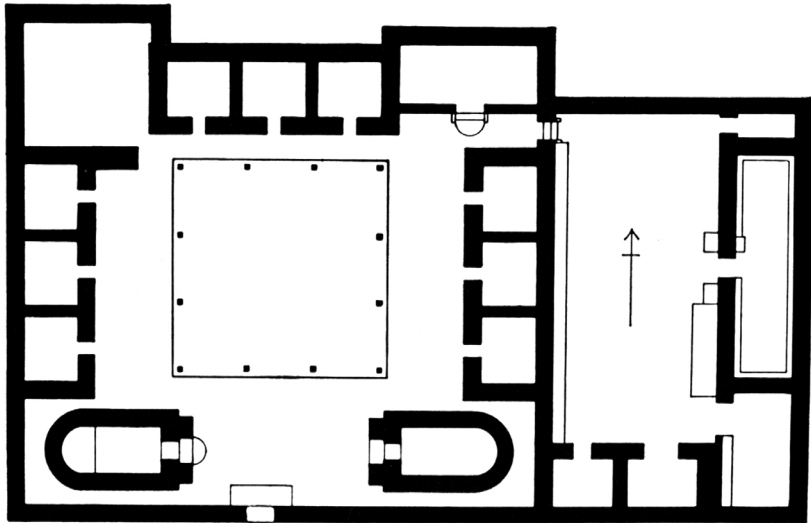


Fig. 7. Nagarjunakonda, site 4, only monastery, from LONGHURST 1938, pl. 5d.

In many ways, the monastery complex labelled site 85⁴⁰ is similar to the above-mentioned compounds, too. The main difference, however, is that here one of the Buddha-*chaityas* is apsidal and the other is square. There are no inscriptions mentioning a particular Buddhist school as being related to any of those monasteries that contain only Buddha shrines.

The next group of monastic units comprises sites with a *stūpa*, a *vihāra* and two apsidal temples, one of which contains a *stūpa* and the other a Buddha statue. To this category belongs site no. 9 (**Fig. 8**),⁴¹ whose donation inscriptions

The reconstructed site 4 (labelled 'site 3' is published in SOUNDARARAJAN 2006, pl. 53b, cf. the photo of site 3 in pl. 53a). Accidentally, the reconstructed site is labelled for the tourists 'the Simhala Vihara for the Ceylonese monks'.

⁴⁰ SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 196 and fig. 59 (plan), pl. 65b, 66a, 76a.

⁴¹ LONGHURST 1938: 23–24 and pl. 7, pl. 18; *Indian Archaeology 1957–58*: 6, pl. 4a; SARKAR and MISRA 1966, pl. 7; = SARKAR 1966; pl. 8a, pl. 13 (plan) = STONE 1994, fig. 2, fig. 19; SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 172 and fig. 44 (plan), pl. 56b, 57a–b.

on two pillars⁴² connect it with the school of the **Apāramahāvīnaśailas**.⁴³ The complex, which is surrounded by a rubble wall, consists of a large *stūpa*, votive *stūpas*, two *caityas* (the northern one with a *stūpa* inside; the southern one with a Buddha statue) and a three-winged monastery. In its interior, the large *stūpa* contains a complicated structure consisting of a square hub, eight spokes in the inner ring and sixteen in the outer ring. The *āyaka* projections were decorated with narrative reliefs (**Fig. 9a–b**);⁴⁴ five *āyaka* pillars were standing on each side. Inside the *stūpa*, no reliquaries were discovered but two water-pots covered with food-bowls, i.e. probably monastic urn burials, as well as the burned bones of ox, deer and hare.

In contrast to all sites discussed above, the *stūpa* in site 9 was decorated with narrative reliefs.

Interestingly, two other monastic units built according to the same scheme also contained reliefs – the best artistic production of Nagarjunakonda – placed on the *āyakas* and also covering the domes. Those units were sites no. 2 and

⁴² SIRCAR 1963–1964: 9–10: *Siddha / mahārājasa asameddha-yājisa a[ne]ka-hirana-kot[ti] i-padāyisa siri-Cha[m]ta[m]ulasa p[u]tasa mahārājasa siri-[V]ra[pu]risadattasa putasa raṇo Vāsethī-putasa Ikḥā[ku]na siri-[E]havu[la]-Chantamūlasa sava[chha]ra aṭhama gimha-pakha chavuthā divasa padarasa Siripavate Vijayapure Apāramahāvīnaś[eliyāna]m ma[havina]seliyānaṃ mahā-nigāye Sēthivara-vadhamāne kasa Ariya-saghasa sela-[maḍavavathavana] therana sālā nivaṇaya [na]ṭha[.]. Jīti [Buddha]-Dhama... ..magala-nagaravara-girivara-naigama[vara]-bahu-deya... ..karako upāsako Chadasirī cha Nāgasirīko raṇo āyu-vadhanika kataa[pano] mātā-pituno pūja[na]puta bhariyako ni[m]itta sa ma-bhāgaṃ puram dātā apa neva gama[ne] sukh-athanaya; in the inscription of the same Chadasirī on another pillar found in the same monastery (cf. SIRCAR 1963–1964: 8–9) Apāramahāvīnaseliyas are not named but the *aryasaṃgha* as in this inscription; thus the inscription apparently refers to the same school.*

⁴³ BAREAU 1955: 104–105 (with references): 104: ‘Cette secte [Aparaśaila] est ignorée de la tradition sammatīya citée par Bhavya, et les *Chroniques* singhalaises ne la rangent pas dans le tableau de filiation des sectes mais dans un groupe des six écoles apparues tardivement. Vasumitra la range à côté des Caitīya et des Uttaraśaila parmi les écoles les plus tardives des Mahāsāṅghika, du moins dans les versions les plus récentes, car celle de Paramārtha l’ignore. La liste mahāsāṅghika citée par Bhavya et Vinītadeva la rangent parmi les Mahāsāṅghika à côté des Pūrvaśaila. Buddhaghosa en fait l’une des quatre sectes andhaka [...]. *Ibid.*: 105: ‘Vasumitra signale que la plupart des thèses des Aparaśaila, comme celles des Uttaraśaila et des Caitīya dont il ne distingue pas, étaient semblables à celles de Mahāsāṅghika’ (with references); cf. also MALALASEKERA 1937–1938, vol. 1: 118 (with references); cf. D. T. DEVENDRA in: *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 2: 12 (Apāramahāvīnaseliya), 13–14 (Aparaśaila) (with references); cf. also N. DUTT 1970: 123–125.

The name *apara-mahāvīna-seliya* (*śaila*) is not explained and it will be (obviously rightly) accepted that the name corresponds exactly to *apara-seliya* (‘from the Western mountain’). As a rather unlikely hypothesis it can be added that the *mahāvīna* could perhaps mean ‘great monks’; *avina* is known in the *Uṇadisūtra* (2.47) as sacrificing priest (Opferpriester) cf. *Petersburger Wörterbuch*, vol. 1, column 500. Prof. Oskar von Hinüber (private communication 2.08.2017) is of the opinion that the word should be understood as *mahāvāna*. To that it should only be noted that this form does not appear in any inscription.

⁴⁴ Frieses from the *stūpa* in site 9 are illustrated e.g. in STONE 1994, figs. 64–66, 79–81, 83, 86, 88–91.

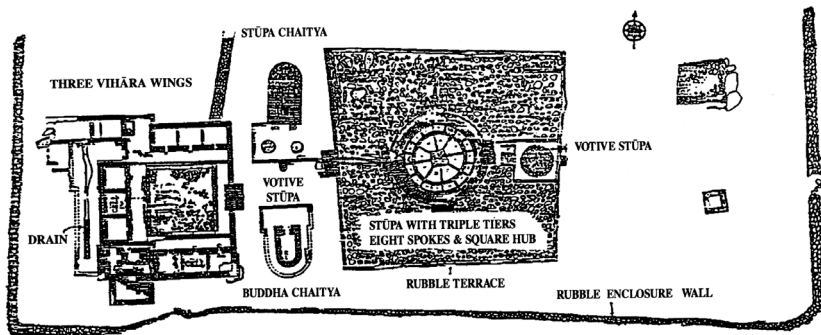


Fig. 8. Nagarjunakonda, site 9, from SOUNDARARAJAN 2006, fig. 44.



Fig. 9a. Nagarjunakonda, site 9, fragment of a Campaka narrative on an *āyaka* frieze, Archaeological site Museum, no. 17, photograph © Wojtek Oczkowski.



Fig. 9b. Nagarjunakonda, site 9, subjugation of the elephant Dhānapala on an *āyaka* frieze, Archaeological site Museum, no. 599 (depot), photograph © Wojtek Oczkowski.

3. Site 2 (Fig. 10)⁴⁵ consists of a three-winged *vihāra* (15 cells), two *caityas* facing each other (here the northern one contained the Buddha statue and the southern one the *stūpa*) and an eight-spoked *stūpa* that was covered with narrative reliefs.

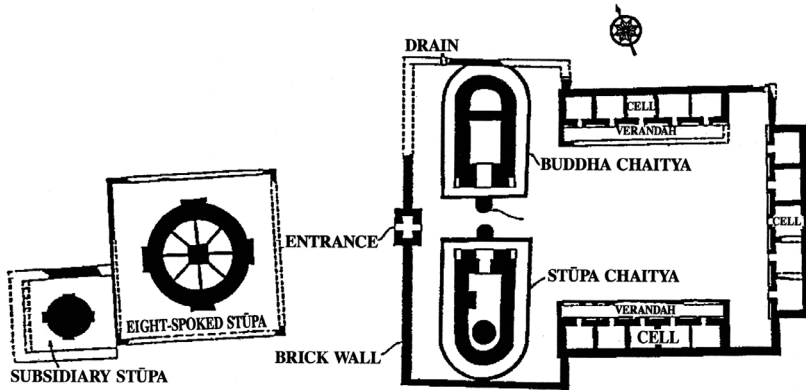


Fig. 10. Nagarjunakonda, site 2, from SOUNDARARAJAN 2006, fig. 38.

Site 3⁴⁶ forms the largest monastic unit in the entire valley (Fig. 11). Its several adjoining buildings led researchers to presume it was a refectory (RAMACHANDRAN 1953: 19) or the inner rooms of a nunnery (S. DUTT 1962: 134). But the layout of the unit is the same as that of site 9 (Fig. 8) and consists of a three-winged cloister (15 cells), two *caityas* (the northern one with the Buddha statue, a southern one with the *stūpa*), as well as the eight-spoked *stūpa* covered with undoubtedly the best narrative reliefs of the entire valley. Inside the *stūpa*, relic caskets with bone deposit were unearthed.

Hence, it becomes clear that all three sites, i.e. no. 2 (Fig. 10), no. 3 (Fig. 11) and no. 9 (Fig. 8), with identical arrangement of the monastic units, belonged to a Buddhist school which was fond of narrative depictions. This school was apparently the Aparamahāvīnaśāila, known from the inscription at site 9 (fn. 42).

⁴⁵ LONGHURST 1938: 19–20; RAMACHANDRAN 1953: 21–25 (called ‘Site no. 5’) and fig. 3 (plan of the *stūpa*), pl. 31 (photo showing the inner structure of the *stūpa*); SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan) = STONE 1994, fig. 2; SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 164 and fig. 38 (plan), fig. 39 (plan of the *stūpa*).

⁴⁶ LONGHURST 1938: 15, 19–20 and pl. 15a–b, pl. 16a (relics); RAMACHANDRAN 1953: 8–20 (called ‘Site no. 6’) and fig. 3 (plan of the *stūpa*), pl. 2–3a (photos ‘general view’), pl. 3b (photo showing the inside structure of the *stūpa*), pl. 12a–b (photos showing the *caityas*), pls. 19–20, 23, 25, 29 (photos showing parts of the monastery); SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); = STONE 1994, fig. 2; SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 166, 170 and fig. 41 (plan), fig. 42 (detail of the plan), pl. 53a.

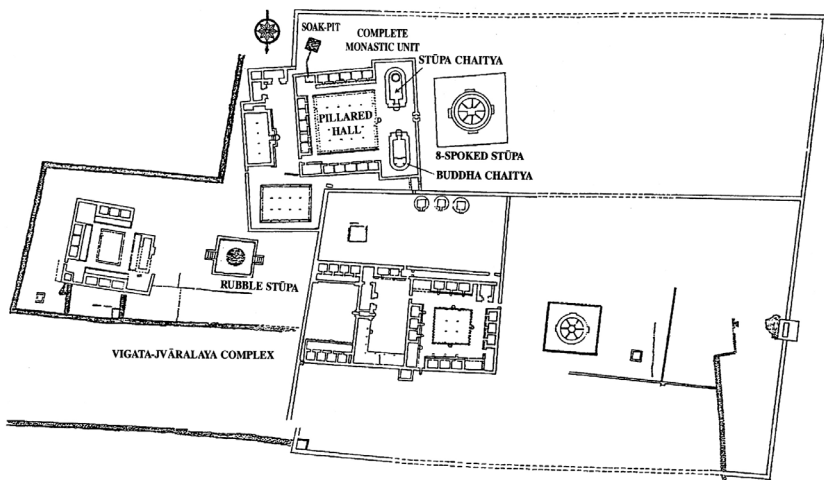


Fig. 11. Nagarjunakonda, sites 3, 32a, 32b, from SOUNDARARAJAN 2006, fig. 41.

The interrelation between the design and the occurrence of reliefs is evident in site 3 (Fig. 11). Two monastic complexes in its close vicinity, i.e. no. 32a and no. 32b,⁴⁷ have different schemes (for example, they have no *caityagrhas*). Even though all three sites seem to belong together – the three are sometimes referred to as ‘hospital’⁴⁸ or ‘university area’ (S. DUTT 1962: 134) – narrative reliefs have been found only in site no. 3.

Let us take a closer look at some other sites at Nagarjunakonda, where narrative reliefs also came to light. There are three such sites: nos. 6, 23 and 106.

According to STONE 1994: 30, in site 23 (see fn. 21) a frieze has been found (she does not give further details). The published relief (STONE 1994: fig. 47) must have been brought in from Amaravati. The lower border decorated with running animals and the tiny scene inside the medallion have no counterpart in Nagarjunakonda but are typical for Amaravati (compare e.g. ZIN 2016: 54–56); furthermore, the lengthened limbs of the depicted individuals leave no doubt about the origin of the relief. Therefore, site no. 23 does not have to concern us since it is not containing any locally produced reliefs.

⁴⁷ SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan) = STONE 1994, fig. 2; S. DUTT 1962, pl. 5 (photo of sites 3 and 32a); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: fig. 41 (plan).

⁴⁸ On one wall, the inscription *mukhiya jvarālaya* was discovered, according to S. DUTT 1962: 134: ‘Main Room for sufferers from fever’.

Another monastery where a narrative representation was unearthed is no. 106.⁴⁹ This unit differs from all other units in Nagarjunakonda. The *vihāra* (in the south) was four-winged (20 cells); the *stūpa* (in the north) has an inner structure with eight spokes. Each corner of the square enclosure of the *stūpa* contained a votive *stūpa*; another four *stūpas* flanked one side. An apsidal temple stood near the votive *stūpas*; it housed a Buddha figure, which, however, has not survived. In this monastery, again only one narrative relief was found, however not (as usually) near the *stūpa*, but lying diagonally on the floor inside the apsidal temple. As only this one narrative relief was found in the monastery, it seems reasonable to assume that it was deposited there only by chance.

Contrary to those two sites with only a single relief in each, a lot of narrative reliefs have been found on the *stūpa* of site 6 (**Fig. 12a**).⁵⁰ Inside the *stūpa*, a gold reliquary with a tiny bone deposit as well as two gold medallions were discovered. The *stūpa*, behind which were placed some votive *stūpas*, stands far away from the *vihāra*, which in this case only consisted of a single row of Buddhist cells. However, it seems quite evident that some architectural devices of this monastic unit were made of perishable materials. The stone entrance to the monastery was excavated, behind which, at a distance, only the back row of cells stands; any side wings must have been built in wood or clay. Furthermore, the place where usually the apsidal temples would be erected, is just an empty space at this site. At least one building stood there once, since on the left traces of a building were discovered – not walls but just the outline of a building, apparently made of perishable materials – which is clearly visible in a photo of the excavation (SOUNDARARAJAN 2006, pl. 56a). The space vis-à-vis, where another building could be expected, had not been touched when the photo was taken; maybe it was never excavated. The location of the three-winged *vihāra* and the fact that space for two apsidal chapels was available, allows us to conclude that site 6 (**Fig. 12b**) did not differ from site 9 (**Fig. 8**) that is assigned to the Aparamahāvīnāśailas. This seems to prove that all the sites from which narrative reliefs originate (i.e. sites 2, 3, 6, and 9), followed a rather similar building plan. The sites are very alike indeed and the similarities increase if we turn the ground plans (**Fig. 13**). It seems that the cardinal directions did not play a crucial role in the process of planning; it did not matter if the *stūpa* was placed in the West or the East; it rather seems that in Nagarjunakonda only the *stūpas* of those sites were adorned with reliefs where the passage from the

⁴⁹ *Indian Archaeology 1956–57*: 37 and pl. 65b; SARKAR and MISRA 1966 (1972, 1980), pl. 8 (wrongly labelled ‘Site 24’); SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); = STONE 1994, fig. 2, fig. 126 (photo); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 199 and fig. 61 (plan), pl. 67b, 68a–b.

⁵⁰ LONGHURST 1938: 21–22 and pl. 15b (*stūpa*), pl. 16c–d (relics and gold medallions); SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); = STONE 1994, fig. 2; SOUNDARARAJAN 2006, pl. 56a.

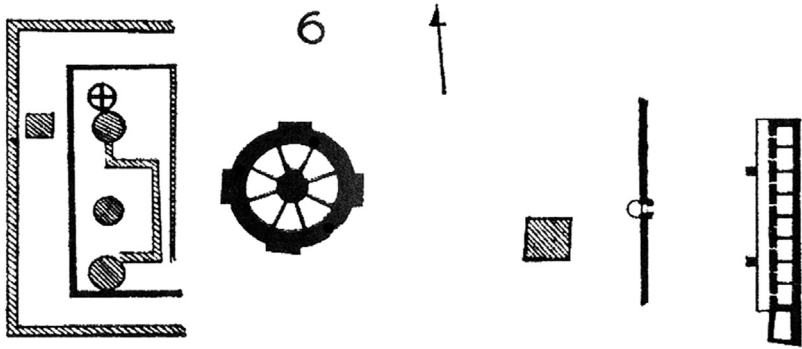


Fig. 12a. Nagarjunakonda, site 6, from SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (detail).

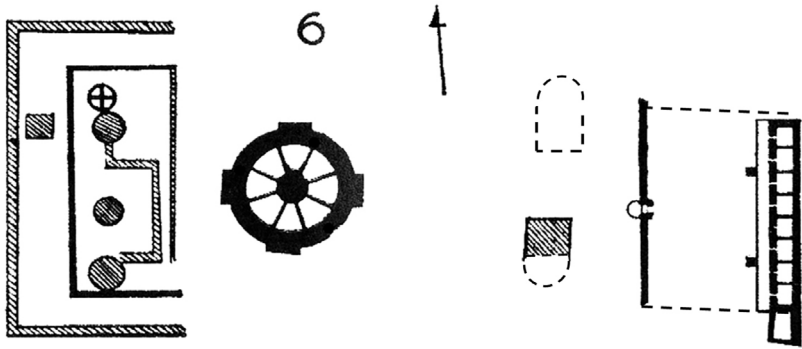


Fig. 12b. Nagarjunakonda, possible reconstruction of site 6.

stūpa towards the monastery was flanked by a temple with a Buddha image on the left side and another temple with a *stūpa* on the right (Fig. 14).

Only site no. 9 bears an inscription (fn. 42), but – bearing in mind how different all other monasteries were – it seems extremely possible that all the four sites belonged to the same school, the Aparamahāvīnaśailas, which must have favoured narrative depictions.⁵¹ The last monastic site which has not yet been discussed in this paper is the most important site in the Nagarjunakonda valley – site no. 1,⁵² the *mahācaitya* (Fig. 15). The inscriptions on the *stūpa*

⁵¹ As for site 4, the plan of which, according to Sarkar (SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan) = STONE 1994, fig. 21), corresponds to that of sites 2, 3, 6 and 9, see fn. 39.

⁵² LONGHURST 1938: 16–19 and pl. 12a–b (plan of the *stūpa*), pl. 13 a–d (excavations and relics); RAMACHANDRAN 1953: 26–27 (called ‘Site no. 2’) and fig. 4 (plan of the monastery); SARKAR and MISRA 1966 (1972, 1980), pl. 5 (photo of the *stūpa*); SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (plan); = STONE

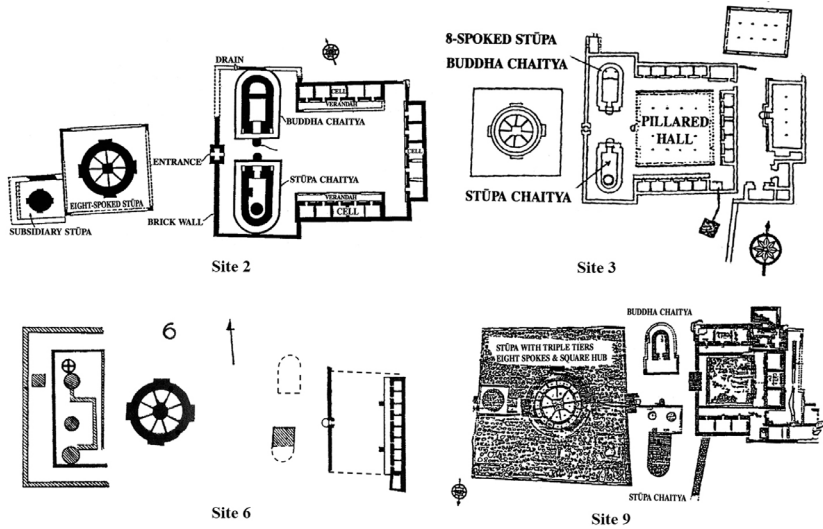


Fig. 13. Nagarjunakonda, buildings structures in which narrative reliefs were found (compare Figs. 10, 11, 12b, 8).

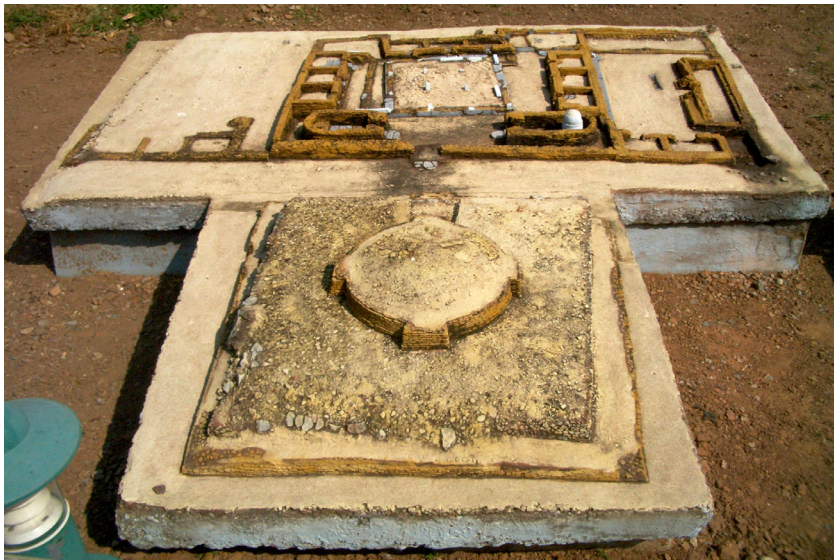


Fig. 14. Nagarjunakonda, site 3, miniature model in the garden of the Archaeological site Museum on the island.

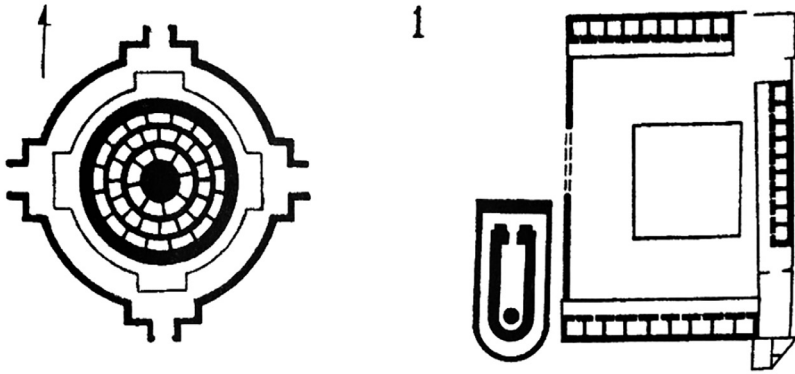


Fig. 15. Nagarjunakonda, site 1, from SARKAR 1966, pl. 13 (detail).

itself and in the *caityagrha* refer to the *ācāryas* of the **Apāramahāvīnaśaila** school,⁵³ i.e. the same school recorded in the inscription of site 9 (fn. 42), which was obviously responsible for the narrative reliefs in the valley. The renovation of the *stūpa* was executed under the supervision of the learned monk Ānanda (cf. fn. 53); the monastery (*catusāla*) as well as the *caitya* hall⁵⁴ were sponsored by the same school.

Parts of the monastic unit in site 1 (Fig. 15) were bigger than those of other units, but the basic design of the unit corresponds with sites no. 2, 3 and 9 (Fig. 13). The three-winged monastery comprised 28 cells. The *stūpa* measured

1994, fig. 2, 18, fig. 17 (photo of the *stūpa*); SOUNDARARAJAN 2006: 160, 164 and fig. 37 (plan of the monastery), pl. 52.

⁵³ VOGEL 1929–1930: 17 (inscription C 1): ‘For the benefit of the Masters of the **Apāramahāvīnaseliya** sect (ed. *ibid.*: *āchariyānaṃ Apāramahāvīnas[e]līyāma[m]*) this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya has been completed by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the *Dīgha*- and the *Majjhima-nikāyas* by heart, (who is) a disciple of the Masters of the Ayira-haṃgha (Skt. *Ārya-saṅgha*) who are resident in Paṃṇagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha*, the *Majjhima-nikāya* and of the five *Mātukas*. This pious work, the Mahāchetiya, was completed and the pillars were erected. In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Siri-Virapurisadatta the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.’ The school is named in several other inscriptions on the site, cf. *ibid.*: 20, 22; cf. also SIRCAR 1961: 210–211; and following fns.

⁵⁴ VOGEL 1929–1930: 21–22 (inscription E): ‘[...] A *chetiya-ghara* (*chaitya*-hall). Chātisiri (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsethiputa Siri-Chātāmūla of the house of Ikḥāku [...] having due regard to the past, future and present bliss (?) of the great community of Buddhist monks consisting of all the holy men who have renounced the world and who have penetrated (?) into various countries, and both the houses to which she herself belongs, has erected a stone shrine surrounded by a cloister and provided with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the sect of the **Apāramahāvīnaseliyas** [ed. VOGEL 1929–1930: 21: *Apāramahāvīnaseliya[ā]naṃ parigahe savaniyuta[m] chātūsala-parigahitaṃ selamaṃṭava[m] patīṭh[ā]pitaṃ*]. In the eightieth year, anno 18, of King Siri-Virapurisadatta [...].’

28m in diameter and its inner structure contained at least 40 chambers; in one such chamber a *stūpa*-shaped relic casket came to light, which was believed to contain the corporal remains of the Buddha.⁵⁵ Each of the *stūpa*'s *āyaka* projections bore five pillars. Between the monastery and the *stūpa* there was a *caityagrha* containing a *stūpa*. What is missing here is the second apsidal temple with the Buddha figure, but the space for it is available. This temple may have been built using perishable materials or perhaps was never built in the first place. Inscriptions reveal an 18-year interval between the construction of the *stūpa* and the *caityagrha*, the missing building may well have been in its planning stage but was never erected. Except for the non-existence of the second apsidal temple, the design of the site corresponds precisely with the other monastic units of the Aparamahāvīnaśaīla school.

The amazing fact is, however, that the *mahācaitya* was not decorated with narrative reliefs; stucco pieces of geometrical and floral designs were all that was discovered in the area of the monastery (RAMACANDRAN 1953: 27). How was it possible that at the most imposing *stūpa* in the entire valley, sponsored by the royal family, and part of an establishment of the very school which applied reliefs in all their other sites, no decoration was found whatsoever?

In my opinion, the answer can be quite simple: the *mahācaitya* at Nagarjunakonda had the *pradakṣiṇapāṭha* enclosed by a surrounding railing. The top view of the railing enclosure equals the reconstruction of the great *stūpa* in Amaravati. In both cases there were entrances into the enclosure in front of the *āyaka* platforms. While, however, in Amaravati the *stūpa* was fenced in by means of a mighty stone railing, in Nagarjunakonda only a brick foundation repeats the shape of the latter. The railing, which must have stood on it, is gone. It must have been made of wood⁵⁶ and when it perished, all the carved or painted scenes and other ornaments disappeared with it.

It might be that one of the inscriptions mentioning a *mahācaitya* contains a piece of evidence for the wooden railing. The inscription on a stone was found in site no. 6. While Elizabeth STONE 1994: 25 argued that the relief must have originally been intended for site 1, Akira SHIMADA (forthcoming) presented a convincing theory that before *stūpa* 1 was built, the name *mahācaitya* was given to *stūpa* no. 6.

⁵⁵ The inscription (VOGEL 1929–1930: 20) calls the relic *dhātuvara-parigahita*. On the understanding of a relic as the living presence of the Buddha see SCHOPEN 1988. After the valley was flooded, the relic was enshrined in the Mūlagandhakūṭi Vihāra at Sāmāth (S. DUTT 1962: 127).

⁵⁶ LONGHURST 1938: 16: 'The *stūpa* was surrounded by a processional path 13 feet in width, and enclosed by a wooden railing standing on brick foundations, which still remain. The gateways were formed by extending the railing outwards, so as to form a screen on each side of the entrance [...].'

The stone bearing the inscription is a frieze and was part of an *āyaka* platform (Stone 1994: 27). The inscription refers to a donation of the slab (*paṭo*) and coping (*unisa*).⁵⁷ The ‘slab’ might perhaps refer to the frieze carrying the inscription, but it seems that no *uṣṇīṣas* (the coping stones from the railings) were needed for site no. 6 (Fig. 12a–b). Might it be that the coping named in the inscription that was installed *mahāchetiye*, at the Great Caitya, was not a ‘stone’ but a coping timber for the railing of the *stūpa* in site no. 1 (Fig. 15)?

It appears that the Ikṣvāku, who imitated the great Sātavāhanas wherever possible, obviously wanted their own *mahācaitya* with a gorgeous railing. However, the railing had to appear there as soon as possible and not after many years of tedious work executed by stonecutters. A wooden railing must have certainly been a better option for them.

Let me sum up the most important results of the investigation at hand: it seems that there existed a phenomenon that could be referred to as a school-specific design of monasteries. I hope to have shown that we have to distinguish between Buddha images, which definitely were more common, and narrative reliefs, which were only present in a limited number of monasteries, maybe only those of particular Buddhist schools.

As emphasised at the outset, this essay does not claim to completely cover all the Buddhist monasteries of the region. The inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda have given us only a few names of Buddhist schools and of course it is by no means certain that these were the only schools present in the region. The Aparamahāvīnaśaila was most probably not the only school interested in the production of reliefs illustrating Buddhist narratives. At the site of Kanaganahalli which was richly decorated with such reliefs (POONACHA 2011, ARAMAKI, DAYALAY and NAKANISHI 2011, ZIN 2018b), inscriptions mention the Aparasāila school (TOURNIER 2020: 870–871), a school also known to have been present in Amaravati,⁵⁸ but also the Kaurukulla school.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ VOGEL 1929–1930: 25 (ed., trans.): *Sidham namo bhagavato aga-pogalasa Budhasa Chhadakapavatiḥ[e]na Paduma[vā]-niya gharaniya sagaya saputakānam Hagas[i]r[i] sa sagasa Nagatarasa cha sabhaja[sa] saputikāna[m] cha deyadham[o] paṭo unisa cha mahāchetiye patiḥ[ā]vito*; ‘Success. Adoration to the Lord Buddha, the best of beings. A meritorious gift (consisting of) a slab and a coping stone, has been dedicated at the Great Chaitya by Chhadakapavatiḥa, Padumavānī his house-wife, together with their sons Hagasiri and Nagatara with his wife and together with their daughters.’

⁵⁸ BAREAU 1955: 104: ‘Hiuan-tsiang trouva le monastère de l’Aparasīlā sur une montagne à l’ouest de Dhanyakataka, mais il était alors désert depuis plus des cent ans.’

⁵⁹ The longest inscription discovered in Kanaganahalli records the gift of various architectural elements to the *mahācaitya*, primarily by the *bhikṣuṇī* Dhammasiri, whom the record identifies as *korukulana*. Previous interpretations (FALK 2009: 202–203; POONACHA 2011: 458, no. 75; NAKANISHI and von HINÜBER 2014: 31–33, no. I.8) have recently been refuted and an

The circumstances surrounding the suggested activity of these two Buddhist schools in Kanaganahalli deserves further research; it appears, however, certain by now that the Aparasāila/Aparamahāvinaśailas, the only school in Nagarjunakonda whose *stūpas* were covered with narrative reliefs, played a crucial role in Buddhist art of ancient Āndhradeśa.

References

- ARAMAKI, Noritoshi, D. DAYALAN and Maiko NAKANISHI 2011. *A New Approach to the Origin of Mahāyānasūtra Movement on the Basis of Art Historical and Archaeological Evidence. A Preliminary Report on the Research*. Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research, The Japan Society for Promotion of Science, Project (C) no. 20520050.
- BAREAU, André 1955. *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*. Saigon: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- DUTT, Nalinaksha 1970. *Buddhist Sects in India*. Calcutta: Naniswar Library.
- DUTT, Sukumar 1962. *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries from India*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, ed. Gunapala Piyasena MALALASEKERA et al. 1961ff. Government of Ceylon Publication.
- FALK, Harry 2009. 'Two Dated Sātavāhana Epigraphs'. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 52(2–3): 197–206. <https://doi.org/10.1163/001972409X445924>.
- Indian Archaeology 1954–55, A Review*, ed. A. Ghosh. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Indian Archaeology 1955–56, A Review*, ed. A. Ghosh. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Indian Archaeology 1956–57, A Review*, ed. A. Ghosh. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Indian Archaeology 1957–58, A Review*, ed. A. Ghosh. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Indian Archaeology 1958–59, A Review*, ed. A. Ghosh. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- LAMOTTE, Étienne 1958. *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien des Origines à l'Ère Śaka*. Bibliothèque du Muséon 43. Lovain: Publications de L'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain. Engl.: *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era*, translated by Sara Webb-Boin. Lovain: Publications de L'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 1988.

understanding of the term (found in this and other inscriptions at the site) has been argued for that affiliates the donor with a Buddhist school known as the Kaurukullas from much later texts; cf. TOURNIER 2020: 878–890.

- LONGHURST, Albert H. 1938. *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Madras Presidency*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 54. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- MALALASEKERA, Gunapala Piyasena 1937–1938. *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*. 2 vols. London: J. Murray.
- NAKANISHI, Maiko and Oskar von HINÜBER 2014. ‘Kanaganahalli Inscriptions’. *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism* 17, Supplement.
- Petersburger Wörterbuch* = BÖHTLINGK, Otto and Rudolf ROTH 1855–1875, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. 7 vols. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- POONACHA, K. P. 2011. *Excavations at Kanaganahalli (Sannati, Dist. Gulbarga, Karnataka)*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 106. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- RAMACHANDRAN, T. N. 1953. *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa 1938*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 71. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- SARKAR, Haribishnu 1965–1966. ‘Nagarjunakoṇḍa Prakrit Inscription of Gautamiputra Vijaya Satakarni, Year 6’. *Epigraphia Indica* 36: 273–274.
- SARKAR, Haribishnu 1966. *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- SARKAR, Haribishnu 1985. ‘The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Phase of the Lower Kṛṣṇā Valley Art’. [In:] Asher, Frederick M., ed., *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*. Oxford / New Delhi: South Asia Books, pp. 29–34.
- SARKAR Haribishnu and Bhaskaranatha MISRA 1966. *Nagarjunakonda*. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Śatapathabrāhmaṇa = WEBER, A., ed. 1924. *The Śatapathabrāhmaṇa in the Mādhyandina-Śākhā with Extracts from the Commentaries of Sāyaṇa, Harisvāmin and Dvivedagaṇga*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.
- SCHOPEN, Gregory 1988. On the Buddha and his Bones: The Conception of a Relic in the Inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108(4): 527–537. Also published in: Schopen, Gregory 1997. *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, Studies in the Buddhist Traditions, pp. 148–164.
- SHIMADA, Akira (forthcoming). ‘Formation of Early Nagarjunakonda Style: Sculptures from Sites 6 and 9’. [In:] Griffiths, Arlo, Akira Shimada and Vincent Tournier, eds, *Early Āndhradeśa: Towards a Grounded History*. Leiden: Brill.
- SHIMADA, Akira and Michael WILLIS, eds 2016. *Amaravati: The Art of an Early Buddhist Monument in Context*. London: The British Museum.
- SIRCAR, Dineshchandra 1961. ‘Fragmentary Inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa’. *Epigraphia Indica* 34: 208–212.

- SIRCAR, Dineshchandra 1963–1964. ‘More Inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda’. *Epigraphia Indica* 35: 1–36.
- SIRCAR, Dineshchandra and A. N. LAHIRI 1960. ‘Footprint Slab Inscription from Nagarjunikoṇḍa’. *Epigraphia Indica* 33: 247–250.
- SOUNDARARAJAN, Kodayanallur V., ed. 2006. *Nagarjunakonda (1954–60)*. Volume II: *The Historical Period*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 75. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- STARGARDT, Janice 1990. *The Ancient Pyu of Burma*. Volume 1: *Early Pyu Cities in a Man-Made Landscape*. Cambridge: Publications on Ancient Civilization in South East Asia and Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- STONE, Elizabeth Rosen 1994. *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*. Buddhist Tradition Series 25. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- TOURNIER, Vincent 2020. ‘Buddhist Lineages along the Southern Routes: On Two nikāyas active at Kanaganahalli under the Sātavāhanas’. [In:] Tournier, Vincent, Vincent Eltschinger and Marta Sernesi, eds, *Archaeologies of the Written: Indian, Tibetan, and Buddhist Studies in Honour of Cristina Scherrer-Schaub*. Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”. Series Minor, LXXXIX, pp. 857–910.
- VOGEL, Jean Philippe 1929–1930. ‘Prakrit Inscriptions from the Buddhist Site at Nagarjunakonda’. *Epigraphia Indica* 20: 1–36.
- ZIN, Monika 2004. ‘The Mūkapaṅgu Story in the Madras Government Museum: The Problem of the Textual Affiliations of the Narrative Reliefs in Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda’. *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale* 64: 157–180.
- ZIN, Monika 2016. ‘Buddhist Narratives and Amaravati’. [In:] Shimada, Akira and Michael Willis, eds, *Amaravati: The Art of an Early Buddhist Monument in Context*. London: The British Museum, pp. 46–58.
- ZIN, Monika 2018a. ‘Kanaganahalli in Sātavāhana Art and Buddhism: King Aśoka in Front of the bodhi Tree’. *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 41: 537–568.
- ZIN, Monika 2018b. *The Kanaganahalli Stūpa: An Analysis of the 60 Massive Slabs Covering the Dome*. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

ACTA ASIATICA VARSOVIENSIA

Articles submitted to the journal should not be submitted elsewhere.

Authors are responsible for obtaining permission to publish any material under copyright (see the 'Ghostwriting' and 'Statement for authors' files at <http://aav.iksiopan.pl/index.php/en/publication-ethics/public-ethics-and-malpractice-statement>).

Articles must be in English. The article should begin with an abstract of up to 100 words, followed by 4–8 keywords which should describe the article's main arguments and conclusions.

Full papers can be up to 5,000–6,000 words or maximum 40 thous. characters (including the main text, notes, and tables) and should be typed on A4 paper, in 12-point Times New Roman font, with ample margins on all sides. The entire manuscript must be 1.5-spaced and numbered consecutively. The title and the author's name should be at the top of the first page. All titles in non-Roman alphabets must be transliterated. An English transliteration of non-standard language titles should be provided in parentheses after the title.

Footnotes at the bottom of the text page are obligatory.

More substantial editing will be returned to the author for approval before publication. No rewriting will be allowed at the proof stage.

Articles are qualified on the basis of a double-blind review process by external referees (see <http://aav.iksiopan.pl/index.php/en/for-authors/peer-review-process>).

Articles from recent issues are available online at <http://aav.iksiopan.pl/index.php/en/archive-issues>.