



Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures  
Polish Academy of Sciences

# ACTA ASIATICA VARSOVIENSIA

## 36



Warsaw 2023

*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

*Layout, typesetting and cover design*

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-Dyndo

Lidia Sudyka

Monika Zin

Cover photo: Thangka showing Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, author unknown,  
made in Nepal in the 2nd half of the 20th century. Cat.: MAP 14943,  
© The Asia and Pacific Museum, Warsaw.

The photo is used under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 licence  
(<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

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 (IMOC PAS) and the Authors.

Warsaw 2023  
ISSN 0860-6102  
eISSN 2449-8653

# Contents

- **Ivan ANDRIJANIĆ and Jacek BĄKOWSKI**, On the Authenticity of Prose Writings Attributed to Śaṅkara ..... 5
- **Tomasz GACEK**, Some Remarks on the Perso-Arabic Nominal Lexica in Bollywood Movie Song Lyrics ..... 39
- **Enbo HU**, Study of a Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscript of the *Saptajinastotra* ..... 69
- **Paulina KONIUCH**, Cultural Fluctuations of Tibetan Culture in Dharamsala and Their Reception among the Tibetan Exilic Youth ..... 91
- **Katarzyna MARCINIAK**, The *Story of Mālinī (Mālinī-vastu)* in the *Mahāvastu* ..... 115
- **Marek MEJOR**, Sudhana’s Encounter with the Lumbinī-vana Goddess according to the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* ..... 159
- **Yihao QIU**, Understanding the Career of Mongolian Speakers in the Mamluk Sultanate: A Comparative Perspective ..... 199
- **Małgorzata SOBczyk**, The Concept of “Buddha-Nature” in Women’s Salvation and Its Relationship to Japanese Buddhist Teachings on Menstruation ..... 229
- **Małgorzata SULICH-COWLEY**, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa’s View on Negation in the *Nañarthanirṇaya* of the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* ..... 245
- **Herman TIEKEN**, The *vīthī*, *lāsya* and *nāṭikā*, and the *daśarūpa* List in the *Nāṭyaśātra* ..... 265
- Editorial Principles ..... 299



## On the Authenticity of Prose Writings Attributed to Śaṅkara

Ivan ANDRIJANIĆ and Jacek BAŃKOWSKI

**Abstract:** Śaṅkara is traditionally considered the author of an exceptionally large number of works. Indological scholarship has attempted to filter out some of these works within traditional philological and historical frameworks. Many were, however, taken for granted to be authentic, and no serious research into their authenticity has been conducted. This paper attempts a computational stylometric approach to establish the authenticity of prose commentaries attributed to Śaṅkara. The General Imposters (GI) framework appears to be the most suitable existing method developed for the purpose of verifying authorship. The GI calculates the statistical distance between certain texts' features and estimates whether the disputed text is closer to the candidate author than to a set of texts that may not have been composed by him. The paper also presents a machine-based method for separating the words and resolving the sandhi in the Sanskrit text, crucial for the procedure. The success rate in verifying authors of undisputed texts appears to be acceptable enough to proceed to the next step, where 18 prose commentaries traditionally attributed to Śaṅkara are subjected to the GI verification procedure. The result conforms to the most conservative assessments of Śaṅkara's authorship; GI verified the authenticity of the commentaries on the principal Upaniṣads (with the exception of the commentary on the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*) and on the *Bhagavadgītā*. Besides these, commentaries on the *Nṛsiṃha-(pūrva)-tāpanīyopaniṣad* and the *Adhyātmapaṭala* were, rather unexpectedly, also successfully verified as genuine works of Śaṅkara.

**Keywords:** authorship, stylometry, Advaita, Vedānta

Ivan ANDRIJANIĆ, University of Zagreb, Croatia; [iandrij@ffzg.unizg.hr](mailto:iandrij@ffzg.unizg.hr);

 0000-0002-1544-585X

Jacek BAŃKOWSKI, Institute of Polish Language, Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland;

[jacek.bakowski@ijp.pan.pl](mailto:jacek.bakowski@ijp.pan.pl);  0000-0003-2480-3396



This article is distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

## Introduction

Within the broader field of digital humanities, contemporary computational stylometry represents a particularly interesting and exciting area. Broadly outlined, stylometry implies the measurement of textual stylistic affinities in order to address questions like authorship and chronology. Advancements in computing power have made it increasingly feasible to carry out complex operations that involve extensive statistical calculations, which were considered unachievable until recently. One of the most studied stylometric disciplines is authorship attribution, where features of a text of unknown authorship are compared to the determined profiles of known authors in order to find a matching candidate.<sup>1</sup> However, in the history of Indian philosophy, a different setup might be of greater interest, where features of a text of disputed authorship are compared to undisputed texts of the candidate author. Such a setup is referred to as authorship verification. In Indian philosophy, this might be important because many spurious works were traditionally attributed to certain famous authors often without credible verification. Such is a case with Śaṅkara (8th cent. CE)<sup>2</sup>, to whom a vast number of texts is ascribed in manuscript colophons and by monastic tradition.<sup>3</sup>

In two articles, ANDRIJANIĆ (2020a, 2020b) experimented with an authorship verification method named the General Imposters (GI) framework in order to assess the accuracy of the method on Sanskrit philosophical texts.<sup>4</sup> As the method gave satisfactory results in verifying authorship of undisputed texts,<sup>5</sup> ANDRIJANIĆ (2020a; 2020b) verified traditional attribution of the *Kāthopaniṣadbhāṣya* (KaUBh), *Īsopaniṣadbhāṣya* (ĪUBh) and *Chāndogyopaniṣadbhāṣya* (ChUBh) to Śaṅkara. However, two serious shortcomings are visible in this experiment. The first problem is that rather small text samples were used in both experiments.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The term “stylometry” was coined by Wincenty LUTOSLAWSKI in 1898. More on stylometry, its history and methods one can find in HOLMES 1994; JUOLA 2006; KOPPEL et al. 2009 and STAMATOS 2009. For a more general introduction to the authorship problem, we recommend LOVE 2002.

<sup>2</sup> For an overview and evaluation of previous attempts to date Śaṅkara see HARIMOTO 2006, who narrows the date of *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* between 756 and 772.

<sup>3</sup> According to BELVALKAR 1930: 241 about 435 works are ascribed to Śaṅkara in manuscript colophons. Belvalkar made his estimation according to Aufrecht’s *Catalogus Catalogorum* and Reports and Descriptive Catalogues of the Government Library in Madras.

<sup>4</sup> Imposters method is originally proposed by KOPPEL and WINTER 2014: 5–6 and further developed by SEIDMAN 2014 and POTHA and STAMATOS 2017. KESTEMONT et al. 2016 employed the method on the disputed writings of Julius Caesar, while variations of the method won first prize at the PAN-2013 and PAN-2014 evaluation lab on uncovering plagiarism, authorship and social software misuse.

<sup>5</sup> The success rate of the GI procedure applied to Sanskrit philosophical texts reached in certain setups up to 80% of successful attributions.

<sup>6</sup> In fact, KOPPEL and WINTER 2014: 8 have shown that GI method accuracy increases as the

Another problem is that the number of texts used was quite limited. Therefore, it is possible to doubt statistical reliability of results that came from such small samples. Due to the utilisation of manually segmented Sanskrit text corpus in both of Andrijačić's studies, it was not feasible to compile a substantial quantity of texts.

Now, let us clarify the importance of the segmentation issue. The GI method relies on a feature vector, usually consisting of word or  $n$ -gram<sup>7</sup> frequencies. At first glance, character  $n$ -grams might seem uninformative, meaningless and counter-intuitive. However, according to JUOLA 2006, they have turned out to be the best performing feature type in the sophisticated authorship attribution, although they carry little information or meaning. One of the reasons for the effectiveness of this measure is that these units tend to capture "a bit of everything", being sensitive to both the content and form of a text (HOVARDAS and STAMATATOS 2006; KOPPEL et al. 2009; STAMATATOS 2009).<sup>8</sup> Admittedly, some have expressed caveats regarding their use, since many of them are "closely associated to particular content words and roots" (KOPPEL et al. 2009: 13). However, the use of  $n$ -grams increases the amount of measurement data to be observed, as in a text there is more  $n$ -grams than entire words, which is worth noticing from the strictly quantitative point of view (STAMATATOS 2009; DAELEMANS 2013).

---

length of the input documents increases. However, they took into consideration rather small texts. This means that the method is successful even when such short texts of 1,500 words are used. However, the problem is here in the selection, because Andrijačić used smaller sections taken from voluminous works. Using a randomly selected smaller set of features from a larger set is expected to yield more reliable results compared to utilising only a small fragment of text. For the problem of text size and sampling in stylometry, see LUYCKX and DAELEMANS 2011 and EDER 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Character  $n$ -grams are adjoining and partially overlapping sequences of  $n$ -letters. E.g. as a character  $n$ -gram sequence (with  $n = 3$ ), the Sanskrit phrase *tattvamasi* "thou art that" will be analysed as "tat" "att" "ttv" "tva" "vam" "ama" "mas" "asi" (cf. ANDRIJANIĆ 2020b: 107). However, if the phrase is segmented into words, the phrase reads *tad tvam asi* and the character 3-gram sequence would explicitly catch spaces between words. The sequence would be analysed as: "tad" "ad∅" "d∅t" "∅tv" "tva" "vam" "am∅" "m∅a" "∅as" "asi". In authorship studies, character  $n$ -grams are recognised as a powerful alternative to words (word unigrams). Cf. KESTEMONT et al. 2016: 87.

<sup>8</sup> To some extent they are therefore similar to function words. We understand function words as a small closed-class category set of words which contribute to sentence meaning only indirectly, such as articles, prepositions, particles and determiners (MORROW 1986: 423). The prevailing opinion is that function words, being heavily grammaticalised, do not carry meaning in isolation but are instead used much more frequently than content words (ZIF 1949). Unlike content words, function words might not be so influenced by the topic of the text. Their high frequency of use makes them interesting to study quantitatively, and they are universally employed by authors in a given language. Most importantly, it is often considered that their usage is not under an author's conscious control during the writing process. Thus, they are a reliable basis for textual comparisons (KESTEMONT 2014).

Furthermore, since it has been proved that authorship attribution based on word frequencies provides poorer results with highly inflective languages, *n*-grams' ability to function independently of a language constitutes a crucial argument for their use (RYBICKI and EDER 2011: 319–320). Indeed, in weakly inflected languages much of their functional linguistic information is expressed through minimal units of meaning or grammatical morphemes, usually in the form of individual words such as prepositions or articles (MORROW 1986). On the other hand, it has been proved that highly inflected (and agglutinative) languages show a greater susceptibility to analysis by *n*-grams – which has been attested with languages such as Latin, Polish or Hungarian (RYBICKI and EDER 2011: 319–320). Sanskrit follows it to no less extent, extensively using the case endings, as well as other forms of inflection – and thus is closer to such languages like Latin and Polish, highly inflected in comparison with English.

To sum up, the *n*-grams approach combines all advantages of both word functions and *n*-grams: “high frequency, good dispersion, content-independence [and] unconscious use” and is often able to capture more refined grammatical patterns (KESTEMONT 2014).<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, and this will be a fundamental concept for the rest of our reasoning here, there is a subtle usage of the presence of whitespaces by *n*-grams, namely, it allows for more observation-per-word, but what is more, due to its explicit encoding, it makes a representation sensitive to inflectional information – which is simply ignored in a word-level approach (KESTEMONT 2014) – and which is predominant in Sanskrit. It also allows one to highlight the important status of words' first letters, which are particularly important in how words are cognitively accessed in the mental lexicon (RUBIN 1995: 74).<sup>10</sup>

The problem is that Sanskrit words available in electronic and printed texts are connected to one another due to sandhi and Devanāgarī writing conventions. ANDRIJANIĆ 2020b showed that unsegmented and unsandhied Sanskrit texts analysed as *n*-grams do not yield satisfactory results with GI even when large text-samples are used, which tends to confirm the above observations. Text segmentation can also, to a certain extent, isolate and bring to an equal form some functors and retrieve some functional and stylistic information from them. Thus, by breaking up our Sanskrit sandhied words into smaller units we

<sup>9</sup> A very special attention should be given to grammatical morphemes, also named “functors” by KESTEMONT, which broaden and extend the concepts of function words to include all grammatical morphemes realised either as individual words or phrases (KESTEMONT 2014).

<sup>10</sup> We can operate here an interesting parallel with art history research. In the 19th century Giovanni MORELLI (1816–1891) suggested that the attribution of Italian master's paintings should be based on frequent, functional, inconspicuous (and maybe even unconscious) details rather than content-related elements (KESTEMONT et al. 2012: 61–62).

were able to harvest more and better information from texts. Furthermore, this approach allows us to isolate the previously mentioned first word letters. All this brings us to the conclusion that Sanskrit texts where words are separated work much better.

Also, to obtain more reliable results, a larger body of text samples is needed. Recently, a solution to this problem came to hand when a reliable automatic text segmentation method was introduced by HELLWIG and NEHRDICH 2018.

Therefore, in the first part of this paper we shall describe the GI method and the machine-learning text segmenter developed by HELLWIG and NEHRDICH 2018. Then, we shall evaluate whether the GI method accurately attributes machine segmented texts of undisputed authorship to their authors. If the results turn out to be satisfactory, we will move on to the final phase in which we will evaluate whether a body of prose writings, traditionally attributed to Śaṅkara, can actually be recognised as his works.

### Imposters method

The GI algorithm depends on measuring the distance between a feature vector representing the disputed text and text(s) that belong to a candidate author on one hand, and the distance between the same disputed text and the set of “imposters”, that is texts composed by authors that cannot be authors of the disputed text, on the other. In our experiment, feature vectors (that represent a certain text) consist of relative frequencies of words (word unigrams) or character trigrams. Let “*D*” stand for a vector of features representing the disputed text; “*C*” for one or more texts by the target author (candidate texts). “*I*” stands for the set of imposter texts that could not have been composed by the candidate author. The method measures in a number of iterations whether “*D*” (disputed text) is closer to “*C*” (candidate) than to the “*I*” (imposters set).

All calculations in this paper are made by the function `imposters()`, a part of the `stylo` package (EDER et al. 2016), an open source stylometric script written in the statistical programming environment R (cf. EDER 2018). Function `imposters()` is by default set to 100 iterations; in each of these iterations a random subset of 10% of features from “*D*” and “*C*” is selected, and compared to one half of the imposter set. The result (from 0 to 1) indicates a proportion of iterations where “*D*” is closer to the set of candidates “*C*” than to the imposters set “*I*”.

At this point, the question arises as to what result could indicate a successful verification. If the result would be e.g. 0.5 (in which half of the iterations were closer to the candidate and half closer to the imposters), would this mean

that the result is positive or not? For this purpose, function `imposters.optimize()` is designed to find optimal parameters.<sup>11</sup> The optimizer calculates values that set the threshold for successful and unsuccessful verifications. In our machine segmented corpus, the threshold (calculated with the Cosine Delta distance measure) for the word unigrams is 0.66, which means that any higher score indicates higher probability of successful attribution. A score below 0.34 indicates that the candidate author is unlikely the author of the disputed text. Everything between 0.34 and 0.66 represents a “grey area”, a zone of uncertainty where the classifier refrained from reaching a decision. For character trigrams, threshold is similarly at 0.66 and above for successful and at 0.32 and below for unsuccessful verification.

## Distance metrics employed in the GI

Distance metrics, as indicated in the GI description, play a crucial role in the algorithm. Both distance and its measurement seem to be absolutely intuitive concepts. Quite naturally, in everyday life the distance between two points is based on the Euclidean measure, e.g. the straight line between them.

The same will occur with the much less intuitive notion of the distance between two completely different texts of different length and made up of different words. The optimal measurement method will again depend on the most suitable criteria to apply in our case.

We will then approach the problem of measuring the distance between a given pair of documents  $A$  and  $B$ . Those documents will be represented by two document vectors  $a$  and  $b$  consisting of  $n$  features in some fixed order;  $a_i$  and  $b_i$  will represent the value of the  $i$ -th feature in both of these documents, respectively, which means that each different word corresponds to a different dimension – see the Vector Space Models representation (KESTEMONT et al. 2016: 4–5).

In our experiment, we use two distance measures that have yielded consistently good results in stylometric studies. The first measure is MinMax, which has been shown to be more successful than Manhattan and Cosine (KESTEMONT et al. 2016). The MinMax measure is defined as follows:<sup>12</sup>

$$\text{minmax}(a, b) = 1 - \left( \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n \min(a_i, b_i)}{\sum_{i=1}^n \max(a_i, b_i)} \right) \quad (\text{KESTEMONT et al. 2016: 5}).$$

<sup>11</sup> Based on the “score shifter” from KESTEMONT et al. 2016. The `c@1` measure of classifier’s performance (PEÑAS and RODRIGO 2011) is applied to identify a “grey zone” where the classifier is not able to make a decision.

<sup>12</sup> The MinMax measure was developed by M. RUŽIČKA 1958 for use in the field of phytogeography.

The second one is Cosine Delta,<sup>13</sup> which consist of a Cosine Distance function, but applied on z-score normalised features:

$$\text{cosine}(D, D') = 1 - \frac{\vec{f}(D) \cdot \vec{f}(D')}{\|\vec{f}(D)\|_2 \|\vec{f}(D')\|_2} \quad (\text{JANNIDIS et al. 2015: 9})$$

$$\text{with z-score: } \frac{f_i(D) - \mu_i}{\sigma_i} \quad (\text{JANNIDIS et al. 2015: 9}).$$

The cosine operates on vectors projected in a multi-dimensional space, and therefore is really useful as it can easily establish how the two documents are similar regardless of their size and words stock. Indeed, the angle between the two vectors is independent of their length in the same way that the angle between two segments is also independent of their length. It is also easier to interpret as it is a value of the interval  $[0, 1]$ ; the smaller the angle, the higher the similarity of the two texts (MOISL 2015: 95, 96, 200).

Word/ $n$ -gram frequencies follow Zipf's law of distribution. In other words, the frequency of any word is inversely proportional to its rank in the frequency table (ZIPF 1935). Therefore, the distance between two texts would be affected by a few top-scoring words. The z-score, introduced by BURROWS 2002, standardises word frequencies to overcome this problem inherent to the nature of language. For each word  $i$  in a given document  $D$ , it normalises the word's frequency over the whole corpus, so that the mean for each word is 0 and the standard deviation is 1 by subtracting the population mean  $\mu_i$  from the individual word's score and then dividing the difference by the standard deviation  $\sigma_i$  (EVERT et al. 2017: 6). The profile of the most frequent words' frequencies as a whole is more meaningful than some specific words (EVERT et al. 2017: 14), which means that the focus is more on many weak discriminators than on a small number of strong ones (BURROWS 2002: 268). We can consider this as a global approach on the whole words set.

On the other hand, the MinMax measure, reliant on counting common words/ $n$ -grams between documents, is size-dependent. First, the number of features will tend to increase with the length of the texts (MOISL 2015: 76), even if their topics are different. And it will perform worse in the case of big disproportion in the size of the compared documents.

<sup>13</sup> Developed in JANNIDIS et al. 2015 and EVERT et al. 2017, who have also demonstrated that this measure produces very good results compared to other distance metrics.

## Text segmentation

Due to its various linguistic peculiarities, even preliminary tasks such as word segmentation are non-trivial in Sanskrit. Not only because of the lack of white spaces between words, but also because of loose syntax, which gives weak indications of the presence of sentence boundaries (HELLWIG 2016). But Sanskrit text segmentation is made even more complex on account of a set of phonetic changes (sandhi) that occur at adjacent word boundaries. The contact phonemes of neighbouring words are changed and sometimes even merged. In that way, Sanskrit sentences appear as unseparated strings, incorporating multiple lexemes in forms that differ from their standard dictionary forms, making them difficult to recognise. Therefore, a simple maximum matching algorithm (PALMER 2010: 20) based just on lexical analysis is ineffective. Furthermore, sandhi resolution is non-deterministic, which means that different combinations of unsandhiated words can result in the same merged sequence.<sup>14</sup> As a result, the same text can be segmented into several different sets of words. Thus, sandhi resolution in many cases depends on the semantic context of the full sentence. Until recently, this constituted a major obstacle to the automatic analysis of large corpora of Sanskrit texts.

In 2018, a new model designed to solve the sandhi problem was released by Oliver Hellwig and Sebastian Nehrlich, based on the character-level approach, as well as Neural Network and Deep Learning (HELLWIG and NEHRDICH 2018). They introduced innovative character-based models for Sanskrit word splitting (SWS) that outperform previous models by large margins, which was achieved by using as a base a new dataset for SWS made of sentences with manually validated splits. The model has been written in Python programming language and is based on TensorFlow, a symbolic math library dedicated to machine learning, developed by the Google Brain Team in 2015 and based on data flow and differentiable programming.<sup>15</sup> As with all machine learning systems, the purpose is to learn – based on a sample data – a desired behaviour in order to imitate it. In other words, machine learning systems can learn, on the basis of a sufficient number of examples, which we call a training set, a desired behaviour and then reproduce it.

Hellwig and Nehrlich released a new dataset based on the Digital Corpus of Sanskrit (DCS). Each sentence of the DCS has been re-analysed with the help of the `SanskritTagger` software. Lastly, the dataset is made up of the surface forms of sentences in the DCS to which we add the split points and sandhi rules proposed by the `Tagger`. According to KITAGAWA and KOMACHI 2017, the input can be enriched with multinomial split probabilities extracted from the training data.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. *tattvamasi* can, besides *tat tvam asi* “thou art that”, be tentatively separated as *tattvam asi* “thou art a *tattva* (principle)”.

<sup>15</sup> More information about TensorFlow can be found here: <https://www.tensorflow.org/>.

For almost all deep learning methods, the size of the training dataset is crucial. The one used by Hellwig and Nehrdich contains 561,596 sentences made up of 4,171,682 tokens. Of course, no less important is the quality and variety of the input (that is the training set). As the system will learn from the examples contained in the training set, its quality will directly impact the performance of the system. Thus, the data stream must be versatile and varied enough in order to obtain results that meet our needs, that is a system correctly reproducing the desired behaviour. In order to provide a sufficient variety of vocabulary, most sentences came from epic and scientific domains. Indeed, while most epic texts are composed in an easy, plain Sanskrit, the scholarly works tend to be much more elaborated. Furthermore, selecting both of the domains ensures a large enough coverage of the vocabulary necessary to finally obtain a system which will provide statistically reliable results – that is, in our case, the one that will correctly perform the operation on text with resolved sandhi.

For this authorship analysis, we gathered 82 texts made up of 1,307,610 word-strings before segmentation. We had to deal with two flaws – firstly, the system operates only on properly coded IAST (International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration) words. As the system is operated on the character-level, any character incorrectly coded will not only be misinterpreted, but will also influence the results for the following characters and, finally, can impact the whole final result for a given sentence. Secondly, the maximum length of sentences to be segmented at one time is 128 characters. To overcome these limits, we wrote a basic Python script to ensure the pre-processing of the text by dividing it into smaller sequences of 128 characters and detecting any character not compatible with the IAST standard. Some word-sentences were even longer than 128 characters and, therefore, were not segmented correctly because the exceeding part of the word was skipped. As this type of problem is exceptionally uncommon, it should not have any impact on the final result of the authorship verification process. Finally, the computation was performed with Python v3.5.2, TensorFlow v1.8.0 and produced 2,287,451 words after segmentation. The estimated error ratio is about 15% on the level of text lines, which means that about 85% of all lines processed with the model do not contain wrong sandhi resolutions.

## **Texts preparation**

As indicated by KOPPEL and WINTER (2014: 5–6), imposters have to be chosen carefully. Imposters have to be in the same language, conceptually and temporarily close to the candidate author and to the disputed text. If imposters belong to radically different genres, false positive results might appear. Two web pages contain a sizeable number of Sanskrit texts that can be used as imposters. The first one is Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages

(GRETIL), the second is *Advaitasāradā* (AŚ), which contains a number of texts in the Devanāgarī script attributed to Śaṅkara and to later Advaita Vedānta authors. For the purpose of this experiment, however, a number of other important texts that do not exist in electronic form were also prepared. Vimuktātman’s *Iṣṭasiddhi*, Sureśvara’s *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* and a part of his *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya-vārtika* was prepared by performing OCR on scanned Devanāgarī texts that were further transliterated into the IAST standard. Also, some of the texts that will be used in the second part of the experiment, where prose texts attributed to Śaṅkara will be examined, do not exist in electronic form. Therefore, we prepared in the same way the *Adhyātmapaṭalavivarāṇa*, *Hastāmalakastotrābhāṣya* (HastBh), *Nṛsiṃha-(pūrva)-tāpanīyopaniṣadbhāṣya* (NṛsTBh), *Sanatsujātīyabhāṣya* (SanatBh), *Śvetāśvataropaniṣadbhāṣya* (ŚvUBh), *Viṣṇusahasranāmabhāṣya* and a rather small segment of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstravivarāṇa* (PātŚVi). The result was in some ways “noisy” because of mistakes that appear during OCR, especially where the Sanskrit text is scanned in lower resolution or the image is blurred. Some words might also be wrongly separated due to hyphenation when OCR fails to recognise it. However, “unclean” texts behaved well in the first experiment and were attributed correctly to their authors by the GI classifier.

### Manually segmented vs. automatically segmented corpus

In this part of the paper, we will first evaluate the method; the first results will suggest removing text-comment pairs and working with the most successful settings.

Regarding Śaṅkara, in this part of the experiment we use four works for which we have best indications that they were composed by Śaṅkara himself. The first is the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (BSBh), which can be taken as a standard for determining Śaṅkara’s authorship. At the beginning of his *Pañcapādīkā*, Padmapāda mentions Śaṅkara by name as the author of the BSBh.<sup>16</sup> Sureśvara, who mentions Śaṅkara by name in *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* 4.74 and 4.76, composed a commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya* (BĀUBh) in which he mentions Śaṅkara as his teacher (commentary on BĀUBh 6,5.25).<sup>17</sup> Sureśvara also composed a commentary on the *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya* (TaittUBh) that may fall into the same category.<sup>18</sup> The fourth must be the *Upadeśasāhasrī*

<sup>16</sup> For the BSBh, the GRETIL edition will be used. It is not clear on what printed edition the GRETIL e-text was based. Also, the GRETIL e-text does not contain the introduction that we prepared for this experiment according to *Works of Śaṅkarācārya in original Sanskrit*. Vol. 1. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964, reprint 2007.

<sup>17</sup> For the BĀUBh, the GRETIL edition will be used. It is not clear what printed edition served as a basis for the GRETIL e-text.

<sup>18</sup> For the TaittUBh, we used the GRETIL edition based on *Works of Śaṅkarācārya in original Sanskrit*. Vol. 1: *Ten Principal Upaniṣads with Śaṅkara-bhāṣya*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964, reprint 2007.

(Upad),<sup>19</sup> which is cited 20 times in Sureśvara's *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* (MAYEDA 2006, vol. I: 45). Given the fact that Sureśvara explicitly mentions Śaṅkara as his teacher, it is quite safe to claim that Śaṅkara authored Upad.<sup>20</sup> For these four works – besides external evidence for Śaṅkara's authorship – internal evidence of similarity in teachings and terminology have already been presented in Indological scholarship.<sup>21</sup>

Also, in this part we shall assess which setup with regard to the distance metrics and choice of feature vectors yields best results. The text corpus we used was more than ten times larger than the corpus used in ANDRIJANIĆ 2020b.<sup>22</sup> Texts range from very short treatises, such as Nāgārjuna's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikakārikā* with 899 words, to voluminous works, such as Vācaspati Miśra's *Nyāyavārttikatātparyāṭikā*, the largest treatise on our list, with 167,357 words. However, we should keep in mind that short texts might be a problem, since they behave very unstably in multivariate calculations and tend to group with other small texts. The table in the appendix presents our complete corpus with word count. Most works are complete, except for ones marked with asterisk.

The manually segmented corpus used by ANDRIJANIĆ (2020a: 276 and 2020b: 110) yielded in its best setup a quite acceptable 83% of successful verification.<sup>23</sup> In the first step, we segmented automatically more or less the same corpus as used in ANDRIJANIĆ 2020a and 2020b. In the automatically segmented corpus of the same size and features, the rate of successful verifications dropped from 83% to 60%. However, the level of mistaken attribution (10%) remained the same. This is because the classifier did not make a decision in 20% cases with automatically segmented text-corpus. The reason for the lower success may need to be sought in the fact that the process of separating the sandhis is done with a 15% error rate, although it is questionable whether sandhi errors should have such an influence on the higher level task.

In the next step, we proceed with larger corpus in hope that a larger dataset might statistically compensate for flawed segmentation. Therefore, a corpus of 64 works (including Śaṅkara's works that are used as candidate texts) belonging to 36 authors was measured by MinMax and Cosine Delta distance measures. According to KESTEMONT et al. (2016: 90–91), the MinMax metric works better

<sup>19</sup> For the Upad, we used the GRETEL edition based on Mayeda's critical edition (MAYEDA 2006).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. MAYEDA 2006: 44–49 for further detailed argumentation.

<sup>21</sup> For the BĀUBh, see MARSCHNER 1933; for the Upad, see MAYEDA 2006: 23–44.

<sup>22</sup> In ANDRIJANIĆ 2020b corpus consisted of 25 works of 11 authors with altogether 157,592 words.

<sup>23</sup> In two Andrijanić's studies slightly different text corpus of known authors was used. The best performing setup included measurement of a feature vector consisting of word unigrams, and the best distance measure was MinMax.

than Manhattan and Cosine (not to be confused with Cosine Delta). EVERT et al. 2017 showed that Cosine Delta produces very good results compared to other distance metrics, although they did not compare it to the MinMax metrics.<sup>24</sup> In ANDRIJANIĆ 2020a and 2020b, MinMax performed slightly better than Cosine Delta, while both significantly outperformed Burrows' Delta (BURROWS 2002). In our experiment with trigrams (large automatically segmented corpus) measured with Cosine Delta, we obtained only 61% of successful verifications, 10% mistakes and for the rest (29%) classifier did not reach a verdict.

By inspecting these results more carefully, a few strange issues have arisen. For example, Śaṅkara's BSBh ended up in a grey zone; the classifier failed to attribute it to Śaṅkara. But in the manually segmented corpus it is correctly verified. Thus, let us analyse what might have been the problem – a bad segmentation or something else? When we scanned the whole corpus with the GI classifier, it turned out that the GI recognises Śaṅkara's BSBh and Vācaspati Mīśra's *Bhāmatī* as works of the same author. As *Bhāmatī* is a commentary on the BSBh, the *Bhāmatī* reiterates or glosses over a significant amount of words, and this must have interfered in the classification process. Thus, when the *Bhāmatī* was excluded from the imposters list, the BSBh was correctly attributed to Śaṅkara. On the other hand, when the BSBh was excluded from the imposters list, the *Bhāmatī* was correctly attributed to Vācaspati. The same problem appeared with all the other pairs of commentaries: Śaṅkara's TaittUBh and Sureśvara's commentary TaittUBhV; Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* (MMK) and Candrakīrti's commentary *Prasannapadā*; Udayana's *Nyāyavārttikatātparyapariśuddhi* and Vācaspati's *Nyāyavārttikatātparyāṭikā*. This indicates that the classifier is very sensitive when it comes to recognition of related works. Indeed, when the *Bhāmatī* and TaittUBhV were excluded from the list of imposters, the classifier attributed both the BSBh and TaittUBh correctly to Śaṅkara and vice versa; when the BSBh and TaittUBh were removed from the list of imposters, the *Bhāmatī* and TaittUBhV were correctly attributed to Vācaspati and Sureśvara.<sup>25</sup> The same happened for the MMK, which was verified as Nāgārjuna's work when the *Prasannapadā* was taken out of the imposters list; when the *Prasannapadā* was in the list, the classifier did not reach a decision.<sup>26</sup> A notable example comes from Maṇḍana Mīśra, whose works at first resisted correct attribution. However,

<sup>24</sup> See also EDER 2018.

<sup>25</sup> The same happened with Vācaspati and Udayana; when the authorship of Udayana's *Nyāyavārttikatātparyapariśuddhi* is examined, Vācaspati's *Nyāyavārttikatātparyāṭikā* should be removed from the imposters list and vice versa.

<sup>26</sup> It did not work so well the other way around with trigrams measured with Cosine Delta. While the MMK was on the imposters list, the *Prasannapadā* was classified as not authored by Candrakīrti. However, when Nāgārjuna's MMK was removed from the imposters list, the *Prasannapadā* reached a score of 0.39, meaning the classifier could not make a decision. Nevertheless, this is better than reaching a wrong decision. However, MinMax in both setups (trigrams and unigrams) and Cosine Delta with unigrams confirmed Candrakīrti's authorship.

when we take a closer look at the *Vibhramaviveka* and *Brahmasiddhi*, we notice that the *Vibhramaviveka* is a short metrical work and that the *Brahmasiddhi* is a voluminous mixture of prose and metrical material. Thus, we experimentally divided the *Brahmasiddhi* into the metrical and prose parts and the classifier managed to attribute all three samples correctly to the same author.

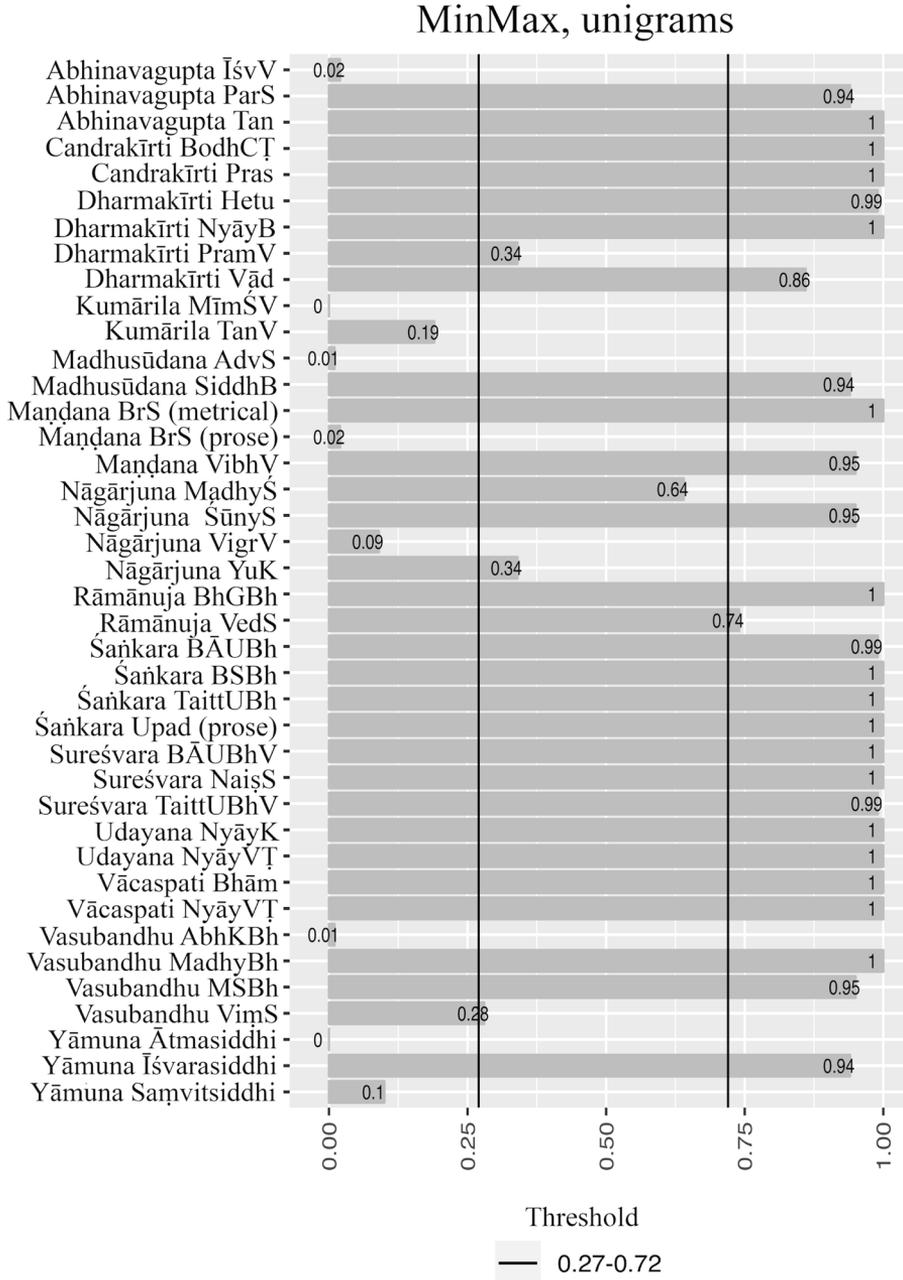
The results of the experiment conducted on texts of undisputed authorship show a significant improvement of results with these adjustments (exclusion of commentaries from the imposters list and the distinction between the metrical and prose texts). We tried four different setups; two different distance measures: MinMax and Cosine Delta; and two types of text segmentations: word unigrams (words) and trigrams.<sup>27</sup>

The Cosine Delta obviously outperformed MinMax in our experiment, most probably because the corpus contains texts of very different sizes. On the other hand, in all four setups, all four of Śaṅkara's works were correctly attributed, thus confirming Śaṅkara's strong authorship signal.

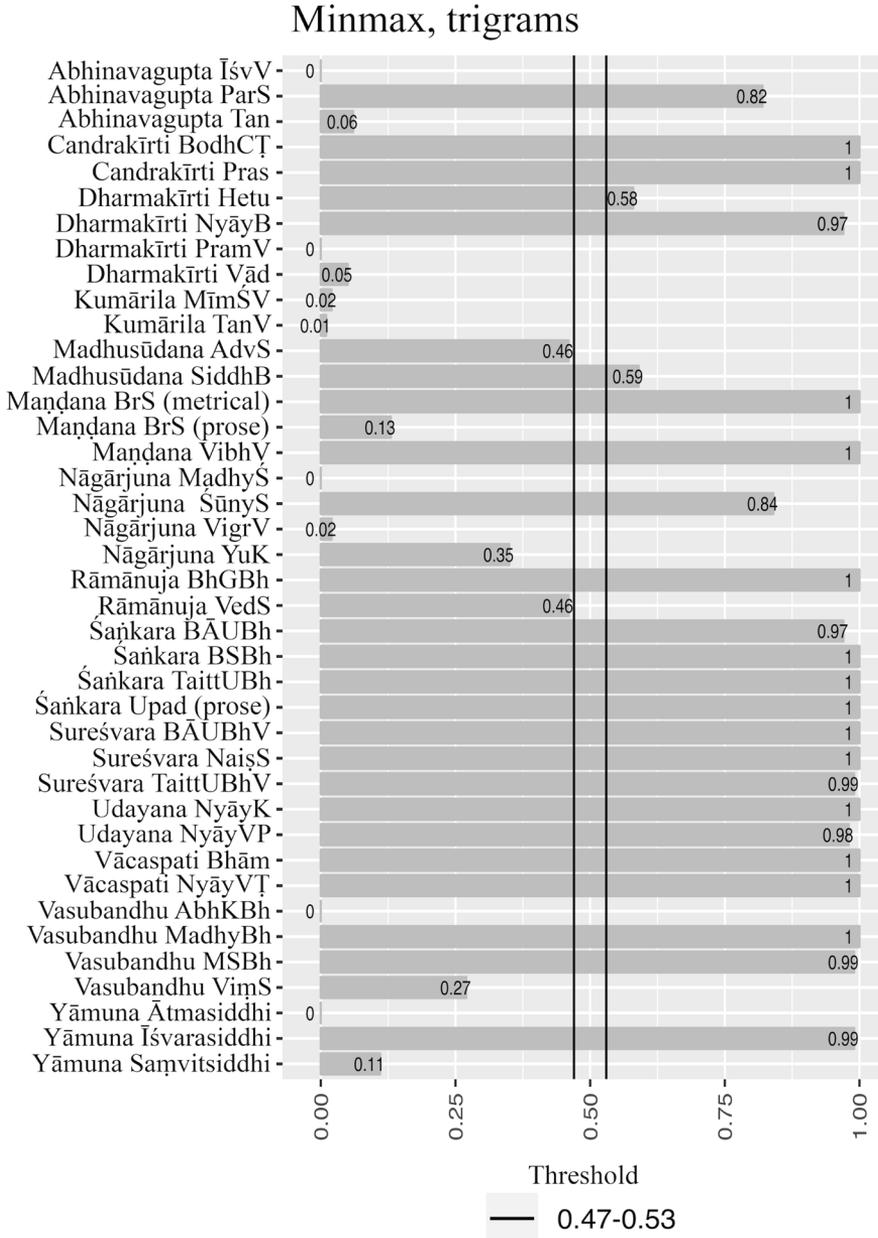
With a success rate of 77.5–80% obtained on a large text corpus, we can be quite satisfied. However, the mistake ratio should also be taken into account. Trigrams measured using the Cosine Delta have an error ratio of 7.5%, while with word unigrams it is 10%. Therefore, both trigram and unigram frequency vectors measured with the Cosine Delta appear to be the most successful setups.

---

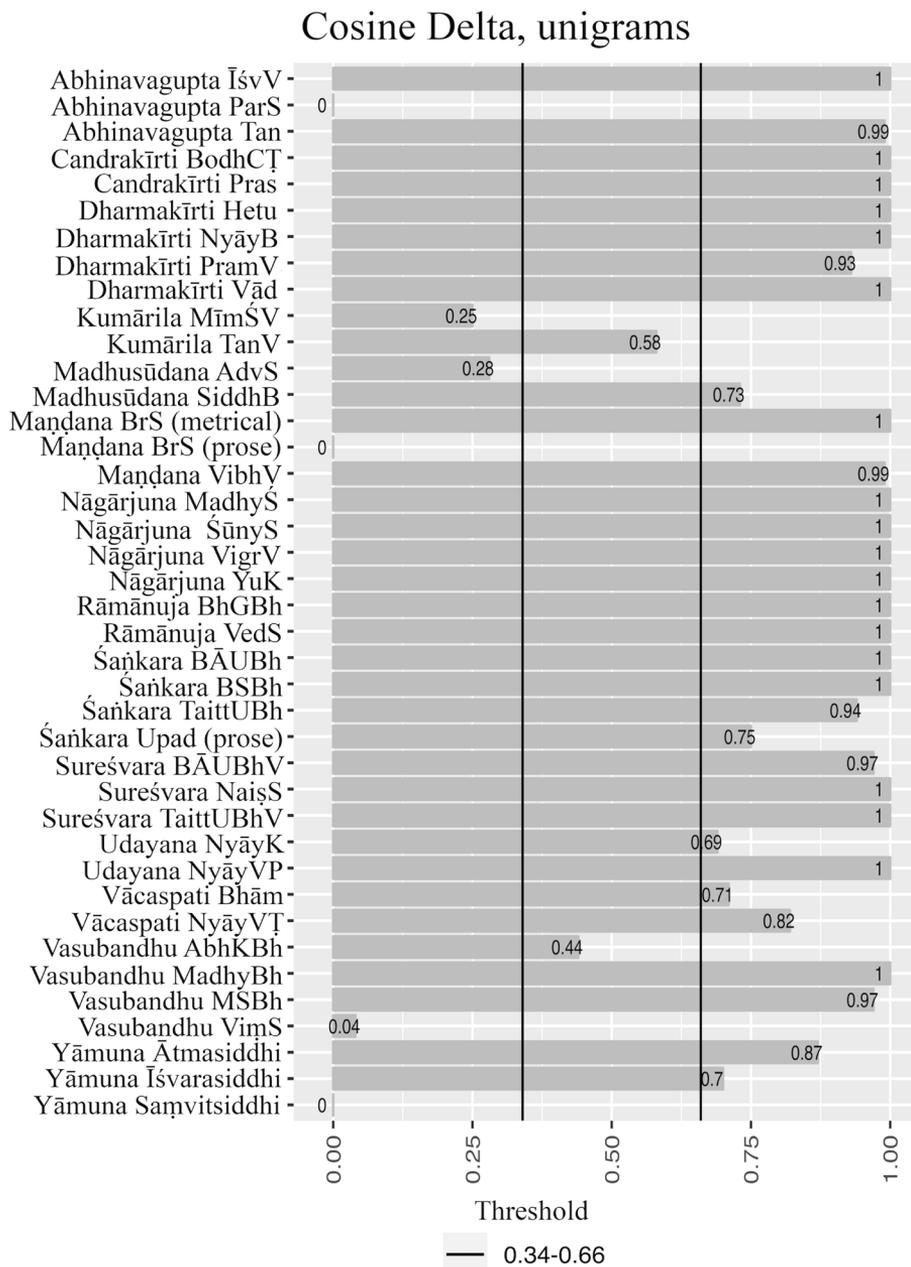
<sup>27</sup> These trigrams are different than in ANDRIJANIĆ 2020b, where trigrams were made out of raw unsegmented text corpus. In this paper, trigrams are executed on segmented texts with resolved sandhis, thus catching spaces between words.



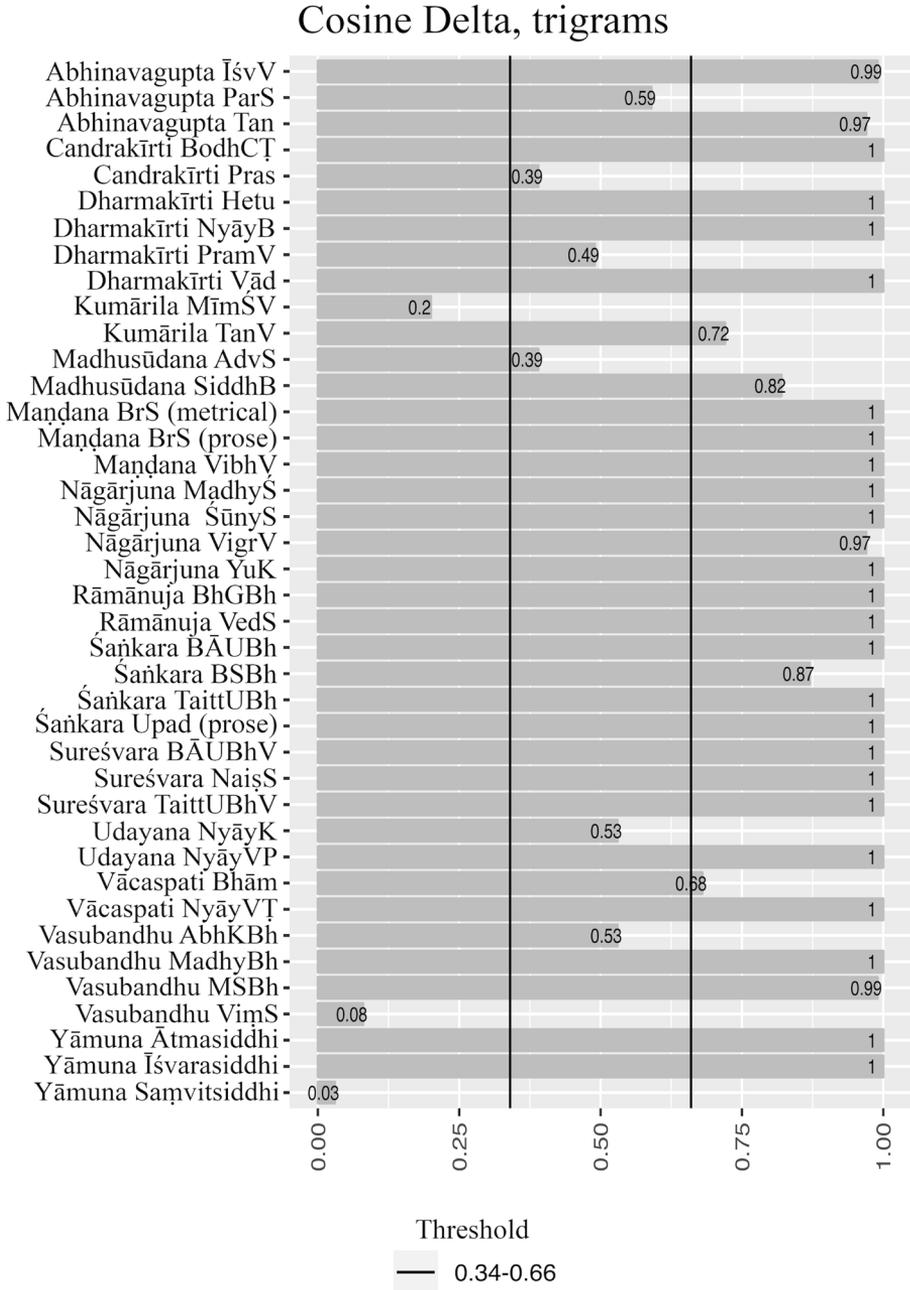
**Fig. 1.** Shows the results of the experiment in which texts were segmented into the word unigrams and measured with MinMax; that setup yielded 67.5% successful attributions.



**Fig. 2.** Shows the results of the experiment in which texts were segmented in the word trigrams and measured with MinMax; that setup yielded only 60% successful attributions.



**Fig. 3.** Shows the results of the experiment in which texts were segmented in the word unigrams and measured with the Cosine Delta; that setup yielded 80% successful attributions.



**Fig. 4.** Shows the results of the experiment in which texts were segmented in the word trigrams and measured with the Cosine Delta; that setup yielded 77.5% successful attributions.

## Authenticity of prose texts attributed to Śaṅkara

In this section, we evaluate prose works traditionally attributed to Śaṅkara. The candidate set consists of the same four works (BSBh, BĀUBh, TaittUBh and the prose part of the Upad) used in the previous experiment.

However, the question arises as to which prose works attributed to Śaṅkara for which we have no external evidence should be evaluated for Śaṅkara's authorship. The large body of works that are attributed to Śaṅkara has already been filtered by editors of Śaṅkara's complete works, and then by a number of scholars. Our choice of works to be tested is a kind of concurrence of these previous attempts. BELVALKAR (1929: 218) pointed out that in addition to the previously mentioned four works, these works probably come from Śaṅkara himself: *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya* (AiUBh),<sup>28</sup> ChUBh, *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya* (BhGBh), ĪUBh, KaUBh, *Kenopaniṣad-(pada)-bhāṣya* (KeUBh), *Muṇḍakopaniṣadbhāṣya* (MuUBh), *Praśnopaniṣadbhāṣya* (PraśUBh). All these works are included in collected works of Śaṅkara<sup>29</sup> and they all pass HACKER's criteria (HACKER 1978) of being attributed to Śaṅkara-*bhagavat(pūjya)-pāda* in colophons. Moreover, ĪUBh, KaUBh, BhG and ChUBh already passed two stylometric tests on limited corpus (ANDRIJANIĆ 2020a, 2020b). ĪUBh, KeUBh, KaUBh, BhGBh and *Gauḍapādīyabhāṣya* (GauBh) also pass HACKER's (1950) terminological criteria (MAYEDA 1965a, 1965b, 1967, 1967–1968; ANDRIJANIĆ 2020a). On the other hand, we selected a number of questionable works: ŚvUBh, SanatBh, NṛsTBh, HastBh, *Viṣṇusahasranāmabhāṣya*, *Adhyātmapaṭalavivarāṇa* and *Pātañjalayogaśāstravivarāṇa*. In the *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* (ŚDV), Śaṅkara's biography composed between 1650 and 1789 (BADER 2000: 55), Śaṅkara's writings are enumerated in vs. 6,61–63. These include the Upad, BSBh,

<sup>28</sup> All printed editions of Śaṅkara's commentary on the AiU include commentaries on three *adhyaḥyas* of the second *āranyaka* of the *Aitareyāranyaka* (2,4–6) that can be understood as *Aitareyopaniṣad* proper. However, in a number of manuscripts, a larger commentary is preserved, that comprises a running commentary on full second and third *āranyaka*. BELVALKAR 1930: 242 considers this larger commentary authentic. For a comprehensive overview of the problem see DAVID 2017, who also argues in favour of the authenticity of the “longer” Bhāṣya (DAVID 2017: 733–745). At this moment we shall evaluate only the shorter text, at least until the critical edition of the “longer” version, being prepared by Hugo David, will be available.

<sup>29</sup> First collection of Śaṅkara's works appears to be *Sri Sankaracharya's Miscellaneous Works* in 4 vols., ed. by A. Mahadeva SASTRI and K. RANGACHARYA (Mysore: Government Branch Press, 1898–1899). The *Works of Sri Sankaracharya* (Memorial edition) (Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press, 1910) was printed in 20 vols. It was retyped and printed in 11 volumes in Śrīraṅgam as *Śrīśaṅkaragrānthāvalīh*. The 1910 edition was rearranged in 10 vols. in the *Complete Works of Sri Sankaracharya in the Original Sanskrit*, Madras: Samanta Books, 1981–1983. Widely used Motilal Banarsidass edition *Works of Śaṅkarācārya in Original Sanskrit* in 3 vols. (1964–1985) is based on the four-volume edition edited by Hari Raghunath SASTRI (Poona: Ashtekar & Co.). See REIGLE and REIGLE 2005.

commentaries on the Upaniṣads,<sup>30</sup> BhGBh, SanatBh and NṛsTBh. Cidvilāsa's *Śaṅkaravijayavilāsa* 10,2–3<sup>31</sup> mentions BSBh, BhGBh, commentaries on ten Upaniṣads, the *Viṣṇu-* and *Rudrasahasranāma*. For ŚvUBh ANDRIJANIĆ 2019 presented arguments that the work is several centuries later than Śaṅkara. Nevertheless, we conducted the GI test to see whether it will confirm Andrijanić's arguments.<sup>32</sup> ŚvUBh and HastBh meet Hacker's colophon criteria, while SanatBh and NṛsTBh partly meet Hacker's colophon criteria as they are sometimes attributed to Śaṅkarācārya and sometimes to Śaṅkarabhagavat. To these works we also added the *Lalitātrisatistotrabhāṣya* because it is included in the VVP 18 edition of Śaṅkara's collected works. PātŚVi is not included in any collection of Śaṅkara's works, but it is included in the experiment because a number of scholars have argued in favour of its authenticity. We used only the critically edited text from PātŚVi 1.1 (HARIMOTO 2014: 171–183) and 1,23–28 (HARIMOTO 2014: 47–84).

The two tables below list works attributed to Śaṅkara that we have examined. In the first column is the title of the work together with the edition on the basis of which the test was made. The second column contains brief remarks about previous scholarship on authorship. The third column contains GI results obtained in the most successful setup (trigrams measured with the Cosine Delta metric). If the result is above 0.66, the GI classifies the work as authentic (i.e. the classifier considers that the author is the same as the author of BSBh, BĀUBh, TaittUBh and the prose portion of the Upad). If the result is below 0.34, the GI renders it inauthentic. Numbers between 0.34 and 0.66 indicate a “grey zone”, where the classifier did not reach a verdict. As words measured with the Cosine Delta reached a similar result as the trigrams, we indicate the result obtained with word unigrams in brackets.

<sup>30</sup> Dhanapati Sūri in *Ḍiṇḍima* 6,61, a commentary on the ŚDV from 1798, enumerates the Upaniṣads that were commented by Śaṅkara: the ĪUBh, KeUBh, KaUBh, PraśUBh, MuUBh, AiUBh, ChUBh, BĀUBh and TaittUBh. Acyuta, another commentator on the ŚDV, in his *Advaitarājyalakṣmī* from 1805 (information on Acyuta's date is from HACKER 1951: 28), adds the *Viṣṇusahasranāmahāṣya* and the *vākya* and *pada* versions of the KeUBh. It is worth noting that both do not mention the ŚvUBh.

<sup>31</sup> Between the 14th and 18th cent. (BADER 2000: 24).

<sup>32</sup> The ŚvUBh does not meet Hacker's terminological criteria. Terms and concepts such as *saccidānanda* that appear in later Advaita Vedānta are used, together with long purāṇic quotations. The second important problem is a quotation from the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* dated to the 12th cent. For further details and a review of previous views on the authenticity of the ŚvUBh see ANDRIJANIĆ 2019.

**Table 1.** Works verified as authentic in comparison to BSBh, BĀUBh, TaittUBh and the prose section of the Upad. Feature vector consists of relative frequencies of trigrams (unigrams in brackets), distance measure is the Cosine Delta.

Title	Number of words	Remarks	GI result (0.34–0.66)
<i>Adhyātmapaṭala-vivarāṇa</i> (TSS 41)	3,460	“More or less debatable” (BELVALKAR 1929: 219). HACKER 1968–1969: 147 considers it authentic. NAKAMURA 1983: 306 considers it possible that Śaṅkara is the author. PANDE 1994: 109–110, 113 and LEGGET 1978: 218–228 argue for its authenticity.	0.88 (0.84)
<i>Aitareyopaniṣad-bhāṣya</i> (GRETEL)	6,904	The longer, unpublished, commentary is, according to BELVALKAR 1930: 242, authentic. Meets Hacker’s colophon criterion (HACKER 1978: 46).	1 (0.97)
<i>Bhagavadgītā-bhāṣya</i> (GRETEL)	28,624	Meets Hacker’s terminological criteria (MAYEDA 1965a). Meets also Hacker’s colophon criterion (HACKER 1978: 46).	1 (1)
<i>Chāndogypopaniṣad-bhāṣya</i> (GRETEL)	49,930	Verified by the GI method as genuine against a limited corpus (ANDRIJANIĆ 2020b). Meets also Hacker’s colophon criterion (HACKER 1978: 46).	1 (1)
<i>Gauḍapādīya-bhāṣya</i> (GRETEL)	18,507	“More or less debatable” (BELVALKAR 1929: 218). Meets Hacker’s colophon criterion (HACKER 1978: 46). VETTER 1968/69 argues for its authenticity. Hacker considers it authentic (HACKER 1968–1969, 1972), noting few cautious remarks (1968–1969: 115–117, fn. 2). Also meets Hacker’s terminological criteria (MAYEDA 1967–1968).	1 (1)
<i>Īsopaniṣadbhāṣya</i> (GRETEL)	2,232	According to ANDRIJANIĆ 2020a, meets most of Hacker’s terminological criteria, while GI also verifies it as genuine against the limited imposter corpus. Meets Hacker’s colophon criterion (HACKER 1978: 45).	0.93 (0)
<i>Kāṭhopaniṣad-bhāṣya</i> (GRETEL)	11,237	According to ANDRIJANIĆ 2020a, meets Hacker’s terminological criteria, while GI also verifies it as genuine against the limited imposter corpus. Meets Hacker’s colophon criterion (HACKER 1978: 46).	0.98 (1)
<i>Kenopaniṣad-(pada)-bhāṣya</i> (GRETEL)	6,048	Meets Hacker’s terminological criteria (MAYEDA 1967). Also meets Hacker’s colophon criterion (HACKER 1978: 46).	1 (1)

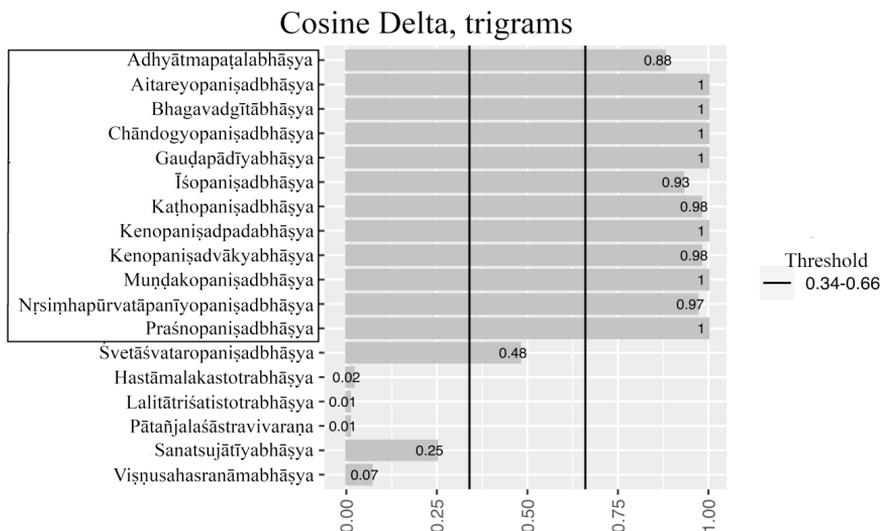
Title	Number of words	Remarks	GI result (0.34–0.66)
<i>Kenopaniṣad-(vākya)-bhāṣya</i> (AŚ)	4,990	“More or less debatable” (BELVALKAR 1929: 218). Meets Hacker’s terminological criteria (MAYEDA 1967). Also meets Hacker’s colophon criterion (HACKER 1978: 46).	0.98 (1)
<i>Muṇḍakopaniṣad-bhāṣya</i> (GRETIL)	5,857	“Most probably” authentic (BELVALKAR 1929: 218). Meets Hacker’s colophon criterion (HACKER 1978: 46).	1 (1)
<i>Nṛsiṃha-(pūrva)-tāpanīyopaniṣad-bhāṣya</i> (VVP 10)	21,777	JACOB 1886: 70 emphatically denies Śaṅkara’s authorship. According to BELVALKAR 1929: 218, “More or less debatable”. Attributed in colophons both to Śaṅkara- <i>ācārya</i> and - <i>bhagavat</i> (HACKER 1978: 48).	0.79 (0.93)
<i>Praśnopaniṣad-bhāṣya</i> (GRETIL)	8,117	“Most probably” authentic (BELVALKAR 1929: 218). Meets Hacker’s colophon criterion (HACKER 1978: 46).	1 (1)

**Table 2.** Works not verified as authentic in comparison to BSBh, BĀUBh, TaittUBh and the prose section of the Upad. Feature vector consists of relative frequencies of trigrams, distance measure is the Cosine Delta.

Title	Number of words	Remarks	GI result (0.34–0.66)
<i>Hastāmālakastotra-bhāṣya</i> (AŚ)	3,491	“More or less debatable”, according to BELVALKAR 1929: 218. According to PANDE 1994: 110, it should be “confidently excluded” from the list of Śaṅkara’s writings.	0.02 (0.03)
<i>Lalitātriśatistotra-bhāṣya</i> (VVP 18)	21,345	“Certainly spurious” according to BELVALKAR 1929: 219. According to SANDERSON 2017: 7 fn. 7, the attribution to Śaṅkara- <i>bhagavat</i> from the colophon is surely false.	0.01 (0)
<i>Śvetāśvataropaniṣad-bhāṣya</i> (ĀāSS 17)	17,287	“More or less debatable” (BELVALKAR 1929: 218). According to ANDRIJANIĆ 2019 cannot be ascribed to Śaṅkara.	0.48 (0)
<i>Sanatsujātīya-bhāṣya</i> (VVP 13)	18,707	“More or less debatable” (BELVALKAR 1929: 219). HACKER 1978: 50–51 raised a number of arguments against Śaṅkara’s authorship. In colophons it is attributed both to Śaṅkara- <i>ācārya</i> and - <i>bhagavat</i> (HACKER 1978: 48). PANDE 1994: 109, 113 argues against Śaṅkara’s authorship.	0.25 (0)

Title	Number of words	Remarks	GI result (0.34–0.66)
<i>Viṣṇusahasranāmabhāṣya</i> (VVP 13)	22,306	“More or less debatable” (BELVALKAR 1929: 219). SASTRY 1980: xxi–xxii argued for its authenticity. PANDE 1994: 109, 113 argues against Śaṅkara’s authorship.	0.07 (0)
<i>Pātañjalayogaśāstravivarāṇa</i> (HARIMOTO 2014)	8,228	“Certainly spurious” according to BELVALKAR 1929: 218. Meets Hacker’s terminological criteria (HARIMOTO 2014: 244–247) and the colophon criterion “but not without some caveats” (HARIMOTO 2014: 243). PātSVi is not included in any complete works of Śaṅkara.	0.01 (0.01)

**Fig. 5.** Results from Tables 1 and 2. The table shows the results for works attributed to Śaṅkara. For the works outlined with a dash, Śaṅkara’s authorship has been confirmed, while it has not been confirmed for the others.



## Concluding observations

- a) The GI result confirmed Belvalkar’s intuition (1929: 218) and verified all 11 titles from his list of works that most likely come from Śaṅkara himself. Almost the same result was obtained when word frequency vectors were measured, with the only exception of *Īsopaniṣadbhāṣya*. However, the ĪUBh was confirmed by different setups in ANDRIJANIĆ 2020a and 2020b, and in our study trigrams measured using the Cosine Delta and MinMax, together with word unigrams measured with MinMax confirmed Śaṅkara’s authorship. To summarise, the *Adhyātmapaṭalavivarāṇa*, *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya*,

*Bhagavadgītābhāṣya*, *Chāndogyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, *Gauḍapādīyabhāṣya*, *Īso-paniṣadbhāṣya*, *Kāṭhopaniṣadbhāṣya*, *Kenopaniṣadbhāṣya* (*pada* and *vākya*), *Muṇḍakopaniṣadbhāṣya*, *Nṛsimha-(pūrva)-tāpanīyopaniṣadbhāṣya* and *Praśnopaniṣadbhāṣya* are verified by most GI setups as written by the same author who composed the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya*, *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, and the prose part of the *Upadeśasāhasrī*. It is indeed notable that the list is almost the same as Hacker's list of authentic works (HACKER 1968–1969: 147), which also includes the *Adhyātmapaṭalavivarāṇa*. The only exception from Hacker's list is the NṛTBh, which is verified as Śaṅkara's by GI in all setups. All works that Mayeda and Andrijačić subjected to Hacker's terminological analysis were also confirmed. In this way, the GI analysis largely confirmed traditional philological analysis, with an exception of the PātŚVi. For the PātŚVi there is no evidence against Śaṅkara's authorship, and some arguments even speak in favour of its authenticity. It should be noted that only a small part of the PātŚVi was examined in our analysis and that it is not impossible that, if a larger text sample was used, the result might be different.

- b) The experiment with the GI authorship verification framework conducted on Sanskrit philosophical texts showed that the classifier is quite reliable in identifying authors of undisputed texts and confirms the superiority of analysis based on *n*-grams over the content-words based one. Moreover, it seems that text segmentation is a prerequisite for this kind of stylometric Sanskrit analysis as the sandhi rules tend to decrease the stylometric signal. The classifier appears to be highly sensitive when it attributed commentaries on the same works, in which many words glossed over from the original text are repeated, to the same authors. This shows sensitivity, but also calls for caution when choosing imposters and candidate authors. We conclude that commentaries by different authors on the same works and works that comment on each other should be excluded from the test.
- c) The third important issue is that the GI classifier is sometimes confused in verifying prose and metrical works that belong to the same author. The reason for this is that authors possibly had to choose words differently in order to fit the metrical scheme. On the other hand, Sureśvara's works, which are all in the *śloka* meter, were verified by the classifier as authored by the same hand. It is also important to note that GI did not confuse them with other authors who composed their texts in the *śloka* meter. Therefore, if we try to establish the authorship of a prose text, it might be better in some cases to take only those candidate texts which are also in prose, and vice versa. This is important for the future evaluation of the numerous metrical works attributed to Śaṅkara. It would be less reliable to take Śaṅkara's prose commentaries as candidate texts. In this case, the questionable metrical

works attributed to Śaṅkara should probably be judged only in relation to the metrical part of the *Upadeśasāhasrī*.

- d) As computers' power is growing and every day more complex operations become easier to perform, we are witnessing a big change in the field of author studies. Automatic segmentation and sandhi are no longer a problem to computer-assisted Sanskrit texts analysis, and we are now able to analyse huge texts' corpora. Thus, in the future we will see many breakthroughs in the field of computational stylometry to assess authorship verification and attribution, potentially throughout entire literature.

## Supplementary Material

All additional material needed to recreate the experiment can be found at: <https://github.com/JacekBakowski/stylometry/tree/main/papers/2024-otao> (accessed 18 January 2024).

## Appendix

Table with the texts used in the first experiment. Most of the texts are complete, except the texts marked with an asterisk.

Author	Work	Number of words
Abhinavagupta	<i>Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī</i>	43,031
	<i>Paramārthasāra</i>	1,739
	<i>Tantrāloka</i>	88,351
Annambhatta	<i>Tarkasaṅgraha</i>	1,974
Asaṅga	<i>Abhidharmasamuccaya</i>	24,736
Bhāskara	<i>Bhagavadgītābhāṣya</i>	27,195
Candrakīrti	<i>Bodhisattvayogācāracaṭuṣṭakaṭīkā</i>	23,224
	<i>Prasannapadā</i>	78,235
Dharmakīrti	<i>Hetubindu</i>	6,289
	<i>Nyāyabindu</i>	2,359
	<i>Pramāṇavārttika</i>	16,255
	<i>Vādanyāya</i>	10,104
Gaṅgeśa	<i>Tattvacintāmaṇi</i>	34,249
Jayarāśi	<i>Tattvopaplavasimha</i>	14,453
Kavirājayati	<i>Sāṃkhyatattvaprādīpa</i>	4,924

Author	Work	Number of words
Kumārila	<i>*Mīmāṃsāslokaṅkārikā</i>	7,289
	<i>*Tantravārttika</i>	5,614
Madhusūdana	<i>Advaitasiddhi</i>	133,946
	<i>Siddhāntabindu</i>	8,560
Madhva	<i>Anuvyākhyāna</i>	29,255
Maṇḍana Mīśra	<i>Brahmasiddhi</i>	40,018
	<i>Vibhramaviveka</i>	2,002
Māṭhara	<i>Māṭharavṛtti</i>	17,918
Nāgārjuna	<i>Madhyamakaśāstra</i>	6,566
	<i>Śūnyatāsaptati</i>	1,170
	<i>Vigrahavyāvartanī</i>	6,052
	<i>Yuktiṣaṣṭikakārikā</i>	899
Padmapāda	<i>Pāncapādikā</i>	28,574
Prasastapāda	<i>Pādārthadharmasamgraha</i>	11,073
Rāmānuja	<i>Bhagavadgītābhāṣya</i>	40,026
	<i>Vedārthasamgraha</i>	18,830
Śabara	<i>Mīmāṃsāsūtrabhāṣya</i>	123,358
—	<i>Sāṃkhyaparibhāṣā</i>	3,714
Śaṅkara	<i>Brahmasūtrabhāṣya</i>	109,993
	<i>Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya</i>	101,952
	<i>Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya</i>	17,195
	<i>Upadeśasāhasrī (Gadya)</i>	5,415
—	<i>Sarvamatasamgraha</i>	7,716
Sthiramati	<i>Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya</i>	8,727
Sureśvara	<i>*Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣyavārtika</i>	31,146
	<i>Naiṣkarmyasiddhi</i>	13,391
	<i>Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣyavārtika</i>	15,499
Toṭaka	<i>Śrūtisārasamuddharaṇa</i>	3,781
Udayana	<i>Nyāyakusumāñjali</i>	34,547
	<i>Nyāyavārtikatātparyapariśuddhi</i>	86,988
Vācaspati Mīśra	<i>Bhāmātī</i>	152,511
	<i>Nyāyavārtikatātparyatīkā</i>	167,357

Author	Work	Number of words
Vasubandhu	<i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i>	7,711
	<i>Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya</i>	6,825
	<i>Mahāyānasūtrālamkārahāṣya</i>	23,432
	<i>Viṃśatikasiddhi</i>	2,252
Vātsyāyana	<i>Nyāyasūtrabhāṣya</i>	42,189
Dharma-rājadhvarīndra	<i>Vedāntaparibhāṣā</i>	12,119
Sadānanda	<i>Vedāntasāra</i>	3,809
Veṅkaṭanātha	<i>Nyāyapariśuddhi</i>	27,503
Vijñānabhikṣu	<i>Sāṃkhyasāra</i>	7,994
Vimuktātman	<i>*Iṣṭasiddhi</i>	35,123
Yāmuna	<i>Samvitsiddhi</i>	3,366
	<i>Īśvarasiddhi</i>	2,324
	<i>Ātmasiddhi</i>	10,799
—	<i>Yuktidīpikā</i>	54,988

## Funding

This research was funded in part – covering entire J. B. contribution – by the National Science Centre, Poland, grant number 2021/43/O/HS2/02392.

## Abbreviations and primary sources

ĀāSS 17 *Kṛṣṇayajurvedīyaśvetāśvataropaniṣacchāmkarabhāṣyopetā, tathā Śaṃkarānandakṛtā Śvetāśvataropaniṣaddīpikā, Nārāyaṇakṛtā Śvetāśvataropaniṣaddīpikā, Vijñānabhagavatkrtaṃ Śvetāśvataropaniṣadvivarānam*. Ed. by V. G. Āpaṭe. Ānandāśrama-saṃskṛtagranthāvalīḥ 17, 1890.

AbhKBh *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*

AdvS *Advaitasiddhi*

AiU *Aitareyopaniṣad*

AiUBh *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya*

AŚ *Advaitaśārādā*. <https://advaitasharada.sringeri.net> (accessed 18 January 2024).

BĀUBh *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya*

BĀUBhV	<i>Bṛhadāranyakopaniṣadbhāṣyavārtika</i>
Bhām	<i>Bhāmatī</i>
BhG	<i>Bhagavadgītā</i>
BhGBh	<i>Bhagavadgītābhāṣya</i>
BodhCT	<i>Bodhisattvayogācāracaṭuṣṭakaṭīkā</i>
BrS	<i>Brahmasiddhi</i>
BS	<i>Brahmasūtra</i>
BSBh	<i>Brahmasūtrabhāṣya</i>
ChUBh	<i>Chāndogyopaniṣadbhāṣya</i>
DCS	Digital Corpus of Sanskrit. <a href="http://www.sanskrit-linguistics.org/dcs/">http://www.sanskrit-linguistics.org/dcs/</a> (accessed 18 January 2024).
GauBh	<i>Gauḍapādīyabhāṣya</i>
GI	General imposters
GRETEL	Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages. <a href="http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel.html">http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel.html</a> (accessed 18 January 2024).
HastBh	<i>Hastāmalakastotrabhāṣya</i>
Hetu	<i>Hetubindu</i>
IAST	International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration
ĪsvV	<i>Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī</i>
ĪUBh	<i>Īśopaniṣadbhāṣya</i>
KaUBh	<i>Kaṭhopaniṣadbhāṣya</i>
KeUBh	<i>Kenopaniṣadbhāṣya</i>
MadhyBh	<i>Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya</i>
MadhyŚ	<i>Madhyamakaśāstra</i>
MīmŚV	<i>Mīmāṃsāslokaṅkārttika</i>
MMK	(Nāgārjuna's) <i>Mūlamadhyamakakārikā</i>
MSBh	<i>Mahāyānasūtrālamkārahāṣya</i>
MuUBh	<i>Muṇḍakopaniṣadbhāṣya</i>
NaiṣS	<i>Naiṣkarmyasiddhi</i>
NṛsTBh	<i>Nṛsimha-(pūrva)-tāpanīyopaniṣadbhāṣya</i>
NyāyB	<i>Nyāyabindu</i>
NyāyK	<i>Nyāyakusumāñjali</i>
NyāyVṬ	<i>Nyāyavārttikatātparyapariśuddhi</i>

ParS	<i>Paramārthasāra</i>
PātŚVi	<i>Pātañjalayogaśāstravivarāṇa</i>
PramV	<i>Pramāṇavārttika</i>
Pras	<i>Prasannapadā</i>
PraśUBh	<i>Praśnopaniṣadbhāṣya</i>
SanatBh	<i>Sanatsujātīyabhāṣya</i>
ŚDV	<i>Śaṅkaradigvijaya</i>
SiddhB	<i>Siddhāntabindu</i>
ŚūnyS	<i>Śūnyatāsaptati</i>
ŚvUBh	<i>Śvetāśvataropaniṣadbhāṣya</i>
SWS	Sanskrit word splitting
TaittUBh	<i>Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya</i>
TaittUBhV	(Sureśvara's) <i>Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣyavārtika</i>
Tan	<i>Tantrāloka</i>
TanV	<i>Tantravārttika</i>
TSS 41	<i>The Adhyātmapaṭala of the Āpastambadharmā with Vivaraṇa of Śrī Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda</i> . Ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series XLI. Trivandrum: Travancore Government Press, 1915.
Upad	<i>Upadeśasāhasrī</i>
Vād	<i>Vādanyāya</i>
VedS	<i>Vedārthasaṃgraha</i>
VibhV	<i>Vibhramaviveka</i>
VigrV	<i>Vigrahavyāvartanī</i>
ViṃS	<i>Viṃśatikasiddhi</i>
VVP 10	<i>The Works of Sri Sankaracharya</i> . Vol. 10: <i>Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya, Chapters 5 and 6, and Nṛsiṃhapūrvaṭāpanīyabhāṣya</i> . Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press, 1910.
VVP 13	<i>The Works of Sri Sankaracharya</i> . Vol. 13: <i>Viṣṇusahasranāmabhāṣya and Sanatsujātīyabhāṣya</i> . Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press, 1910.
VVP 18	<i>The Works of Sri Sankaracharya</i> . Vol. 18: <i>Stotras and Lalitā-triśatisotrabhāṣya</i> . Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press, 1910.
YuK	<i>Yuktiṣaṣṭikakārika</i>

## References

- ANDRIJANIĆ, Ivan 2019. “Śaṅkara and the authorship of Śvetāśvataropaniṣad-Bhāṣya”. *The Journal of Hindu Studies* 12(3): 273–291. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhs/hiy014>
- ANDRIJANIĆ, Ivan 2020a. “Śaṅkara and the Authorship of the *Īsopaniṣadbhāṣya* and the *Kaṭhōpaniṣadbhāṣya*”. *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 24: 257–282. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11407-020-09279-z>
- ANDRIJANIĆ, Ivan 2020b. “The authorship of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*: A stylometric approach”. [In:] Michalak-Pikulska, Barbara, Marek Piela and Tomasz Majtczak, eds, *Oriental Languages and Civilizations*. Cracow: Jagiellonian University Press, pp. 103–116.
- BADER, Jonathan 2000. *Conquest of the Four Quarters. Traditional Accounts of the Life of Śaṅkara*. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan.
- BELVALKAR, S. K. 1929. *Shree Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy*. Part one: *Lectures 1–6*. Poona: Bilvakuṅja Publishing House.
- BELVALKAR, S. K. 1930. “An Authentic but Unpublished Work of Śaṅkarācārya”. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 6: 241–246.
- BURROWS John 2002. “‘Delta’: a Measure of Stylistic Difference and a Guide to Likely Authorship”. *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 17(3): 267–287. <https://doi.org/10.1093/lc/17.3.267>
- DAELEMANS, Walter 2013. “Explanation in Computational Stylometry”. [In:] Gelbukh, Alexander, ed., *Proceedings of the 14th International Conference on Computational Linguistics and Intelligent Text Processing*. Vol. 2. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer, pp. 451–462. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-37256-8\\_37](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-37256-8_37)
- DAVID, Hugo 2017. “Towards a Critical Edition of Śaṅkara’s ‘Longer’ Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya: a Preliminary Report Based on Two Cambridge Manuscripts”. [In:] Vergiani, Vincenzo, Daniele Cuneo and Camillo A. Formigatti, eds, *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages: Material, Textual, and Historical Investigations*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 727–754. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110543100-022>
- EDER, Maciej 2015. “Does size matter? Authorship attribution, small samples, big problem”. *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 30(2): 167–82. <https://doi.org/10.1093/lc/fqt066>
- EDER, Maciej 2018. “Authorship verification with the package *stylo*”. <https://computationalstylistics.github.io/docs/imposters> (accessed 18 January 2024).

- EDER, Maciej, Jan RYBICKI and Mike KESTEMONT 2016. “Stylometry with R: a package for computational text analysis”. *R Journal* 8(1): 107–21. <https://doi.org/10.32614/RJ-2016-007>
- EVERT, Stefan, Thomas PROISL, Fotis JANNIDIS, Isabella REGER, Steffen PIELSTRÖM, Christof SCHÖCH and Thorsten VITT 2017. “Understanding and explaining Delta measures for authorship attribution”. *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 32 (suppl. 2), ii4–ii16. <https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqx023>
- HACKER, Paul 1950. “Eigentümlichkeiten der Lehre und Terminologie Śāṅkaras: Avidyā, Nāmarūpa, Māyā, Īśvara”. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 100: 246–286. Reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, 1978, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, pp. 69–109.
- HACKER, Paul 1951. *Untersuchungen über Texte des frühen Advaitavāda. I. Die Schüler Śāṅkara's*. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- HACKER, Paul 1968–1969. “Śāṅkara der Yogin und Śāṅkara der Advaitin. Einige Beobachtungen”. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 12–13 (Festschrift für Erich Frauwallner): 119–148.
- HACKER, Paul 1972. “Notes on the Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad and Śāṅkara's Āgamaśāstravivarāṇa”. [In:] Ensink, J. and P. Gaeffke, eds, *India Maior: Congratulation Volume Presented to J. Gonda*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 115–132.
- HACKER, Paul 1978. “Śāṅkarācārya and Śāṅkarabhagavatpāda. Preliminary remarks concerning the authorship problem” (Korrigierte Neufassung). [In:] Hacker, Paul, *Kleine Schriften*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, pp. 41–59. Originally published in *New Indian Antiquary* 9 (1947): 175–186.
- HARIMOTO, Kengo 2006. “The date of Śāṅkara: Between the Cāḷukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūtas”. *Journal of Indological Studies* 18: 85–111.
- HARIMOTO, Kengo 2014. *God, Reason, and Yoga: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Commentary Ascribed to Śāṅkara on Pātañjalayogaśāstra 1.23–28*. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, University of Hamburg.
- HELLWIG, Oliver 2016. “Detecting sentence boundaries in Sanskrit texts”. [In:] Matsumoto, Yuji and Rashmi Prasad, eds, *Proceedings of COLING 2016, the 26th International Conference on Computational Linguistics: Technical Papers*. Osaka: The COLING 2016 Organizing Committee, pp. 288–297. <http://aclweb.org/anthology/C16-1028> (accessed 18 January 2024).
- HELLWIG, Oliver and Sebastian NEHRDICH 2018. “Sanskrit Word Segmentation Using Character-level Recurrent and Convolutional Neural Networks”. [In:] Riloff, Ellen, David Chiang, Julia Hockenmaier and Jun'ichi Tsujii, eds, *Proceedings of the 2018 Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural*

- Language Processing*. Brussels: Association for Computational Linguistics, pp. 2754–2763. <https://doi.org/10.18653/v1/D18-1295>
- HOLMES, David I. 1994. “Authorship Attribution”. *Computers and Humanities* 28 (2): 87–106. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01830689>
- HOUVARDAS, John and Efsthios STAMATATOS 2006. “N-Gram Feature Selection for Authorship Identification”. [In:] Euzenat, J. and J. Domingue, eds, *Proceedings of Artificial Intelligence: Methodologies, Systems, and Applications (AIMSA 2006)*. Springer, pp. 77–86. [https://doi.org/10.1007/11861461\\_10](https://doi.org/10.1007/11861461_10)
- JACOB, George A. 1886. “The Nṛsiṃhatāpanīya-Upaniṣad”. *The Indian Antiquary: A Journal of Oriental Research* 15: 69–74.
- JANNIDIS, Fotis, Steffen PIELSTRÖM, Christof SCHÖCH and Thorsten VITT 2015. “Improving Burrow’s Delta – An empirical evaluation of text distance measures”. [In:] *Digital Humanities Conference*. Sydney: University of Western Sydney.
- JUOLA, Patrick 2006. “Authorship Attribution”. *Foundations and Trends in Information Retrieval* 1(3): 233–334. <https://doi.org/10.1561/1500000005>
- KESTEMONT, Mike 2014. “Function Words in Authorship Attribution. From Black Magic to Theory?” [In:] Feldman, Anna, Anna Kazantseva and Stan Szpakowicz, eds, *Proceedings of the 3rd Workshop on Computational Linguistics for Literature (CLFL)*. Gothenburg, Sweden: Association for Computational Linguistics, pp. 59–66. <https://doi.org/10.3115/v1/W14-0908>
- KESTEMONT, Mike, Walter DAELEMANS and Dominiek SANDRA 2012. “Robust Rhymes? The Stability of Authorial Style in Medieval Narratives”. *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics* 19(1): 54–76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09296174.2012.638796>
- KESTEMONT, Mike, Justin STOVER, Moshe KOPPEL, Folgert KARSDORP and Walter DAELEMANS 2016. “Authenticating the Writings of Julius Caesar”. *Expert Systems With Applications* 63: 86–96. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eswa.2016.06.029>
- KITAGAWA, Yoshiaki and Mamoru KOMACHI 2017. “Long Short-Term Memory for Japanese Word Segmentation”. [In:] *32nd Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation Hong Kong, 1–3 December 2018*. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.1709.08011>
- KOPPEL, Moshe, Jonathan SCHLER and Shlomo ARGAMON 2009. “Computational methods in authorship attribution”. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 60 (1): 9–26. <https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.20961>

- KOPPEL, Moshe and Yaron WINTER. 2014. "Determining if two documents are written by the same author". *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 65(1): 178–187. <https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.22954>
- KRISHNA, Amrith, Bishal SANTRA, Pavankumar SATULURI, Sasi Prasanth BANDARU, Bhumi FALDU, Yajuvendra SINGH and Pawan GOYAL 2016. "Word Segmentation in Sanskrit Using Path Constrained Random Walks". [In:] *Proceedings of COLING 2016, the 26th International Conference on Computational Linguistics: Technical Papers*, Osaka: COLING 2016 Organizing Committee, pp. 494–504.
- LEGGET, Trevor 1978. *The Chapter of the Self*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- LOVE, Harold 2002. *Attributing Authorship: An Introduction*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511483165>
- LUTOSŁAWSKI, Wincenty 1898. "Principes de stylométrie appliqués à la chronologie des œuvres de Platon". *Revue des Études Grecques* 11 (Fasc. 41): 61–81. <https://doi.org/10.3406/reg.1898.5847>
- LUYCKX, Kim and Walter DAELEMANS 2011. "The effect of author set size and data size in authorship attribution". *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 26(1): 35–55. <https://doi.org/10.1093/lc/fqq013>
- MARSCHNER, Käthe 1933. *Zur Verfasserfrage des dem Śaṅkarācārya zugeschriebenen Brhadāranyakopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*. Berlin-Charlottenburg: Alfred Lindner Verlag.
- MAYEDA, Sengaku 1965a. "The Authenticity of the Bhagavadgītābhāṣya ascribed to Śaṅkara". *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie* 9: 155–197.
- MAYEDA, Sengaku 1965b. "The Authenticity of the Upadeśasāhasrī Ascribed to Śaṅkara". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85(2): 178–196. <https://doi.org/10.2307/597989>
- MAYEDA, Sengaku 1967. "On Śaṅkara's Authorship of the Kenopaniṣad-bhāṣya". *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 10(1): 33–55. <https://doi.org/10.1163/000000068792937937>
- MAYEDA, Sengaku 1967–1968. "On the author of the Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad and the Gauḍapādīyabhāṣya". *Adyar Library Bulletin* 31–32: 73–94.
- MAYEDA, Sengaku, ed. and trans. 2006. *Śaṅkara's Upadeśasāhasrī*. Vols I and II. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- MOISL, Hermann 2015. *Cluster Analysis for Corpus Linguistics*. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110363814>

- MORROW, Daniel G. 1986. “Grammatical Morphemes and Conceptual Structure in Discourse Processing”. *Cognitive Science* 10(4): 423–455. [https://doi.org/10.1207/s15516709cog1004\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15516709cog1004_2)
- NAKAMURA, Hajime 1983. *A History of Early Vedānta Philosophy*. Part One. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- PALMER, David D. 2010. “Text Preprocessing”. [In:] Indurkha, Nitin and Fred J. Damerau, eds, *Handbook of Natural Language Processing*. 2nd edition. A Chapman & Hall Book.
- PANDE, G. C. 1994. *Life and Thought of Śaṅkarācārya*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- PEÑAS, Anselmo and Alvaro RODRIGO 2011. “A Simple Measure to Assess Non-response”. [In:] *Proceedings of the 49th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies*, vol. 1. Portland, Oregon: Association for Computational Linguistics, pp. 1415–1424.
- POTHA, Nektaria and Efstathio STAMATATOS 2017. “An Improved Impostors Method for Authorship Verification”. [In:] Jones, G. J. F., S. Lawless, J. Gonzalo, L. Kelly, L. Goeuriot, T. Mandl, L. Cappellato and N. Ferro, eds, *Experimental IR Meets Multilinguality, Multimodality, and Interaction. CLEF 2017*. Lecture Notes in Computer Science, vol. 10456. Springer, Cham, pp. 138–144. [https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-65813-1\\_14](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-65813-1_14) (accessed 18 January 2024).
- REIGLE, David and Nancy REIGLE 2005. *Śaṅkarācārya’s Collected Works: An Annotated Bibliography of Published Editions in Sanskrit*. Cotopaxi, Colorado, U.S.A.: Eastern Tradition Research Institute.
- RUBIN, D. 1995. *Memory in Oral Traditions. The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads and Counting-out Rhymes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195082111.001.0001>
- RUŽIČKA, M. 1958. “Anwendung mathematisch-statistischer Methoden in der Geobotanik (synthetische Bearbeitung von Aufnahmen)”. *Biología* (Bratislava) 13: 647–661.
- RYBICKI, Jan and Maciej EDER. 2011. “Deeper Delta across genres and languages: do we really need the most frequent words?”. *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 26(3): 315–321. <https://doi.org/10.1093/lc/fqr031>
- SANDERSON, Alexis, ed. and trans. 2017. *The Smārta Śāktism of South India: Lalitātrīśatīstotra: The Hymn of the Three Hundred Epithets of the Goddess Lalitā, edited with a brief introduction, an annotated English translation, and an appendix containing the Nāmāvalī*. [https://www.academia.edu/34452056/The\\_Sm%C4%81rta\\_%C5%9A%C4%81ktism\\_of\\_South\\_India\\_Lalit](https://www.academia.edu/34452056/The_Sm%C4%81rta_%C5%9A%C4%81ktism_of_South_India_Lalit)

[%C4%81tri%C5%9Bat%C4%ABstotra\\_edited\\_with\\_a\\_brief\\_introduction\\_an\\_annotated\\_English\\_translation\\_and\\_an\\_appendix\\_containing\\_the\\_N%C4%81m%C4%81val%C4%AB](#) (accessed 18 January 2024).

SASTRY, R. Anantakrishna 1980. *Viṣṇusahasranāma with the Bhāṣya of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya*. Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre.

SEIDMAN, Shachar 2014. “Authorship Verification Using the Impostors Method Notebook for PAN at CLEF 2013”. [In:] Forner, P., R. Navigli, D. Tufis and N. Ferro, eds, *CEUR Workshop Proceedings*. Vol. 1179: *Working Notes for CLEF 2013 Conference, Valencia, Spain, 23–26 September 2013*.

STAMATATOS, Efstathios 2009. “A survey of modern authorship attribution methods”. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 60(3): 538–556. <https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.21001>

TensorFlow. <https://www.tensorflow.org/> (accessed 18 January 2024).

VETTER, Tillman 1968–1969. “Zur Bedeutung des Illusionismus bei Śaṅkara”. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 12–13: 407–423.

ZIPF, George Kingsley 1935. *The Psychobiology of Language: An Introduction to Dynamic Philology*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

ZIPF, George Kingsley 1949. *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort: An Introduction to Human Ecology*. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

---

## Some Remarks on the Perso-Arabic Nominal Lexica in Bollywood Movie Song Lyrics

TOMASZ GACEK

**Abstract:** The Indian film industry releases thousands of movies every year, with those in the Hindi language forming a significant part of that number. These movies, and the songs used in them, have been the object of research within the scope of various scientific disciplines, including linguistics. The author of the present paper, however, believes that there are still numerous language phenomena to study within the lyrics of the Bollywood songs. The present text is dedicated to research of the Perso-Arabic lexica in these songs over the period of 80 years (1940–2020). It also analyses the frequency of the Perso-Arabic forms as opposed to native Indo-Aryan ones. Particular attention is paid to the forms of the highest frequency, especially the Persian word *dil*.

**Keywords:** Bollywood, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, loanwords, frequency

Tomasz GACEK, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland; [tomasz.gacek@uj.edu.pl](mailto:tomasz.gacek@uj.edu.pl);

 0000-0002-8111-2797



This article is distributed under a Creative Commons Non-Commercial No-Derivatives 4.0 licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>).

---

## Introduction

The colossal Indian film industry releases thousands of movies every year. An important and the best-known worldwide part is made up of Hindi-language movies produced in the state of Maharashtra by the industry referred to collectively as Bollywood.

As the phenomenon is a very important component of the popular culture of modern India and has growing significance globally, it has been the subject of study from many angles for decades. To give just a few examples, gender norms in Bollywood films have been studied quite often, especially recently (e.g. KHAN and TAYLOR 2018); the problems of globalisation in the context of Hindi movies have been discussed for the last two decades at least (RAI 2009). There have even been attempts to predict the success of particular movies using machine learning techniques (VERMA and VERMA 2019). Other studies focus on the mechanisms behind Bollywood movie production (GANTI 2012).

However, taking into consideration how complicated and specific the language landscape of Bollywood movies is and, especially, of the songs used in them, one could say the number of linguistic studies within the field is surprisingly low. Let us recall just some of the most important aspects of this landscape. The term Bollywood refers mostly, as we have already noted, to Hindi-language movie production. Thus, the dialogues in these films are supposed to be scripted in Hindi.<sup>1</sup> However, here arises the complex relationship between Hindi and Urdu. This is even more so in the case of songs where the subtle, elusive, borderline between Hindi and Urdu is often crossed and Persian words may be used much more often than in an everyday conversation. Moreover, in many cases dialect elements are present, and even use of other languages may be observed. The influence of ethnolects like Punjabi, Braj, Rajasthani, Marathi may also be noticed. Some aspects of this situation, like the problem of code-switching and code-mixing with Hindi and/or Urdu on one side and English on the other (CHANDRA et al. 2016; HABIB et al. 2020) or the use of other languages in these songs (BEHL and CHOUDHURY 2011) are sometimes discussed. Others, however, are still not covered at all. Among these, complex analysis of the problem of the presence and frequency of Persian and Perso-Arabic vocabulary within these texts is important.

At the same time the importance of the question of language interaction and language influences (especially here in the context of Persian and Arabic elements) goes far beyond the linguistic perspective. As language is a vitally important component of every human culture, language contacts are, per se,

---

<sup>1</sup> In fact, the dialogues are mostly scripted in Romanised Hindi, see e.g. the *Thappad* movie script (SINHA and MRUNMAYEE 2020).

a form of cultural interaction. Language influences are cultural influences.

A linguistic perspective in the culture research may focus on various aspects, however, one of the most interesting and a central one seems to be, as Kramsch puts it, “How are people’s perceptions, beliefs, values encoded in the linguistic sign [...]?” (KRAMSCH 2014: 31). At the same time, the idea that a language influences the way its speakers perceive the world has been around since the seminal work by Whorf (WHORF 1956). The key concept of linguistic relativity and the question of how a language shapes our way of thinking, stress the dependence of our image of the real world on our language (KRAMSCH 2014: 32, 35). Though there are limits to linguistic relativity and the mechanism is not as simple as changing the name of a phenomenon and immediately altering our view of it (KRAMSCH 2014: 36). However, it is still an important factor to be taken into consideration while studying the interaction between language and culture. In other words, language both reflects and influences the culture of its speakers.

The language of Bollywood songs is a very special phenomenon. While based on modern Hindi, it has a number of peculiar features that make it different from actual spoken languages. Some scholars have claimed that, having absorbed influences from many other languages, over the years it was melted into a unified subsystem, possibly to a “universal film song language that appeals across local, regional and international boundaries” (SARRAZIN 2008). Moreover, Behl and Choudhury notice significant deviation of the Bollywood songs’ vocabulary from Zipf’s law<sup>2</sup> as seen in any natural language, including standard spoken Hindi (BEHL and CHOUDHURY 2011). All this makes research on this particular lect<sup>3</sup> a fascinating enterprise.

The author of the present paper believes that tendencies in the sphere of language influences may indicate important factors in the evolution of every culture. Thus, this paper aims at making a step forward in the linguistic research on Bollywood songs, focusing on the phenomenon of the presence of Perso-Arabic nominal lexica within it. We analyse a sample corpus of texts trying to answer the following questions in reference to the nominal lexica within it:

- A. What is the quantity of the words of Persian and Arabic origin within the corpus?
- B. Is it possible to trace changes over time as far as the phenomena mentioned above are concerned?

---

<sup>2</sup> As George ZIPF noticed, if we calculate the frequency of particular words in a text and we arrange them in a descending order by frequency, there will be an inverse relationship between each frequency and the rank in the order (KRETZSCHMAR 2010: 190).

<sup>3</sup> I am using the term “lect” as defined by Crystal (CRYSTAL 2008: 272).

C. Are there any words that tend to be used in the songs in question particularly frequently? And if so, what is their origin?

D. Is there any significant correlation between the subject of a song and the frequency of the Perso-Arabic lexica in its lyrics?

## Methodology

To answer these questions a corpus of over 90 Bollywood songs have been assembled and analysed. To avoid any sort of a bias, the selection of texts has been based on arbitrary criteria. One song from each one of the five most successful movies at five-year intervals starting from 1940 and up to 2020 has been selected. The list of the most successful films was established on the basis of the data provided by the BOX OFFICE INDIA website. The accuracy of these rankings has not been independently checked, although in the author's opinion it does not influence the results of the research, as no language criteria are involved there. In most cases, the first song on the list for a given movie provided by the MYSWAR website has been chosen (this does not have to be necessarily the first song in a movie, but often is). Where the data from either BOX OFFICE INDIA or MYSWAR were unavailable or irrelevant, secondary sources were used, e.g. IMDB database and the HINDI GEET MALA website etc. The lyrics of the songs were collected using a vast number of (mainly online) sources, and transcribed/verified on the basis of available recordings. Where no lyrics were found/retrieved for a particular song/movie, the subsequent ones (according to the same order) were taken into consideration.

The results yielded by the method described above were, however, imperfect. The word count based on non-duplicate verses turned out to be significantly lower for the older songs. The average word count based on the text with rejected duplicate lines was around 78 for pre-1960 songs and above 115 for those from the period of 1960–2020. Thus, an additional criterion was introduced, namely an arbitrary rule that the total word count based on non-duplicate verses for every year should be between 500 and 600 words. To achieve this, a number of supplementary texts were additionally analysed for the older periods, while three texts from more modern times that made an almost 700-word count were rejected.

Once a canonical text for a given song was established, a list of verses without duplicates was created. Lines containing onomatopoeic forms only were rejected, as they can hardly be interpreted as utterances in any language, in the same sense as regular lines. A list of nominal forms was created on the basis of the accepted lines. Every particular form from the same song was accepted only once. To avoid including disputable forms, certain lexemes were excluded from the analysis. This refers especially to infinitives that may be sometimes used as

nouns and various participles. Moreover, in some cases it was not immediately obvious if a given form is a noun or maybe just an ad hoc substantivised adjective. In these cases, the classification in the lexicographical works was decisive. The origin and meaning of every analysed word was studied on the base of the available lexicography (see the bibliography index).

From every song a list of nominal forms was extracted. Repetitions (at the level of a given song) were omitted, though different declension forms were all taken into consideration. Identical forms were taken into consideration whenever they appeared in different songs.

Example: In the song “Naacho Sitaro Naacho Ab Chand Nikalne Wala Hai” from the 1945 movie *Zeenat*, we find the form *rātō* “night” (obl. pl). As it is beyond any doubt a noun, it is included in the database. Exactly the same form (*rātō*) appears again in the same text, but it is not taken into consideration, as it is a repetition. However, another form of the same lemma, *rāt* (rect. sg.) is entered into the database. When either of these forms appears in other songs (e.g. *rātō* in the song “Morni Re Morni Main Jungle Ki Morni” from the movie *Pratiggya* and *rāt* in “Pardesiyon Se Naa Ankhiya Milaana” from *Jab Jab Phool Khile*), they are included again.

While the translations of the texts in question are not relevant for the current study as such, they were essential at some point in the word-selection process and choosing from between homophonous variants.

### **The list of the analysed texts**

The procedures described above have led to the selection of the following 92 songs. To avoid confusion, the titles of songs and movies are given not in the scientific transcription but in the form in which they are known to the public. However, when the same title appears also as a verse of a song and is cited in the analysis either in its entirety or in part, scientific transcription is used instead.

To facilitate the creation and processing of the database, every song was assigned a unique numerical key consisting of three parts: yyyy-fff-sss, where yyyy is the year the movie started showing, fff is the place on the list of the most successful movies (with leading zero digits), and sss is the number of the song. The last two components will be essential if the research is extended in the future. The complete index of the analysed texts has been included in the appendix.

The following table shows the word count based on non-repetitive verses in particular songs:

	Year	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	
Movie - song	001-001	80	93	87	92		207	181	77	88	168	133	93	123	120	106	69	117	
	001-002					49													
	002-001	165	78	69	69	59	66	135	107	152		149	113	112	134		239	81	
	002-002																	69	
	003-001	44	103	76	32	125	81	116	245	181	89	94	78	165		160	112		
	003-002	72			70										75				
	004-001			52	69	146	104	89	88	79	149	110	129	126	81	140			92
	004-002			48															
	005-001	47	65	88	97	102	84	84	84	15	91	91	172		100	140	125	67	
	005-002	79																	110
	006-001	76		65	38	120													
	006-002			108	114														
	007-001		57																
	007-002		115																
	<b>SUM</b>	<b>563</b>	<b>511</b>	<b>593</b>	<b>581</b>	<b>601</b>	<b>542</b>	<b>605</b>	<b>601</b>	<b>515</b>	<b>497</b>	<b>577</b>	<b>585</b>	<b>526</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>546</b>	<b>545</b>	<b>536</b>	

## The studied lexical material

The use of the presented methodology allowed us to create a database of 1,908 lexical entries. This consists of 1,092 unique inflected forms and 957 unique lemmata. The author was unable to interpret about five forms, which were ignored in the analysis. Their number is too small to influence the overall results.

## Overall proportions of Persian and Arabic lexical items

All the analysed lemmata were classified as either Indo-Aryan (IN), i.e. *tadbhava*, *tatsama* Hindi words or forms borrowed from other Indo-Aryan languages (incl. Marathi, Punjabi, etc.), Arabic (AR), Persian (FA), English (EN), Dravidian (DR) etc. Generally, the basis for the classification is the immediate source of the form, so *patlūn* is classified as a borrowing from English, even though its origins go back to Italian, via French (MCGREGOR 1993: 596; SKEAT 1993: 326), just as *cakleṭ*, which is ultimately derived from Nahuatl *xocoatl*, transmitted via French (SKEAT 1993: 58; PUSTKA 2022: 522) and English. The only exception has been made for the words of Arabic origin. Though, without any doubt, the vast majority of them (if not all) were transmitted into Hindi/Urdu via Persian, they were marked as Arabic (AR) rather than Persian (FA).

Based on the presented criteria, the statistics of the lemmata source languages may be presented in the form of a table.

Language origin	Number
Indo-Aryan (IN)	1,045
Persian (FA)	426
Arabic (AR)	323
English (EN)	35
Indian or Persian – uncertain (IN/FA)	20
Other, unknown	11
Mixed: Arabic and Persian (AR+FA)	11
Mixed: Indian and Persian (IN+FA)	9
Onomatopoeic	7
Indo-Aryan: uncertain (IN?)	6
Onomatopoeic – uncertain	6
Persian: uncertain (FA?)	4
Dravidian	2
Dravidian – uncertain (DR?)	2
Either Indian or mixed Indian and Persian (IN/IN+FA)	1
<b>Total Result</b>	<b>1,908</b>

Let us simplify this table by putting all the Persian, Arabic and Perso-Arabic forms together, as well as grouping the rest of the lexemes (i.e. non-Indo-Aryan and non-Perso-Arabic) under the category “Other”.

Source language	Number
IN	1,045 (54.77%)
AR/FA/AR+FA	760 (39.83%)
Other	103 (5.40%)
<b>Total Result</b>	<b>1,908</b>

Two types of complexities are obvious on the basis of the table above. First of all, in the case of some forms we are dealing with the mixed origin (AR+FA or FA+IN). Another problem is that Persian and Hindi, due to their common origin, in spite of the long time passing since their ancestor languages had parted, still share a number of very similar or even identical forms. This is the case of the words like *bār* (MCGREGOR 1993: 725) (cf. NP *bār*), *rang* (MCGREGOR 1993: 847) etc.

Anyway, we are able to see that at least in the case of 769 either Persian or Arabic influence is unquestionable. In other words, 40.3% of identified nominal lexemes in the lyrics of 92 analysed songs are either entirely of Persian or Arabic origin, while those with unquestionable Indo-Aryan roots constitute 54.7% (1,044 examples). No other vocabulary source even approaches these two categories as far as the numbers are concerned. The next most important source is English, with only 35 nominal lexemes identified (1.8%).

### Most frequent lexical items

Let us now see which nominal lexemes are the most frequent in the whole corpus, i.e. what words appear in the maximum number of songs. We will take into consideration only those lemmata that are used at least in 10% of the songs.

lemma	Count - lemma	Comments
<i>dil</i> (FA)	51	“heart, soul, etc.” <sup>4</sup> (MCGREGOR 1993: 496) < FA <i>dil</i> “heart, mind, soul, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 530)
<i>āmkh</i> (IN)	40	“eye, sight, look, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 754), ultimately derived from Vedic <i>ākṣi</i> (TURNER 1966: 32)

<sup>4</sup> The meanings provided in this table are based upon the definitions but are not precise citations. Please, refer to the original publications for complete definitions.

lemma	Count - lemma	Comments
<i>pyār</i> (IN)	26	“love, affection” (MCGREGOR 1993: 651) < Indo-Aryan <i>priyakāra</i> - (TURNER 1966: 503)
<i>bāt</i> (IN)	24	“something said, a word, remark, speech, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 722) < Indo-Aryan <i>vārttā</i> (TURNER 1966: 674)
<i>din</i> (IN)	19	“day, daytime, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 495) < Indo-Aryan <i>dina</i> (TURNER 1966: 362)
<i>man</i> (IN)	19	“mind, heart, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 788) < Indo-Aryan <i>manas</i> (TURNER 1966: 564)
<i>nain</i> (IN)	15	“eye” (MCGREGOR 1993: 581) < Indo-Aryan <i>nayana</i> (TURNER 1966: 401)
<i>rāt</i> (IN)	15	“night” (MCGREGOR 1993: 861) < Indo-Aryan <i>rātri</i> (TURNER 1966: 619)
<i>duniyā</i> (AR)	14	“world, people, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 503) < FA <i>dunyā</i> “world, people” (STEINGASS 1892: 539) < AR
<i>jādū</i> (FA)	11	“magic, enchantment, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 367) < FA <i>jādū</i> “conjuration, magic” (STEINGASS 1892: 349)
<i>jān</i> (FA)	11	“life, spirit, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 367) < FA “soul, mind, self, life” (STEINGASS 1892: 352)
<i>jīvan</i> (IN)	11	“life, existence, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 375) < Indo-Aryan <i>jīvana</i> (TURNER 1966: 289)
<i>sapnā</i> (IN)	11	“dream, vision” (MCGREGOR 1993: 981) < Indo-Aryan <i>svāpna</i> (TURNER 1966: 804)
<i>bāmh</i> (IN)	10	“the upper arm; sleeve” (MCGREGOR 1993: 719) < Indo-Aryan <i>bāhū</i> (TURNER 1966: 521)
<i>hāth</i> (IN)	10	“hand, wrist, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 1067) < Indo-Aryan <i>hāsta</i> (TURNER 1966: 811)
<i>khvāb</i> (FA)	10	“dream, vision” (MCGREGOR 1993: 247) < FA <i>xvāb</i> “sleep, dream, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 478)

As we can see, while the unquestionable leader is *dil* “heart”, a word of Persian origin, still most of the frequent lexemes have Indo-Aryan roots.

As an example, let us look at contexts in which the word *dil* is used within the analysed corpus. The form in question is used exclusively with the meaning “heart”, which is mostly understood as the organ to which emotions (in particular elevated ones) are ascribed. In perfect accordance with this intuition, love is the most frequent of these emotions, and it happens to be described in various ways. In the text “Yeh Kaun Aaj Aaya Savere Savere” (1940-005-002) the heart (*dil*) experiences a shiver or a shock on seeing unexpected persons’ arrival:

*yeh kaun āj āyā savere, savere |*  
*ke **dil** caumk uṭhā savere, savere ||*

However, a few lines later we can hear that somebody stole the heart of the lyrical persona (***dil** chīn liyā*), which is a universal metaphor for falling in love.

In the song “Naacho naacho sitaaro naacho” (1945-001-001) it is said that a person is entering the heart through the eyes (*ām̄kh se **dil** mem āne vālā*), which conveys the idea of somebody so attractive and charming that their appearance has a lasting impact on others’ hearts. It is also from hearts that desires will emerge (*armān, armān dilom ke nikaleṅge*).

The lovers in “Humko Humise Chura Lo” (2000-002-001) are so afraid of being separated from each other that they encourage each other to hide themselves somewhere inside the other’s heart: ***dil** mem kahīm tum chupā lo*.

The heart is used not only in the image of a romantic love. It is also important in describing the relationship between mother and her child, as in “Tumse Milkar Naa Jaane” Kyun (1985-004-001): *mem tere **dil** kā ṭukṛā hūm, e mām* “I am a part of your heart, mum”.

According to “Rani Khol De Apne Dwaar” (1945-005-001), the heart may be confused, perplexed (***dil** merā ghabrā gayā*) and a storm may rise in it (*āj **dil** mem uṭhā hai tūfān*). There are other dangers to which a heart is exposed: it may get under a spell, as is described in “Ae Ji, Dil Par Hua Aisa Jadu” (1955-005-001): ***dil** par hua aisā jādū*, or even worse, a lightning may strike inside it: ***dil** mem camaktī haiṁ bijliyām*.

Love is not always happy, and the lyrical person of “Hum Se Bhool Ho Gaye Humka Maafi Dai Do” (1980-003-001) accuses his beloved one that she has broken his heart: *merā **dil** toṛ jāte ho*. The same idea appears in “O Priya, Priya” (1990-001-001), where the lyrical person goes even further, encouraging his love (a bit masochistically) to come and see his torn apart heart: *āke zarā dekh le **dil** merā cīr ke*. He also wants to burn himself and take death into his heart: *mawt ko apne **dil** se lagā lūm*.

The heart (inner self) may be contrasted with the face (appearance, what is visible), as in “Gore Gore O Banke Chore” (1950-001-001): *cehre pe ḡussā hai, **dil** mem safāī* “There’s rage on the face and clearness (openness, sincerity) in the heart”.

Of course, the heart beats when it experiences strong emotions or simply when we are alive, as we find out e.g. from “Dhadke Mera Dil Mujhko” (1950-002-001) *dharke merā **dil***.

The heart may also dance, presumably when full of joy, as in “Ta Ra Ri Aa Ra Ri Aa Ra Ri...” (1950-003-001): *dil nāce*. It may also speak, thus revealing the true desires of a person: *kahtā hai dil merā calie vahām* “My heart says let’s go there” or send messages as in “Mera Salaam Le Ja Dil Ka Payaam Le Ja” (1955-004-001): *dil kā payām le jā*. The heart may also be sure about something or somebody: *dil ko yaqīn hai*.

If the heart can dance, it can sing as well for sure, and this is attested by the song “Gata Rahe Mera Dil” (1965-005-001): *gātā rahe merā dil*. A singing heart appears in “Tujhe Bulayen Yeh Meri Baahen” (1985-001-001), too.

In “Mera Juta Hai Japāni” (1955-001-001), the heart of the lyrical subject is Indian in spite of every part of his outfit coming from a different part of the world: *phir bhī dil hai Hindustānī*. At the same time, the lyrical persona (and the protagonist of the movie at the same time) and those like him are ruin-hearted princes (*ham bigarē dil śahzāde*).

While in “Mera Juta...” the Indian heart serves as a declaration of patriotism on the national level, the lyrical person of “Ye Lucknow Ki Sar Zameen” (1960-004-001) states that in his city there is love in the hearts: *yahām dilom mem pyār hai*. He goes even further declaring that there are wealthy (or noble, influential) people possessing hearts living in Lucknow. The last expression is quite interesting, as it uses the phrase with the Persian *izāfa*: *ahl-e dil*. The same song also associates the notion of honour (*śān*) with the heart. Then, in the song “Qurbani, Qurbani, Qurbani” (1980-001-001) the heart is juxtaposed with another Perso-Arabic word, *īmān*, which may designate “honour” as well, but also “belief, faith, honesty”.

A more original idea is comparison of the lyrical subjects’ heart to the whole world, which happens in the song “Kaisi ye muhobbat ki saza haaye dee hai kisi ne” (1955-003-002): *duniyā hī mere dil kī, dil kī*. But when he feels sad, disappointed, etc., his heart may shrink: *dil ghaṭṭā hai*.

In “Tan Rang Lo Ji” (1960-003-001), the singer encourages his listeners to colour not only their bodies but also their hearts during the Holi festival: *dil rang lo*.

The lyrical person of the “Chand Si Mehbooba” (1965-003-001) is lucky as his beloved one doesn’t dream about palaces as she prefers to reside in his heart: *dekhe nā khvāb mahalom ke mere dil mem rahnā cāhe*.

In “Duniya Me Pyaar Ki Sabko Zarurat Hai” (1970-002-001), the phenomenon of love is described as giving and taking the heart at the same time: *dil de, dil le, yahi mohabbat hai*.



For obvious reasons, the word *dil* is used most often in lyrical songs. However, we may find examples even in those with a religious background, like “Selfie Le Le Re” (2015-002-001), where we can hear that the worshippers keep their hearts as big as that of Hanumanji, who holds the mace: *dil barā rakhte haim jaise hanumānjī kī ho gadā*.

Finally let us note that the word *dil* is also used as a part of a number of compounds used in the texts in question (*dilrubā*, *dildār* etc.).

It is worth noting that we can see a number of synonymic pairs on the list above, namely *dil* (FA) and *man* (IN), *sapnā* (IN) and *k̄hvāb* (FA), *āmkh* (IN) and *nain* (IN), *jān* (FA) and *jīvan* (IN).<sup>5</sup> Apart from *āmkh* and *nain*, these are pairs containing a word of Indo-Aryan origin and its Perso-Arabic equivalent. Let us have a look at some charts showing the distribution of the elements of such pairs:

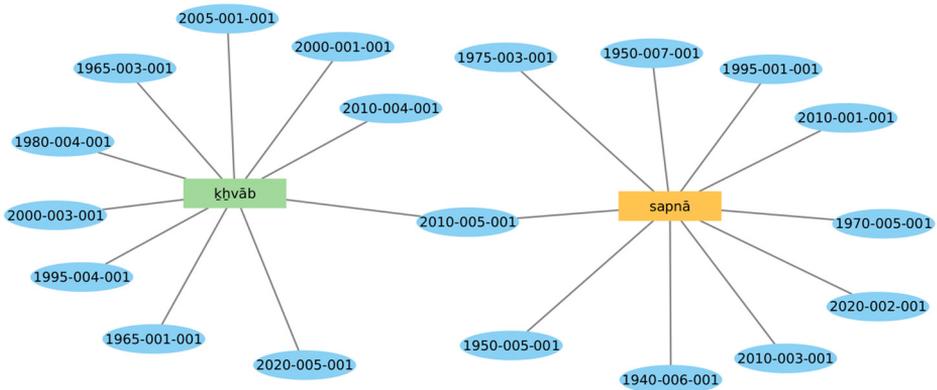


Fig. 2. Distribution of the lexemes *k̄hvāb* and *sapnā* in the analysed texts

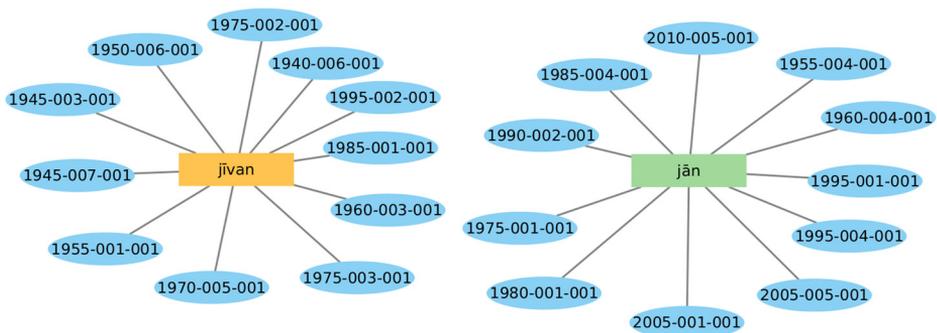


Fig. 3. Distribution of the lexemes *jīvan* and *jān* in the analysed texts

<sup>5</sup> As the reviewer of the paper rightly pointed out, the last two forms are not perfect synonyms, as *jīvan* can refer to one’s whole life, whereas *jān* cannot.

As we can see, there is no correlation with time. Moreover, the greater the number of occurrences, the bigger the chance of coexistence of both equivalents in the same text.

### Lexemes origin as a function of time

Now the most fascinating question is probably of whether there are any observable differences in the proportions between nominal lexemes of Persian and Arabic origins and those with the Indo-Aryan roots at different points of time. The table below includes occurrences of Arabic (AR), Persian (FA), mixed Perso-Arabic (AR+FA) forms on the one hand and of those of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian origin (IN) on the other.

Year	IN	AR, FA, AR+FA	Other
1940	84 (64.12%)	38 (29.00 %)	9 (6.87%)
1945	58 (68.24%)	21 (24.71%)	6 (7.06%)
1950	90 (69.23%)	31 (23.85%)	9 (6.92%)
1955	78 (51.32%)	66 (43.42%)	8 (5.26%)
1960	75 (47.17%)	75 (47.17%)	9 (5.66%)
1965	54 (55.10%)	44 (44.90%)	0 (0%)
1970	80 (63.49%)	43 (34.13%)	3 (2.38%)
1975	111 (84.09%)	18 (13.64%)	3 (2.27%)
1980	40 (47.06%)	44 (51.76%)	1 (1.18%)
1985	53 (61.63%)	29 (33.72%)	4 (4.65%)
1990	57 (57.58%)	33 (33.33%)	9 (9.09%)
1995	43 (41.75%)	55 (53.40%)	5 (4.85%)
2000	38 (42.70%)	46 (51.69%)	5 (5.62%)
2005	63 (58.88%)	39 (36.45%)	5 (4.67%)
2010	53 (46.49%)	55 (48.25%)	6 (5.26%)
2015	62 (57.41%)	43 (43%)	3 (2.78%)
2020	40 (38.46%)	46 (38.46%)	18 (17.31%)

The amount of the Persian and Arabic lexical items within the analysed vocabulary is variable, ranging from over 13% to over 53%. However, the data presented above show no trace of any clear tendency. While the proportions vary from one tested period to another, there is no one direction in these changes. It will be probably even more visible in the following chart:

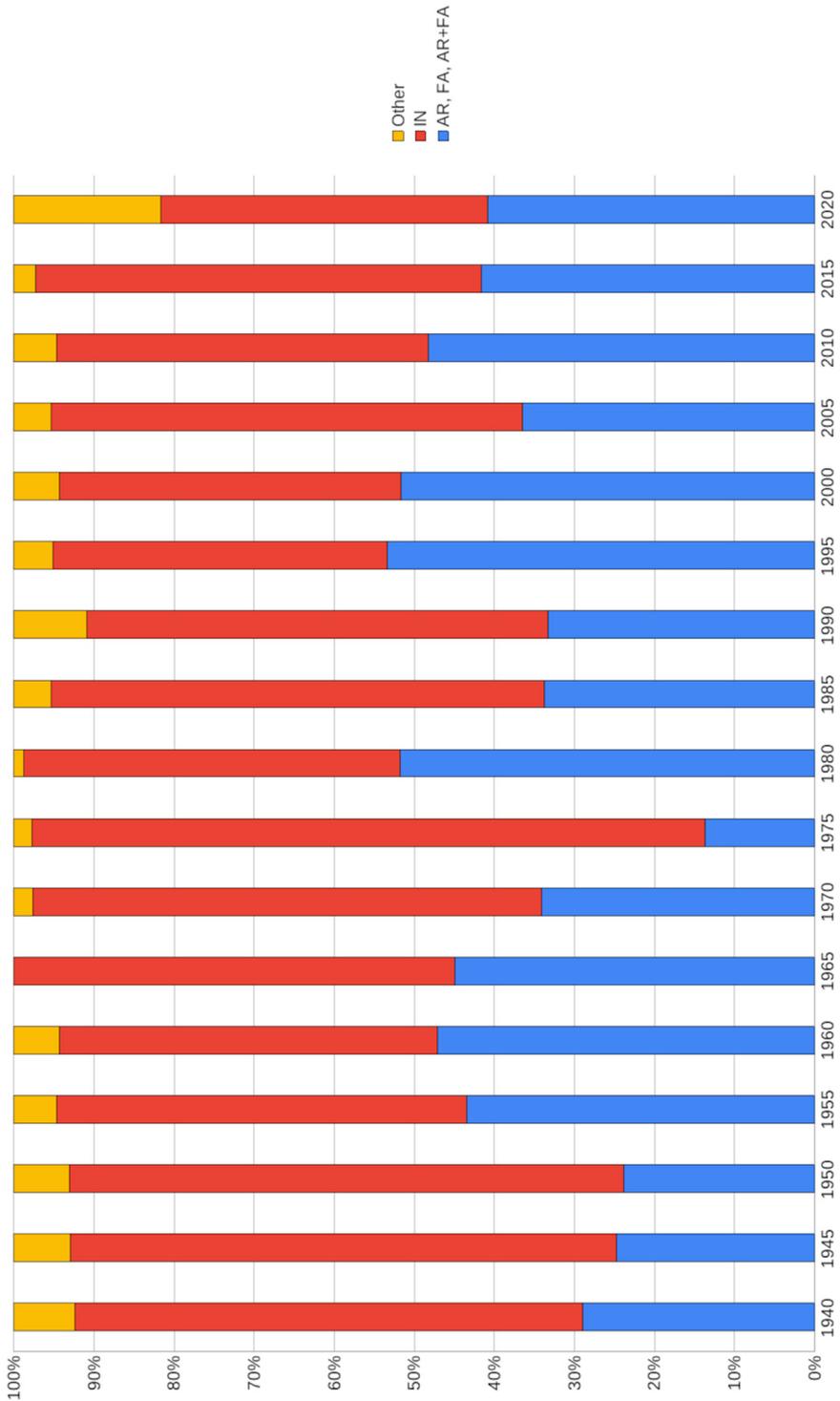
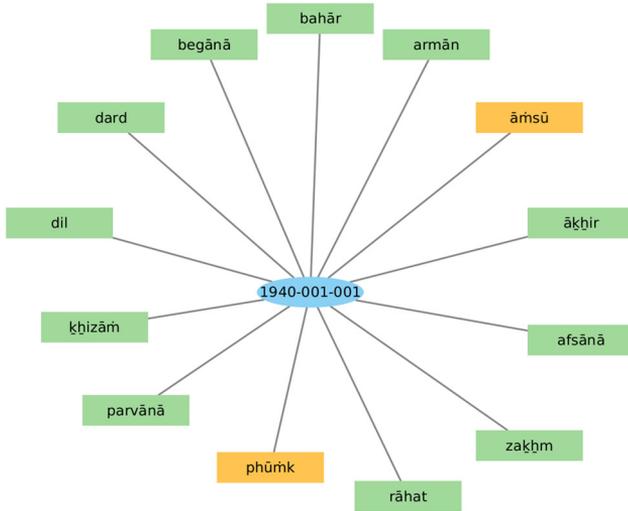
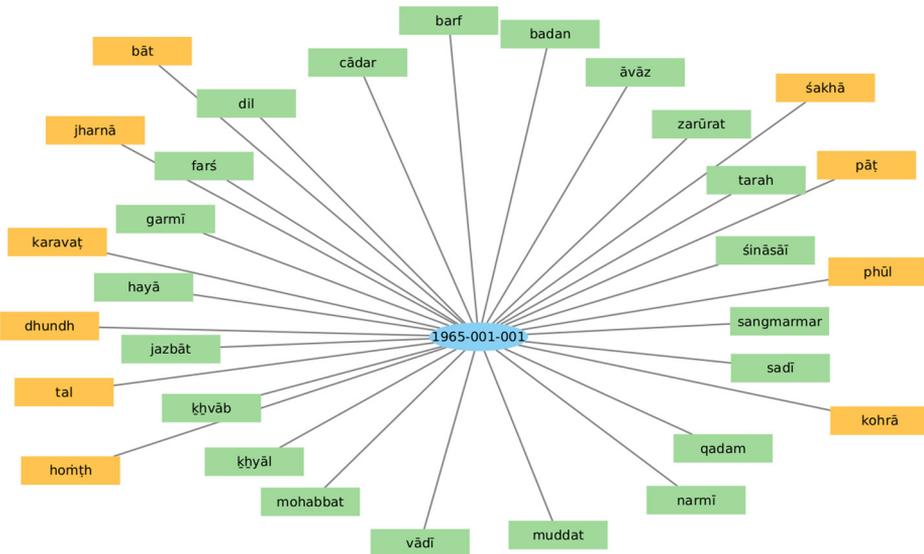


Fig. 4. Proportion of forms of various origin in specific years

As we can see, the differences are noticeable, even significant. They are even more extreme if we have a look at a particular single song. Let us consider a few examples:



**Fig. 5.** Nouns of Indo-Aryan and Perso-Arabic origin in the song “Hey Diwana Hoon, Diwana Hoon” (1940-001-001).



**Fig. 6.** Nouns of Indo-Aryan and Perso-Arabic origin in the song “Maine Ek Khwab Sa Dekha Hai” (1965-001-001).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> We have to bear in mind that some of the words in question possess variant forms, e.g. *karvaṭ*, *ḍhūmdh*, *sākh*, *kḥayāl(āt)*, *śanāsāi*.



## Topic – source language correlation

While we can observe no correlation between the time and proportion of words of Persian and/or Arabic origin in the analysed texts, let us see if there is any link between the topic(s) of a song and the proportion of lexemes of particular origin used in it. The contents of all the analysed songs were classified as belonging to at least one and at most three of the following categories: *love*, *social\_problems*, *Hindu\_religious*, *joy\_and\_celebration*, *life\_and\_fortune*, *friendship*, *nature*, *Muslim\_religious*, *other*. The number of songs belonging to each of those categories varies greatly.

Category	Number of songs
<i>love</i>	51
<i>joy_and_celebration</i>	20
<i>Hindu_religious</i>	13
<i>nature</i>	8
<i>other</i>	7
<i>social_problems</i>	6
<i>Muslim_religious</i>	5
<i>friendship</i>	4
<i>life_and_fortune</i>	3

Before we go on with the analysis of the topic – source language correlation – let us make two important remarks. Firstly, the classification is based on the contents of the analysed songs and not of the whole movies. Secondly, it is, of course, to a large extent arbitrary. Other categories could be put forward and in some cases the classification may be disputed. Nevertheless, the author of the present article believes that this is a promising start of research into this subject.

Let us now have a look at the proportions of Indo-Aryan and Persian and/or Arabic vocabulary in the songs classified to selected categories. The forms present in more than 10 songs were chosen plus *Muslim\_religious*, which is much less frequent, but interesting for obvious reasons.

	Indo-Aryan	Persian and/or Arabic	Other
<i>love</i>	549 (53.09%)	434 (41.97%)	51 (4.93%)
<i>joy_and_celebration</i>	217 (51.42%)	154 (36.50%)	51 (12.09%)
<i>Hindu_religious</i>	233 (88.26%)	22 (8.33%)	9 (3.40%)
<i>Muslim_religious</i>	37 (38.54%)	54 (56.25%)	5 (5.20%)

The results for the religious texts is as could have easily been predicted: Indo-Aryan terms are clearly dominating in the Hindu religious songs, while Perso-Arabic vocabulary is dominant (though less decisively) in the songs tagged as *Muslim religious*. Let us also note, that the domination of Perso-Arabic elements over Indo-Aryan ones in the songs classified as Muslim religious is less significant than the predominance of Indo-Aryan lexemes in Hindu religious texts, which is, however, hardly surprising, as it is the Indo-Aryan substrate that provides the basis for Hindi/Urdu.

It may be interesting to see what particular Persian and/or Arabic words are used in the songs classified as Hindu religious:<sup>7</sup>

Lemma	Source	Meaning
<i>badlā</i>	AR > FA <i>badal</i> “change, substitution, retaliation” <sup>7</sup> (STEINGASS 1892: 164)	“change, exchange, substitute, retaliation, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 703)
<i>bandā</i>	FA <i>banda</i> “bound; slave” (STENGASS 1892: 202) “= I”	“1. servant; slave. 2. your servant (self-deprecatory term used in addressing a superior)” (MCGREGOR 1993: 692)
<i>bīmā</i>	FA <i>bīma</i> “insurance” (STEINGASS 1892: 225)	“1. insurance; insurance premium, or rate. 2. colloq. sthg. insured” (MCGREGOR 1993: 739)
<i>dar</i>	FA <i>dar</i> “door, gate, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 506)	“door, gate, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 479)
<i>daurā</i>	AR > FA <i>daura(t)</i> “epicycle, revolution, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 543)	“turn, tour, session, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 515)
<i>dil</i>	FA <i>dil</i> “heart, mind, soul, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 530)	“heart, soul, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 496)
<i>duniyā</i>	AR > FA <i>dunyā</i> “world, people” (STEINGASS 1892: 539)	“world, people, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 503)
<i>duśman</i>	FA <i>duśman</i> “enemy, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 526)	“enemy, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 505)
<i>ġarīb</i>	AR > FA <i>ġarīb</i> “foreigner, a stranger; adj. poor, humble; etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 886)	“adj. & m. 1. adj. poor. 2. humble, modest” (MCGREGOR 1993: 257)
<i>jādū</i>	FA <i>jādū</i> “conjuration, magic” (STEINGASS 1892: 349)	“magic, enchantment, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 367)

<sup>7</sup> The meanings provided in this table are based upon the definitions but are not precise citations. Please refer to the original publications for complete definitions.

Lemma	Source	Meaning
<i>javānī</i>	FA <i>javānī</i> “youth; youthful; a young man” (STEINGASS 1892: 376)	“youth, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 364)
<i>kinārā</i>	FA <i>kanār</i> , <i>kinār</i> “side, brink, coast, limit, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 1052)	“side, edge, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 196)
<i>lālā</i>	? FA <i>lālā</i> “incomparable; chief servant; etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 1112)	“a respectful designation for members of some communities” (MCGREGOR 1993: 893)
<i>mahal</i>	AR > FA <i>mahal</i> “abode, mansion, palace, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 1189)	“abode, palace, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 799)
<i>maṃzil</i>	AR > FA <i>manzil</i> “inn, house, mansion, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 1326)	“halting place, destination, floor, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 778)
<i>mastī</i>	FA <i>mastī</i> “intoxication, lust, love” (STEINGASS 1892: 1236)	“intoxication, passion, delight, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 798)
<i>mohabbat</i>	AR > FA <i>mahabbat</i> “love, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 1182)	“love” (CATURVEDI 1970: 622, 827)
<i>nazariyā</i>	associated with AR > FA <i>nazar</i> “look, vision, sight, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 1410)	“point of view, viewpoint; angle” (CATURVEDI 1970: 349)
<i>rahmat</i>	AR > FA “divine mercy, compassion, forgiveness, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 571)	“divine mercy; gift from Allāh, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 858)
<i>rāstā</i>	FA <i>rāsta</i> “just, true; market place; level road” (STEINGASS 1892: 563)	“road, street, way, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 863)
<i>rešam</i>	FA <i>rešam/rīšam</i> “silk” (STEINGASS 1892: 603)	“silk” (MCGREGOR 1993: 870)
<i>sīnā</i>	FA <i>sīna</i> “bosom, breast, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 719)	“chest, breast” (MCGREGOR 1993: 1020)
<i>sitārā</i>	FA <i>sitāra</i> “star, horoscope, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 654)	“star, fortune, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 1013)
<i>sūrat</i>	AR > FA <i>sūrat</i> “image, form, face, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 795)	“form, appearance, face, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 1036)
<i>umariyā</i>	AR > FA <i>umr</i> “life, lifetime, age” (STEINGASS 1892: 866)	obviously related to <i>umr</i> “life, lifetime, age” (MCGREGOR 1993: 131)
<i>vādā</i>	AR > FA “promise, vow” (STEINGASS 1892: 1473)	“promise, agreement, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 913)
<i>yād</i>	FA “remembrance, memory, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 1524)	“memory, recollection” (MCGREGOR 1993: 843)
<i>zor</i>	FA <i>zūr/zor</i> “strength, power, violence, etc.” (STEINGASS 1892: 628)	“strength, effort, etc.” (MCGREGOR 1993: 383)

Interestingly, the data do not strongly support the stereotype of “Urdu as a language of love”, as the numbers for this category (53.09% for Indo-Aryan vocabulary and 41.97% for Perso-Arabic) are close to the ratio within the whole database (54.77% and 39.83% respectively).

## Conclusion

The analysed material shows that the lexemes of Persian and Arabic origin constitute a significant part of the nominal vocabulary of Bollywood songs. Their proportion varies significantly from song to song. However, looking at a sample from a given year, this proportion is a bit more balanced, with the average presence of Persian and Arabic nominal lexemes at 38.17%, though in some years within the analysed corpus they might have been well above 50%.

While relatively big differences between the outcome from particular years seem to indicate that more data should be used to obtain precise results, still the studied material seems to indicate that there is no observable tendency to either diminish or expand the use of the Persian and Arabic nominal lexemes over time. The discussed elements remain a vital part of the vocabulary of Bollywood songs with no observable tendency to eradicate them.

On the other hand, it is possible to show some correlation between the subject of a song and the ratio of the Perso-Arabic vocabulary it contains. This has been shown on the basis of religious-themed texts, probably the most suitable for this.

As we have noticed at the very beginning of the present text, the language should be interpreted as an element of culture. What does this situation tell us about modern Indian popular culture? Or at least one of its most important aspects, i.e. Bollywood movies?

To answer this question, let us have a look at the Persian language but from a different angle than before. For decades, the foundations of the discussion of the Western influence on Iranian culture has been the book *Qarbzadegi* by Jalāl Āl-e Ahmad (first published in 1962). The title is self-explanatory. It is composed of two elements *qarb* “west” and *zadegi*, which may be translated as “sickness” or “struckness”, hence the translations of the name as “weststruckedness” or “occidentosis”. Indeed, the book presents the Western influences as a sickness attacking the vernacular Iranian culture. Jalāl Āl-e Ahmad presents the language and linguistic influence among the important elements of this disease (eg. ĀL-E AHMAD 2006–2007: 107, 156).

As Āl-e Ahmad’s ideas became an important component of the ideology of the Islamic Republic of Iran, it is not surprising that we find relevant tendencies in its linguistics policies, too. The latest incarnation of the Farhangestān or the

Academy of Persian Language and Culture (in existence since 1987) posits that only widespread internationalisms of Western origin already well established in the language can be accepted, while all the others should be substituted with Persian equivalents (JAZAYERI 1999). Such puristic tendencies are not only aimed at the new vocabulary items, but also result in numerous revisions of the already existing terminology (JAZAYERI 1999). This is reflected in the legal sphere, as since at least 2006, the use of the forms coined by Farhangestān has been mandatory for all Iranian institutions (MARSZALEK-KOWALEWSKA 2011: 100).

In other words, what we see in the case of Iran is the officially adopted policy of the rejection of Western cultural influences, with language borrowings seen as an important element of these influences.

The attitude towards Persian and Arabic vocabulary in India, and Bollywood songs in particular, is entirely different. While puristic tendencies are not unknown in Hindi (especially the re-Sanskritisation movement), we see no powerful drive to eradicate the lexica of Perso-Arabic origin, and the present work proves this on the basis of Bollywood songs' texts. Moreover, "obscurantism" and "purism" are sometimes presented as negative factors in the development of Hindi vocabulary (MALLIKARJUN 2004). In other words, Bollywood songs remain open to Perso-Arabic culture or at least to one of its aspects, i.e. the language influences, and this Perso-Arabic component remains an important part of Indian culture.

The language of the Bollywood songs certainly deserves more research, broadening both the corpus of the analysed texts, as well as including more problems, e.g. code-switching, syntactical influences, presence of vocabulary borrowed from other languages (especially other Indo-Aryan languages and English).

### Appendix – list of the analysed songs

No.	Id (incl. year)	Movie	Song
1	1940-001-001	<i>Zindagi</i>	Hey Diwana Hoon, Diwana Hoon
2	1940-002-001	<i>Bandhan</i>	Chane Jor Garam Babu Main Laya Mazedar
3	1940-003-001	<i>Achhut</i>	Deen Dukhi Ko Daan Diya To Kya Mila Hari Ram Mila

4	1940-003-002	<i>Achhut</i>	Naahi Bolun Naahi Bolun Lakh Manaye
5	1940-005-001	<i>Nartaki</i>	Madbhari Rut Jawan Hai
6	1940-005-002	<i>Nartaki</i>	Yeh Kaun Aaj Aaya Savere Savere
7	1940-006-001	<i>Punar Milan</i>	Naacho Naacho Pyare Man Ke Mor
8	1945-001-001	<i>Zeenat</i>	Naacho Sitaro Naacho Ab Chand Nikalne Wala Hai
9	1945-002-001	<i>Gaon Ki Gori</i>	O Pardesi Raja
10	1945-003-001	<i>Badi Maa</i>	Mata Tere Charnon Mein Guzar Jaye Umariya
11	1945-005-001	<i>Tadbir</i>	Raani Khol De Apane Duvar Milane Kaa Din Aa Gayaa
12	1945-007-001	<i>Humayan</i>	Naina bhar aaye neer
13	1945-007-002	<i>Humayan</i>	Jo Desh Kal Nahin Tha
14	1950-001-001	<i>Samadhi</i>	Gore Gore O Baanke Chhore
15	1950-002-001	<i>Babul</i>	Dhadke Mera Dil Mujhko Jawani...
16	1950-003-001	<i>Dastaan</i>	Ta Ra Ri Aa Ra Ri Aa Ra Ri...
17	1950-004-001	<i>Jogan</i>	Ghunghat Ke Pat Khol
18	1950-004-002	<i>Jogan</i>	Main To Girdhar Ke Ghar Jaaon
19	1950-005-001	<i>Har Har Mahdev</i>	Man Naa Maane Man Ki Batiyaan
20	1950-006-001	<i>Sangram</i>	Kas Ke Kamar Ho Ja Taiyyar
21	1950-007-001	<i>Beqasoor</i>	Chale Jaiho Bedarda Main
22	1955-001-001	<i>Shree 420</i>	Mera Joota Hai Japani
23	1955-002-001	<i>Azaad</i>	Naa Bole Naa Bole Naa Bole Re

24	1955-003-001	<i>Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baje</i>	Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baaje
25	1955-003-002	<i>Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baje</i>	Kaisi Yeh Mohabbat Ki Saza
26	1955-004-001	<i>Uran Khatola</i>	Mera Salaam Le Ja Dil Ka Payaam Le Ja
27	1955-005-001	<i>Mr &amp; Mrs 55</i>	Ae Ji Dil Par Hua Aisa Jadoo
28	1955-006-001	<i>Insaaniyat</i>	Tumhare Mohabbat Ke Hum Hain Ghulam
29	1955-006-002	<i>Insaaniyat</i>	Main Bandar Hoon Shahar Ka
30	1960-001-002	<i>Mughal E Azam</i>	Mohe Panghat Pe Nandlal
31	1960-002-001	<i>Barsaat Ki Raat</i>	Garjat Barsat Saawan Aayo Re
32	1960-003-001	<i>Kohinoor</i>	Tan Rang Lo Ji Aaj Man Rang Lo
33	1960-004-001	<i>Chaudvin Ka Chand</i>	Yeh Lucknow Ki Sar Zamin
34	1960-005-001	<i>Jis Desh Mein Ganga Behti Hai</i>	Mera Naam Raju Gharana Anaam
35	1960-006-001	<i>Dil Apna Aur Preet Paraya</i>	Sheesha-E-Dil Itna Na Uchhaalo
36	1965-001-001	<i>Waqt</i>	Maine Ek Khwab Sa Dekha Hai
37	1965-002-001	<i>Jab Jab Phool Khile</i>	Pardesiyon Se Naa Ankhia Milaana
38	1965-003-001	<i>Himalay Ki God Mein</i>	Chand Si Mehbooba Ho Meri
39	1965-004-001	<i>Arzoo</i>	Bedardi Baalma Tujhko Mera Man Yaad Karta Hai
40	1965-005-001	<i>Guide</i>	Gaata Rahe Mera Dil
41	1970-001-001	<i>Johny Mera Naam</i>	O Mere Raja
42	1970-002-001	<i>Sachaa Jhutha</i>	Kar Le Pyar Kar Le Aankhen Char Kar Le
43	1970-003-001	<i>Purab Aur Pachhim</i>	Om Jai Jagdish Hare

44	1970-004-001	<i>Kati Patang</i>	Ye Shaam Mastani
45	1970-005-001	<i>Jeevan Mrityu</i>	Jhilmil Sitaron Ka Aangan Hoga - Duet
46	1975-001-001	<i>Sholay</i>	Yeh Dosti Hum Nahin Todenge
47	1975-002-001	<i>Jai Santoshi Maa</i>	Main Toh Aarti Utaaroon Re Santoshi Mata Ki
48	1975-003-001	<i>Sanyasi</i>	Chal Sanyasi Mandir Men
49	1975-004-001	<i>Deewaar</i>	Idhar Ka Maal Udhar
50	1975-005-001	<i>Pratigya</i>	Morni Re Morni Main Jungle Ki Morni
51	1980-001-001	<i>Qurbani</i>	Qurbani Qurbani Qurbani Allah Ko Pyari Hai Qurbani
52	1980-002-001	<i>Aasha</i>	Tune Mujhe Bulaya Shera Waliye (Jai Mata Di)
53	1980-003-001	<i>Ram Balram</i>	Hamka Maafi Dai Do
54	1980-004-001	<i>Dostana</i>	Salamat Rahe Dostana Hamara – Part 1
55	1980-005-001	<i>Shaan</i>	Doston Se Pyar Kiya
56	1985-001-001	<i>Ram Teri Ganga Maili</i>	Tujhe Bulayen Yeh Meri Baahen
57	1985-003-001	<i>Geraftaar</i>	Dhoop Mein Nikla Na Karo
58	1985-004-001	<i>Pyar Jhukta Nahin</i>	Tumse Milkar Naa Jaane Kyun (Female)
59	1985-005-001	<i>Ghulami</i>	Zihal-E-Maskeen
60	1990-001-001	<i>Dil</i>	O Priya Priya
61	1990-002-001	<i>Ghayal</i>	Maahiya Teri Kasam
62	1990-003-001	<i>Aaj Ka Arjun</i>	Gori Hai Kalaiyan Tu La De Mujhe Hari Hari Choodiyan
63	1990-004-001	<i>Agneepath</i>	I Am Krishnan Iyer M.A.
64	1990-005-001	<i>Kishen Kanhaiya</i>	Krishna Krishna Haye Krishna

65	1995-001-001	<i>Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge</i>	Tujhe Dekha To Ye Jaana Sanam
66	1995-002-001	<i>Karan Arjun</i>	Jaati Hoon Main Jaldi Hai Kya
67	1995-003-001	<i>Coolie No 1</i>	Aa Jaana Aa Jaana
68	1995-004-001	<i>Raja</i>	Nazrein Mili Dil Dhadka
69	1995-005-001	<i>Rangeela</i>	Rangeela Re
70	2000-001-001	<i>Kaho Naa Pyaar Hai</i>	Kaho Naa Pyar Hai
71	2000-002-001	<i>Mohabbatein</i>	Humko Humise Chura Lo
72	2000-003-001	<i>Mission Kashmir</i>	Bumbro
73	2000-004-001	<i>Josh</i>	Sailaru Sailare
74	2005-001-001	<i>No Entry</i>	Ishq Di Gali Wich No Entry
75	2005-002-001	<i>Bunty Aur Babli</i>	Dhadak Dhadak
76	2005-003-002	<i>The Rising: Ballad Of Mangal Pandey</i>	Main Vari Vari
77	2005-004-001	<i>Maine Pyaar Kyun Kiya</i>	Just Chill
78	2005-005-001	<i>Garam Masala</i>	Ada Aay Haay Ada
79	2010-001-001	<i>Dabangg</i>	Tere Mast Mast Do Nain (Male)
80	2010-003-001	<i>Raajneeti</i>	Bheegi Si Bhaagi Si
81	2010-004-001	<i>Housefull</i>	Oh Girl You're Mine
82	2010-005-001	<i>My Name is Khan</i>	Sajdaa
83	2015-001-001	<i>Talvar</i>	Insaaf Insaaf Insaaf Hoga
84	2015-002-001	<i>Bajrangi Bhaijaan</i>	Selfie Le Le Re
85	2015-003-001	<i>Baby (I)</i>	Beparwah
86	2016-005-001	<i>Bajirao Mastani</i>	Deewani Mastani
87	2020-001-001	<i>Baaghi 3</i>	Dus Bahane 2.0

88	2020-002-001	<i>Is Love Enough, Sir?</i>	Jeene Mein Kya Jaata Hai
89	2020-002-002	<i>Is Love Enough, Sir?</i>	Zindagi Ka Feel
90	2020-004-001	<i>Sayonee</i>	Sayonee
91	2020-005-001	<i>Shakeela</i>	Woh Lamha
92	2020-005-002	<i>Shakeela</i>	Taaza

## Abbreviations

AR	Arabic
DR	Dravidian
EN	English
FA	Persian (Fārsi)
IN	Indian
obl. pl.	Oblique case plural
rect. sg.	Direct case singular
SH	Solar Hijri

## References

- ĀL-E AHMAD, Jalāl 2006–2007 (1385 SH). *Gharbzadegi*. Qom: Nashr-e Xorram.
- BEHL, Aseem and Monojit CHOUDHURY 2011. “A Corpus Linguistic Study of Bollywood Song Lyrics in the Framework of Complex Network Theory”. [In:] *Proceedings of ICON-2011: 9th International Conference on Natural Language Processing*. Macmillan Publishers, India. <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=994ac9ad1054b8691f7fcb939f18723d0ba99a71> (accessed 23 February 2024).
- BOX OFFICE INDIA. <https://boxofficeindia.com> (accessed between 12 March 2022 and 20 February 2023) including its older content preserved at <http://web.archive.org> (accessed between 12 March 2022 and 12 February 2023).
- CATURVEDI, Mahendra 1970. *A practical Hindi-English dictionary*. Delhi: National Publishing House.
- CHANDRA, Subhash, Bhupendra KUMAR, Vivek KUMAR and SAKSHI 2016. “Acute Sporadic English in Bollywood Film Songs’ Lyrics: A Textual Evidence based Analysis of Code-Mixing in Hindi”. *Language in India* 16(11): 25–34. <http://www.languageinindia.com/nov2016/bollywoodhinglishsongs1.pdf> (accessed 10 February 2023).

- CRYSTAL, David 2008. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Sixth edition. Malden, Oxford, Victoria: Blackwell Publishing.
- GANTI, Tejaswini 2012. *Producing Bollywood: Inside the Contemporary Hindi Film Industry*. Durham: Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780822395225>
- HABIB, Muhammad A., Muhammad SAEED, Arshad A. KHAN and Mohsin A. HANJRA 2020. "An Analysis of English-Urdu Code-Switching in Bollywood Songs". *Jahan-e-Tahqeeq* 3(2): 55–66. <https://jahan-e-tahqeeq.com/index.php/jahan-e-tahqeeq/article/download/287/210> (accessed 10 February 2023).
- HINDI GEET MALA. <https://www.hindigeetmala.net> (accessed between 12 March 2022 and 20 February 2023).
- IMDb. <https://www.imdb.com> (accessed 3 February 2022).
- JAZAYERI, Mohammed Ali 1999. "Farhangestān". [In:] Yarshater, Ehsan et al., eds, *Encyclopædia Iranica*. <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/india-xiv-persian-literature-in-india> (accessed 30 March 2021).
- KHAN, Subuhi and Laramie D. TAYLOR 2018. "Gender Policing in Mainstream Hindi Cinema: A Decade of Central Female Characters in Top-Grossing Bollywood Movies". *International Journal of Communication* 12(2018): 3641–3662. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/8701/2448> (accessed 27 December 2023).
- KRAMSCH, Claire 2014. "Language and Culture". *AILA Review* 27(1): 30–55. <https://doi.org/10.1075/aila.27.02kra>
- KRETZSCHMAR, William A., Jr. 2010. *The Linguistics of Speech*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MALLIKARJUN, B. 2004. "Fifty Years of Language Planning for Modern Hindi The Official Language of India". *Language in India* 4(11). <http://www.languageinindia.com/nov2004/mallikarjunmalaysiapaper1.html> (accessed 31 March 2021).
- MARSZALEK-KOWALEWSKA, Katarzyna 2011. "Iranian Language Policy: A Case of Linguistic Purism". *Investigationes Linguisticae* 22: 89–103. <https://doi.org/10.14746/il.2010.22.5>
- MCGREGOR, Ronald S. 1993. *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. Oxford (England), New York: Oxford University Press.
- MYSWAR. [myswar.co](http://myswar.co) (accessed between 12 March 2022 and 20 August 2023).
- PUSTKA, Elissa 2022. "Loanword phonology in Romance". [In:] Gabriel, Christoph, Randall Gess and Trudel Meisenburg, eds, *Manual of Romance Phonetics and Phonology*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 503–530. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110550283-017>

- RAI, Amit S. 2009. *Untimely Bollywood. Globalization and India's New Media Assemblage*. Durham: Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv125jmcz>
- SARRAZIN, Natalie 2008. "Celluloid love songs: musical *modus operandi* and the dramatic aesthetics of romantic Hindi film". *Popular Music* 27(3): 393–411. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143008102197>
- SINHA, Anubhav and Laagoo MRUNMAYEE 2020. *Thappad*. [https://images.assettype.com/filmcompanion/2022-10/ac804418-2120-433b-8d94-bcc6165f716d/Thappad\\_Shootinhg\\_Draft\\_2.pdf](https://images.assettype.com/filmcompanion/2022-10/ac804418-2120-433b-8d94-bcc6165f716d/Thappad_Shootinhg_Draft_2.pdf) (accessed 30 April 2023).
- SKEAT, Walter W. 1993. *The Concise Dictionary of English Etymology*. Ware (Hertfordshire): Wordsworth Editions.
- STEINGASS, Francis J. 1892. *A Comprehensive Persian-English dictionary, including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian literature*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- TURNER, Ralph L. 1966. *A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*. London: Oxford University Press.
- VERMA, Garima and Hemraj VERMA 2019. "Predicting Bollywood Movies Success Using Machine Learning Technique". [In:] Khatri, Sunil Kumar, Ajay Rana and P. K. Kapur, eds, *2019 Amity International Conference on Artificial Intelligence (AICAI)*. Dubai: IEEE, pp. 102–105. <https://doi.org/10.1109/AICAI.2019.8701239>
- WHORF, Benjamin L. 1956. *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. Ed. by Carroll, John B. Massachusetts: MIT Press.



## Study of a Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscript of the *Saptajinastotra*

Enbo HU

**Abstract:** This paper focuses on a newly identified Sanskrit manuscript of the *Saptajinastotra* (*Praise of the Seven Buddhas*) that was found at the Drepung Monastery in Tibet. By providing a critical edition and translation, as well as a comparison of the parallel Tibetan and Chinese texts, it presents the Sanskrit version of T 1682 *Qi fo zan bai jia ta* 七佛讚唄伽他 for the first time and corrects several mistakes, misspellings and misreadings of the manuscript, Tibetan and Chinese works.

**Keywords:** Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet, *Praise of the Seven Buddhas*, *Saptajinastotra*, *De bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi bstod pa*, T 1682

Enbo HU, Internationales Doktorantenkolleg Philologie and Institut für Indologie und Tibetologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany; enbo.hu@lmu.de;

 0009-0002-1051-5369



This article is distributed under a Creative Commons Non-Commercial No-Derivatives 4.0 licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>).

## 1. Introduction

A Sanskrit text of the *Saptajinastotra* (*Praise of the Seven Buddhas*, henceforth Saj) was identified in 2019 in a manuscript preserved at the Drepung Monastery (*Bras spungs dgon pa*, 哲蚌寺) in Tibet. Kazunobu MATSUDA 2019 listed a series of Buddhist *stotras* contained in this Sanskrit manuscript, including Saj, and stated that it consisted of 63 folios in palm-leaf form, with each folio measuring 31.6 cm x 5 cm. According to Matsuda, the text of Saj runs from folio 6v2 to 7r4, with five lines in each folio, and is written in the Nepalese *Brāhmī* script, which is thought to date from the 12th to the 13th centuries.<sup>1</sup>

The Sanskrit text of the *stotra* in this manuscript has nine stanzas, but it does not provide information about the author. The poet uses different metres: *rucirā* (stanzas 1 and 5), *anuṣṭubh* (3), *upajāti* (2, 4, 7–9) and *triṣṭubh/jagatī* (6).

The poet praises each of the seven Buddhas individually in the first seven stanzas, and then praises the future Buddha in the eighth stanza and provides a dedication in the ninth stanza. The seven Buddhas in Saj refer specifically to the seven Buddhas in the past, that is, Vipāśyin (rNam par gzigs; Pi po shi 毘婆尸), Śikhin (gTsug tor can; Shi qi 式棄), Viśvabhū (Thams cad skyob pa; Pi she fu 毘舍浮), Krakucchanda (Log pa dad sel / 'Khor ba 'jig; Ju liu sun 俱留孫), Kanakamuni (gSer thub; Jia nuo jia mou ni 迦諾迦牟尼), Kāśyapa ('Od srung; Jia she bo 迦葉波) and Śākyamuni (Śākya thub pa; Shi jia mou ni 釋迦牟尼). Maitreya (Byams pa; Ci shi 慈氏), the future Buddha, is also praised by the poet (see Table 1).

**Table 1.** Seven past Buddhas and the future Buddha

	Se- quence	Saj (Skt.)	Saj (Tib.) = D 1165	Saj (Chin.) = T 1682	Meaning of the names <sup>2</sup>
the seven past Buddhas (Saptajina / Saptatathāgata)	1	Vipāśyin	rNam par gzigs	毘婆尸	observing carefully
	2	Śikhin	gTsug tor mnga' ba	式棄	having a tuft of hair
	3	Viśvabhū	Thams cad skyob pa	毘舍浮	all becoming (Skt.); all protecting (Tib.)
	4	Krakuc- chanda <sup>3</sup>	Log dad sel <sup>4</sup>	俱留孫	taking wrong beliefs away (Tib.)

<sup>1</sup> The original Sanskrit manuscripts have been published “not publicly” in the facsimile edition of the Sanskrit manuscripts kept in Tibet: *Xizang zizhiqu zhencang beiyijing yingyin daquan* 西藏自治区珍藏貝葉經影印大全 (61 vols), Xizang zizhiqu beiyijing baohu gongzuo lingdao xiaozu bianzhi 西藏自治区貝葉經保護工作領導小組, eds. 2011. For details about this book, see MATSUDA 2019 and LIU and SCHNEIDER 2022: 3–4.

<sup>2</sup> Based on BOTH 1997: 57–73.

<sup>3</sup> For the meaning and variations of Krakucchanda, see BOTH 1997: 66, fn.3.

<sup>4</sup> Also 'Khor ba jig, “destroyer of the *samsāra*”.

	Se- quence	Saj (Skt.)	Saj (Tib.) = D 1165	Saj (Chin.) = T 1682	Meaning of the names <sup>2</sup>
the seven past Buddhas (Saptajīna / Saptatathāgata)	5	Kanaka- muni	gSer thub	迦諾迦牟 尼	the golden sage
	6	Kāśyapa	'Od srung	迦葉波	guarding the light
	7	Śākya- muni	Śākya thub pa	釋迦牟尼	the sage of Śākyas
the future Buddha	8	Maitreya	Byams pa	慈氏	the benevolent one

## 2. Previous studies

The Sanskrit text was sought for over one hundred years. Alexander VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN 1913: 67–84 (henceforth SH) reconstructed the Sanskrit version based on the canonical Chinese parallel text *Qi fo zan bai jia ta* 七佛讚俱伽他, which was translated by Dharmadeva 法天 (?–1001), and included the Tibetan version, D 1165, entitled *De bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi bstod pa*. This title differs from the title written on the manuscript, which is *rGyal ba<sup>5</sup> bdun la bstod pa* (*Praise of the Seven Victors*).

Ryōzaburō SAKAKI 1914 (henceforth RS) restored another version based on the same Chinese text *Qi fo zan bai jia ta* 七佛讚俱伽他<sup>6</sup> and translated his version into Japanese, but it appears that he was not aware of von Staël-Holstein's work. He also compared his version to the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Saptabuddhastotra* kept in Kyoto University and translated the *Saptabuddhastotra* into Japanese.

PANDEY 1994 included von Staël-Holstein's restored version with other *stotras* as *Bauddhastotrasaṃgraha*; thus, the version that is currently in the *108 Buddhist stotras* in GRETEL<sup>7</sup> is ultimately von Staël-Holstein's version.

BOTH 1997: 57–73 compared the *Saptabuddhastotra* and the *Saptatathāgatastotra*. He believed that the *Saptabuddhastotra* was composed in Nepal after the year 1000, and that the *Saptatathāgatastotra* was older. He also translated the Tibetan version P 2054 (= D 1165) and the Sanskrit version that was restored by VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN (1913: 67–84) into English.

<sup>5</sup> Tib. *rgyal ba* ~ Skt. *jina* could also mean “a Buddha”.

<sup>6</sup> It appears that SAKAKI 1914 confused Dharmabhadra 法賢 with Dharmadeva 法天 as the translator of *Qi fo zan bai jia ta* 七佛讚俱伽他, which should be corrected to Dharmadeva.

<sup>7</sup> [http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel/1\\_sanskr/4\\_rellit/buddh/bst-108u.htm](http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel/1_sanskr/4_rellit/buddh/bst-108u.htm) (accessed 2 October 2022).

### 3. Tibetan version<sup>8</sup>

There is one Tibetan version, which is entitled *De bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi bstod pa* according to the colophon in D 1165. It was translated by Padmākaravarman and Rin chen bzang po (958–1055).<sup>9</sup> The colophon runs as follows:

de bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi bstod pa rdzogs so || || rgya gar gyi mkhan po *padma ka ra warma* dang | *zhu chen gyi lo tsā ba* dge slong rin chen bzang pos bsgyur cing *zhus te* gtan la phab *pa* || (Ka 238a6)

padma ka ra warma] shraddha ka ra CGNP; zhu chen gyi lo tsā ba] om. CGNP; zhus te] om. CGNP; pa] pa'o C.

Thus ends the *Saptatathāgatastotra*. The Indian mKhan po Padmākara-varman and the great Lo tsā ba Bhikṣu Rin chen bzang po translated, edited and asserted it.

The Sanskrit title at the beginning of the Tibetan text, *sapta ta thā ga ta sto traḥ*, i.e., *Saptatathāgatastotra*, corresponds to the Tibetan title *De bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi bstod pa*:

rgya gar skad du | *sapta ta thā ga ta sto traḥ* | bod skad du | de bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi bstod pa | 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa la phyag 'tshal lo || (ka, 237b5)

traḥ] traṃ CGNP.

The Tibetan title might indicate the existence of a version of *\*Saptatathāgatastotra* that is different from *Saptajinastotra*, although Skt. *jina* could also refer to the Buddha; however, as Skt. *stotra* and Skt. *stava* share the same meaning, *\*Saptatathāgatastotra* might be the same as *Saptajinastotra*. In addition, we can see that the third stanza of Saj only has eight syllables in each *pāda*, while the others have 11 or 13 syllables; thus, the corresponding stanza in D 1165 *ye shes dang ni spyod pa'i ngang tshul rnam las kyang* might indicate two possibilities:

- a) The Tibetan version contains not only the translation of the Sanskrit words but also a further explanation of the Sanskrit words; or
- b) the Tibetan version was based on a different Sanskrit version.

<sup>8</sup> A full comparison of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts is provided in the appendix.

<sup>9</sup> The information about the translators differs in other canonical versions: Śraddhākara[varman] and Rin chen bzang po in CGNP.

#### 4. Chinese version<sup>10</sup>

There is one phonetic transcription of the *Praise of the Seven Buddhas*, i.e., Chin. *Qi fo zan bai jia ta* 七佛讚俱伽他 (\**Saptabuddhastotragāthā*)<sup>11</sup> by Dharmadeva, who lived in the Song Dynasty. This text was included in the Chinese *Tripitaka* as T 1682, and although it is a transcription, not a translation, the ninth stanza had been both transcribed and translated. T 1682 also contains nine stanzas, which include the titles of each praise (*zan* 讚) of the seven Buddhas, i.e., *pi po shi fo zan* 毘婆尸佛讚, *shi qi fo zan* 式棄佛讚, *pi she fu fo zan* 毘舍浮佛讚, *ju liu sun fo zan* 俱留孫佛讚, *jia nuo jia mou ni fo zan* 迦諾迦牟尼佛讚, *jia she bo fo zan* 迦葉波佛讚, *shi jia mou ni fo zan* 釋迦牟尼佛讚 in the past and Maitreya (*Ci shi* 慈氏) in the future 當來化主慈氏菩薩讚. The title of the last stanza *hui xiang jie zan* 迴向結讚 provides the concluding dedication.

Moreover, Chin. *bo lu mo* 播囉麼 (Skt. \**parama*) in stanza 7d should be 播 deleted: 薩但(二合)薩味(二合)曩莫{播囉麼}迦(引)嚕拏(尼整反)迦(引)野設(引)悉底哩(三合引)(四句), since it is neither attested in the Sanskrit text *tasmai namaḥ kāruṇikāya sāstre* (Saj 7d) nor in the Tibetan version and would ruin the metre. Therefore, the reconstructions of this stanza in SH and RS are problematic.

Furthermore, each stanza in a Sanskrit verse contains four *pādas* and they have been marked as *yi ju* 一句 (the first *pāda*), *er ju* 二句 (the second *pāda*), *san ju* 三句 (the third *pāda*) and *si ju* 四句 (the fourth *pāda*). The only exception is the second stanza, which ends with *er* 二 (two) in the first *pāda* and *er he* 二合 (indicates the two combined *akṣaras*<sup>12</sup>) in the second *pāda*. These two mistakes are corrected as *yi ju* 一句 (the first *pāda*) and *er ju* 二句 (the second *pāda*), respectively, according to the newly identified Sanskrit manuscript.<sup>13</sup>

Finally, apart from the title Chin. *Qi fo zan bai jia ta* 七佛讚俱伽他 of T 1682 suggesting a Sanskrit text \**Saptabuddhastotragāthā*, the colophon, which is strangely positioned before the last stanza, 颯鉢哆(二合)嚩曩薩但(二合)嚩(無博切)三(去)麼(引)鉢哆(下字入聲呼二合) *sah poh ch'é 'rh nang sah tah foh san mo poh ch'é*,<sup>14</sup> could be reconstructed as Skt. \**saptajinastavaḥ samāptah*, as opposed to *saptajinastotraṃ samāptam iti* in the Sanskrit manuscript.

<sup>10</sup> A full comparison of the Sanskrit and Chinese texts is provided in the appendix.

<sup>11</sup> \**Saptabuddhastotragāthā* is reconstructed from Chin. *Qi fo zan bai jia ta* 七佛讚俱伽他, in which Chin. *jia ta* 伽他 is reconstructed as Skt. *gāthā*. There is one Sanskrit text entitled *Saptabuddhastotra* (see PANDEY 1994: 249–250 and the *108 Buddhist stotras* in GRETEL), but the content thereof is not identical to T 1682.

<sup>12</sup> Such as *pta*, *sma*, and so forth.

<sup>13</sup> SAKAKI 1914 cited this stanza with the correct characters.

<sup>14</sup> Transcription follows VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN 1913: 81.

## 5. Transliteration<sup>15</sup>

- 6v2:** jagadgurum suranara ○ lokapūjitaṃ kṛpāpaṭum<sup>16</sup> parahitamokṣadeśakaṃ | vipaśyinaṃ tribhavamahoghapāragam na
- 6v3:** māmi taṃ sugatagatiṃ tathāgataṃ || anantapāre bhavasāgare smi: ○ n nimajjamānaṃ prasamīkṣya lokaṃ | prakāśito yena hitāya dharmo namo stu tasmai śikhine
- 6v4:** jināya || vande viśvabhuvam buddham candrārkkādhikatejasam | sāgaraugham i: ○ vāgādham jñānena vinayena ca || yasyenduraśmipratimair yaśobhir alaṅkṛtābhāti vasundhareyam |
- 6v5:** adumbaram puṣpamivādbhutaṃ taṃ vandekrakucchandamahāmunīndram, visāriṇā vigatamaleṇa cetasā virāgiṇā satatahitānukāriṇā | hataṃ tam{{au}} o vigatamaleṇa yena taṃ surā
- 7r1:** rccitaṃ kanakamuniṃ namāmy ahaṃ prataptacāmīkaragauraraśmi sahasrasūryādhikadīptitejasam, | lokottamaṃ sarvvajinābhivandyam vandāmy ahaṃ kāśyapanāmadheyam vākyāṃśujālai
- 7r2:** ḥ pratibodhya lokaṃ sūryāṃśujālair iva padmaṣaṇḍam, | yo nirvṛtaḥ śā ○ kyamuniḥ pradīpas tasmai namaḥ kāruṇikāya śāstre maitreyaṇā mā tuṣitālayasth{{au}}o ya
- 7r3:** syaikajanmāntarītā hi bodhiḥ | utpatsyate yaḥ sugataḥ pṛthivyām, ○ sarvātmanāhaṃ praṇato smi tasmai stutvā mayā saptajinān atītān anāgataṃ cāṣṭamabo
- 7r4:** dhisatvam | yat puṇyam āsāditam aprameyan nirāmayās tena bhavantu satvāḥ ○ saptajinastotraṃ samāptam iti ||

<sup>15</sup> Some of the transliteration of this manuscript is based on the paleographical *akṣara* table by Prof. Zhen LIU and on Prof. Johannes SCHNEIDER's "Liu-Schneider-Hymns" (2021, unpublished, later published in LIU and SCHNEIDER 2022: 7–11). The later introduces the series of the Buddhist hymns accompanied by exhaustive paleographical information of the Old Bengali *Brāhmī* script. However, the script in this manuscript, the Nepalese *Brāhmī* script, differs from the Old Bengali *Brāhmī* script.

<sup>16</sup> Here the *akṣara* in the manuscript is quite strange, it would be a small round circle or point indicating an *anusvāra*, but here it looks like a right-falling stroke: . It is preferable to take it as an *anusvāra* according to the corresponding Tib. *gsal* ~ Skt. *paṭu* (NEGI 1993–2005: 7342) and Chin. 用 *yong* (indicates also an *anusvāra*).

## 6. The critical edition, translation, and a comparison of the parallel Tibetan and Chinese texts

### Verse 1. Praise of Vipaśyin

jagadguruṃ suranaralokapūjitaṃ  
krpāpaṭuṃ parahitamokṣadeśakam |  
vipaśyinaṃ tribhavamahaughapāragam  
namāmi taṃ sugatagatiṃ tathāgatam || 1 ||

- °guruṃ] °gurur RS; suranaralokapūjitaṃ] yo 'maranaralokapūjitaḥ RS.
- °paṭuṃ] °pado RS; parahitamokṣadeśakam] yaḥ parahitamokṣadeśakaḥ RS.
- vipaśyinaṃ] vipaśyinas RS; tribhavamahaughapāragam] trāibhavamahaughapāragaḥ RS; °aughapāragam] °oghapāragam Ms.
- sugatagatiṃ] sāugatagataṃ RS.

D 1165:

'gro ba'i (N262a4) bla ma lha mi 'jig rten phyir mchod (C277a7) cing ||  
(D237b6) (G 343a4) thugs rjes gsal zhing gzhan la phan pa'i thar pa ston ||  
srid gsum (P278a6) chu chen mthar phyin bde 'gror son pa po ||  
de bzhin gshegs pa rnam par gzigs la phyag 'tshal lo || 1 ||

- gsal] bsal GP; la] las CGPN.
- 'gror son] la 'gro bar ston CGNP.

T 1682:

毘婆尸佛讚

惹(仁揆反)譏捺虞(二合)龍勇(二合反)秭囉曩囉路(引)迦布(引)嚩鐙(一句)  
訖哩(二合)播(引)鉢吒用(二合反)跛囉呬但謨(引)乞叉(二合)彌(泥曳反)捨亘(二  
句)  
尾鉢始也(二合)能(上)底哩(二合)婆(去)嚩(武鉢反)摩護伽播(引)囉口\*儼(三句)  
曩麼(引)弭鐙蘇(上)譏哆(去)譏底孕(二合反)但他(去引)譏但蔭(二合反引)(四  
句) || 1 ||

I pay homage to him, the teacher of sentient beings, revered by the world of gods and men, skilled in benevolence, who indicates liberation for the benefit of others, to Vipaśyin, who has reached the opposite shore of the great torrent of the three states of existence, the Tathāgata, whose path is well gone.<sup>17</sup>

### Verse 2. Praise of Śikhin

anantapāre bhavasāgare 'smin  
nimajjamānaṃ prasamīkṣya lokam |

<sup>17</sup> Skt. *sugatagati* here must be understood as a *bahuvrīhi*, but it also hints at one of the ten epithets of the Buddha.

prakāśito yena hitāya dharmo  
namo 'stu tasmai śikhine jināya || 2 ||

- b. nimajja°] nimaja° SH.  
d. dharmo] dharmāḥ RS.

D 1165:

srid pa'i rgya mtsho mtha' (N261a5) dang pha (C277b1) rol med pa (G343a5)  
'di ||  
'jig rten nub cing 'dug pa rab tu (P278a7) gzigs (D237b7) nas kyang ||  
phan gdags phyir ni *chos rnams ston pa* gang yin pa ||  
rgyal ba gtsug tor mnga' ba de la phyag 'tshal lo || 2 ||

- c. chos rnams] Skt. sg. *dharmo*; ston pa] rab tu ston pa CGNP.

T 1682:

式棄佛讚

阿(去)難(上)哆播(引)嚟婆(去)罽(無可反)娑(去引)譏嚟悉弭(二合){二}<一>  
句)  
韞(重呼)麼惹拽(二合反)麼(引)能(去)鉢囉(二合)捨銘(引)乞史也(三合)路(引)亘(二{合}<句>)  
鉢囉(二合)迦(去引)始姤(引)曳曩醯哆(去)野達(轉舌呼)謨(去引)(三句)  
曩謨(引)翠堵(二合)怛薩味(二合)式企(引)寧囉曩(引)野(四句) || 2 ||

Hail to him, the Jina Śikhin,  
who, after witnessing the whole world engulfed,  
in this endless ocean of existence,  
illumined the dharma for its sake.

### Verse 3. Praise of Viśvabhū

vande viśvabhuvam buddham  
candrārkhādihikatejasam |  
sāgaraugham ivāgādham  
jñānena vinayena ca || 3 ||

D 1165:

nyi zla dag las 'das pa'i gzi (C277b2) brjid mnga' ba des ||  
(G343a6) (N261a6) (P278a8) ye shes dang ni spyod pa'i ngang tshul rnams las  
kyang ||  
rgya mtsho'i 'jing ltar gting dpag nus par (D238a1) mi 'gyur ba'i ||  
sangs rgyas thams cad *skyob* pa de la phyag 'tshal lo || 3 ||

- c. 'jing] 'jings P.  
d. skyob] bskyob CGNP.

T 1682:

毘舍浮佛讚

鏗(無滿反)禰(泥曳反)尾濕嚙(二合)部吻(無肯反)沒鄧(一句)  
 讚捺囉(二合引)迦(去)地揭帝惹(仁左反)僧(去)(二句)  
 姿(引)譏噓伽弭嚙(引)譏(引)鄧(三句)  
 倪野(二合反)禰(泥曳反)曩尾曩曳曩瑳(四句) || 3 ||

Whose grandeur surpasses the moon and the sun,  
 and who is as deep as the waters of the ocean  
 in his sagaciousness and discipline,  
 I pay homage to Viśvabhū Buddha.

## Verse 4. Praise of Krakucchanda

yasyenduraśmipratimair yaśobhir  
 alaṃkṛtābhāti vasundhareyam |  
 udumbaraṃ puṣpam ivādbhutaṃ taṃ  
 vande krakucchandamahāmunīndram || 4 ||

c. udumbaraṃ] adumbaraṃ Ms., audumbaraṃ SH, audumbaraṃ RS.

D 1165:

gang gi grags pa zla ba'i 'od (P278b1) zer 'dra ba yis ||  
 (C277b3) sa *stengs* mtha' (G343b1) dag rab tu (N261a7) brgyan par snang ba  
 dang || u *dumwā ra* 'i me tog bzhin du rmad byung ba ||  
 thub dbang chen po log dad (D238a2) sel la phyag 'tshal lo || 4 ||

b. *stengs*] *steng* CGNP; u *dumwā ra* 'i] u *dumwā ra* 'i CGN, u du ma wa P.

T 1682:

俱留孫佛讚

野薩拽(二合反)弩(鼻音重呼)囉始銘(二合短呼)鉢囉(二合)底(丁以反)昧哩  
 野(二合)戌(引)鼻(一句)  
 囉<sup>18</sup>嚙(去引)訖哩(二合)哆(引)婆(去引)底(丁以反)嚙(武鉢反)遜馱哩琰(二  
 句)  
 噢努沫嚙(二合)噴補澁播(二合)弭嚙(引)那部(二合)鐙鐙(三句)  
 鏗(無滿反)禰(泥曳反)訖囉(二合)矩擦捺摩賀(引)母顛(寧頂反引)捺嚙(二合  
 引)(四句) || 4 ||

I pay homage to Krakucchanda the Indra among the great sages,  
 with whose fame, like the rays of the moon,  
 this earth appears to be decorated,  
 to him who is marvelous as the *Udumbara* flower.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Chin. *luo* 囉 is transcribed considering -r of Skt. *yaśobhir* in *pāda* a.

<sup>19</sup> This is also endorsed by Tib. *u dumwā ra* in D 1165 and 噢努沫嚙(二合)噴 *yü nu moh*

## Verse 5. Praise of Kanakamuni

visāriṇā vigatamalena cetasā  
virāgiṇā satatahitānukāriṇā |  
hataṃ tamo vigatamalena<sup>20</sup> yena taṃ  
surārcitaṃ kanakamuniṃ namāmy ahaṃ || 5 ||

c. tamo] tamau Ms.

D 1165:

dri ma med cing rtag tu (P278b2) phan par mdzad pa dang ||  
chags pa med pa gang gi dri ma med (G343b2) pa'i (C277b4) thugs ||  
rnam par 'phro bas (N261b1) mun pa'i thibs po rab bcom zhing ||  
lha yis mchod pa'i gser thub de la phyag 'tshal lo || 5 ||

b. gi] gis CGNP.

T 1682:

迦諾迦牟尼佛讚

尾娑(去)哩拏(引)尾譏怛沫嚟曩啣怛娑(去)(一句)  
尾囉(引)口\*擬(覓以反)拏(引)薩怛怛醯哆(去引)弩(鼻音)迦(去引)哩拏(重  
呼)(二句)  
喝怛怛謨(引)尾譏多{沫}<沫><sup>21</sup>嚟曩曳曩鐙(三句)  
蘇(上)囉(引)轉舌呼)啣鐙揭曩揭母鞞曩麼(引)麼野(二合引)憾(四句) || 5 ||

I venerate Kanakamuni, esteemed by the gods,  
that faultless one who, going in all directions with his faultless mind,  
free of passion and constantly doing good,  
and annihilated the darkness.

## Verse 6. Praise of Kāśyapa

prataptacāmīkaragauraraśmiṃ  
sahasrasūryādhikādīptitejasam |  
lokottamaṃ sarvajanābhivandyaṃ  
vandāmy ahaṃ kāśyapanāmadheyam || 6 ||

a. °raśmiṃ] °raśmi Ms.; °raśmigauram] °gauraraśmiṃ SH, raśmigāuram  
RS.

*foh lan* in T 1682, reconstructed as *audumbaraṃ*; *udumbara* is “*Ficus glomerata*, ein hochwachsender Baum. Die reifen Früchte sind orangenfarbig, halten viel milchigen Saft und werden genossen” (PW: I.920).

<sup>20</sup> *vigatamalena* shows up both in *pāda* a and c, which seems to be a *doṣa* (poetic error).

<sup>21</sup> Chin. *mo li nang* 沫嚟曩 ~ Skt. *malena*, *mei/hui* 沫 does not work here.

- b. °dīptitejasam] °dīptatejasam SH, RS.  
 c. sarvajana°] sarvvajinā Ms., sarvajana° SH, RS; °bhivandyam] °bhipūjyam  
 RS.  
 d. °dheyakam *ex conj.*] °dheyam Ms.

D 1165:

(P278b3) btso ma'i gser gyi phung po'i kha dog 'dra (D238a3) ba yi ||  
 gzi brjid 'bar *ba* nyi ma stong bas lhag (G343b3) pa mnga' ||  
 sbye bo kun gyis (C277b5) phyag byas 'jig rten mchog gyur *pa* ||  
 (N261b2) 'od srungs mtshan gsol gang yin (P278b4) de la phyag 'tshal lo || 6 ||

- b. ba] ba'i CGNP.  
 c. pa] pa'i CGNP.

T 1682:

迦葉波佛讚

鉢囉(二合)怛鉢怛(二合)左(引)弭迦囉囉濕銘(二合)偶(引)噯(去)(一  
 句)  
 娑賀娑囉(二合)素哩野(二合引)地迦(去聲呼)禰(泥曳反引)鉢哆(二合)  
 帝惹(仁左反)僧(去)(二句)  
 路句(引)怛懜薩(轉舌)嚩(無可反)惹(仁左反)曩(引)鼻吻(無肯反)寧孕  
 (二合反)(三句)  
 吻那(去引)沫野(二合反)憾迦(引)捨鉢曩(引)麼地啣(四句) || 6 ||

I worship the one named Kāśyapa,  
 the one who has the pure light of the glowing shining gold,  
 the one who has the splendor and brilliance surpassing one thousand suns,  
 the best in the world, the one who is praiseworthy for all sentient beings.

### Verse 7. Praise of Śākyamuni

vākyāṃśujālaiḥ pratibodhya lokam  
 sūryāṃśujālair iva padmaṣaṇḍam |  
 yo nirvṛtaḥ śākyamuniḥ pradīpas  
 tasmai namaḥ kāruṇikāya śāstre || 7 ||

- a. vākyāṃśujālaiḥ] vākyārcijvalāiḥ RS.  
 b. sūryāṃśujālair] sūryārcijvalair RS.  
 c. śākyamuniḥ pradīpas] śākyamunipradīpas SH, RS.  
 d. kāruṇikāya] parama° *add.* SH, RS.

D 1165:

nyi ma'i 'od zer mang pos padma'i tshal *phye* ltar ||  
 gsung gi 'od zer mang pos 'jig rten sad (G343b4) par mdzad ||

(D238a4) ston pa shākya thub pa thugs rje sgron (C277b6) ma can ||  
mya ngan 'das (P278b5) pa gang yin de la phyag (N261b3) 'tshal lo || 7 ||

- a. phyel 'byed CGNP.
- c. rje] rje'i CGNP.
- d. pa] ston D.

T 1682:

釋迦牟尼佛讚

嚩(無个反)拑野(二合反)秫惹嚩鉢囉(二合)底(丁以反)冒(重呼)鞞路(引)亘(一句)

素哩琰(二合引)秫惹嚩哩嚩(武鉢反)鉢那麼(二合)訕(去)赦(二合)(二句)  
愈鞞沒哩(二合)哆(入)設拑也(二合反)母鞞鉢囉(二合)禰(泥曳反)鉢薩(三句)

怛(二合)薩昧(二合)曩莫{播囉麼}迦(引)嚩拑(尼整反)迦(引)野設(引)悉底哩(三合引)(四句) || 7 ||

Homage to that compassionate teacher,  
Śākyamuni, a lamp which has gone out,  
after waking up the world with the spreading rays of his words,  
as the spreading rays of the sun would a patch of lotuses.

Verse 8. Praise of Maitreya

maitreyaṅmā tuṣitālayastho  
yasyaikajanmāntarītā hi bodhiḥ |  
utpatsyate yaḥ sugataḥ pṛthivyām  
sarvātmanāhaṃ praṇato 'smi tasmai || 8 ||

- a. °stho] °sthau Ms.
- b. hi bodhiḥ] hi'bodhi(r) RS.
- c. yaḥ] 'syāṃ RS.<sup>22</sup>

gang gi byang chub skye ba gcig gis thogs gyur cing ||  
byams pa zhes bya dga' ldan gnam gyi gnas na bzhugs ||  
sa (G343b5) stengs bde bar gshegs par 'gyur ba (P278b6) gang yin pa ||  
(C277b7) de la (D238a5) bdag ni rtag tu dad pas phyag 'tshal lo || 8 ||

- a. gi] gis CGNP.
- b. na] nas CGNP.

<sup>22</sup> Here SAKAKI might take the corresponding Chin. *nie/zhe* 嚩 into consideration, while VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN took it only as a question mark. The original Skt. *yaḥ*, however, can be proved by Tib. *gang*; T 982 *Fo mu da kong que ming wang jing* 佛母大孔雀明王經 (*Sūtra of the Great Peahen, Queen of Mantras*) used the same word to transcribe Skt. *ḍa-* from *Āryamahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī* (ed. TAKUBO 1972: 55).

c. stengs] steng CGNP.

d. rtag tu dad pas] snying nas rtag tu CGNP.

T 1682:

當來化主慈氏菩薩讚

味怛嚙(二合)野曩(引)麼(引)覩史哆(引)擺野薩吐(二合)(一句)

野薩曳(二合反)迦(去)惹曩麼(二合引)怛哩哆(引)醯冒(重呼)地(二句)

嚙<sup>23</sup>怛鉢(二合)唵(入)帝囁蘇(上)識哆(入)畢唵(二合)體尾琰(二合反)(三句)

薩(轉舌)嚙(無可反引)怛麼(二合)曩(引)憾(胡敢反)鉢囉(二合)拏妬(引)濕銘(二合)怛薩味(二合)(四句) || 8 ||

I, with my whole heart, bow to him,  
the one named Maitreya, abiding in the abode of the Tuṣita heaven,  
whose awakening is only one more birth away,  
the one who as a Sugata will be born on the earth.

Verse 9. The stanza of concluding dedication

stutvā mayā saptajinān atītān

anāgataṃ cāṣṭamabodhisattvam |

yat puṇyam āsāditam aprameyaṃ

nirāmayās tena bhavantu sattvāḥ || 9 ||

b. anāgataṃ] anāgatañ Ms.; cāṣṭamabodhisattvam] cāṣṭam bodhisattvam Ms.,  
cāṣṭam bodhisattvam RS.

'das pa'i (N261b4) rgyal ba bdun po *dang ni* phyis gshegs pa ||

brgyad pa byang chub sems dpa' bdag gis bstod pa yis ||

bsod nams (P278b7) (G343b6) mtha' yas dpag med bdag gis gang thob pa ||

des ni sems can rnam skyang skyon *dang* bral (D238a6) gyur cig || 9 ||

a. dang ni] dag dang CGNP.

b. pa] om. P.

d. dang] chen CGNP.

T 1682:

窠堵(二合)怛嚙(二合引)麼野(引)颯鉢哆(二合)嚙(一句)

曩(引)曩底(丁利反)哆曩曩(引)藥鐙左(引)瑟吒(二合)麼冒(重呼)地薩怛鏤(二合)(二句)

野怛奔(去二合)拏野(二合反)唵(牟敢反)娑(去)儻(泥以反)怛麼鉢囉(二合)弭琰(三句)

<sup>23</sup> *u-* is transcribed as Chin. *ru* 嚙, which suggests that it might be *-r* of the last Sanskrit word in *pāda* a, i.e., Skt. *bodhir* when it was transcribed, rather than Skt. *bodhiḥ* as the Ms. presents.

靺囉(引)沫野(引)悉帝(二合)曩婆(去)鑠(無滿反)靚薩怛縛(二合引)(四句)  
|| 9 ||

過去七佛我讚竟，  
未來慈氏次稱揚，  
我所造福利無邊，  
願諸眾生皆解脫。

Having praised the seven Buddhas in the past,  
and the eighth Bodhisattva in the future,  
may the immeasurable merit I have obtained,  
by this, free all sentient beings from illness!

Thus ends the *Saptajinastotra*.

## 7. Concluding remarks

- 7.1. The newly identified Sanskrit manuscript of Saj presents a new version that is not identical to the canonical Tibetan translation or to the canonical Chinese transcription. Both VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN and SAKAKI did excellent work in reconstructing the Sanskrit version based on the Chinese transcription, but naturally had no access to certain details, such as a *visarga* (*pāda* 7c), and they were unable to correct the mistakes (*pāda* 7d and so on). However, despite a handful of truly variant readings, it is clear that the Drepung ms. contains the same text as that presented by SH (based on T 1628), RS, and D 1165. Nevertheless, while the tremendous value of canonical Tibetan translations has been acknowledged, the value of the canonical Chinese transcriptions has received less attention;<sup>24</sup> thus, further studies identifying the Sanskrit Buddhist *stotra/stava* with the phonetic Chinese transcription are still required.
- 7.2. Further study of the worship of seven past Buddhas, particularly a comparative study of the worship of the seven past Buddhas with the seven Tathāgatas including Bhaiṣajyaguru, is recommended.
- 7.3. A comparative study of the phonetic Chinese transcriptions and the Sanskrit text from the perspective of phonology studies is also needed.

## Appendix: Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese Texts

**Tibetan:** D 1165, Ka 237b5–238a6; P 2054, Ka 278a4–278b8; N Ka 261a3–261b5; C Ka 277a6–278a2; G Ka 343a3–343b6;

<sup>24</sup> Except for the representative study by ZHANG 2020.

**Chinese:** CBETA 2022.Q3, T32, no. 1682, p. 769a23–c25.

<p><b>Skt.</b>  jagadguruṃ suranaralokaṃ pūjitaṃ  kṛpāpaṭuṃ parahitamokṣadeśakam    vipaśyinaṃ tribhavamahaughapāragam  namāmi taṃ sugatagatiṃ tathāgatam    1   </p>
<p><b>Tib.</b>  rgya gar skad du   sapta ta thā ga ta sto traḥ   bod skad du   de bzhin gshegs  pa bdun gyi bstod pa   'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa la phyag 'tshal lo   </p> <p>'gro ba'i bla ma lha mi 'jig rten phyir mchod cing     thugs rjes gsal zhing gzhan la phan pa'i thar pa ston     srid gsum chu chen mthar phyin bde 'gror son pa po     de bzhin gshegs pa rnam par gzigs la phyag 'tshal lo    1   </p>
<p><b>Chin.</b>  七佛讚唄伽他  西天中印度摩伽陀國那爛陀寺傳教大師三藏賜紫沙門臣法天奉 詔譯  毘婆尸佛讚  惹(仁捺反)譏捺慶(二合)龍勇(二合反)梳囉曩囉路(引)迦布(引)囉鐙(一句)  訖哩(二合)播(引)鉢吒用(二合反)跛囉呬但謨(引)乞叉(二合)禰(泥曳反)捨  亘(二句)  尾鉢始也(二合)能(上)底哩(二合)婆(去)嚩(武鉢反)摩護伽播(引)囉口*儼(三  句)  曩麼(引)弭鐙蘇(上)譏哆(去)譏底孕(二合反)但他(去引)譏但蔭(二合反引)  (四句)    1   </p>
<p><b>Skt.</b>  anantapāre bhavasāgare 'smin  nimajjamānaṃ prasamīkṣya lokam    prakāśito yena hitāya dharmo  namo 'stu tasmai śikhine jināya    2   </p>
<p><b>Tib.</b>  srid pa'i rgya mtsho mtha' dang pha rol med pa 'di     'jig rten nub cing 'dug pa rab tu gzigs nas kyang     phan gdags phyir ni chos rnam ston pa gang yin pa     rgyal ba gtsug tor mnga' ba de la phyag 'tshal lo    2   </p>

**Chin.**

式棄佛讚

阿(去)難(上)哆播(引)嚟婆(去)嚩(無可反)娑(去引)譏嚟悉弭(二合)(一句)  
 韞(重呼)麼惹拽(二合反)麼(引)能(去)鉢囉(二合)捨銘(引)乞史也(三合)路  
 (引)亘(二句)

鉢囉(二合)迦(去引)始姤(引)曳曩醯哆(去)野達(轉舌呼)謨(去引)(三句)  
 曩謨(引)窣堵(二合)怛薩昧(二合)式企(引)寧嚩曩(引)野(四句) || 2 ||

**Skt.**

vande viśvabhuvam buddham  
 candrārkādhikatejasam |  
 sāgaraugham ivāgādham  
 jñānena vinayena ca || 3 ||

**Tib.**

nyi zla dag las 'das pa'i gzi brjid mnga' ba des ||  
 ye shes dang ni spyod pa'i ngang tshul rnam las kyang ||  
 rgya mtsho'i 'jing ltar gting dpag nus par mi 'gyur ba'i ||  
 sangs rgyas thams cad skyob pa de la phyag 'tshal lo || 3 ||

**Chin.**

毘舍浮佛讚

鑿(無滿反)禰(泥曳反)尾濕嚩(二合)部叻(無肯反)沒鄧(一句)  
 讚捺囉(二合引)迦(去)地揭帝惹(仁左反)僧(去)(二句)  
 娑(引)譏嚟伽弭嚩(引)譏(引)鄧(三句)  
 倪野(二合反)禰(泥曳反)曩尾曩曳曩拶(四句) || 3 ||

**Skt.**

yasenduraśmipratimair yaśobhir  
 alamkṛtābhātivasundhareyam |  
 udumbaram puṣpam ivādbhutam taṃ  
 vande krakucchandamahāmunīndram || 4 ||

**Tib.**

gang gi grags pa zla ba'i 'od zer 'dra ba yis ||  
 sa stengs mtha' dag rab tu brgyan par snang ba dang ||  
 u dumwā ra'i me tog bzhin du rmad byung ba ||  
 thub dbang chen po log dad sel la phyag 'tshal lo || 4 ||

<p><b>Chin.</b> 俱留孫佛讚</p> <p>野薩拽(二合反)弩(鼻音重呼)囉始銘(二合短呼)鉢囉(二合)底(丁以反)昧哩野(二合)戍(引)鼻(一句) 囉嚟(去引)訖哩(二合)哆(引)婆(去引)底(丁以反)嚟(武鉢反)遜馱哩琰(二句) 噢努沫嚟(二合)嚟補澁播(二合)弭嚟(引)那部(二合)鐙鐙(三句) 鏗(無滿反)禰(泥曳反)訖囉(二合)矩璿捺摩賀(引)母顛(寧頂反引)捺嚟(二合引)(四句)    4   </p>
<p><b>Skt.</b> visāriṇā vigatamalena cetasā virāgiṇā satatahitānukāriṇā   hataṃ tamo vigatamalena yena taṃ surārcitaṃ kanakamuniṃ namāmy aham    5   </p>
<p><b>Tib.</b> dri ma med cing rtag tu phan par mdzad pa dang    chags pa med pa gang gi dri ma med pa'i thugs    rnam par 'phro bas mun pa'i thibs po rab bcom zhing    lha yis mchod pa'i gser thub de la phyag 'tshal lo    5   </p>
<p><b>Chin.</b> 迦諾迦牟尼佛讚</p> <p>尾娑(去)哩拏(引)尾譏怛沫嚟曩啣怛娑(去)(一句) 尾囉(引)口*擬(覓以反)拏(引)薩怛怛醯哆(去引)弩(鼻音)迦(去引)哩拏(重呼)(二句) 喝怛怛謨(引)尾譏多沫嚟曩曳曩鐙(三句) 蘇(上)囉(引)轉舌呼)啣鐙揭曩揭母鞞曩麼(引)麼野(二合引)憾(四句)    5   </p>
<p><b>Skt.</b> prataptacāmīkaragauraraśmiṃ sahasrasūryādhikadīptitejasam   lokottamaṃ sarvajanābhivandyaṃ vandāmy ahaṃ kāśyapanāmadheyam    6   </p>
<p><b>Tib.</b> btso ma'i gser gyi phung po'i kha dog 'dra ba yi    gzi brjid 'bar ba nyi ma stong bas lhag pa mnga'    skye bo kun gyis phyag byas 'jig rten mchog gyur pa    'od srungs mtshan gsol gang yin de la phyag 'tshal lo    6   </p>

**Chin.**

迦葉波佛讚

鉢囉(二合)怛鉢怛(二合)左(引)弭迦囉囉濕銘(二合)偶(引)噉(去)(一句)  
 娑賀娑囉(二合)素哩野(二合引)地迦(去聲呼)禰(泥曳反引)鉢哆(二合)帝惹  
 (仁左反)僧(去)(二句)  
 路句(引)怛慳薩(轉舌)嚩(無可反)惹(仁左反)曩(引)鼻吻(無肯反)寧孕(二合  
 反)(三句)  
 吻那(去引)沫野(二合反)憾迦(引)捨鉢曩(引)麼地啤(四句) || 6 ||

**Skt.**

vākyaṃśujālaiḥ pratibodhya lokam  
 sūryaṃśujālair iva padmaṣaṇḍam |  
 yo nirvṛtaḥ śākyamuniḥ pradīpas  
 tasmai namaḥ kāruṇikāya śāstre || 7 ||

**Tib.**

nyi ma'i 'od zer mang pos padma'i tshal phye ltar ||  
 gsung gi 'od zer mang pos 'jig rten sad par mdzad ||  
 ston pa shākya thub pa thugs rje sgron ma can ||  
 mya ngan 'das pa gang yin de la phyag 'tshal lo || 7 ||

**Chin.**

釋迦牟尼佛讚

(此讚一首先已到中夏流行，出正密三藏新讚集中收錄)。

嚩(無个反)拑野(二合反)秣惹嚩鉢囉(二合)底(丁以反)冒(重呼)鞞路(引)亘  
 (一句)  
 素哩琰(二合引)秣惹嚩哩嚩(武鉢反)鉢那麼(二合)訕(去)赦(二合)(二句)  
 愈鞞沒哩(二合)哆(入)設拑也(二合反)母鞞鉢囉(二合)禰(泥曳反)鉢薩(三  
 句)  
 怛(二合)薩昧(二合)曩莫迦(引)嚩拑(尼整反)迦(引)野設(引)悉底哩(三合引)  
 (四句) || 7 ||

**Skt.**

māitreyanāmā tuṣitālayastho  
 yasyaikajanmāntarītā hi bodhiḥ |  
 utpatsyate yaḥ sugataḥ pṛthivyām  
 sarvātmanāhaṃ praṇato 'smi tasmai || 8 ||

**Tib.**

gang gi byang chub skye ba gcig gis thogs gyur cing ||  
 byams pa zhes bya dga' ldan gnam gyi gnas na bzhugs ||  
 sa stengs bde bar gshegs par 'gyur ba gang yin pa ||  
 de la bdag ni rtag tu dad pas phyag 'tshal lo || 8 ||

**Chin.**

當來化主慈氏菩薩讚

味怛嚙(二合)野曩(引)麼(引)覩史哆(引)擺野薩吐(二合)(一句)  
野薩曳(二合反)迦(去)惹曩麼(二合引)怛哩哆(引)醯冒(重呼)地(二句)  
嚙怛鉢(二合)唵(入)帝囁蘇(上)譏哆(入)畢唼(二合)體尾琰(二合反)(三句)  
薩(轉舌)嚙(無可反引)怛麼(二合)曩(引)憾(胡敢反)鉢囉(二合)拏妬(引)濕銘  
(二合)怛薩昧(二合)(四句) || 8 ||

**Skt.**

stutvā mayā saptajinān atītān  
anāgataṃ cāṣṭamabodhisattvam |  
yat puṇyam āsāditam aprameyam  
nirāmayās tena bhavantu sattvāḥ || 9 ||

**Tib.**

'das pa'i rgyal ba bdun po dang ni phyis gshegs pa ||  
brgyad pa byang chub sems dpa' bdag gis bstod pa yis ||  
bsod nams mtha' yas dpag med bdag gis gang thob pa ||  
des ni sems can rnam kyang skyon dang bral gyur cig || 9 ||

**Chin.**

迴向結讚一首

翠堵(二合)怛嚙(二合引)麼野(引)颯鉢哆(二合)囉(一句)  
曩(引)曩底(丁利反)哆曩曩(引)葉鐙左(引)瑟吒(二合)麼冒(重呼)地薩怛鏤  
(二合)(二句)  
野怛奔(去二合)拏野(二合反)唵(牟敢反)娑(去)儻(泥以反)怛麼鉢囉(二合)  
弭琰(三句)  
鞞囉(引)沫野(引)悉帝(二合)曩婆(去)鏤(無滿反)覩薩怛縛(二合引)(四句) || 9 ||

**Skt.**

saptajinastotraṃ samāptam iti ||

**Tib.**

de bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi bstod pa rdzogs so || || rgya gar gyi mkhan po  
padma ka ra warma dang | zhu chen gyi lo tsā ba dge slong rin chen bzang  
pos bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa |

**Chin.**

颯鉢哆(二合)囉曩薩怛(二合)嚙(無博切)三(去)麼(引)鉢哆(下字入聲呼二合)  
過去七佛我讚竟，未來慈氏次稱揚，  
我所造福利無邊，願諸眾生皆解脫。

## Acknowledgements

The photos of the manuscript were kindly provided by Prof. Zhen Liu 劉震, who has benefitted various aspects of this paper; the paper has also benefitted from Prof. Johannes Schneider's seminar regarding the manuscripts pertaining to the "Liu-Schneider-Hymns". The author would also like to thank Prof. Jens-Uwe Hartmann for his guidance at every stage of this study, Dr. Kejun Yu 余柯君 for his advice on the aspect of Sanskrit-Chinese comparative phonology, and Drukgyel Tsering for his assistance in identifying the Tibetan *dbu med* handwriting in the manuscript. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewers for their careful proof-reading, detailed comments, and suggestions, and to Dr. Małgorzata Wielńska-Soltwedel for her encouragement. Any remaining errors belong to the author alone. The author presented an earlier version of this paper at *Di shi wu jie han wen fo dian yu yan xue guo ji xue shu yan tao hui* 第十五屆漢文佛典語言學國際學術研討會 (The 15th International Conference on the Language Studies of Chinese Buddhist Literature).

## Editorial signs and abbreviations

*	reconstruction
˘	<i>virāma</i>
	<i>daṇḍa</i>
	double <i>daṇḍa</i>
{ }	erased/deleted by the scribe
{ }	deleted by the editor
<< >>	added by the scribe
< >	added by the editor
○	string-hole
]	separates a word from its variant readings
[s]	supplements; illegible or disappeared, but supplied by the editor
:	slot filler before a string-hole or at the end of a line
<i>add.</i>	added ( <i>addit</i> )
<i>ex conj.</i>	conjecture ( <i>ex conjectura</i> )
Ms.	the present manuscript
<i>om.</i>	omitted ( <i>omittit</i> )

## Abbreviations and *sigla*

C	Co ne <i>bsTan</i> 'gyur
Chin.	Chinese
D	sDe dge <i>bsTan</i> 'gyur

- G gSer bris ma (dGa' ldan) *bsTan 'gyur*
- GRETEL Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages. <http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel.html> (accessed 12 December 2023).
- N sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur*
- P (Q) Pe cin (Qian Long) *bsTan 'gyur*
- PW *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (Petersburger Wörterbuch)* = BÖHTLINGK and ROTH 1855–1875.
- RS SAKAKI 1914
- Saj *Saptajinastotra*
- SH VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN 1913
- Skt. Sanskrit
- T *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (大正新修大藏經, *The Tripiṭaka in Chinese*). Ed. by Junjiro TAKAKUSU and Kaigyoku WATANABE. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taisho Issaikyo Kankokai, 1924–1934.
- Tib. Tibetan

## References

- BOTH, Leo 1997. “The *Saptabuddhastotra* and the *Saptatathāgatastotra*, Two Hymns Praising the Seven Previous Buddhas”. [In:] Mishra, Kameshwar Nath, ed., *Glimpses of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*. Vol. 1. Varanasi: Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies, pp. 57–73.
- BÖHTLINGK, Otto and Rudolf ROTH 1855–1875. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. 7 vols. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- LIU, Zhen 劉震 and Johannes SCHNEIDER 2021. “Liu-Schneider-Hymns” (unpublished).
- LIU, Zhen 劉震 and Johannes SCHNEIDER 2022. *Buddhist Hymns: A New Collection*. Beijing, Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press. <https://doi.org/10.1553/978OEAW89183>
- MATSUDA, Kazunobu 松田和信 2019. “Ratnākaraśānti no hannya 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 [Sanskrit Text of the *Prajñāpāramitābhāvanākrama* by Ratnākaraśānti]”. *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*] 24: 21–32.
- NEGI, J. S., ed. 1993–2005. *Bod skad dang legs sbyar kyi tshig mdzod chen mo. Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*. 16 vols. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

PANDEY, Janardan Shastri, ed. 1994. *Bauddhastotrasaṅgraha*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

SAKAKI, Ryōzaburō 榊亮三郎 1914. “Shichibutsu Bonzan no uta ni kite 七佛梵讚の詩にきて [On the Poetry of the Praise of the seven Buddhas]”. “Geibun” dai go-nen dai san, yon gō 「藝文」第五年第三、四號 [The 5th year of “Geibun”, No. 3, 4] (Reprint in Sakaki, Ryōzaburō 1980. *Sakaki Ryōzaburō ronshū* 榊亮三郎論集. Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai, pp. 69–83).

VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN, A. [Фонь-Сталь-Гольштейн, А.] 1913. *Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan* (*Gaṇḍīstotragāthā*), *sokhranivshiyasya v kitayskoy transkriptsii sanskritskiy gimn* Аҭвағһоҧ’у, *Ts’ih-fuh-tsan-pai-k’ie-t’o* (*Saptajinastava*) *i Fuh-shwoh-wān-shu-shi-li-yih-poh-pah-ming-fan-tsan* (*Āryamañjuçrīnāmāṣṭaṭataka*). *Kien-ch’ui-fan-tsan* (*Gaṇḍīstotragāthā*), сохранившийся въ китайской транскрипции санскритскій гимнь Аҭвағһоҧ’и, *Ts’ih-fuh-tsan-pai-k’ie-t’o* (*Saptajinastava*) и *Fuh-shwoh-wān-shu-shi-li-yih-poh-pah-ming-fan-tsan* (*Āryamañjuçrīnāmāṣṭaṭataka*). [*Kien-ch’ui-fan-tsan* (*Gaṇḍīstotragāthā*), *the Sanskrit hymn of Āśvaghōṣa preserved in Chinese transcription, Ts’ih-fuh-tsan-pai-k’ie-t’o* (*Saptajinastava*) and *Fuh-shwoh-wān-shu-shi-li-yih-poh-pah-ming-fan-tsan* (*Āryamañjuçrīnāmāṣṭaṭataka*)]. Sankt-Peterburg: Imperatorskaya Akademiya Nauk.

TAKUBO, Shūyo 田久保周譽, ed. 1972. *Āryamahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī*. Tōkyō: Sankibo.

ZHANG, Mengyan 張夢妍 2020. “*Guan yu xin chu fan ben ‘Ba da ling ta zan’ de yan jiu* 關於新出梵本《八大靈塔禮拜讚頌》的研究 [Study of the Newly Found Sanskrit Manuscript of *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityabandhanāstuti* (*Praise of the Eight Great Stūpas*)]”. *Xi yu yan jiu* 西域研究 4: 106–122+168–169.

---

## Cultural Fluctuations of Tibetan Culture in Dharamsala and Their Reception among the Tibetan Exilic Youth

Paulina KONIUCH

**Abstract:** Dharamsala is probably the most known settlement of Tibetans in exile. It is based in India and is a popular tourist destination, so it is subject to various foreign influences. This paper aims to provide an ethnographic account of selected cases encountered during field studies and their reception among young Tibetans. Some new examples of multiculturalism, global and contemporary Indian influence and commodification of the Tibetan community and their culture will be provided, as well as accounts of interviewees on those phenomena.

**Keywords:** Tibetan diaspora, the commodification of culture, Dharamsala, field studies, Tibetan refugees

Paulina KONIUCH, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland;  
[p.koniuch@uw.edu.pl](mailto:p.koniuch@uw.edu.pl);  0000-0003-2818-0907



This article is distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0  
licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

---

## 1. Aim and methods

The main aim of this article is to provide an account of the current cultural changes in the Tibetan diasporic community, based on field studies I conducted in Dharamsala.<sup>1</sup> The focus of my current research is perceptions of Tibetan identity among contemporary visual artists in exile. However, during my visits in 2022 and 2023 I was struck by the widespread influence of contemporary Indian and Western culture on the Tibetan minority residing there (BLOCH 2018: 39; TIBET JUSTICE CENTER 2016: 30), which is known to try to preserve Tibetan traditions and is considered quite conservative. This sparked my interest and as a result, I chose to present and examine it in the following paper based on selected cases I encountered. Although the problem of commodification and atrophy of Tibetan culture in Dharamsala has already been the subject of many studies, this paper focuses more on modern pan-Indian influence emerging both from tourism and social media. Additionally, I argue that many of the changes are not viewed as negative by the younger generations of Tibetans<sup>2</sup>.

First, I give some background about Dharamsala and its history in order to familiarise the reader with the status of Tibetans in India, the idea behind the settlements and the practices of the administrative system. This is essential in understanding some of the mechanisms that led to the commodification and modernisation of some, but not other, aspects of Tibetan culture. The main part of this study, which is an account of the changes observed by previous researchers and myself, is divided into two parts: the contemporary Indian<sup>3</sup> and more generally foreign influence. The paper concludes with a short section, which also serves as an invitation for further discussion on this subject.

As a Tibetologist, I believe in the importance of a postcolonial perspective and reflexivity in studies regarding cultures and minorities other than my own, therefore I have based my analysis mostly on accounts from Tibetans I directly interviewed and Tibetan or Indian-based written sources. I also cite various articles from researchers in Tibetan studies, who often conducted field studies themselves. Any other statements are disclosed with full awareness of my occidental background and treated with a dose of self-reflexivity.

---

<sup>1</sup> Dharamsala is a large city with many suburbs, but in popular discourse, it functions usually in lieu of the “Upper Dharamsala”, which includes most places populated by Tibetans, such as McLeod Ganj, Dharamkot and Bhagsunag. My research was conducted mostly in McLeod Ganj, Dharamkot and the administrative district, so my use of the name Dharamsala stands for those places in particular.

<sup>2</sup> In this context the younger generation means mostly children and grandchildren of the first wave of Tibetan refugees, born in the late 1980s and 1990s.

<sup>3</sup> The term “Indian influence” used throughout the article refers to the contemporary, pan-Indian popular culture, including clothing, films, music etc. The autochthonous Gaddi tribe will be mentioned by name whenever relevant.

The interviews used for this study were conducted during my stay in India from 18 April to 12 May 2022 and 14 July until 23 September 2023, in Dharamsala and Delhi. The interviewee group comprised around 40 people, mostly men, in various age groups, the majority of them under 35 years old. The interviews were conducted mostly in English, with some Tibetan additions. They were people of various professions, varying from coffee shop owners to researchers.

Online meetings and chats with Tibetans from the United States were conducted in 2021 and 2022.

## 2. Theoretical framework

The “traditional culture of Tibet” is today carefully preserved by various associations and institutions funded by the Government-in-Exile or external benefactors. We have to remember, however, that Tibet was a country of many cultures, unified in the 7th century and that to this day has strong differences in terms of dialect, written and oral literature, clothing and livelihoods. While governments have tried to create a heterogenous community, the culture of U-Tsang, the most westly of the three main regions and home to Lhasa, Shigatse<sup>4</sup> and Mount Kailash<sup>5</sup>, is definitely dominant (McGRANAHAN 2005: 573), as it is also the most recognisable among tourists.

Despite changes arising from the commodification processes or just new geographic contexts, traditional crafts, performances, art-making and religious rituals have survived largely intact until today. However, in contemporary culture and its modern iterations, young artists, filmmakers, musicians and writers have strived to get funding for work that does not concern protection of the traditional, Buddhist, “old-Tibet” way of life. Any indications of revisions in “Tibetanness” tend to be seen as a threat or offence by officials and older generations (LAU 2009: 84–85).<sup>6</sup> As exilic Tibetans tend to perceive their

<sup>4</sup> Tib. *gzhis ka rtse*, the second largest city of Tibet, home to the Tashilhunpo monastery (Tib. *bkra shis lhun po*), the monastic seat of the Panchen Lama (Tib. *pan chen bla ma*), the second most important reincarnation of the Gelug school of Tibetan Buddhism after the Dalai Lama.

<sup>5</sup> Tib. *gangs rin po che*, literally “the precious jewel of snow” is a religious site for many faiths, Tibetan Buddhism included, and the goal of many pilgrimages.

<sup>6</sup> As an illustration for this claim, I want to introduce a short story, passed on to me by JC, or Jigme Choedak, one of the artists I had the opportunity to talk with during my study. He was painting a new mural for the organisation Secular Ethics ([secularethic.org](http://secularethic.org)) on a wall near the entrance to the main temple and leading down the road to the Kora, or a circumambulation way around the building complex. The polychrome presented the 14th Dalai lama surrounded by children, but drawn in a cartoonish style, and with some text, in both English and Tibetan. While finishing the work, he was scolded by an older Tibetan lady in traditional clothing, who disclosed that the spiritual leader of Tibet should not be portrayed in such a way, which was in her opinion lacking respect. He noted that such behaviour happens more often, but on the other hand, that he also meets people who commend him for creating any kind of

countrymen in China as disenabled to contribute to preservation of their original culture, they see themselves as those for whom the burden of preserving an unchanged version of old Tibet is placed, and this in turn as crucial to avoiding cultural extinction (LAU 2009: 84). Meanwhile, officials propagate a non-historical, newly created, “Tibetan refugee” heightened identity (MCGRANAHAN 2005: 573), while condemning any traces of regional distinctiveness. Many of my young interlocutors voiced their aspirations to leave India and transfer to the West, as they do not see any future in creating any form of contemporary culture in this conservative society.

The agency of these young creators in the fashioning of a new Tibetan exilic culture is something that should be more widely discussed, but tends to be obscured behind the numerous studies on the commodification and fetishisation of “traditional” culture, dissatisfaction with the current economy leading to further displacement as well as cosmopolitanism and transcultural translation in the diaspora. With my contribution, I wish to invite both Tibetan and other researchers to further examine and discuss this phenomenon.

### **3. Dharamsala**

Historically Dharamsala, previously known as Talu, was populated by Gaddi shepherds. The place underwent a series of changes, later becoming a hill station of the British colonies (hence the current name – McLeod, after a Punjab Governor) and later destroyed in an earthquake in 1905. Only in 1960 did its history as a Tibetan settlement begin. McLeod Ganj (literally “the McLeod neighbourhood”) and other suburbs in the higher parts of the city, such as Bhagsu, Dharamkot and Naddi, originally Gaddi villages, became flooded with Tibetan refugees seeking a new place to live. The climate was much closer to that of the Tibetan Plateau than the South Indian hot and moist environment which had been initially granted to Tibetans. The erasure of the Gaddi autochthonic culture by the rise of Tibetan ethno-commodification is at the core of the themes examined here. This has already been researched in-depth by Stephen CHRISTOPHER 2020. In this paper the aim is to present the topic from the point of view of young Tibetans, and this issue is not really well-known among those circles, while any notions of “Indian influence” mentioned henceforward should be understood as a pan-Indian, modern and slightly globalised blend of everyday impactful encounters with tourists and social media.

---

Tibetan-oriented art, even when modern and humorous. As of July 2023, the painting has been completely covered by a depiction of a child with some added text. According to some of my interlocutors from artistic circles, this mural generated a lot of negative comments and has quickly been replaced due to various protests from passers-by.

Dharamsala is commonly known as the “capital-in-exile” of the Tibetans, with the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA)<sup>7</sup> and Dalai Lama’s residence. Sometimes it is called “Little Lhasa” (DIEHL 2002: 45) or “Little Lhasa of India” (BLOCH 2018: 37) and is often called *Dhasa* by the locals,<sup>8</sup> from the names Dharamsala and Lhasa<sup>9</sup> combined. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that it is the centre of the traditional culture of old, pre-cultural revolution Tibet. In the streets, one can see women wearing chupas<sup>10</sup> and striped aprons<sup>11</sup>, nuns and monks in red robes, and old men returning from the Kora with a prayer wheel in their hands. The Tibet Autonomous Region is facing intense modernisation, with the influence of Chinese and global culture. As of the focus is on keeping traditions alive in the diaspora, national identity is a prominent subject in local media and events discourse. March 10 marks Tibetan Uprising Day, a commemoration of the 1959 uprising in Lhasa,<sup>12</sup> considered a national holiday, and sees protests and peaceful marches yearly.

What seems like a success for CTA policy of conserving traditional culture is in reality mostly the result of financial unease and the need to perform a certain imagined “refugeehood” expected by foreign sponsors and tourists (PROST 2006: 237–238, 240–241). Whether it is completely staged or is perceived as an “updated” notion of exilic Tibetanness can be disputed, but the changes are undoubtedly visible.

Dharamsala became a Tibet-centric tourist destination as early as the 1970s; however, the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama in 1989 set in motion the real boom among Westerners. Indian tourists discovered it as an interesting travel spot in 2011, with the erection of a cricket stadium (BLOCH 2018: 40), the most loved sport in India.<sup>13</sup> The rise of the city as a popular travel spot led to an increase in small businesses catering to tourists, such as restaurants with Italian or Indian (often Punjabi) cuisine, plenty of souvenir shops and individual sellers, antique shops, meditation centres combined with

<sup>7</sup> Commonly known as the Tibetan Government-in-Exile, the main political organisation for Tibetans in the diaspora; see <https://tibet.net/>.

<sup>8</sup> Some of my responders were using this term.

<sup>9</sup> The capital of historic Tibet.

<sup>10</sup> Tib. *phyu pa*, a traditional Tibetan robe, made from sheepskin, wool, silk or cotton.

<sup>11</sup> Tib. *pang gdan* or pangden, a woollen apron, the designs are always variations of colourful stripes. Pangdens are worn by married and adult women. For further reading, see <https://tibet.net/photo-story-pangden-rainbow-at-tibetan-womens-waist-on-this-lhakar/>.

<sup>12</sup> One of the key events in the forming of the Tibetan diaspora in India, as the uprising was followed by the Dalai Lama’s escape from Tibet. For further reading, see BAYER and DZIAK 2015: 615–625; SHAKYA 2000: 185–211.

<sup>13</sup> See: <https://www.timesofsports.com/cricket/most-popular-sport-in-india/>; <https://www.thecitizen.in/index.php/en/NewsDetail/index/12/17789/Why-Cricket-is-so-Popular-in-India-and-the-Famous-Indian-Cricketers-->; <https://www.bcci.tv/about>.

massage parlours and so on. There is also a constant demand for hippie culture-inspired clothing and accessories,<sup>14</sup> “healing” crystals with chakra symbols, singing bowls and tie-dyed wall hangings with images of the Hindu elephant-headed god Ganesha or the Buddha Shakyamuni.

While the mix of traditional Tibetan and contemporary foreign cultures is easily identifiable, another phenomenon has appeared collaterally – the creation of a mystified, western-derived imaginary depiction of Tibet as Shangri-La – an isolated mythical utopia inhabited by meditating monks and happy nomads with their yaks amidst golden temples sprinkled throughout green pastures. This “Tibetan hyperrealism” (KLIÉGER 1997: 65–67)<sup>15</sup> is paradoxically mostly created by Tibetans themselves, which led to and at the same time was caused by the need to commodify Tibetan tradition.

#### 4. The status of Tibetans in India

The last demographic survey from 2009 shows that the number of Tibetans in India was just below 95,000. These numbers have certainly changed, as mentioned by the Chief Planning Officer of CTA Kunchok Tsundue in an article for *Tibet Sun* (WANGYAL 2019). Although no numbers were actually presented, Tsundue notes that the decrease in the total, especially among young Tibetans in India, is worrying. The results of this survey seem not to have been published. The same opinions were expressed by the majority of Tibetans I had the chance to speak with about this issue. According to three men<sup>16</sup> I had the opportunity to interview, the number of Tibetans in India as of May 2022 was around 70,000, so 25,000 less than in the 2009 Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile, provided by the Planning Commission of Central Tibetan Administration in 2010.<sup>17</sup> They estimated that around 4,000 Tibetans live in McLeod Ganj, which changes with time, as members of the youngest generation leave India and move to the West, especially the United States and Canada. Among the reasons for this exodus, as posited by my respondents, were the lack of opportunities for professional development and the low level of education provided by the government. On the other hand, we have the absence of new immigrants and refugees from Tibet itself, as after 2008 the borders were closed and the administration of the

<sup>14</sup> The first wave of hippies and people interested in (loosely understood) Tibetan Buddhism started in the 1970s, with the increased popularity of the New Age movement, which appropriated some elements of Tibetan culture, e.g. *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, reinterpreted by Timothy Leary in *The Psychedelic Experience*.

<sup>15</sup> For further reading, see DODIN and RÄTHER 1996; LOPEZ 1998.

<sup>16</sup> I will not be providing the names of my interlocutors for their privacy, however, they were all people of different professions and backgrounds, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

<sup>17</sup> Numbers based on information provided by: <https://tibet.net/about-cta/tibet-in-exile/>; <https://www.phayul.com/2010/12/04/28666/>.

Tibet Autonomous Region by the Chinese authorities became ever stricter and more oppressive.<sup>18</sup>

India does not use the same legal regulations regarding refugees as countries from the West, which mostly base their systems on the 1951 *Geneva Convention to the Status of Refugees* and the 1967 *Refugee Convention and Protocol* (BENTZ 2012: 82). The Indian principles are derived from a variety of global sources, such as the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* or the 1966 *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, but also the *Bangkok Principles on the Status and Treatment of Refugees* compiled by the Asian-African Legal Consultative Organization in 2001, which seems more fitting for administering the refugee situation in this part of the world (for further reading see BENTZ 2012). This being said, India does not differentiate refugees from foreigners. Non-Indian citizens cannot obtain government jobs, vote or buy property. Sometimes their status makes it difficult to be admitted to universities or travel abroad (PUROHIT 2019, SEETHARAMAN 2020: 96–97).

Although Tibetans are not recognised as “refugees” but rather “foreigners” by the Indian authorities, they are subject to specific legislation. The *Order Regulation Entry of Tibetan Nationals into India* was created in 1950 as an immediate reaction to the invasion of Tibet by the People’s Liberation Army. It was not until 1959, when the biggest influx of Tibetans arrived in India, that the Indian Government had to rethink its registration system. Until 2003, when India recognised Tibet as being an integral part of the People’s Republic of China, PRC), Tibetans would receive a “Long Term Stay” status (BENTZ 2012: 84–85). The document that should be issued to all Tibetans who wish to stay in India is a “registration certificate”, which serves as a basic identity card and has to be regularly renewed. Some Tibetans can also apply for an “identity certificate”, which is in certain countries recognised as an equivalent of a passport.<sup>19</sup> A “registration certificate” grants some fundamental rights, such as:

right to elementary education, right to lease land for 20 years through the Central Tibetan Relief Committee, right to obtain benefits such as bank loans and driving licenses (but only with the possession of a valid RC), right to promote and preserve Tibetan culture, right to reside in classified Tibetan settlements, right to travel in certain areas, and right to work in certain forms of employment (SEETHARAMAN 2020: 96).

---

<sup>18</sup> For further reading about the changes after the 2008 public protests in Tibet, see <https://savetibet.org/olympics2022/>.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.passportindia.gov.in/AppOnlineProject/online/identityCertificate>.

Since 2017 some Tibetans born in India can apply for Indian citizenship and a passport,<sup>20</sup> though this has been disputed by the Tibetan community, as some were wary of it undermining Tibetan identity.<sup>21</sup>

## 5. “Tibetan islands” in India

Tibetan settlements are widespread in India, with the first of them situated mostly in the south, with the vast plains apt for agriculture. The idea when establishing such isolated “Tibetan islands” was to create miniature “Tibets” which would include people from Kham (Tib. *kham*s), Amdo (Tib. *a mdo*) and U-Tsang (Tib. *dbus gtsang*), the three main regions of historical Tibet, belonging to different social classes and all of the leading four lineages of Tibetan Buddhism (BENTZ 2012: 94). This was believed to be the way to preserve “indigenous” culture in an unaffected state.<sup>22</sup> As of today, we know that the development of the existing 44 settlements<sup>23</sup> did not flourish in such a way.<sup>24</sup>

The institutional structure in the Tibetan settlements was encouraged by Indian officials, such as the former prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who welcomed the Dalai Lama in 1959. This was to be created and administered directly by the Tibetan Government in Exile (BENTZ 2012: 95–96; BLOCH 2017: 79).

The Tibetan Children’s Villages (popularly known as TCV, <https://tcv.org.in/>) are Tibetan children’s main sources of schooling. They are day or boarding schools which provide lessons on the Tibetan language, culture and history alongside ones on science or arts. Such an emphasis on Tibet-oriented education serves the purpose of igniting a sense of nationalism among children, with the hope that they would carry on the preservation of a disappearing culture. During my stay, I met a few school outings in different places, such as the Library of

<sup>20</sup> For further reading see: SEETHARAMAN 2020; LOBSANG WANGYAL VS UNION OF INDIA 2016; <https://www.refworld.org/docid/592d68954.html>; <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/tibetan-refugees-to-get-indian-passports/articleshow/58231841.cms>.

<sup>21</sup> For more in depth reading about the foreigner status and documentation of Tibetans in India in general, see: TIBET JUSTICE CENTER 2016.

<sup>22</sup> For a comprehensive report on the development of Tibetan settlements in India see: THE TIBET MUSEUM 2008.

<sup>23</sup> According to the CTA there are: “15 agriculture-based settlements, 13 Handicraft based settlements and 16 cluster and scattered communities in India” (<https://tibet.net/department/home/>).

<sup>24</sup> On the official website of the CTA we read that: “We envision sustainable, democratic, communities in exile, engaged in dynamic, modern economies and practising organic, natural farming, in which we can live respecting our common cultural and religious heritage while unifying in preparation for an ultimate return to democratic Tibet”; and one of the objectives reads: “To create self-sufficient and vibrant communities so as to preserve and practice our distinctive culture ethos and values”. We can see that those statements are more general than before. <https://tibet.net/department/home/>.

Tibetan Works and Archives<sup>25</sup> and the newly opened Tibet Museum made by and for Tibetans.<sup>26</sup> The permanent exhibition called “I am Tibetan and this is my story”, or ང་བོད་པ་ཡིན་འདི་ངའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིན་<sup>27</sup>, instructs visitors on the history, religions and culture of Tibet and Tibetans through written, oral and material sources and first-hand accounts recorded in audio and video format and available on display. I also encountered an old people’s home along the Kora<sup>28</sup> as well as many medical centres, specialising both in traditional<sup>29</sup> and conventional medicine.

Such autonomy allowed the Tibetan refugees to form enclosed communities, with minimal interactions with their autochthonic Indian neighbours (BLOCH 2017: 78–79). However, the rise of Dharamsala as a popular tourist destination in India, especially among Punjabis, introduced new waves of pan-Indian influence on the Tibetan and Gaddi communities. Since the erection of the cricket stadium in lower Dharamsala in 2005, the influx of domestic tourists rose drastically, and some suburbs like Bhagsu, Dharamkot or McLeod Ganj are flooded by Indian tourists on the weekends. Westerners, often people involved in Buddhism or other forms of spiritual activities, are now a minority among the yearly visitors. Tibetan-owned businesses develop, often putting Indians in the place of the employees. This phenomenon was the cause of some unrest in 1994.<sup>30</sup> A general rise in wealth among Tibetans is becoming more and more visible, while local Indian families tend to become more impoverished (see BLOCH 2021).

Nowadays the settlement system is largely criticised by Tibetan scholars such as Ngawang Dorjee and Bhuchung Tsering (see citations in BENTZ 2012: 102–103), who perceive it as a nationalist relic of the past, no longer attractive for young Tibetans, and not providing enough resources for a stable livelihood (BLOCH 2017: 78–79; PROST 2006: 238–239). This leads to a further expansion of the Tibetan diaspora, which will not however be discussed in this article.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The most important library of Tibetan and Tibet-oriented books outside of China and the Tibetan Autonomous Region. See <https://tibetanlibrary.org/>.

<sup>26</sup> Quote from the Tibet Museum website: <https://tibetmuseum.org/>.

<sup>27</sup> *nga bod pa yin 'di nga'i lo rgyus yin*.

<sup>28</sup> Tib. *skor ra*, a circumambulation way around an important religious place or object, such as a monastery, reliquary or statue. In McLeod Ganj the biggest Kora leads around the main temple complex.

<sup>29</sup> In Dharamsala we can visit the famous Men-Tsee-Khang or Tibetan Medical & Astro. Institute of HH the Dalai Lama (Tib. *bod kyi sman rtsis khang*); see <https://tibetanhealth.org/autonomous-bodies/>; <https://mentseekhang.org/>.

<sup>30</sup> K. Dhondup, “Dharamsala Revisited: Shangrila or Sarajevo?”, *Tibetan Review* 29(7) (1994), cited in BENTZ 2012: 97. See also BLOCH 2018: 44–45.

<sup>31</sup> For further reading on this topic, see: DOLMA 2019; PUROHIT 2019.

The settlements are secluded as a strategy to separate and therefore better preserve traditional culture; however, some individual interactions will always occur. Be it through education in Indian universities or temporary jobs, Tibetans will and often want to integrate more with the local communities (BENTZ 2012: 98–100; LAU 2010: 2–3). The sense of belonging and gratitude towards the government and the people of India is a strong sentiment among Tibetan refugees (BENTZ 2012: 100–101; BLOCH 2018: 45), which is surprising if we consider the rate of refusal of Indian Citizenship among Tibetans (MCGRAHAN 2016). My respondents, when asked about their documents, all carried their “registration certificates”, which they consider a kind of badge of Tibetanness. Some of them had the possibility to apply for an Indian passport, but it is usually viewed as a renunciation of the belief that Tibet might become a sovereign country again, and generally frowned upon. Even the CTA is issuing its own alternative, The Green Book, which they deem “[...] the passport of the exiled Tibetans to claim their rights from the CTA. Also in future, it will become a base for claiming Tibetan citizenship.”<sup>32</sup>

## 6. A commodified, modernised version of Tibetan culture

The general commodification of Tibetan culture is a huge process to be noted in the diaspora. Despite the efforts to continue the heritage of Tibetan arts and crafts in their traditional form, some modifications have to be made to make them more accessible to tourists, who are often the only source of income. Laura Graham describes this as “existential recognition” from outsiders, needed for the “cultural continuity” of certain peoples.<sup>33</sup> One such difference can be seen in the production of the Tibetan opera, *Ache Lhamo* (Tib. *a ce lha mo*) with the significantly shortened times of performances and contemporary elements added to the script (WOJAHN 2016: 540–543). While visiting a small weaving studio next to the Tibetan Handicrafts Centre on the bifurcation of Jogiwara Road and the main Temple Road in McLeod Ganj, I encountered another interesting example, which was a modernised design of carpets, where next to the traditional form of a tiger pelt or a composition of ornaments and Buddhist symbols, I found a picturesque vista of a Tibetan plain with grazing yaks and mountains in the background. In the stalls along the main road leading to the Tsuglagkhang Temple<sup>34</sup>, one can find some Buddhist ritual objects such as dorjes<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> <https://tibet.net/support-tibet/pay-green-book/>.

<sup>33</sup> Laura Graham, “Image and Instrumentality in a Xavante Politics of Existential Recognition: The Public Outreach Work of Eténhiritipa Pimentel Barbosa”, *American Ethnologist* 32, no. 4 (2005), cited in COMAROFF and COMAROFF 2009: 25.

<sup>34</sup> Tib. *gtsug lag khang*, the main Buddhist Temple in McLeod Ganj. It is situated next to the residence of the 14th Dalai Lama.

<sup>35</sup> Tib. *rdo rje*, Skt. *vajra*, a small ritual instrument in the shape of a short, two-pronged sceptre, symbolising the indestructible nature of an enlightened mind.

or *dril-bus*<sup>36</sup>, traditional Tibetan jewellery with turquoise, coral and amber encased in silver, as well as beautifully crafted figures of buddhas and various gods, but also keyrings with miniature dorjes, cheaply made bracelets with visible Indian influence, tacky magnets and T-shirts with the famous phrase “My (insert here any member of your family) went to Dharamshala<sup>37</sup> and all I got was this lousy T-shirt”.

Among cultural institutions established especially to preserve Tibetan traditions, the most recognisable ones are certainly the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (<https://tipa.asia/>) and the Norbulingka Institute (<https://norbulingka.org/>). Named after the summer palace of the Dalai Lamas, it is a whole complex of buildings with spaces dedicated to continuing the creation of old crafts from the Tibetan Plateau. Visitors can inspect studios and observe the process of whittling wooden ornaments, weaving fabrics, forming body parts for metal sculptures of buddhas and other enlightened beings or painting *thangkas*<sup>38</sup>. All the techniques are derived from textual sources and taught orally from master to student.<sup>39</sup> The objects made by the artisans are then sold in the shop situated in the middle of the complex. The boutique itself is an interesting place to visit, as it serves as a kind of gallery of the finished products we had just witnessed the making of. In the back, a separate set of rooms form an exhibition of beautiful *thangkas*, created using various techniques, as well as a traditional tiger-hide carpet and some ornate cabinets, sheltering bronze sculptures. The precedent area showcases smaller items, such as lamps, boxes, pillowcases or wooden ornaments, but also a lot of modern designs, created by the local artist Sonam Yeshe.<sup>40</sup> We find pencil cases, tote bags, scarves and makeup pouches with the depiction of women in traditional jewellery and headpieces, *Dzi* beads<sup>41</sup> or nomads. There is also a whole collection of items intended for children, such as plush yak bags, cute caps or small tents.

One might find it surprising that a place so focused on conserving the traditional arts and crafts of Tibet included such modern designs in its commercial output,

<sup>36</sup> Tib. *dril bu*, Skt. *ghaṇṭā*, a bell with a handle consisting of the half of a dorje, a symbol of emptiness, which is an important concept in Buddhism. Commonly used with the dorje during prayers and rituals.

<sup>37</sup> Dharamshala is the pronunciation and English transcription used most commonly in India, however, Dharamsala is preferred by Tibetans, hence this version was chosen for the paper.

<sup>38</sup> A *thangka* (Tib. *thang ka*) is the most popular form of picture in Tibet – a scroll painted with mineral paints or created with the appliqué technique where pieces of fabric are sewn or glued onto a canvas to form a certain composition.

<sup>39</sup> Information from a respondent from Norbulingka.

<sup>40</sup> Although this seems to not be mentioned on the Norbulingka website, this fact is commonly known among local artists and is mentioned on Sonam Yeshe's website; see <https://www.sonameshi.art/>.

<sup>41</sup> Tib. *gzi*, a large stone bead, used as a protective amulet, usually black and white.

but this is mostly a means of survival. It is a sort of essentialising and branding cultural visual cues, which can be found among various ethnic and national minorities (COMAROFF 2009: 18–21). With the rise of cheaply made, widely available printed thangkas, PRC-made t-shirts, magnets, keyrings and other souvenirs, the demand for high-quality, handmade items dropped drastically. Nowadays most of the traditional paintings, sculptures and furniture produced in Norbulingka are commissioned by monasteries, buildings of the administration or rich individuals, both Tibetans and foreigners. Most local inhabitants cannot afford products from this category of shops. The Tibetans I interviewed about this issue said that they struggle economically with acquiring any pieces of art or ritual objects from shops and choose to get them from craftsmen or via family and friends, whose relatives might work in the production of such items. Sometimes they choose cheaper alternatives, that do not represent such a high quality of production, but serve the same purpose and give a similar sense of affirmation of nurturing one's customs.

The majority of young Tibetans I interviewed do not find those modifications of “traditional” objects and performances as bad or endangering. My interlocutors, mostly artists, while inspired by the old, find enjoyment in the new, modernised diasporic Tibet. They consider it a logical evolution of culture, which occurs naturally, especially with the impact of globalism. Sonam Yeshe is highly esteemed and her items are also sold in a small shop on Bhagsu Road called Sharlho, which sells clothing, pieces of art, accessories and toys by Tibetan designers.<sup>42</sup> All of the items we can find there show a strong influence of Tibetan and local (e.g. Gaddi) visual culture but recontextualised in a modern form, which, despite their high prices, is quite popular among locals. The Comaroffs point out how the commodification of ethnicity surfaces from its crucial role in the need for affirmation of identity, hence with the modernisation of Tibetan cultures comes the demand for an adapted cultural outcome (COMAROFF and COMAROFF 2009: 20).

## 7. Tibet and India at the crossroads of cultures

The influence of Indian culture on the Tibetan minority in McLeod Ganj was inevitable, as it is not only a very popular tourist destination but also the home of different groups of Indians. Some of them are the autochthonous Gaddis, but also others (usually rich newcomers), who decided to recently settle there, due to the overall tranquillity compared to the bigger cities in India and the closeness to nature.<sup>43</sup> One can also observe a seasonal migration co-dependant on the tourist season by people from very different backgrounds, be it political,

<sup>42</sup> <https://sharlho.com/>; <https://www.facebook.com/Sharlho/>.

<sup>43</sup> Those were the motives indicated by my interlocutor, who was the owner of a residence I was living in during my stay in April and May 2022.

ethnic, religious or related to caste (BLOCH 2018: 37). They come there in search of work; e.g. most of the taxi drivers and textile sellers I met during my stay were ethnically not Tibetan, but, according to Natalia BLOCH, sequentially Gaddi and Kashmiri (BLOCH 2018: 40–41); and the owner of a small thangka-painting shop near the upper end of McLeod and Amdo village, one of the suburban areas, was from Nepal. Nepali people selling paintings, carpets and other handicraft objects derived from Tibetan culture but not conceived in line with the strict rules concerning Buddhist art are often subject to criticism from Tibetan creators, whose works are becoming less marketable (BLOCH 2018: 44).

Some aspects of Indian influence come from India's geographical placement and climate. Traditional Tibetan architecture works well in a cold and dry environment – the wood, clay and straw used to construct walls and ceilings are widely available and cheap building materials, ideal for the massive, block-style houses and temples built in Tibet. India has a completely different climate, which leads to the materials having to be replaced by more durable ones – concrete, brick and metal. That allowed for a more vertical spread on a relatively small surface. The placement of the buildings depends greatly on the surrounding terrain and infrastructure, therefore new houses were generally built along the main roads, very close together, and also had to be adjusted to the slope of the mountains. This caused the town of McLeod to have an unusually irregular structure of tightly connected, rather narrow buildings, something uncommon in traditional Tibetan architecture. One of the causes of this phenomenon was overpopulation in India, something that never existed on the vast plains of the Tibetan Plateau. Although McLeod is a small town, it is packed with people, animals and cars, swarming the narrow streets. However, what was lost in the shape of the houses was made up for in the furnishing and decorating. When given the opportunity, people would add ornaments to wooden beams, doors and columns, cover the entrances with fabrics depicting Buddhist symbols, hang thangkas and construct small altars with effigies of enlightened beings and some small offerings, like khatags<sup>44</sup>, tormas<sup>45</sup>, banknotes, fresh fruit and sweet drinks. An exception can be seen in the architecture of the official dwellings on the Central Tibetan Administration grounds, where buildings of various ministries, administrative offices and the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives are situated. The strong inspiration from the Tibetan style is clearly

<sup>44</sup> Tib. *kha btags*, a ceremonial scarf, traditionally made out of silk, now mostly polyester, used as the most common offering. Mostly in white or yellow, it is widely available due to its very low cost (usually around 150 rupees – less than 2 euros). It can be given to a person as a sign of respect, laid on an altar in front of a sacred effigy or put around a picture of an important figure, most often the 14th Dalai Lama.

<sup>45</sup> Tib. *gtor ma*, a traditional offering, usually formed out of butter and flour, in a variety of shapes. The temperatures in India would cause the butter to melt, therefore in Dharamsala tormas are oftentimes made with an addition of wax, to help preserve the shape. The most common ones I encountered were colourful flowery ornaments.

visible in the shapes and ornamentation of the constructions, with only small changes, usually some kind of modernisation.

A very visible foreign influence is the food culture, as among Tibetan restaurants or food stalls there are plenty of Indian *dhabas* (restaurants with Punjabi cuisine) and shops selling *samosas* (deep-fried pastries with vegetables, usually potato-based filling), bread *pakor*s (piece of toast, filled with mashed potatoes, then battered and deep-fried) and *aloo paranthas* (flatbread with potato filling). Even in restaurants that sell traditional Tibetan food, the menu often combines it with Indian or Italian dishes. From my observation, these kinds of places are rather targeted towards tourists, as the Tibetans I met prefer smaller, Tibetan-owned cafes and eating spots, serving traditional food. Some of them may seem empty, but a common practice among locals is calling the owner of a Tibetan-owned restaurant and ordering the food to be delivered by one of the workers. Such services are not usually provided to tourists or outsiders, but are widespread among local Tibetans.

While wandering around Dharamsala it is hard not to notice the plethora of wild animals roaming around. Near every dumpster, we are bound to find a few monkeys or a cow rummaging through the scraps, and stray dogs sleeping on every doorstep. While Tibet is no stranger to homeless dogs, the sheer number of them in India is overwhelming. While in other cities they are often starving and considered a nuisance, the ones in Dhasa are usually quite well fed and we can find pots with leftover rice and vegetables near spots where the dogs reside. They become quickly accustomed to new people and even befriend them, especially if given treats and petted, which is not the case in Delhi.<sup>46</sup> Cows stopping the traffic in the incredibly narrow streets or peeking through windows are not unusual views either. There are two main types of monkeys – smaller, golden ones during the warm months, and bigger, black and white ones in the colder parts of the year. While the first ones are viewed mostly as a problem, due to their stealing and aggressive tendencies, the second type are for the most part admired for their beauty and considered a nice addition to the local landscape. Many restaurants and cafes have terraces on the back or roof of the building, where while drinking my masala chai or eating a meal I could quite often observe monkeys jumping around and feeding their younglings, something most Tibetans are also accustomed to as something natural, which is nonetheless not to be seen in the cities of Tibet.

Despite Dharamsala being considered a more conservative place, Tibetans, especially younger ones, do enjoy various aspects of Indian culture. According to Timm Lau, who conducted field research among refugees, they actually prefer local music and movies, follow Indian and global clothing trends, admire

---

<sup>46</sup> Both from my and my interviewees' experience.

the beauty of Indian women and enjoy Indian food (LAU 2010: 3, 11–13). Some of those occurrences might be caused by a distinct lack of their modern Tibetan equivalents, such as films, which are still not produced in great numbers, especially in comparison with the colossus which is Bollywood. One of Lau's respondents praises Indian movies as a trigger for applying better hygiene in the Tibetan settlements; on the other hand, he criticises them for spreading fashionable clothing, which is replacing traditional Tibetan garments (LAU 2010: 11–13).

In my experience, global pop culture is now becoming more popular, especially among young Tibetans, who watch American film series on Netflix, like to eat Domino's Pizza and dress in Adidas and Nike clothing. This change probably happened in the last few years with the rise of the popularity of social media and smartphones. The majority of my Tibetan friends and acquaintances had expensive phones with a pair of branded earbuds or wireless speakers, many had Apple iPads or new laptops. As Tibetans themselves explained, this is a reflection of their refugee status and displacement sentiment. During a series of interviews I asked a simple question: "Do you consider yourself a refugee?". The answers were univocally affirmative, even from people having been born and raised in India.

"Wherever we go we try to make it feel like home, but you know it's not your home."

"Even if I was born in India, I don't feel like India is my nation."

"Proud to say I'm a refugee. It's not my fault, they made me. I'm not ashamed."<sup>47</sup>

The feeling of lacking a home is something that directly affects the way of life – movable objects become a way of creating a familiar environment, therefore smaller, everyday things are what Tibetans invest their resources in. The buildings in India not only do not resemble traditional homes from their homeland but can also be affected by moisture, insect infestations or even landslides, which makes them much more expendable goods than we might suspect. Interior design is therefore kept to a minimum and uses easily movable objects – paintings and prints, home textiles, fridge magnets or small figures. The ultimate goal for most Tibetans is to eventually return to Tibet, however – as the political prospects do not seem particularly preferable – other targets are Europe and North America, which seem to promise an easier life than Indian exile. This leads to a generally more minimalist lifestyle among refugees, who decide then to spend their money on modern electronics or high-quality clothing and accessories. Social media is an important part of everyday life in the

<sup>47</sup> Quotes from a series of interviews conducted in McLeod Ganj in August and September 2023. The respondents were mainly men, aged between 18 and 30.

diaspora, as not only does it provide recreation and snippets of a different world, but also serves as a platform of communication between Tibetans scattered all around the world. Instagram and WhatsApp are the most popular ways of broadcasting one's life events and creative output and prove very efficient in ensuring interaction with others.

During my research, I was surprised to find that Tibetans are more accepting of a modern shift in their culture and consider it a more natural flow of life than is widely assumed. Most research about ethno-commodification in Dharamsala has been conducted by Westerners and Indians, which might have led to a certain degree of involuntary exaggeration that this phenomenon is primarily negative. While discussing those issues with local Tibetans, their point of view seems to differ – they not only welcome it as a way of prolonging their traditions but see it as an organic phenomenon and gladly contribute to its development, be it by creating music, arts, handicrafts and clothing or reimagining their cuisine.

As mentioned before, many aspects of everyday life still maintain a visible inspiration from Tibetan and Buddhist culture, such as the ubiquitous auspicious symbols designs on all kinds of textiles, from clothing and bags to door covers and wall hangings, the use of instruments such as the *dramyin* in contemporary music, or all kinds of *tsampa* products sold in stores and coffee shops. Tibet was a particularly secluded country, which resulted in a quite stable and unchanging culture, which means any evolution in it to become increasingly visible. We should still look at it from afar and compare it to our own reality – in opposition to most European nations Tibetans still cultivate many aspects of traditions and older beliefs and incorporate historical visual features into their modern output.

## **8. Some concluding remarks**

As my research is centred around artistic circles, the group of people I befriended and spent my time in India with is naturally more inclined to a more creative and imaginative perception of the world around them. Nevertheless, I had the opportunity to meet and interview people from various backgrounds, holding different professions and levels of education, and therefore I believe I got a varied sample of opinions, which I strived to include in various points of this paper. The majority of interviews were not recorded, therefore my interlocutors' opinions were paraphrased, but some citations were included as well.

While I was talking with young Tibetans for my research, one point was continually brought up – whenever they create something it is always perceived through the lens of Tibetanness. They mentioned that no matter what the visual outcome, whether it be political, Tibet-oriented or completely not, it is always perceived as a product of a diasporic person.

I think sometimes, whenever we do art, it becomes a political thing. Among Tibetans, I mean. Because we are already people who are suppressed by other countries, like China. So, whenever we do something, people think, that “Ah, it’s like a political thing [...] this art is trying to say some things about politics.”<sup>48</sup>

A statement made by not only Tibetans in India but also some of the US-based ones I had the opportunity to talk with via online channels of communication, is that being of Tibetan descent in the contemporary art world makes it hard to be recognised outside of someone’s nationality or ethnicity. The juxtaposition of Western and Tibetan visual elements in artists’ works is a result of their upbringing and entourage and does not always serve the purpose of advocating one’s identity or making a political declaration. Many artists use depictions of traditional clothing, jewellery, masks or ritual instruments because they are an object present in their everyday life or they just find it visually pleasing, which is e.g. very often the case with tattoos.

Anne Phillips acknowledges this phenomenon in her work *Multiculturalism without Culture*, stating that:

In developing this argument, I query what I see as one of the biggest problems with culture: the tendency to represent individuals from minority or non-Western groups as driven by their culture and compelled by cultural dictates to behave in particular ways. Culture is now widely employed in a discourse that denies human agency, defining individuals through their culture, and treating culture as the explanation for virtually everything they say or do.<sup>49</sup> (PHILLIPS 2007: 8–9)

While the preservation of small, individual minorities by the Indian government by providing them with religious and administrative latitudes might be essential to the survival of Tibetan tradition and customs, it does not provide much room for changes and modernisation. That is often the case in societies on the verge of disappearance, fixating on the survival of an old culture, while not leaving any space for revisions, for fear of losing what is already in decline. Although such rhetoric can be expected from the Tibetan Government-in-Exile or older generations, young people seem to fall victim to such beliefs, which tend to be generalised, especially in public and academic output. I hope I have managed here to showcase the reality of the transformation of Tibetan culture in Dharamsala and its, often surprisingly, positive reception among the younger generations, not only in an economic sense but also as a progressive worldview. With this statement, I would like to invite future researchers to engage more

<sup>48</sup> Quote by Tashi Nyima, said during an ethnographic interview I conducted on 2 May 2022 in Dharamkot, near McLeod Ganj.

<sup>49</sup> Underscore added by the author of the article to emphasise the main message of this citation.

with the Tibetan youth in their research which might prove revisionary in our (European) perception of marginalised communities.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere thanks to all the people who made this paper possible. To the reviewers for their valuable comments, to the editors for their infinite patience, and to all my Tibetan friends for their active engagement in my research.

### Abbreviations

CTA	Central Tibetan Administration
PRC	People's Republic of China
Skt.	Sanskrit
Tib.	Tibetan

### References

- BAYER, Jerzy and Waldemar J. DZIAK 2015. *Tybet. Szkice z dziejów chińsko-tybetańskich*. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- BENTZ, Anne-Sophie 2012. "Being a Tibetan Refugee in India". *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 31(1): 80–107. <https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdr016>
- BLOCH, Natalia 2017. "Beyond Integration. Tibetan Diaspora's Separation Strategy in Multicultural India". [In:] Posern-Zieliński, Aleksander, ed., *The World of Encounters. The Role of Migration and Ethnicity in the Contemporary World*. Poznań: Instytut im. Oskara Kolberga, pp. 75–96.
- BLOCH, Natalia 2018. "Making a Community Embedded in Mobility. Refugees, Migrants, and Tourists in Dharamshala (India)". *Transfers* 8(3): 36–54. <https://doi.org/10.3167/TRANS.2018.080304>
- BLOCH, Natalia 2021. "Refugees as Donors: 'Rich' Tibetan Refugees, Evicted Indian Slum Dwellers and a Smart City". *Journal of Refugee Studies* 34(2): 1840–1858. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fez106>
- CHRISTOPHER, Stephen 2020. "Divergent Refugee and Tribal Cosmopolitanism in Dharamshala". *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 38(1): 33–56. <https://doi.org/10.22439/cjas.v38i1.6058>
- COMAROFF, John L. and Jean COMAROFF 2009. *Ethnicity, Inc.* Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226114736.001.0001>

- DIEHL, Keila 2002. *Echoes from Dharamsala. Music in the Life of a Tibetan Refugee Community*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520230439.001.0001>
- DODIN, Thierry and Heinz RÄTHER, eds 1996. *Imagining Tibet. Perceptions, Projections, and Fantasies*. Somerville: Wisdom Publications.
- DOLMA, Tenzin 2019. "Why are Tibetans Migrating Out of India?". *The Tibet Journal* 44(1): 27–52.
- KLIEGER, Christian P. 1997. "Shangri-La and Hyperreality: A Collision in Tibetan Refugee Expression". [In:] Korom, Frank J., ed., *Tibetan Culture in the Diaspora: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 59–68.
- LAU, Timm 2009. "Tibetan Fears and Indian Foes: Fears of Cultural Extinction and Antagonism as Discursive Strategy". *vis-à-vis: Explorations in Anthropology* 9(1): 81–90.
- LAU, Timm 2010. "The Hindi Film's Romance and Tibetan Notions of Harmony: Emotional Attachments and Personal Identity in the Tibetan Diaspora in India". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(6): 967–987. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691831003643389>
- LOBSANG WANGYAL VS UNION OF INDIA 2016. W.P.(C) 3539/2016 (High Court of Delhi, India), September 22, 2016; accessible online at: <https://indiankanoon.org/doc/90529177/> (accessed 15 December 2022).
- LOPEZ, Donald S., Jr. 1998. *Prisoners of Shangri-La. Tibetan Buddhism and the West*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226190488.001.0001>
- MCGRANAHAN, Carole 2005. "Truth, Fear, and Lies: Exile Politics and Arrested Histories of the Tibetan Resistance". *Cultural Anthropology* 20(4): 570–600. <https://doi.org/10.1525/can.2005.20.4.570>
- MCGRANAHAN, Carole 2016. "Refusal and the Gift of Citizenship". *Cultural Anthropology* 31(3): 334–341. <https://journal.culanth.org/index.php/ca/article/view/ca31.3.03/371> (accessed 15 December 2022). <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca31.3.03>
- PHILLIPS, Anne 2007. *Multiculturalism without Culture*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- PROST, Audrey 2006. "The Problem with 'Rich Refugees' Sponsorship, Capital, and the Informal Economy of Tibetan Refugees". *Modern Asian Studies* 40(1): 233–253. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X06001983>

- PUROHIT, Kunal 2019. "After 60 years in India, why are Tibetans leaving?". <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2019/3/21/after-60-years-in-india-why-are-tibetans-leaving> (accessed 24 September 2022).
- SEETHARAMAN, Abhinav 2020. "Tibetan Refugees in India: The Challenges of Applying for Indian Citizenship". *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 54: 95–113.
- SHAKYA, Tsering 2000. *The Dragon in the Land of Snows: A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947*. New York: Penguin Compass.
- THE TIBET MUSEUM 2008. *Tibet's Journey in Exile*. New Delhi: The Tibet Museum.
- TIBET JUSTICE CENTER 2016. *Tibet's Stateless Nationals III. The Status of Tibetan Refugees in India*. Oakland: Tibet Justice Center. <https://www.tibetjustice.org/?p=882> (accessed 15 December 2022).
- WANGYAL, Lobsang 2019. "Demographic survey shows exile Tibetan exodus to West". <https://www.tibetsun.com/news/2019/12/18/demographic-survey-shows-exile-tibetan-exodus-to-west> (accessed 7 September 2022).
- WOJAHN, Daniel 2016. "Preservation and Continuity: The Ache Lhamo Tradition Inside and Outside the Tibet Autonomous Region". *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 37: 534–550.

### **About the Demographic Survey of 2009**

- <https://tibet.net/about-cta/tibet-in-exile/> (accessed 8 September 2022).
- <https://www.phayul.com/2010/12/04/28666/> (accessed 8 September 2022).

### **About the issuing of Indian passports to Tibetans**

- LOBSANG WANGYAL VS UNION OF INDIA 2016.
- <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/tibetan-refugees-to-get-indian-passports/articleshow/58231841.cms> (accessed 24 September 2022).
- <https://www.passportindia.gov.in/AppOnlineProject/online/identityCertificate> (accessed 24 September 2022).
- <https://www.refworld.org/docid/592d68954.html> (accessed 24 September 2022).

### **Websites of administrative units and official organizations**

- <https://mentseekhang.org/> (accessed 8 January 2023).
- <https://norbulingka.org/> (accessed 21 September 2022).
- <https://tcv.org.in/> (accessed 28 September 2022).
- <https://tibet.net/> (accessed 22 September 2022).

<https://tibetanlibrary.org/> (accessed 22 September 2022).

<https://tibetmuseum.org/> (accessed 28 September 2022).

<https://tipa.asia/> (accessed 21 September 2022).

### Other online resources

<https://savetibet.org/olympics2022/> (accessed 8 September 2022).

<https://sharlho.com/> (accessed 8 January 2023).

<https://tibet.net/department/home/> (accessed 4 January 2023).

<https://tibet.net/photo-story-pangden-rainbow-at-tibetan-womens-waist-on-this-lhakar/> (accessed 28 September 2022).

<https://tibet.net/support-tibet/pay-green-book/> (accessed 19 November 2023).

<https://tibetanhealth.org/autonomous-bodies/> (accessed 8 January 2023).

<https://www.bcci.tv/about> (accessed 8 September 2023).

<https://www.facebook.com/Sharlho/> (accessed 8 January 2023).

<https://www.sonamyeshi.art/> (accessed 27 September 2022).

<https://www.thecitizen.in/index.php/en/NewsDetail/index/12/17789/Why-Cricket-is-so-Popular-in-India-and-the-Famous-Indian-Cricketers--> (accessed 8 September 2023).

<https://www.timesofsports.com/cricket/most-popular-sport-in-india/> (accessed 8 September 2023).



**Fig. 1.** Dogs in front of a lecture hall in the CTA complex, 2022. © Paulina Koniuch.



**Fig. 2.** Street stalls with various “hippie” objects in McLeodGanj, 2022. © Paulina Koniuch.



**Fig. 3.** A shop selling Tibetan and African masks in McLeod Ganj, 2022. © Paulina Koniuch.



**Fig. 4.** Handmade items for sale in a coffee shop, such as keyrings representing monks, 2023. © Paulina Koniuch.



**Fig. 5.** A Rimpoché/Buddhist teacher enjoying contemporary Tibetan art at an exhibition, 2023. © Paulina Koniuch.

---

## The *Story of Mālinī (Mālinī-vastu)* in the *Mahāvastu*

Katarzyna MARCINIAK

**Abstract:** This paper presents a new edition and translation of the chapter *Mālinī-vastu* as preserved in the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit text *Mahāvastu*, together with a grammatical commentary and some notes on the structure of this chapter. The edition is based on the oldest manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*, the so-called ms. Sa, which often offers better readings than those proposed by Émile Senart in his *editio princeps* of the text from 1882–1897.

**Keywords:** *Mahāvastu*, *Mālinī-vastu*, narrative literature, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, edition

Katarzyna MARCINIAK, Research Centre of Buddhist Studies, Warsaw University, Poland;  
k.marciniak3@uw.edu.pl;  0000-0003-2137-942X

The *Mahāvastu* (Mv) – a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit text belonging to the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins – contains a rich collection of narrative stories, mostly belonging to the *jātaka*<sup>1</sup> genre. In many cases they form a peculiar pattern in which a story is first told in a prose *parikalpa*<sup>2</sup>, and then the same, or similar, content is given again by means of a versified *jātaka* (or the other way round). The relationship between the two components is not entirely clear – sometimes the *parikalpa* seems to be merely a prose elaboration of the content of the *jātaka*, in other cases, however, there are major differences between the two, i.e., either of them may contain elements absent in the other one. It would seem that in most cases the verses were composed first, while the prose part, whose language is easier and more comprehensible to the reader, is an elaboration of the verses. However, to say so would be an oversimplification. There seem to be some exceptions to this rule. Certainly, the subject is yet to be researched further.

This pattern, i.e., the two redactions of the same story, in prose and in verses, occurs in the *Mahāvastu* several times, e.g., *Padumāvatī-parikalpa* and *Padumāvatī-jātaka*<sup>3</sup>, *Hastinikā-parikalpa* and *Hastinī-jātaka*<sup>4</sup>, *Śyāmaka-parikalpa* and *Śyāmaka-jātaka*, *Vijitāvi-parikalpa* and *Vijitāvi-jātaka*, *Śarabhaṅga-jātaka*, *Vyāghrī-jātaka*<sup>5</sup>, *Pañca-vāṇijaśatā*<sup>6</sup>. Sometimes both redactions of the story are included together under “*jātaka*”, i.e., there is no separate colophon for the prose version, for example in the chapters *Śarabhaṅga-jātaka*, *Pañca vāṇijaśatā* and *Vyāghrī-jātaka*.

The story of a girl named Mālinī also follows the pattern outlined above, though only to a certain degree. The story is not a *parikalpa* or a *jātaka*, but a *vastu*, meaning “chapter, section, account”<sup>7</sup> and consists of the following parts:

1. The prose account followed by the verse redaction of the same part of the story – this is exactly the pattern known from the *jātaka-parikalpa* sections.
2. Then the story goes on only in verses, with no corresponding prose redaction.
3. After the verses, the story is continued only in prose.

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka*, a story of a previous birth of the Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> *Parikalpa* “prose version of a *jātaka* or legend” (BHSD).

<sup>3</sup> See MARCINIAK 2017a.

<sup>4</sup> See KARASHIMA and MARCINIAK 2019b.

<sup>5</sup> See MARCINIAK 2023.

<sup>6</sup> See MARCINIAK 2018.

<sup>7</sup> On the term *vastu* see, among others, YUYAMA 2001: xxiv–xxv (with further references).

4. Then the story is continued in verses.
5. The story is completed with a short passage in prose.

Apart from the *Mālinī-vastu*, we find in the Mv seven other chapters called *vastu*: *Dīpaṃkara-vastu*, *Yaśoda-vastu*, *Sabhika-vastu*<sup>8</sup>, *Abhiya-vastu*, *Maṅgala-vastu*, *Chatra-vastu*, and *Pūrṇa-vastu*. Among them, the verse and prose versions of the story are found only in the *Abhiya-vastu*. Thus, it seems that the pattern in which a story or its part is presented twice, through prose and verse redactions, is in the Mv characteristic mostly of the *jātakas* and *parikalpas*, but it can constitute a part of other chapters as well, though to a much lesser extent.

Summing up, the structure of the *Mālinī-vastu* is as follows:

- I. Prose.
- II. Verses (Śloka).
- III. Verses (Śloka, Āryā).
- IV. Prose.
- V. Verses (Śloka, Vaitālīya-Aupacchandasika, Triṣṭubh-Jagatī).
- VI. Prose.

The two redactions of the same part of the story are interesting also as far as the language is concerned. Not surprisingly, the verses have preserved a greater number of Middle Indic, semi-Middle Indic, and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit forms than the prose sections, for example

prose *sthitvā* / verse *sthihitvāna*;  
 -*sukhopadhānena* / -*phāsuvihāreṇa*;  
 -*upapadyeyaṃ* / -*upapadyehaṃ*;  
*kṛtvā* / *karitvāna*;  
*upapannā* / *upapadyitha*;  
*upapannā* / *upapadyiṣu*;  
*sastrī-* / *sa-istriyo*;  
*pūjeti* / *pūjāṃ kāsi*.

Noteworthy, the prose part as well has preserved some peculiar Middle Indic and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit forms and features, such as *parivedhita-*, *cavitvā*, *-dhotena*, *puna*, *irya-*, *grāmismi*, *antapura-*, *upasthihati*, nom. sg. *tuvaṃ*, the oblique sg. fem. ending *-āe*, loc. sg. *taṃhi*, and others.

This paper offers a new edition of the *Mālinī-vastu*, in which the prose and verse redactions of the story are juxtaposed, together with an English translation,

<sup>8</sup> See KARASHIMA and MARCINIAK 2019a.

a grammatical commentary, and some notes on the metre in the footnotes. The edition is based on the text preserved in the oldest palm-leaf manuscript Sa (Sa) of the *Mahāvastu*, dated on paleographical evidence to the 12th c. CE. The readings from Senart's *editio princeps* (Sen.) are given in the footnotes. In many places Senart's readings and Jones's translation of the text could be improved. Some parts of the text, however, are hopelessly corrupted in ms. Sa, particularly some of the verses, and not infrequently it was impossible to reconstruct the correct text and propose better readings that would not deviate from the readings in the manuscript too much. For now, I have had to leave them unresolved. In some places Senart's conjectures do seem plausible. In others, however, they cannot be justified when faced with the readings in ms. Sa. In these cases, I keep the readings of the manuscript, even if they are obscure.

## Edition and translation

**Part I:** The prose account followed by the metrical redaction of the same part of the story.<sup>9</sup>

**Prose:** (Sa 88v1–2, Sen. I 301.4–11) *aparo dāni pratyekabuddho Kāśibhūmiṣu pūrvāhne grāmaṃ piṇḍāya praviṣati prāsādikena abhikrāntapratikrāntena ālokitavilokitena sammiñjitaprasāritena saṃghāṭīpātracīvaradhāraṇena*<sup>10</sup>. *nāgo viya kāritakāraṇo antargatehi indriyehi abahirgatena mānasena sthitena dharmatāprāptena yugamātraprekṣamāṇo. grāmiko ca grāmāto aranyaṃ nirdhāvati karmāntaṃ pratyavekṣaṇāye. prāsādikābhiprasannā devamanuṣyā*<sup>11</sup>. *pratyekabuddho taṃ grāmaṃ sāvadānaṃ piṇḍāya caritvā yathādhotena*<sup>12</sup> *pātreṇa tato grāmāto nirdhāvati. priyānno*<sup>13</sup> *kālo vartati na kenaci*<sup>14</sup> *bhikṣā dinnā.*

<sup>9</sup> I give the verses right after the prose parts to which they correspond so that it can be seen the extent to which their contents overlap.

<sup>10</sup> = Sen.; Sa *ālokitavilokitasammiñjitaprasāritasamghāṭīpātracīvaradhāraṇena*. Cf. Mv(KM) III 70 *prāsādikena abhikrāntapratikrāntena ālokitavilokitena sammiñjitaprasāritena saṃghāṭīpātracīvaradhāraṇena*, III 231 *iryāpathena abhikrāntapratikrāntena ālokita-vilokitena sammiñjitaprasāritena saṃghāṭīpātracīvaradhāraṇena*; Abhis. § 41.4.34A1 *prāsādikena abhikrāntena sammiñjitaprasāritena saṃghāṭīpātracīvaradhāraṇena*.

<sup>11</sup> Sen. *prāsādiko abhiprasannadevamanuṣyo*. Cf. Mv(KM) III 35 *pratyekabuddho ca taṃ grāmaṃ praviṣto piṇḍāya taruṇābhirūpo prāsādikena iryāpathena prāsādikābhiprasannā devamanuṣyāḥ*.

<sup>12</sup> = Pāli; Sen. *yathādhautena*.

<sup>13</sup> *Priyānno kālo vartati* “It is a time of high food prices”. Sen. has *prāyonnakālo* (JONES 1949–1956: I 250 translates “It is meal-time”, but in fn. 4 he points out that Senart's conjecture is doubtful and suggests *pānānakālo* “time for drink and food”). The reading in ms. Sa is correct and should be kept.

<sup>14</sup> Sen. *kenacid*.

Then a certain *pratyekabuddha* in the country Kāśī in the morning entered the village to beg for alms, gracefully approaching and recessing, looking forward and looking around, retracting and extending [his arms], carrying his waist-cloth, bowl and robe. He was like a *nāga*, he had performed all his duties, with his senses turned inwards, his mind not directed outwards; [he was] steady, he had reached his expected state<sup>15</sup>, [he was] looking [as far as] the length of a yoke. The village headman was hurrying from the village to the forest in order to inspect the work [there]. Gods and people were gracious and well-disposed. The *pratyekabuddha*, having gone through the village house after house<sup>16</sup> begging for alms, was hurrying away from the village with his bowl as if it was washed (i.e., empty). It was a time of high food prices, [thus,] nobody gave him alms.<sup>17</sup>

Verse: (Sa 89r6, Sen. I 303.10–11)

*pratyekabuddho grāmaṃ piṇḍāya-m-upasaṃkrame |*  
*yathādhotena*<sup>18</sup> *pātreṇa grāmāto pratiniṣkramet*<sup>19</sup> ||<sup>20</sup>

A *pratyekabuddha* had gone to the village for alms, [but] was returning from the village with his bowl as if it was washed (i.e., empty).

Prose: (Sa 88v2–3, Sen. I 301.11–14) *grāmiko karmāntāṃ pratyavekṣayitvā puna*<sup>21</sup> *grāmaṃ praviśati paśyati ca taṃ pratyekabuddhaṃ grāmato nirdhāvantaṃ. tasya bhavati “priyānno*<sup>22</sup> *kālo vartati. jānāmi tāva*<sup>23</sup> *kiṃ imena pravrajitena bhaikṣaṃ labdham” iti. grāmikaḥ pratyekabuddhaṃ upasaṃkramya pṛcchati “ārya labdham bhaikṣaṃ?” ti.*

The village headman, having inspected the work, again entered the village and saw that *pratyekabuddha* hurrying away from the village. He thought “It is a time of high food prices. Let me find out<sup>24</sup> what alms this recluse has received”.

<sup>15</sup> I.e., the inner state proper to a *pratyekabuddha*. BHSD s.v. *dharmatā* “*dharmatā-prāpta*, Mv i.301.8, arrived at the normal (correct, to-be-expected) state, said of the mind of a Pratyekabuddha”, DP II s.v. *dhamma* “*dhammatā*, 1. normal custom, habit; what is to be expected; the usual way”. JONES 1949–1956: I 250 “who had achieved harmony with dharma”.

<sup>16</sup> Lit. “in a regular, systematic order” (BHSD s.v.).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. JONES 1949–1956: I 250 “‘It is meal-time’, said he, ‘yet no one has given me alms’”.

<sup>18</sup> = Pāli; Sen. °*dhautena*.

<sup>19</sup> Sen. *tato grāmāto niṣkramet*, violating the metre.

<sup>20</sup> *Pāda* a is submetrical by one syllable. Sen. improves the metre by reading *pratiyekabuddho*.

<sup>21</sup> Sen. *punar*.

<sup>22</sup> Sen. *prāyonnakālo*. See above fn. 11.

<sup>23</sup> Sen. *tāvaṃ*.

<sup>24</sup> *Jānāmi tāva*; for this usage of *tāva* see PTSD s.v. *tāva* 4(b) “let me, well, then”. JONES 1949–1956: I 250 “I’ll just see”.

Having approached the *pratyekabuddha*, the village headman asked “O noble man, have you obtained any alms?”.

Verse: (Sa 89r6, Sen. I 303.12–13)

*tam enaṃ grāmiko dṛṣṭvā sambuddham idam abravīt |*  
*“kacci<sup>25</sup> arogo bhagavāṃ labhyate piṇḍayāpanaṃ” ||*

Having seen that perfectly awoken one, the village headman said:  
 “I hope this healthy Exalted One has obtained the sustenance [in the form of] alms”.

Prose: (Sa 88v3–4, Sen. I 301.14–18) *pratyekabuddho tūṣṇīkaśobhano tucchakaṃ pātraṃ grāmikasya darśayati. grāmiko pratyekabuddhasya tucchakaṃ pātraṃ dṛṣṭvāna āha<sup>26</sup> “yāvad asaṃvibhāgaśīlo jano<sup>27</sup> yatra nāma evarūpo dakṣiṇīyo eva mahantāto grāmāto yathādhotena<sup>28</sup> pātreṇa nirdhāvati. kiṃ ime uddīpayam(?)<sup>29</sup> paribhuñjanti?” so āha “bhagavaṃ āgaccha. ahaṃ te āhāraṃ dāsyāmi”.*

The *pratyekabuddha*, glorious in his silence, showed the empty bowl to the village headman. Having seen the *pratyekabuddha*’s empty bowl, the village headman said, “How undisposed towards sharing people are since such a man worthy of veneration is hurrying away from that great village with his bowl as if it was washed! Why are they enjoying ...(?)” He said, “O Exalted One, come, I shall give you food”.

Verses: (Sa 89r6–89v1, Sen. I 303.14–17)

*tato (°)sya bhagavāṃ<sup>30</sup> pātraṃ grāmikasya praṇāmaye |*  
*na cāntar(°) addaśī<sup>31</sup> bhikṣāṃ daurmanasya grāmikasya abhūt ||<sup>32</sup>*

<sup>25</sup> Sen. *kicci*.

<sup>26</sup> Sen. *dṛṣṭvā nam āha*.

<sup>27</sup> Sa *yano*. For the interchange *j / y* in ms. Sa see MARCINIAK 2014: 165. Cf. BHSG § 2.34. This alternation occurs several times in ms. Sa, e.g., Mv(KM) II 120 *yayiṣyati* for *yajiṣyati*, III 193 *yātasya* for *jātasya*, III 442 *jāti* for *yāti*, III 352 *anuparimārye* for *anuparimārje*.

<sup>28</sup> = Pāli; Sen. *yathādhautena*.

<sup>29</sup> So read ms. Sa and Sen. But the meaning is not clear. In his note (I, p. 596), Sen. suggests reading *kiṃ ime taddīpaṃ na paribhuñjanti* “‘Est-ce que ces hommes (les villageois) vont être privés de jouir [de la présence] de cette lumière’. Mais *dīpa*, appliqué directement et sans préparation au Pratyekabuddha.” JONES 1949–1956: I 251. “Can it be that these people want to deprive themselves of the joy of giving alms to this illustrious man?” I am unable to propose a feasible conjecture here.

<sup>30</sup> Sen. *bhagavan*.

<sup>31</sup> The conjecture is doubtful. Sa has *cāturddaśī*, Sen. *na cātra adarśī*.

<sup>32</sup> *Pāda* d is hypermetrical by two syllables. We could improve it by reading *daurmanagrāmikasya (°)bhūt*.

“*andhabhūto ayam loko mithyādr̥ṣṭihato sadā |  
etādr̥śam dakṣiṇīyam na pūjenti yathārham*”<sup>33</sup> ||

Then the Exalted One held out his bowl to the village headman.  
But he did not see the alms inside. The village headman, angry, thought:  
“The mankind is blind, and always struck by false views.  
They do not honour properly such a man worthy of veneration”.

Prose: (Sa 88v4, Sen. I 301.18–19) *so taṃ pratyekabuddhaṃ gr̥h̥tvā taṃ grāmaṃ  
praviṣṭo. so catuḥmahāpathe sthitvā avidhāvidha*<sup>34</sup> *ti <krandati>*<sup>35</sup>.

Having taken the *pratyekabuddha* with him, he entered that village. Having  
stood at the crossing of the four main roads, he cried “*avidha! avidha!*”<sup>36</sup>

Verse: (Sa 89v1, Sen. I 303.18–19)

*grāmāntaṃ upasaṃkramaṃ sthītvāna*<sup>37</sup> *catuṣpathe |  
avidhāvidhēti krandanto*<sup>38</sup> *tato sannipate janaḥ* ||<sup>39</sup>

Having approached the edge of the village, he stood at the crossroads  
crying *avidha! avidha!* Then the people gathered.

Prose: (Sa 88v4–5, Sen. I 301.19–302.1) *avasthitaḥ grāmikasya avidhāvidhaṃ ti śabdaṃ  
śrutvā sastrīmanuṣyo grāmo sannipatitaḥ. grāmikasya upasaṃkramitvā  
prchanti “kiṃ kṣemaṃ”<sup>40</sup>? kiṃ avidhāvidhaṃ ti krandasī?*<sup>41</sup>

Having heard the cry “*avidha! avidha!*” of the village headman standing [there],  
the villagers, including women and men, went together [to the spot]. Having  
approached the village headman, they ask “What [can we do to bring you]  
peace<sup>41</sup>? Why are you crying ‘*avidha! avidha!*’?”

<sup>33</sup> Read with Sen. *yathārahaṃ, metri causa.*

<sup>34</sup> Sen. *avidhāvidhā.*

<sup>35</sup> = Sen., Sa lacks *krandati*. I follow Senart as his readings are in line with those below:  
*avidhāvidhēti krandanto* and *kiṃ avidhāvidhaṃ ti krandasī.*

<sup>36</sup> *Avidha*, Skt *avidhā*, Pkt *aviha* and *avihā*, “used in calling for help” (MW), “exclamation, of  
disapproval or dismay” (BHSD), usually translated into English as “Alas!” or “Help!”.

<sup>37</sup> = Sen.; Sa *sthitatvāna.*

<sup>38</sup> Sen. *avidhāvidhaṃ ti krandati.*

<sup>39</sup> In *pāda* c the first syllable is resolved.

<sup>40</sup> Sen. keeps this reading but takes it as a scribal error of *kiṃ khimaṃ = kiṃ khu imaṃ = kiṃ  
khalv idaṃ* “What is it / What is the matter?” (see his note on p. 597).

<sup>41</sup> See BHSD s.v. *kṣema*: “1, as in Skt., adj. causing peace and comfort, or n. comfort: Mv i.302.1  
*kiṃ kṣemaṃ*, what (can we do that) will cause you peace and comfort? In the verse form  
303.21 replaced by *kiṃ karoma*. Response to a cry of distress; foll. by *kiṃ avidhāvidhaṃ ti  
krandasī*. Senart fails to understand.”

Verse: (Sa 89v1, Sen. I 303.20–21)

*mahājano samāgatvā istriyo puruṣā<sup>42</sup> pi ca |  
grāmikaṃ upasamkramya “kiṃ karoma avidhāvidhē?”ti<sup>43</sup> ||<sup>44</sup>*

A great crowd gathered, women as well as men.

Having approached the village headman, [they ask] “What do we do<sup>45</sup> [that you shout] *avidha! avidha!*?”

Prose: (Sa 88v5, Sen. I 302.1–3) *grāmika āha “krandāmi yaṃ c(°) ete<sup>46</sup> na samvibhāgaratā na samvibhāgaśīlāḥ. yatra nāma evaṃ mahantāto <grāmāto><sup>47</sup> eko bhikṣu yathādhotena<sup>48</sup> pātreṇa nirdhāvati”.*

The village headman said, “I am crying as these [you] do not find delight in sharing, you are not well-disposed towards sharing since this one mendicant is hurrying out of this great village with his bowl as if it was washed”.

Verse: (Sa 89v1–2, Sen. I 304.1–3)

*grāmiko āha  
“yaṃ nūnaṃ koṭi<sup>49</sup> yuṣmākaṃ na samvibhāgarato jano |  
eṣo hi etasmiṃ grāmasmi eko bhikṣur vihanyati” ||<sup>50</sup>*

The village headman said:

“Certainly, so many of you are people who do not find delight in sharing. Since this one mendicant is disappointed in this village”.

Prose: (Sa 88v5–6, Sen. I 302.3–4) *te dāni grāmelukā<sup>51</sup> tasya grāmikasya śrutvā taṃ pratyekabuddhaṃ satkartavyaṃ manyensu.*

<sup>42</sup> = Sen.; Sa *puruṣo* (scribal error, ya य and ṣa ष can be confused).

<sup>43</sup> Sen. *avidhāvidhaṃ ti*.

<sup>44</sup> *Pāda* d is hypermetrical by one syllable, it becomes regular if we read *kiṃ karomāvidhāvidhe*.

<sup>45</sup> *Kiṃ karoma avidhāvidha-*, so read Sa and Sen. It is not entirely clear how to understand this sentence. JONES 1949–1956: I 253 translates “What means this cry of *avidha! avidha!*” without any note.

<sup>46</sup> Sa *ceta*, Sen. *yenaite*.

<sup>47</sup> = Sen.; the word *grāmāto* is lacking in ms. Sa.

<sup>48</sup> Sen. °*dhautena*.

<sup>49</sup> I am not sure how to understand *koṭi* here. JONES 1949–1956: I 253, fn. 3 suggests “*Koṭi* – if the reading is correct – here used as indefinite number and, perhaps, in a depreciatory sense”. Following this suggestion, I translate it as “so many of you”; JONES 1949–1956: I 253 “You are indeed a fine crowd”.

<sup>50</sup> *Pādas* b and c are hypermetrical. *Pāda* c becomes *ta-Vipulā* if we read *etasmi gāme* for *etasmiṃ grāmasmi*.

<sup>51</sup> “Villagers”; Sa *grāmellakā*, Sen. emends *grāme mahallakā*. BHSD s.v. *grāmeluka* “(= Mg. *gāmelua*), living in a village, or, a village”.

Then these villagers, having heard the village headman, deemed that *pratyekabuddha* one who should be honoured.

Verse: (Sa 89v2, Sen. I 304.4–5)

*grāmikasya vacanaṃ śrutvā sarvo grāmo sa-istriko*<sup>52</sup> |  
*sārāyaṇīyam akarensu*<sup>53</sup> *saṃbuddhasya punaḥpunaḥ* ||<sup>54</sup>

Having heard the words of the village headman, all the villagers, together with women,  
entertained the perfectly awoken one [with food]<sup>55</sup> again and again.

Prose: (Sa 88v6., Sen. I 302.4–6) *grāmikena pratyekabuddho grhaṃ praveśitvā āhāreṇa pratimānetvā yāvajjīvam upanimantrito* “*aham āryasya nimantremi yāvajjīvaṃ sarvasukhopadhānena*”.

The *pratyekabuddha*, having been led by the village headman to his house, was honoured with food and invited to stay as long as he lived: “I shall serve this noble man with the sources of all happiness<sup>56</sup> as long as he lives”.

Verse: (Sa 89v2, Sen. I 304.6–7)

*tam enaṃ grāmiko avaca*<sup>57</sup> *sabhāryako*<sup>58</sup> *saputrako* |  
“*sarvaphāsuvihāreṇa*<sup>59</sup> *nimantremi*<sup>60</sup> *tathāgataṃ*” ||<sup>61</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Sen. *sa-istriyo*.

<sup>53</sup> Sen. *karensu*.

<sup>54</sup> In *pāda* a we could improve the metre by reading *grāmikavacanaṃ*; in *pāda* c the sixth syllable is resolved.

<sup>55</sup> *Sārāyaṇīyam akarensu*. See BHSD s.v. *sārāyaṇīya* “hospitable entertainment, esp. with food”. It occurs in the Mv several times, usually with *kathā*: *sārāyaṇīyā kathā* “polite, courteous speech” (e.g., Mv(KM) III 70, III 257, III 414, III 506, III 576), but also *riṣiṇā tasya lubdhakasya sārāyaṇīyaṃ kṛtaṃ* “The seer entertained the hunter [with food]” (Mv(KM) II 133). Cf. Pāli *sārāṇīya*.

<sup>56</sup> *Sarvasukhopadhāna-*; Pāli *upadhāna* “that on which something rests, basis” (DP), “basis, what is needful for happiness” (PTSD). Cf. JONES 1949–1956: I 251 “I shall keep this worthy man in every comfort and ease as long as he lives”.

<sup>57</sup> Sen. *vaca*.

<sup>58</sup> Sen. *sabhāryāko*.

<sup>59</sup> Sen. *sarvasukhavihāreṇa*. = Pāli *phāsu*, PTSD s.v. *phāsu* “-vihāra ‘comfort, ease’”; BHSD s.v. *phāsu* “agreeable, comfortable”. *Phāsu-vihāra* occurs also in the *Abhisamācārikā*, another work of the Lokottaravādins: Abhis. II § 31.7 *phāsuvihāraṃ upadahatha* “Besorgt für das Wohlbefinden” (see the note in Abhis. II § 31.7, fn. 1). On the Middle Indic *phāsai* see for example NORMAN CP I: 32–34.

<sup>60</sup> = Sen.; Sa *nimantresi* (*ma* and *sa* are similar and often confused).

<sup>61</sup> In *pāda* a the seventh syllable is resolved.

Then<sup>62</sup> the village headman, together with his wife and son, said, “I shall serve the *tathāgata* with all comforts”.

Prose: (Sa 88v6–89r1, Sen. I 302.6–9) *svajanaṃ dhītā<sup>63</sup> samveditā<sup>64</sup> “evaṃ tuvaṃ āryaṃ taṃ divasaṃ āhāreṇa upasthihi”*. *sā dārikā<sup>65</sup> prītā tuṣṭā saṃvṛttā “śobhanam me kalyāṇakarma sevitaṃ”*. *sā dāni taṃ pratyekabuddhaṃ divasaṃ āhāreṇa upasthihati. prāsādikābhiprasannā devamanuṣyā*.

From among the own people, the daughter [of the village headman] was appointed: “Serve this noble man with food every day”. The girl became delighted and pleased: “A beautiful, good deed will have been performed by me”. Then she served that *pratyekabuddha* with food every day. Gods and people were gracious and well-disposed.

Verse: (Sa 89v2–3, Sen. I 304.8–9)

*grāmikasya svakā dhītā śucivastrā suvāsana<sup>66</sup> |*  
*ācāraguṇasaṃpannā upasthīya<sup>67</sup> tathāgataṃ ||*

The village headman’s own daughter, in clean clothes, well-dressed, endowed with the quality of [excellent] behaviour, was [appointed] to serve the *tathāgata*.

Prose: (Sa 89r1–2, Sen. I 302.9–12) *pratyekabuddho pariññātabhojano sarvāśravapariḥṣāno<sup>68</sup> mahābhāgo. tasya dāni grāmikasya dhītuh taṃ*

<sup>62</sup> The phrase *taṃ enaṃ* is used probably in the meaning “then, thereupon”. Cf. BHSD s.v. *tamenam* and DP I: 547 s.v. *ena<sup>2</sup>*. See also MARCINIAK 2022: 304 and fn. 100.

<sup>63</sup> Sen. emends *svayaṃdhītā*. This form is discussed in BHSD s.v. *svayaṃ*? “In i.302.6 (prose), Senart by em. *svayaṃdhītā samveditā*, ‘he spoke to his own daughter’; if it means this, I should read *svayā*, or (Skt.) *svakā*, or possibly *svaya-* (in comp.), *dhītā*; could this (taking *svajanaṃ* as nom.) mean his people (and specifically) his daughter was admonished?”. Ms. Sa undoubtedly reads *svajanaṃ*, which, if correct, could be taken as the abl. sg. *-am* and mean “from the own people”(?). For the abl. sg. *-am* see HINÜBER 2001: § 304, KARASHIMA 2002: § 9.4, OBERLIES 2019: § 35 (4).

<sup>64</sup> Sen. *saṃveditā*.

<sup>65</sup> Sen. *upasthihi* || *dārikā*.

<sup>66</sup> = Sen., *Sa su-āsanā*. I assume that the scribe took *-v-* in *suvāsana* as a glide and thus wrongly removed it as superfluous. Cf. the reading a few verses below: *śucivastrā suvāsasā*.

<sup>67</sup> Sen. *upasthīya*. EDGERTON (BHSG § 32.105) is doubtful about *upasthīya*, writing “3 sg. *īya* (?)”, apparently equivalent to the form *īa* which is authorized by the grammarians in the meaning of a past in AMg (*accīa* etc.). Pischel § 466 treats these forms as historically opt. [...]. I do not see how they can be directly derived from any Skt. opt. or precative, unless from such 9th class pres. optatives as *grhñīyāt*, where *ī* is part of the present stem”. I keep the reading of ms. Sa.

<sup>68</sup> Sen. *sarvāśucipariḥṣāno*. Senart notes that his manuscripts read *sarvāśucipariḥṣāno*. If so, then undoubtedly, *sarvāśrava-* was miswritten as *sarvāśuca-* (*śra* 𑖦 and *śu* 𑖧 can be confused, while *ca* and *va* are barely distinguishable from one another). The reading in ms. Sa is correct and should be kept.

*pratyekabuddhasya iryaṃ*<sup>69</sup> *paśyitvā udāraṃ prasādaṃ <utpannaṃ>*<sup>70</sup>. *tathā anye pi*<sup>71</sup> *janā*<sup>72</sup>. *eṣo dāni pratyekabuddho tasya grāmikasya prasādena tatraiva grāmakṣetre anupādāya parinirvṛto*<sup>73</sup>.

The *pratyekabuddha*, having the knowledge of food<sup>74</sup>, having all the afflictions destroyed, was highly fortunate. Then the daughter of the village headman, having seen the *pratyekabuddha*'s deportment, there arose [in her] sublime faith. And in other people too. Then this *pratyekabuddha*, through the kindness of the village headman, on that very site of the village, without any further clinging won the final release.

Verse: (Sa 89v3, Sen. I 304.10–11)

*grāmikasya prasādena tasmim grāmasmi*<sup>75</sup> *svrato |*  
*sambuddho parinirvāya*<sup>76</sup> *riṣi kṣīṇapunarbhavo ||*

Through the kindness of the village headman, in that village, the virtuous perfectly awoken one has won the final release, the seer, whose further rebirths have been destroyed.

Prose: (Sa 89r2, Sen. I 302.12–14) *tato grāmikeṇa*<sup>77</sup> *sarveṇa grāmeṇa*<sup>78</sup> *<ca>*<sup>79</sup> *taṃ pratyekabuddhaṃ dhyāyetvā stūpaṃ kṛtaṃ na vātikhuddākam*<sup>80</sup> *na*

<sup>69</sup> Sen. *īryaṃ*. See BHSD s.v. *iryā*° “*iryāpatha*: *iryāvanta*, *iryavanta*; semi-Middle Indic spelling for *īryā*°.” This form occurs in ms. Sa frequently, e.g., Mv(KM) II 198, 292; III 35, 70, 75, 112, 229, as well as in the *Abhisamācārikā*, see Abhis. III s.v. *iryāpatha*.

<sup>70</sup> The word *utpannaṃ* is lacking in ms. Sa; Sen. has *pasādaṃ jātaṃ*. I supply *utpannaṃ* based on the reading in the prose below: *cittaprāsādam utpannaṃ*.

<sup>71</sup> = Sen.; Sa *anyā epi*.

<sup>72</sup> Sen. *janā prasannā || so dāni pratyeka*°.

<sup>73</sup> = Sen.; Sa *parivṛto*.

<sup>74</sup> *Pariññātabhojana*; JONES 1949–1956: I 252 “eating with the right view of food”. See BHSD s.v. *pariññātabhojana* “having the three *pariññā*, viz. *ñāta-pa*°, knowing what the food is that he is eating; *īraṇa-pa*°, keeping in mind while eating that food is repulsive; and *pahāna-pa*°, keeping in mind the rejection of pleasure in eating”. PTSD s.v. *pariññāta* “With ref. to food (°*bhojana* & °*āhāra*) it means food understood according to the three *pariññās* (q. v.); Dh 92 (°*bhojano* adj. one who lives on recognised food or takes the right view of the food he eats, cp. DhA II.172)”.

<sup>75</sup> Sen. *grāmasmim*, violating the metre.

<sup>76</sup> Sen. *parinirvāyi*. We expect 3rd sg. aorist or optative used as an aorist. BHSG § 32 lists the 3rd sg. ending *-a* only for thematic aorists. Regardless, I keep the form as it stands in the manuscript.

<sup>77</sup> = Sen.; Sa *grāhikeṇa*.

<sup>78</sup> Sen. omits *sarveṇa grāmeṇa*.

<sup>79</sup> The word *ca* is lacking in ms. Sa.

<sup>80</sup> Sa *tānikhu*°, Sen. *cātikhū*°.

*vātimahantaṃ sudhāmattikālepanaṃ*<sup>81</sup>. *sā dāni grāmikasya dhītā taṃ stūpaṃ devasikaṃ sāyaṃprātaṃ*<sup>82</sup> *pūjeti gandhena ca mālyena ca dhūpena ca.*

Then the village headman and the entire village, having cremated that *pratyekabuddha*, built a *stūpa* [which was] not too small, not too large, plastered with cement and clay. Then the village headman's daughter revered that *stūpa* every day in the evening and the morning, with fragrance, garlands and incense.

Verse: (Sa 89v3, Sen. I 304.12–13)

*taṃ nirvṛtaṃ*<sup>83</sup> *dhyāyetvā stūpaṃ kāresi grāmiko |*  
*nrttavāditagītena pūjāṃ kāsi*<sup>84</sup> *maharṣiṇo* ||<sup>85</sup>

Having cremated him who had won the final release, the village headman built a *stūpa*.

He did homage to the great seer with dance, music [and] song.

Prose: (Sa 89r2–4, Sen. I 302.14–19) *sā paścāt tato stūpāto taṃ nānāprakāraṃ mālyam vātena apakarṣīyantaṃ*<sup>86</sup> *tāye dāni taṃ mālyam saṃkaḍḍhitvā ceṣṭhi sārdaṃ dīrghāmālāguḍikā vicitropacitā*<sup>87</sup> *nānāpuṣpāṇāṃ. tatra tāye mālāye taṃ pratyekabuddhasya stūpaṃ sarvaṃ parivedhitam*<sup>88</sup>. *tasya tāṃ mālāṃ taṃhi*<sup>89</sup> *stūpe sthitā ca tāsāṃ ca tāṃ sarvā*<sup>90</sup> *rūpeṇa ca tejena ca abhibhavitvā tiṣṭhati deveṣu divyam āyupramāṇam*<sup>91</sup> *kṣapetvā śobhantīm dṛṣṭvā ati-r-iva cittaprāsadam utpannam.*

One day, the manifold garlands were removed from that *stūpa* by the wind; then she, having gathered the garlands, together with the female servants made a long cluster of garlands, colourful, made of various flowers. Thus, the whole *stūpa* of the *pratyekabuddha* was enveloped with this garland. Having seen this garland placed on the *stūpa*, which, having spent a heavenly lifetime among the

<sup>81</sup> Sa *sudhāsyatikā*°, Sen. *sudhāmṛttikā*°. = Pāli *sudhāmattikālepana*-. See also Abhis. II 351, fn. 10.

<sup>82</sup> “In the evening (*sāyaṃ*) and in the morning (*prātaṃ*)” (cf. Pāli *sāyaṃprātaṃ*); Sa *masayaṃprātaṃ*; Sen. emends violently *daivasikaṃ kāmasyapātrena pūjeti*.

<sup>83</sup> = Sen.; Sa *nirvṛttim*.

<sup>84</sup> Sen. *kāresi*, spoiling the metre. For the aorist *kāsi* (= Pāli, Ardhamāgadhī) see BHSG §§ 32.49, 32.56.

<sup>85</sup> *Pāda* a is submetrical by one syllable, it could be improved by reading *dhyāyetvāna* for *dhyāyetva*; in *pāda* b *gr-* in *grāmiko* should be simplified *metri causa*.

<sup>86</sup> Sen. °*karṣīyate*.

<sup>87</sup> Sa *nicitropacitrā*, Sen. *nicitopacitā*.

<sup>88</sup> Sen. *pariveṭhitam*. For Prakrit *veḍhai* = Pāli *veṭhati* “surrounds, envelops, wraps” see PISCHEL 1900: § 304. See also Mv(KM) III 215, fn. 8.

<sup>89</sup> Sen. *tahiṃ*.

<sup>90</sup> Sen. emends *sthitāṃ ca mālā ca sarvā*.

<sup>91</sup> Sa *āyutemāṇam*, Sen. *āyuhpramāṇam*.

gods, was resting there overcoming all these [other garlands] in terms of beauty and brilliance, splendid, there arose in her (i.e., Mālinī) exceeding tranquillity of mind.

Verse: (Sa 89v3–4, Sen. I 304.14–15)

*sā adya sāsitaṃ(?)<sup>92</sup> puṣpaṃ vātena apakarṣitaṃ |  
ekadhyaṃ<sup>93</sup> samharitvāna dīrghāṃ mālāṃ va gūhayet<sup>94</sup> ||*

Now, ... the flowers that were removed by the wind  
having gathered [them] together, she (i.e., Mālinī) wound a long garland.

Prose: (Sa 89r4, Sen. I 302.19–303.2) *sā dāni prasannacittā praṇidhānam utpādeti  
“yādrś(?) eṣā mālā atra stūpe śobhati etādrśā me mālā mūrddhni prādurbhaveya  
yatrayatra upapadyeṃ”.*

Then, with a tranquil mind, she made a vow “Just like the garland that shines on  
this *stūpa*, may such a garland appear on my head wherever I would be reborn”.

Verse: (Sa 89v4, Sen. I 304.16–17)

*“śobhate va (‘)yaṃ mālā citrā upari niśritā |<sup>95</sup>  
etādrśī me śirasi bhotu mālā yathā ayaṃ |  
yatrayatrōpapadyeṃ<sup>96</sup> tatra me taṃ samṛdhyatu” ||<sup>97</sup>*

“This bright garland shines, placed at the top.  
Let there appear on my head a garland like this.  
Wherever I would be reborn, let this be fulfilled for me there”.

<sup>92</sup> So reads ms. Sa. Sen. has *samāsādya sitaṃ*, which is the reading introduced in ms. Na (on the relationship between mss. Sa and Na see MARCINIAK 2017b), and then followed in all the manuscripts consulted by Senart. Perhaps we could read *sayitaṃ* (= Pāli) “lying down”, or, less plausible, *sā addasā sitaṃ puṣpaṃ* “she saw a bright flower”? At this point I am unable to propose a feasible conjecture, thus, I keep the readings as they stand in ms. Sa.

<sup>93</sup> Sen. reads *ekādhyam*, but it is not necessary, as *ekadhya-*, a semi-Middle Indic form, is attested in BHS (BHSD s.v.).

<sup>94</sup> = Sen.; Sa °*guhayet*.

<sup>95</sup> Sa *sotate* (scribal error; *sa* and *śa* are barely distinguishable from one another, while *ta* and *bha* are very similar and can be confused) *ca yaṃ mālā citrā upemiśritā*; Sen. has *sā yādrśī tatra eva mahyaṃ mālā citrā upaniśritā*.

<sup>96</sup> = Sen.; Sa *yatratro*°. For the optative in *-eḥam* see BHSG § 31.21. Cf. also NORMAN CP VII 52 “The first singular optative ending *-eḥam*, presumably based upon *-e + aḥam*, with the loss of initial *a-*. This must have occurred in some dialect other than the Aśokan eastern dialect, where the first-person pronoun is *hakam*, from *(a)ḥam* with the infix *-ka-*”. On this ending in ms. Sa see MARCINIAK 2014: 190.

<sup>97</sup> In *pāda* a the metre requires *ayaṃ* for (‘)yaṃ.

Prose: (Sa 89r4–5, Sen. I 303.3–4) *sā dāni taṃ kalyāṇakarma kṛtvā tato cavitvā*<sup>98</sup> *deveṣūpapannā ratanamālāye ābaddhāye*<sup>99</sup>. *tasya*<sup>100</sup> *tahiṃ upapannāya apsarasām*<sup>101</sup> *śatasahasraṃ parivāretvā ...*<sup>102</sup>

Then, having performed this good deed, she died and was reborn among gods, with the garland of jewels attached [to her head]. As she was reborn there, a hundred of thousands *apsarās* having surrounded her ...

Verses: (Sa 89v4, Sen. I 304.19–22)

*sā taṃ karma karitvāna kalyāṇaṃ buddhavarṇitaṃ |*  
*Trāyastriṃśeṣu*<sup>103</sup> *deveṣu upapadyiṣu*<sup>104</sup> *apsarā ||*  
*apsarāśatasahasraṃ*<sup>105</sup> *puraskṛtvāna tāṃ sthitā*<sup>106</sup> |  
*tāsām sā pravaraśreṣṭhā*<sup>107</sup> *nārī sarvāṃgaśobhanā ||*

Having done this good deed, praised by the *buddha*, she was reborn as an *apsarā* among the Trāyastriṃśa gods.

Thousands of hundreds of *apsarās*, having honoured her, stood [there].

Among them, she was the most excellent, a woman whose all limbs were beautiful.

Prose: (Sa 89r5, Sen. I 303.5) *tato pi cyutā Vārāṇasīyaṃ Kṛkisya rājño agramahiṣīye kukṣismi upapannā.*

Having passed from there, she was reborn in Vārāṇasī, in the womb of King Kṛki's chief wife.

Verse: (Sa 89v4–5, Sen. I 305.1–2)

*tato sā cavitvā*<sup>108</sup> *devakanyā maharddhikā |*  
*rājño Kṛkisya bhāryāyā*<sup>109</sup> *kukṣismiṃ upapadyitha ||*

<sup>98</sup> = Pāli; Sen. *tatra cyavitvā*.

<sup>99</sup> “With the attached garland”; Sen. *ābaddhā*.

<sup>100</sup> Sen. *tasyā*. For the gen. sg. fem. *tasya* see BHSG §§ 21.17, 46; in ms. Sa see MARCINIAK 2014: 174.

<sup>101</sup> = Sen.; Sa *apsarāsām*.

<sup>102</sup> Something has to be added here. We should probably read *parivāretvā sthitā* (cf. the reading in the verse below: *apsarāśatasahasraṃ puraskṛtvāna tāṃ sthitā*). Sen. has *parivāresi*.

<sup>103</sup> = Sen.; Sa *yastamśeṣeṣu*.

<sup>104</sup> If correct, here the 3 pl. ending *-iṣu* (BHSG § 32.30) is used for sg.; Sen. *upapadyitha*.

<sup>105</sup> Sen. °*sahasraṃ ca* (hypermetrical).

<sup>106</sup> = Sen.; Sa *sthitvā*.

<sup>107</sup> Sen. *pravaraśreṣṭhā*.

<sup>108</sup> This *pāda* is submetrical by two syllables. We could read with Sen. *tato tāsām cyavitvāna*.

<sup>109</sup> Sen. *bhāryāyā*. For the gen. sg. fem. *-āyā* see BHSG § 9.47.

Having thus passed (i.e., from one existence into another), a celestial maiden, of great power, was reborn in the womb of King Kṛki's wife.

Prose: (Sa 89r5, Sen. I 303.6–7) *navānām vā daśānām vā māsānām atyayena devīye dārikā jātā prāsādikā darśanīyā ratanamālāye ābaddhāye*<sup>110</sup>. *tasya*<sup>111</sup> *Mālinīti nāma kṛtam*.

After nine or ten months had passed, the queen gave birth to a daughter, lovely, beautiful, with a garland of jewels attached [to her head]. She was given the name “Mālinī”<sup>112</sup>.

Verse: (Sa 89v5, Sen. I 305.3–4)  
*nirgate dvādaśame māse*<sup>113</sup> *rājabhāryā prajāyata |*  
*Mālinīm*<sup>114</sup> *nāma nāmena nārī sarvāṅgaśobhanā*<sup>115</sup> ||

When the twelfth month had passed, the king's wife gave birth to a girl named Mālinī, whose all limbs were beautiful.

Prose: (Sa 89r5-6, Sen. I 303.7–9) *rājño Kṛkisya priyā manāpā tathā sarvasya parijanasya sammatā sarvasyādhiṣṭhānasya yāvat kṛtapuṇyā dārikā*.

She was charming and beloved to King Kṛki as well as to his entire retinue, and regarded as a virtuous girl and so on, by the whole capital city.

Verse: (Sa 89v5, Sen. I 305.5–6)  
.....<sup>116</sup> *ativarṇā atirūpavatī abhūt |*  
*śreṣṭhā* <ca><sup>117</sup> *rājakanyānām dhītā sā Kāśirājino* ||

..... [she was] of exceeding complexion, of extraordinary beauty.  
The best among the royal maidens, the daughter of the king of Kāśi.

<sup>110</sup> “With the attached garland”; Sen. *ābaddhā*.

<sup>111</sup> Sen. *tasyā*. For the gen. sg. fem. *tasya* see BHSG §§ 21.17, 46; in ms. Sa see MARCINIAK 2014: 174.

<sup>112</sup> *Mālinī* means “wearing a garland”.

<sup>113</sup> Sen. *dvādaśamāse*, which suits the metre better.

<sup>114</sup> Sen. *mālinīm*. For the acc. sg. fem. *-īm* see BHSG § 10.44, Abhis. III § 9.2.

<sup>115</sup> Sen. *nārīm sarvāṅgaśobhanām*. For the acc. sg. fem. *-ā* see BHSG § 9.20, Abhis. III § 7.5.

<sup>116</sup> Lacuna, four syllables are lacking.

<sup>117</sup> = Sen., in ms. Sa *ca* is lacking.

**Part II:** From here onwards the text is continued only in verses.

(Sa 89v5–90r5, Sen. I 305.7–307.3)

*ācāraguṇasaṃpannā śucivastrā suvāsasā*<sup>118</sup> |  
*rājño Kṛkiṣya dayitā*<sup>119</sup> *tiṣṭhate prāñjalīkṛtā* ||

Endowed with the quality of [excellent] behaviour, wearing a clean garment,  
well-clothed,  
beloved by King Kṛki, she stood with her hands joined.

*tam enām*<sup>120</sup> *avadad*<sup>121</sup> *rājā tiṣṭhatī*<sup>122</sup> *prāñjalīkṛtām* |  
“*brāhmaṇā me tuvaṃ bhadre bhojāpehi atandritā*” ||

The king spoke to her standing with her hands joined  
“Feed the Brahmins for me, o dear, without wearying”.

*pitu*<sup>123</sup> *sā vacanaṃ śrutvā brāhmaṇānām anūnakām* |  
*viṃśatsahasrām bhojeti*<sup>124</sup> *sarvakāmehi Mālinī* ||

Having heard the words of the father,  
Mālinī fed not less than twenty thousand Brahmins with all they wished.

*tam enaṃ brāhmaṇā dṛśya Mālinī*<sup>125</sup> *apsaropamām* |  
*rajograsitacittās*<sup>126</sup> *ca ullapaṃti*<sup>127</sup> *punaḥ punaḥ* ||

Having seen her – Mālinī, resembling an *apsarā* – the Brahmins  
with their minds overcome by impurity, kept flattering her over and over again.

*uddhatām unnatāñ ca dṛṣṭvā capalām prakāṇḍriyām*<sup>128</sup> |  
*Mālinī saṃvicinteti* “*na ime dakṣiṇārahā*” ||

Having seen them aroused, insolent, wanton, with their senses uncontrolled,  
Mālinī reflected “They are not worthy of offerings”.

<sup>118</sup> Sen. *suvāsana*.

<sup>119</sup> Sa *daitā*, Sen. *antike*.

<sup>120</sup> Sen. *enam*.

<sup>121</sup> = Sen.; Sa *avad* (haplography).

<sup>122</sup> Sen. *tiṣṭhatīm*. For the acc. sg. fem. -ī see BHSG § 10.55, Abhis. III § 9.4.

<sup>123</sup> Sen. *pituḥ*.

<sup>124</sup> = Sen.; Sa *bhojenti*.

<sup>125</sup> Sen. *mālinīm*.

<sup>126</sup> Sa *rājograsita*°, Sen. *rāgagrasita*°.

<sup>127</sup> = Sen.; Sa *ullapaṃti* (the *anusvāra* was written in the wrong place).

<sup>128</sup> Sen. *prākāṇḍriyām*°.

*sā āruhitvā prāsādaṃ samantena*<sup>129</sup> *vilokaye* |  
*addaśī bhagavato śiṣyāṃ*<sup>130</sup> *saṃbuddhasya śīrīmato* ||<sup>131</sup>

Having gone up to the terrace, she looked around,  
[and] saw the pupils of the Exalted One, the glorious perfectly awoken one.

*sā prāsādavaragatā Kāśikavaracandanena*<sup>132</sup> *anuliptā* |  
*rājño Kṛkisyā dhītā sarvā diśatā viloketi* ||<sup>133</sup>

She, gone up to the terrace, anointed with the best sandalwood paste from Kāśi,  
King Kṛki's daughter looked in all directions.

*sā addaśāsi prāsādikena ijitena*<sup>134</sup> *praviśantaṃ* |  
*buddhasya śrāvakāṃ*<sup>135</sup> *bāhitapāpāṃ antimaśarīrāṃ* ||<sup>136</sup>

She saw the pupils of the *buddha* entering with a serene walk,  
who had [all] sins kept away, who were in their last existences (lit. in their last  
body).

*sā dāni <dāsi>*<sup>137</sup> *preṣeti* “*eteṣāṃ riṣīṇāṃ vandanaṃ bruhi* |  
*vanditvā ca bhañāhi* ‘*praviśatha bhante*<sup>138</sup> *niṣīdātha*<sup>139</sup>” ||<sup>140</sup>

She sent out a female servant “Greet these seers.  
And having greeted them, say ‘Do enter, sirs, have a seat’”.

<sup>129</sup> = Sen.; Sa *sammantena*.

<sup>130</sup> Sen. *adarśī bhagavato śiṣyāṃ*.

<sup>131</sup> *Pāda* c is hypermetrical; it can be improved by reading *bhavato* for *bhagavato* or assuming resolution of the 4th syllable.

<sup>132</sup> Sa °*candane*, but the metre requires one short syllable before *anuliptā*. Sen. reads °*candanena* *āliptā* instead.

<sup>133</sup> The metre is Āryā.

<sup>134</sup> *Metri causa* for *iṃjitena*; Sen. *prāsādikenimjitena*.

<sup>135</sup> Sa *śāsrākāṃ*, Sen. *śrāvakān*.

<sup>136</sup> The metre is Āryā, but in the first line only *gaṇas* 1–5 are regular.

<sup>137</sup> In ms. Sa the word *dāsi* is lacking (the eye of the scribe jumped from *dā-* in *dāni* to *dā-* in *dāsi*); Sen. *sā dāsīm*.

<sup>138</sup> = Pāli *bhante* “o sirs!”; Sen. reads *bhadanta*, violating the metre. Voc. pl. *bhante* occurs frequently in ms. Sa, as well as in *Abhisamācārikā* (see *Abhis.* III s.v.).

<sup>139</sup> = Sen., Sa *niṣīdītha*.

<sup>140</sup> The metre is Āryā, however, in the first line only *gaṇas* 1–3 scan; the second line is a regular Pathyā.

*sā dāsī*<sup>141</sup> *upagamyā pādāṃ vanditvā bhāvitātmānām |*  
*prāñjalīkṛtā avoca “praviśatha bhante*<sup>142</sup> *niṣīdatha*<sup>143</sup>” ||<sup>144</sup>

The female servant, having approached and bowed to the feet of those whose *ātman* is well-composed<sup>145</sup>,  
with joined hands said, “Do enter, sirs, have a seat”.

*rāgā*<sup>146</sup> *upātivṛttā viśāradā agrapaṇḍitā loke |*  
*buddhasya śrāvakā bāhitapāpā antimaśarīrāḥ* ||<sup>147</sup>  
*taṃ paṇḍaram sukṛtaraṇam*<sup>148</sup> *khaḍga-asiguptam |*  
*praviśensu antepuram*<sup>149</sup> *rājño dhītu manāpāye*<sup>150</sup> ||<sup>151</sup>

Free from passion, self-possessed, the foremost learned ones in the world,  
the pupils of the *buddha*, who had [all] sins kept away, [and] who were in their  
last existences,  
entered this white, with well-made arched doorways, guarded with sword and  
knife  
inner quarter of the lovely king’s daughter.

<sup>141</sup> Sen. *dāsī*, which suits the metre better.

<sup>142</sup> Sen. *bhadanta*, violating the metre.

<sup>143</sup> Sen. *niṣīdātha*, which is metrically better.

<sup>144</sup> Āryā; in the first line the metre requires *dāsī*, °*gamyā* and *vanditva*. In the second line we should read *prāñjali*° and *niṣīdātha*.

<sup>145</sup> *Bhāvitātmān*, Pāli *bhāvitatta* “one whose *attan* (*ātman*) is *bhāvita*, i.e. well trained or composed” (PTSD). JONES 1949–1956: I 255 “whose selves were well-developed”.

<sup>146</sup> = Sen.; Sa *nāgā* (*na* and *ra* are similar and can be confused). Here *rāgā* is abl. sg. See BHSD s.v. *upātivṛtta* “ppp. (to \**upa-ati-vṛt-*; = Pali *upātivatta*, which seems to govern only acc.), passed beyond, escaped from, with acc. or abl.” Cf. CPD s.v. *upātivatta*.

<sup>147</sup> Āryā; the first line is Capalā with amphibrachs in *gaṇas* 2, 4 and 6.

<sup>148</sup> Sen. *pāṇḍaram ca sukṛtam sutorāṇam*.

<sup>149</sup> Sen. °*ensuḥ antaḥpuram*. On *antepura-* see PISCHEL 1900: § 344: “In *antaḥpura* and its derivatives *aḥ* becomes *e* in lieu of *o* in all dialects, as in Pāli”; OBERLIES 2019: § 5.2: “Final *-aḥ* developed almost throughout to *-o* [...], only in some words containing *-u-* or *-v-* this °*o* was dissimilated to °*e*, an (essentially) eastern feature: *antepura-* ‘a king’s harem’ (< *antaḥpura*)”.

<sup>150</sup> = Sen.; Sa *anāpāye* (the scribe probably took *m-* in *manāpāye* as a *sandhi*-consonant [or a glide, see OBERLIES 2019: 176, fn. 1 and § 29], and thus decided to discard it as superfluous). Cf. the reading a few lines below: *antepurasya madhye rājño dhītu manāpāye*.

<sup>151</sup> Āryā; the first line has only 24 *mātrās*, a part of the text is missing; the second line becomes regular if we read °*ensuḥ antapuram* and *dhītur*.

*Kāśīkapratyāstarāṇaṃ suvicitrakalandakaṃ*<sup>152</sup> *maṇivicitra* |  
*puṣpāvakīrṇā*<sup>153</sup> *prajñaptā āsanā*<sup>154</sup> *āsi* ||<sup>155</sup>

Seats were appointed strewn with flowers, with a beautiful spread variegated  
with gems,  
with the cover [made of the fabric] from Kāśī.

*padmam iva sudhovitā*<sup>156</sup> *jaleruhaṃ yathā jale* (')*nupaliptaṃ*<sup>157</sup> |  
*tatha anupalitacittā tatra niṣīde vigatamohā*<sup>158</sup> ||<sup>159</sup>

Like a lotus, utterly pure, growing in water [but] unstained [by it],  
so [they], with unstained thoughts, sat down there, rid of delusions.

*śālīnam odanaṃ vicitakālakam*<sup>160</sup> *anekavyaṅjana-m-upetaṃ* |  
*svahastam upanāmayi* “*bhuṃjatha*<sup>161</sup> *bhante*” *ti ca avoca*<sup>162</sup> ||<sup>163</sup>

Rice gruel from which the black grains had been removed, supplied with  
manifold condiments,  
[she] herself served and said, “Do eat, sirs”.

<sup>152</sup> Sa °*vicitraṃ kalandakaṃ*; Sen. emends wrongly *suvicitrakalāpakaṃ*. See BHSD s.v. *kalandaka* “spread, cover for a seat”; = Pāli *kaḷandaka* (DP I s.v. “mat, covering”). In ms. Sa it also occurs as *kalantaka*, e.g., Mv(KM) II 52 *suvicitrakalantakāḥ*. Cf. Abhis. III s.v. *kalantaka* “eine Art Bezug der Sitzgelegenheit”.

<sup>153</sup> Sa °*kīrṇā*; Sen. *maṇivicitraṃ* | *vicitrapuṣpāvakīrṇaṃ*.

<sup>154</sup> Sen. *prajñaptaṃ āsanaṃ*.

<sup>155</sup> Āryā; the second line has only 22 *mātrās*, a part of the text is missing.

<sup>156</sup> Sa *subodhitā* (metathesis), Sen. *śubhābhāsaṃ*.

<sup>157</sup> Sa (')*nuliptaṃ*, Sen. *yatha jale anupaliptaṃ*.

<sup>158</sup> = Sen.; Sa *tigata*°. Or should we read (')*tigatamohā* “who have overcome/passed over all delusion”?

<sup>159</sup> Āryā; in the first line the metre requires *yatha jale anupa*°.

<sup>160</sup> Sen. emends wrongly *śālīnāmodanavidhim akālakam*; *vicitakālaka* “from which the black grains have been separated” (PTSD s.v. *vicita*).

<sup>161</sup> Sa *upanāmayi ntaṃyatha* (*bhu* ॐ was miswritten as *nta* ॐ), while the interchange *ya* / *ja* occurs several times in ms. Sa); Sen. *upanāmayate yathā*.

<sup>162</sup> Sen. emends violently: *yathā bhadantāna abhiroce*.

<sup>163</sup> Āryā; the first line becomes regular if we read (')*neka*° for *aneka*°; in the second line *gaṇas* 1–3 do not scan correctly.

*te bhikṣu avacensu*<sup>164</sup> “*śāstā mo agrapaṇḍito loke |*  
*tasya khu harema*<sup>165</sup> *bhaktam so bhujjeyā*<sup>166</sup> *mahāvīro*” ||<sup>167</sup>

The monks said, “Our teacher is the foremost learned one in the world.  
To him indeed we shall offer the food. He, the great hero, should eat.”

*buddho ti sā śruṇitvā ghoṣam lokakuhana-m*<sup>168</sup> *-aśrutapūrvam |*  
*adhikataram ca*<sup>169</sup> *prasīde* “*imehi kila so viśiṣṭataro*” ||<sup>170</sup>

Having heard the word “*buddha*”, unheard before in the deception<sup>171</sup> of the  
world,  
she rejoiced excessively “He indeed is more distinguished than they are!”

*sā Mālinī avoca* “*bhuñjitvā śāstuno*<sup>172</sup> *haratha bhaktam |*  
*abhivādanaṃ ca brutha mama vacanā lokanāthasya* ||<sup>173</sup>

Mālinī said, “Having eaten, take the food to the teacher.  
And say greetings to the saviour of the world in my name.

*adhivāsetu va maṃ bhagavāṃ*<sup>174</sup> *śuvetanīm*<sup>175</sup> *sārdham bhikṣusamghena |*  
*antepurasya*<sup>176</sup> *madhye rājño dhītu manāpāye*<sup>177</sup> ||<sup>178</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Sen. *bhikṣū avacensuḥ*, which is metrically better.

<sup>165</sup> Sa *tasya khu ḍaremaṃ*, Sen. *tasyā prathamam*. Cf. the reading a few lines below: *śāstuno haratha bhaktam*.

<sup>166</sup> Sa *bhujjeyo* (final *-ā* and *-o* can be confused), Sen. *bhujjaye*.

<sup>167</sup> *Āryā*; in the first line the metre requires *bhikṣū avacensuḥ*.

<sup>168</sup> Sa *lokakuharam* (*ra* and *na* are similar and can be confused), Sen. *loke kutūhalaṃ*.

<sup>169</sup> Sen. *sā*.

<sup>170</sup> *Āryā*; in the first line only *gaṇas* 1–5 are regular; we could improve the metre by reading °*kuhanāśrutapūrvam* or °*kuhane* (°)*śrutapūrvam*. In the second line *pr-* in *prasīde* should be simplified *metri causa*.

<sup>171</sup> Skt *kuhana* “hypocrisy, assumed and false sanctity” (MW s.v.); Pāli *kuhanā* “deception, fraud; hypocritical behaviour (designed to elicit gifts from laypeople)” (DP I s.v.).

<sup>172</sup> = Sen.; Sa *śāstuto* (*na* and *ta* are similar and tend to be confused).

<sup>173</sup> *Āryā*; in the first line the metre requires *avocad* or *avocā*. The second line becomes regular if we read *brūthā*.

<sup>174</sup> Sen. emends *adhivāse bhaktam bhagavāṃ*.

<sup>175</sup> Sa *sucetanīm* (*sa* and *śa* are indistinguishable from one another, while *ca* and *va* are very similar and frequently confused); Sen. *suvetanā*. BHSD s.v. *śuvedāni* “adv. (blend of *śuve*, or *śuvetanā[-ya, -ye]* with [*i*]dāni), for the morrow”. Cf. also below twice *śuvedāni*. In ms. Sa we find both forms: *śuvedāni* and *śuvetanā* in the same meaning, cf. Mv(KM) III 329 *adhivāsayaṭu bhagavāṃ śuvetanāye bhaktena*, III 348 *śuvetanāya bhaktena nimantreti*.

<sup>176</sup> = Pāli; Sen. *antaḥpurasya*.

<sup>177</sup> Sen. *dhītur manāpāya*.

<sup>178</sup> *Āryā*, in the first line we should read *sārdha*, in the second line the metre requires *dhītur*.

‘May the Exalted One accept my invitation for tomorrow, together with the assembly of monks, inside the inner quarter of the lovely king’s daughter’”.

**Part III:** From here onwards the text is continued in prose.

(Sa 90r5–93r6, Sen. I 307.4–314.10) *te dāni bhagavato Kāśyapasya agrāśrāvakā Tiṣyo ca Bhāradvājo ca Mālinīye bhaktaṃ paribhuñjitvā bhagavato Kāśyapasya bhaktaṃ ādāya Rīṣivadanaṃ nirdhāvito. bhagavato Kāśyapasya piṇḍapātāṃ<sup>179</sup> upanāmetvā Mālinīye vacanena bhagavantaṃ Kāśyapaṃ vandanaṃ vadensu “Kṛkisya bhagavaṃ Kāśirājño dhītā bhagavato vandanaṃ prcchati saśrāvakaṣaṃghasya śuvedāni<sup>180</sup> ca bhaktena nimantreti sārḍhaṃ bhikṣusaṃghena rājño Kṛkisya antaḥpure. tasya<sup>181</sup> bhagavāṃ adhvāsētu anukampāṃ upādāya”. bhagavatā Kāśyapena vaineyavaśena adhvāsitaṃ. ye<sup>182</sup> tehi mahāśrāvakehi sārḍhaṃ puruṣā gatā bhagavato Kāśyapasya ovādam ādāya tehi gatvā Mālinīye niveditaṃ “adhvāsitaṃ<sup>183</sup> tena bhagavatā Kāśyapena śuvedāni<sup>184</sup> bhaktena<sup>185</sup> sārḍhaṃ bhikṣusaṃghena”. Mālinīye<sup>186</sup> teṣāṃ puruṣāṇāṃ pratiśrutvā tām eva rātriṃ prabhūtaṃ khādanīyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ pratijāgaritvā bhagavato Kāśyapasya kālam ārocāpitaṃ.*

Then, the two chief disciples of Exalted Kāśyapa, Tiṣya and Bhāradvāja, having eaten the food [given] by Mālinī, having taken the food for Exalted Kāśyapa, hurried to Rīṣivadana. Having handed the almsfood to Exalted Kāśyapa, they said greetings to Exalted Kāśyapa with Mālinī’s words: “O Exalted One, the daughter of Kṛki, the king of Kāśi, greets the Exalted One together with the assembly of his disciples, and invites to a meal tomorrow together with the assembly of monks. May the Exalted One accept her [invitation] out of compassion”. Exalted Kāśyapa accepted [the invitation] for the sake of those to be converted<sup>187</sup>. Those men who went with the great disciples, having received the instruction of Exalted Kāśyapa, left and informed Mālinī: “Exalted Kāśyapa together with the assembly of monks had accepted the invitation to

<sup>179</sup> Sen. *piṇḍapātram*.

<sup>180</sup> = Sen.; Sa *śuvedāni*.

<sup>181</sup> Sen. *tasyā*.

<sup>182</sup> = Sen.; Sa *yo*.

<sup>183</sup> = Sen.; Sa *adhvāsito*.

<sup>184</sup> = Sen.; Sa *śuvedāni*.

<sup>185</sup> Sen. *bhaktaṃ*. The reading in ms. Sa should be kept as *adhvāsita*- can take either acc. or instr., cf. e.g., Mv(KM) II: 340 *adhvāsehi me bhagavaṃ tremāsabhaktena*, III 329 *adhvāsayaṭu bhagavāṃ śuvetanāye bhaktena*, III 348 *śuvetanāya bhaktena nimantreti*.

<sup>186</sup> = Sen., Sa *ālinīye*. I assume that the scribe took *m-* in *mālinīye* as a *sandhi*-consonant (reading °*saṃghena-m-ālinīye*) and then discarded it as superfluous.

<sup>187</sup> Or “trained”, *vaineya* (BHSD s.v.).

a meal tomorrow”. Having heard those men, Mālinī on that very night prepared plentiful solid and soft food, as the time of [the arrival] of Exalted Kāśyapa was announced.

*bhagavāṃ kālajño velajño samayajño pudgalajño pudgalaparāparajño kālasy(°) eva<sup>188</sup> nivāsayitvā pātracīvaram ādāya na cātikāle na cātivikāle samprāpte Māgadhe<sup>189</sup> prātarāse vartamāne sārđhaṃ viṃśatīhi bhikṣusahasrehi Vārānasīṃ nagaram praviśet. haṃsaprađīnakasya<sup>190</sup> buddhā bhagavanto nagaram praviśanti. dakṣiṇapārśve Tisyo mahāśrāvako. vāme pārśve Bhāradvājo mahāśrāvako. teṣāṃ pṛṣṭhato catvāro mahāśrāvakā caturṇāṃ pṛṣṭhato aṣṭa aṣṭānāṃ ṣoḍaśa ṣoḍaśānāṃ<sup>191</sup> dvātriṃśa dvātriṃśatānāṃ catuṣaṣṭi. evaṃ bhagavāṃ viṃśatihi bhikṣusahasrehi puraskṛto parivṛto rājño Kṛkisyā antaḥpuraṃ praviśati.*

The Exalted One, knowing the time, knowing the occasion, knowing the circumstance, knowing the state of the individual, knowing higher and lower states<sup>192</sup> of individuals, having got dressed early in the morning, having taken his bowl and robes, when it was not too early and not too late, when it was the time of the morning meal in Māgadha, together with twenty thousand monks, entered the city Vārānasi. Exalted *buddhas* enter the city [in the manner] of the flight of geese. On the right side the great disciple Tisya, on the left side the great disciple Bhāradvāja. Behind them – four great disciples; behind these four great disciples – eight; behind the eight – sixteen, [behind] the sixteen – thirty-two; [behind] the thirty-two – sixty. In this way, the Exalted One, in front of and attended by twenty thousand monks, entered the inner quarter of King Kṛki.

*bhagavato nagaram praviśantasya onatā mahī unnamati samā bhūmitalajātā<sup>193</sup> samsthāti. aśucipāṣāṇasarkarakāṭhallā bhūmiṃ praviśanti, muktapuṣpākīrṇā mahī samsthāti. puṣpopagā vṛkṣā puṣphanti, phalopagā vṛkṣā phalanti. ye tatra mārge vāmadakṣiṇena vāpīyo vā puṣkiriṇīyo<sup>194</sup> vā śītalasya vārisya bharitā*

<sup>188</sup> Sen. *kālyam eva*. For *kālasya eva* “early (in the morning)” see Abhis. III s.v. *kālasya*. Cf. Pāli *kālassa* (DP I s.v. *kāla*: *kālassa* “in good time; early in the morning”). It occurs several times in ms. Sa, e.g., Mv(KM) III 70, 175, 330, 348, 534 *kālasyaiva* (Sen. *kalyasyaiva*) *nivāsayitvā*.

<sup>189</sup> Sa reads *sāya māgadhe*, but *sāya*- “in the evening” does not fit into the context here. Sen. emends *ādāya yena cārikavikālo samprāpto sāyaṃ māgadhe*.

<sup>190</sup> Sa °*prahīnasya* (ḍi 𑀩 was miswritten as hi 𑀩); Sen. *haṃsaprađīnakam iva*.

<sup>191</sup> = Sen., Sa *ṣoḍaśa ṣoḍaśānāṃ*.

<sup>192</sup> *Pudgalaparāparajña* “knowing higher and lower / prior and posterior states of individuals”; “condition of knowing the successive states” (BHSD). Cf. *indriyaparāparajñātā* “knowing the higher and lower faculties”.

<sup>193</sup> Sen. *onatā bhūmir unnamati samaṃ bhūmitalaṃ jātam*.

<sup>194</sup> Sen. *puṣkariṇīyo*. See BHSD s.v. *puṣkiriṇī* “a very common spelling instead of Skt. *puṣkariṇī*, lotus-pool”. It occurs in ms. Sa frequently, e.g., Mv(KM) II 132, 146, 147; III 81, 94, 370, 420, 567.

*bhavanti utpalapadumakumudapuṇḍarīkanalinīsaugandhikapracchannā. udupāna mukhāto prasyandanti*<sup>195</sup>. *aśvā hīṣyanti riṣabhā nardanti hastikuñjarā ca nādan ti muñcanti*<sup>196</sup>. *samanantaram indrakīlaṃ pādena cākrāmati sarvañ ca nagaram prakampati. andhā ālokeṇi badhirā śabdaṃ śṛṇvanti unmattakāḥ smṛtiṃ pratilabhante vyādhitā vyādhitō muñcanti gurviṇīyo arogā prasūyanti. nagnānām cailā prādurbhavanti bandhanabaddhānām bandhanāni sphuṭanti. peḍākaraṇḍagatāni*<sup>197</sup> *ratanāni saṃghaṭṭanti bhājanāni raṇanti. ye bhavanti nagare parivādanīyo vallarīyo*<sup>198</sup> *veṇuvīṇāmṛdaṃgabherīpaṇavasamkha tāny*<sup>199</sup> *api aghaṭṭitāni saṃpravādyanti. śukasārikakokilahansamayūrā svakasvakāni rutāni muñcanti. caturaṃgulena ca bhūmiṃ asaṃsprśanto gacchati dharaṇitale ca padacakraṇī*<sup>200</sup> *prādurbhavanti sahasrārāni sanābhikāni sanemikāni*<sup>201</sup> *sarvākāraparipūrṇāni. antarīkṣe ca devā divyāni tūryasahasrāni pravādyanti*<sup>202</sup> *divyāni puṣpavarṣāni pravaraṣanti.*

When the Exalted One has entered the city, the depressed earth rose up [and] stood still with its surface even. Impure stones, grit and gravel fell into the ground; [and] the earth remained covered with loose flowers. Flowering trees blossomed, fruit-bearing trees bore fruit. The ponds and lotus-pools that were to the right and to the left of that road, filled with cool water, became covered with fragrant blue, red and white lotuses. From the front part springs flew forth. Horses neighed, bulls bellowed, elephants let off roars. As soon as [he] (i.e., Exalted Kāśyapa) stepped upon the threshold [at the door to the palace] with his foot<sup>203</sup>, the entire city shook. The blind saw, the deaf heard voices, the insane regained their thinking, the sick were freed from disease, pregnant women delivered [their babies] without any illness. Clothes appeared for the naked. The chains of those who were chained broke open. Jewels put into boxes and baskets

<sup>195</sup> Sen. emends *udupānamukhā toyam prasyandati*. Here *udupāna* has to be understood as nom. pl. “springs”. Cf. Mv(KM) II 32 *udupānaṃ pūraṃ mukhato ca viṣyande*, Mv(KM) III 486 *udupānā udgamensu dakadhārā*.

<sup>196</sup> Sen. °*kumñjarā nardanaṃ muñcanti*.

<sup>197</sup> Sen. *peḍākaraṇḍāvṛtāni*.

<sup>198</sup> Sen. has °*vādinīyo vallakīyo*. BHSD s.v. *vallarī* “a musical instrument, acc. to Tib. three-stringed lute (*vīṇā*)”.

<sup>199</sup> Sen. °*paṇavā asaṃkhatāny*, which cannot be correct. Here °*saṃkha* has to be taken as nom. pl. or a scribal error for °*samkhā*. This word occurs frequently in the lists of instruments, e.g., Mv(KM) III 137 *bherīsaṃkhamṛdaṅga*°.

<sup>200</sup> = Sen.; Sa has *padadhārāni*, which is inexplicable.

<sup>201</sup> Sen. lacks *sanemikāni*.

<sup>202</sup> Sen. °*vādayanti*.

<sup>203</sup> Cf. JONES 1949–1956: I 257.9–10 “At the same time Indra’s column left its pedestal”, which does not seem to make sense here. See BHSD s.v. *indrakīla* “threshold slab, a stone imbedded in the ground at the entrance to a city gate, or to a palace, house, or apartment: Mv i.308.7 *samanantaram indrakīlaṃ pādena cokramati* (= *ca-avakr*°), and as soon as he (Buddha, entering a city) stepped on the *i*° with his foot”.

rattled, pots clattered. The seven-stringed lutes, three-stringed lutes, flutes, Indian lutes, drums, kettle drums, cymbals, and conch shells that were in the city, even when untouched gave forth sound. Parrots, *śārikas*<sup>204</sup>, cuckoos, geese, and peacocks all gave forth their own sounds. [He] walked without touching the ground [even] for the width of four fingers and [yet] on the surface of the earth appeared wheels [of the soles of his] feet, thousand-spoked, with rims and hubs, accomplished with all attributes<sup>205</sup>. In the sky gods played on thousands of heavenly instruments. Celestial flowers rained down.

*bhagavāṃ Kāśyapo saśrāvakaṣaṃgho eḍṣāye vidhīye*<sup>206</sup> *eḍṣāe vibhūṣāye*<sup>207</sup> *eḍṣena samudayena eḍṣāe riddhīye*<sup>208</sup> *eḍṣena vibhavana eḍṣāye vibhūṣāe*<sup>209</sup> *devamanuṣyehi*<sup>210</sup> *satkriyanto*<sup>211</sup> *rājño Kṛkisyā antaḥpuraṃ praviṣṭo. bhagavāṃ Mālinīye saśrāvakaṣaṃgho taṃhi*<sup>212</sup> *abhyantarime catuḥśāle*<sup>213</sup> *mahāsatkāreṇa pariviṣṭo*<sup>214</sup> *prabhūtena praṇītena khādanīyabhojanīyena rijurasena agrarasena avigatarasena pratyagrarasena. bhagavāṃ bhuktāvi saśrāvakaṣaṃgho dhautahasto apanītapātro Mālinīm dharmyā*<sup>215</sup> *kathayā saṃdarśayitvā samādāpayitvā samuttejayitvā saṃpraharṣyōthhāyāsanāto*<sup>216</sup> *prakrame. yāni tāni Kṛkisyā Kāśirājño viṃśati brāhmaṇasahasrāṇi nityabhojikā te kupitā yaṃ Mālinīye bhagavāṃ Kāśyapo saśrāvakaṣaṃgho rājakule pariviṣṭo mahatā satkāreṇa mahatā sanmānena. tehi sarvā brāhmaṇapariṣā sannipātītā anekāni brāhmaṇasahasrāṇi. tena kālena tena samayena brāhmaṇākrāntā pṛthivī bhavati. sannipātītā Mālinīm ghātetukāmā. eṣāye*<sup>217</sup> *atra rājakule brāhmaṇānām*

<sup>204</sup> According to MW s.vv. *sārika* and *sārikā* “Turdus Salica”; Pāli *sālika* (PTSD “maina bird”).

<sup>205</sup> One of the thirty-two characteristics of a Great Man (*mahāpuruṣa*). See MARCINIAK 2021: 182–183.

<sup>206</sup> Sa *eḍṣā vidhīye*; Sen. *eḍṣāye vidhīye*.

<sup>207</sup> Sa *eḍṣāe bhistūpāye*; Sen. *eḍṣāye vibhūṣāye*. I follow Sen. as similar strings of words occur several times in the text, e.g., Sa 61r6, 75v4 *mahatā rājānubhāvena mahatā rājariddhīye mahatīye vibhūṣāye*, 76v3 *samudayena evaṃrūpāye rājariddhīye evaṃrūpāye saṃdḍhīye evaṃrūpāye eḍṣāye vibhūṣāye*.

<sup>208</sup> Sa *eḍṣāe riddhī*; Sen. *eḍṣāye riddhīye*. For the Middle Indic obl. sg. fem. ending *-āe* see BHS § 9.31, HINÜBER 2001: § 334.

<sup>209</sup> Here ms. Sa reads *yena bhagavāṃ Kāśyapo*, but it should be discarded.

<sup>210</sup> Sen. *eḍṣena vibhavana deva*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>211</sup> Here ms. Sa reads again *saśrāvakaṣaṃgho*, but it is superfluous and should be discarded.

<sup>212</sup> Sen. *taṃhi*. Loc. sg. *taṃhi* < Skt *tasmi*. Cf. the forms *kaṃhi*, *imaṃhi*, *anyaṃhi* in ms. Sa (MARCINIAK 2014: 174). For the loc. sg. *-aṃhi* see BHS § 8.61; in Pāli see OBERLIES 2019: 271 and 273, fn. 3.

<sup>213</sup> Here ms. Sa reads again *saśrāvakaṣaṃgho*, but it is superfluous and should be discarded.

<sup>214</sup> = Sen., Sa *praviṣṭo*. Pāli *parivisati*, BHS *pariviṣati* “serves with food”.

<sup>215</sup> Sen. *dharmayā*.

<sup>216</sup> Sen. *°harṣayitvōthhāyāsanāto*.

<sup>217</sup> Sen. *eṣā yeva*.

*kaṇṭhako*<sup>218</sup> utpanno. Kṛkiś ca rājā brāhmaṇeṣu abhiprasanno. tasya viṃśa brāhmaṇasahasrā devasikaṃ<sup>219</sup> bhuñjanti. eṣā ca pitṛṇā brāhmaṇānām niyojitā “etāni brāhmaṇāni devasikaṃ bhojayehi”<sup>ti</sup><sup>220</sup>. etāye brāhmaṇānām avamanyitvā śramaṇā<sup>221</sup> rājakule praveśitā. eṣo ca edrśo ca<sup>222</sup> pūjāsatkāro kṛto. sā eṣā yan taṃ<sup>223</sup> brāhmaṇānām<sup>224</sup> upajīvyam rājakulāto pūjāsatkāro taṃ<sup>225</sup> śramaṇānām pariṇāmitam mānayati<sup>226</sup>. tehi brāhmaṇehi eṣo vyavasāyo kṛto Mālinī māretavyā.

Exalted Kāśyapa, together with the assembly of his disciples, in this manner, with this splendour, with this power, with this prosperity, with this magnificence, honoured by gods and people, entered the inner quarter of King Kṛki. There, in the inner room, the Exalted One with the assembly of his disciples was served respectfully by Mālinī with plentiful superior hard and soft food of the right, excellent, lasting, exquisite taste. The Exalted One with the assembly of his disciples, having eaten, with his hand washed, with his bowl rinsed<sup>227</sup>, having instructed, incited, inflamed, and delighted Mālinī with the talk on Dharma, rose up from the seat and departed. And the twenty thousand Brahmins who were permanently eating at King Kṛki became angry as Exalted Kāśyapa with the assembly of his disciples was served by Mālinī with great honour and great respect in the king’s palace. They gathered the whole assembly of Brahmins – several thousands of Brahmins. At that time, on that occasion, the land was overrun by Brahmins. [Thus] gathered, they wanted to put Mālinī to death. Towards her there, in the king’s palace, there arose a thorn in the Brahmins. King Kṛki was well-disposed towards Brahmins. Twenty thousand Brahmins ate daily in his [palace]. And she (i.e., Mālinī) was appointed by her father to [serve] the Brahmins “Feed these Brahmins daily”. [But] having disdained the Brahmins, she invited recluses to the palace. Each of them was paid great

<sup>218</sup> Sen. *kaṇṭhako*. BHSD s.v. *kaṇṭhaka* “as in Pali, alternative spelling for *kaṇṭhaka*, thorn”. See DP I s.v. *kaṇṭhaka*.

<sup>219</sup> Sen. *daivasikaṃ*.

<sup>220</sup> Sen. *daivasikaṃ bhojehīti*.

<sup>221</sup> = Sen., Sa *śravaṇā*. For the interchange *śravaṇa/śramaṇa* see KARASHIMA 2016: 111. For the alternation *m/v* see PISCHEL 1900: §§ 251, 261, BHSG § 2.30, HINÜBER 2001: §§ 208–210.

<sup>222</sup> Sen. *eṣāṃ ca edrśo pūja*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>223</sup> Sen. *yattaṃ*.

<sup>224</sup> = Sen., Sa *brāhmaṇām*.

<sup>225</sup> Sen. *°satkārāthaṃ*.

<sup>226</sup> The conjecture is not certain. Sa has *māremanati*, Sen. reads *pariṇāmeti mānayantīti*.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. JONES 1949–1956: I 257.34 “put away his bowl”. However, the word *apanīta* in this compound is probably a wrong back-formation of *onīta* (< *avanīta*) or a corruption of *avanīta*. Cf. DP I s.vv. *onīyati*, *onīta* (“put into water, washed”); Skt *ava-√nī* (“to lead or bring down into [water]”, MW s.v.). Cf. also Pāli *onītapāṇi* “with rinsed hands”, and *onītapattapāṇi* “with hands and bowl rinsed”. Cf. Mv(KM) III 175, 330, 348, 551 *apanītapāṇi* “with his hand rinsed”. See also NORMAN CP II 123–124 and MARCINIAK 2018a: 173–174.

respect. And the subsistence from the king's palace which was due to the Brahmins [as a form of] reverence, this she thought to be apportioned to the recluses. The decision made by those Brahmins was that Mālinī should be put to death.

*Kṛkī ca Kāśirājā janapadaṃ pratyavekṣako*<sup>228</sup> *va gato. tehi brāhmaṇehi Kṛkisyā rājño dūto preṣito “edṛśaṃ*<sup>229</sup> *Mālinīye brāhmaṇānām mūle abahumānam utpannaṃ. Kāśyapasya saśrāvakaśaṃghasya rājakulaṃ praveśitvā edṛśo ca edṛśo ca*<sup>230</sup> *pūjāsatkāro kṛto brāhmaṇānām darśanaṃ pi na deti. yathā mahārājena saṃdīṣṭaṃ*<sup>231</sup> *tathā na karoti. yan taṃ*<sup>232</sup> *brāhmaṇānām rājakule nityakaṃ viṃśatīnām brāhmaṇasahasrānām taṃ pi na vartati. Mālinī brāhmaṇānāmdarśanaṃ pinadeti”.rājāśrutamātrenaiva janapadāto Vārāṇasim āgato paśyati anekāṃ brāhmaṇasahasriyo samāgatāni. so yena brāhmaṇā tena praṇato*<sup>233</sup> *. brāhmaṇā pi rājño pratyudgatā jayena vardhāpayitvā*<sup>234</sup> *etāṃ prakṛtiṃ Mālinīye taṃ sarvaṃ Kṛkisyā Kāśirājño nivedenti “mahārāja eṣā Mālinī brāhmaṇānām kaṇṭaka utpannā*<sup>235</sup> *. na śakyaṃ brāhmaṇehi rājño nityakaṃ pratīcchitum yāvan na Mālinī ghātītā. eṣa samagrāye*<sup>236</sup> *brāhmaṇaparsāye niścayo utpanno. rājā pi brāhmaṇyo eṣā brāhmaṇapariṣā*<sup>237</sup> *anuparivartitavyā. yadi te brāhmaṇyaṃ aparityaktaṃ Mālinī parityajāhi. atha te Mālinī aparityaktā nāsti te brāhmaṇyaṃ”. brāhmaṇapariṣāyāṃ*<sup>238</sup> *kriyā-m-anuparivartantasya tasya rājño etad abhūṣi “imā brāhmaṇākrāntā pṛthivī bahubrāhmaṇyā. yadi Mālinīm na parityajīṣyāmi*<sup>239</sup> *ḍimbaṃ bhaviṣyati. naiva Mālinī bhaviṣyati naiva ahaṃ.*

*tyajed ekaṃ kulasyārthe grāmārthe tu kulaṃ tyajet |*  
*grāmaṃ janapadasyārthe ātmārthe pṛthivīm tyajet ||*<sup>240</sup>

<sup>228</sup> = Sen.; Sa °vekṣyako (wrong back-formation of the Middle Indic °vekkhako).

<sup>229</sup> = Sen.; Sa edṛśī.

<sup>230</sup> Sen. reads once edṛśo ca.

<sup>231</sup> = Sen.; Sa saṃdīṣṭaṃ (wrong back-formation of the Middle Indic °dīṭṭham).

<sup>232</sup> Sa yan ta, Sen. yan tu.

<sup>233</sup> Sa vraṇato, Sen. tenaiva gato.

<sup>234</sup> = Sen., Sa jāyena vardhāyitvā. Cf. Mv(KM) II 502 rājño Subandhusya jayena vardhāpayitvā; II 506 so dāni brāhmaṇo jayena vardhāpayitvā. We could also read vardhāpetvā, cf. Sa 85r6 Aṅgarājānaṃ jayena vardhāpetvā. On this form see BHSD s.v. vardhayati.

<sup>235</sup> Sa kaṇṭaka utpanno, Sen. kaṇṭako utpannā.

<sup>236</sup> = Sen., Sa mamāgrāye (ma and sa are similar and tend to be confused).

<sup>237</sup> Sen. °pariṣāya kriyā anu°.

<sup>238</sup> Sen. °pariṣāyā.

<sup>239</sup> = Sen., Sa °tyajīṣyanti.

<sup>240</sup> This verse occurs also in several other texts, e.g. BhV 142.13–14 *tyajed ekaṃ kulasyārthe grāmasyārthe kulaṃ tyajet\* | grāmaṃ janapadasyārthe ātmārthe pṛthivīm tyajet\* ||*.

[At that time] King Kṛki was gone inspecting the provinces. The Brahmins sent a messenger to the king: “Mālinī developed such disrespect towards the Brahmins – she, having invited to the palace Kāśyapa together with the assembly of his disciples, paid respect to each of them [and] did not see to the Brahmins. She does not do as was assigned by the great king. The regular provision which is for the Brahmins in the king’s palace, this does not take place for the twenty thousand Brahmins [now], for Mālinī does not see to the Brahmins.” Right after hearing this, King Kṛki returned from the provinces to Vārāṇasi and saw several thousands of Brahmins gathered [there]. He went towards where the Brahmins were. The Brahmins approached the king, [and] having greeted him [with the word] “Victory!”, reported to King Kṛki the entire case concerning Mālinī: “O great king, Mālinī has become a thorn for the Brahmins. It is not possible for the Brahmins to obtain a regular provision as long as Mālinī has not been put to death. This is a resolve of the collective assembly of Brahmins. As the great king is devoted to Brahmins, [the decision of] the assembly of Brahmins should be followed. If your devotion to Brahmins has not been abandoned, [then] give up Mālinī. If Mālinī is not abandoned by you, [then] you are not devoted to Brahmins.” The king who was following the decision of the assembly of Brahmins thought: “This land, overrun by Brahmins, is exceedingly devoted to Brahmins. If I do not give up Mālinī, there will be a riot. Neither Mālinī nor myself will remain [alive].

‘One should give up an individual for the sake of a family,  
and one should give up a family for the sake of a village;  
a village – for the sake of a country,  
one should give up the world for one’s own sake.’”

*tena dāni Kāśirājñā Mālinī parityaktā “yathā brāhmaṇapariṣāye abhipriyaṃ<sup>241</sup> tathā bhavatu”. te dāni brāhmaṇā āhaṃsu “yadi parityaktā Mālinī ānāpīyatu<sup>242</sup> rājñā”. tato yeva bāhiraṇagarāto<sup>243</sup> brāhmaṇānāṃ mūle sthitakena dūto preṣito “āgacchatha Mālinīm ānetha” tti. rājavacanena dūto rājakulam anuprāpto “āgaccha Mālini. parityaktāsi pitari brāhmaṇānāṃ. brāhmaṇehi jīvitād vyaparopayasi”. Mālinīya<sup>244</sup> mātare ārāvo<sup>245</sup> mukto sarveṇa ca antapureṇa<sup>246</sup>. nagare sarvajano tena ārāvaśabdena utkaṇṭhito ākulībhūto maham-ārodanena<sup>247</sup>. Mālinī Vārāṇasīto dūtena niṣkāśīyati pituḥ*

<sup>241</sup> Sen. *abhiprāyam*.

<sup>242</sup> Sa *ānāpīyatu*, Sen. *āṇāpīyatu*.

<sup>243</sup> Sen. *tato tena bāhire nagarāto*.

<sup>244</sup> Sen. *mālinīye*. For the gen. sg. fem. *-īya* see BHS § 10.105.

<sup>245</sup> Sen. *mātare āgatvā ārāvo*.

<sup>246</sup> Sen. *antaḥpureṇa*. Ms. Sa often reads *antapura-*, see Mv(KM) III 3, fn. 8.

<sup>247</sup> Sen. *maham āsi rodanam*.

*sakāse*<sup>248</sup>. *sā dāni dūtehi niṣkāsitvā*<sup>249</sup> *pituḥ allīpitā* “*iyam mahārāja Mālinī*”. *rājñā aśrukaṇṭhena*<sup>250</sup> *rudanmukhena mahato janakāyasya Mālinī brāhmaṇānām dattā parityaktā pitare. sā dāni Mālinī yatra kāle pitari parityaktā brāhmaṇānām ajñākṛtā tato Mālinī prāñjalīkṛtā brāhmaṇapariṣāye praṇipatetvā*<sup>251</sup> “*icchāmi ekām vijñaptiṃ brāhmaṇapariṣāye dīyamāna*” *ti*<sup>252</sup>. *te āhansu* “*jalpa yā*<sup>253</sup> *te vijñapti*”. *sā*<sup>254</sup> *āha* “*ahaṃ pitari brāhmaṇānām parityaktā yuṣmākam ahaṃ vaśagatā. brāhmaṇapariṣāe va*<sup>255</sup> *evam niścayo* ‘*Mālinī māretavyā*’. *tad icchāmi brāhmaṇapariṣāye*<sup>256</sup> *sakāśāto saptarātram*<sup>257</sup> *jīvitum dānaṃ dāsyāmi puṇyaṃ ca kariṣyāmi. ahaṃ ca brāhmaṇānām kṛtopasthānā mayāpi brāhmaṇā upasthāpitā pitur vacanena. tato me saptāhasyātyayena māretha vā yaṃ vā vo*<sup>258</sup> *kṣamati taṃ karotha*”. *teṣāṃ brāhmaṇānām mahattarakānām utpannaṃ* “*evam etaṃ yathā Mālinī jalpati cirakālam etāye brāhmaṇā upasthāpitā pitur vacanena bhojapitāḥ. paścā etāye pāpakaṃ cittam utpannaṃ yaṃ brāhmaṇāṃ mellitvā śramaṇānām abhiprasannā. tato nārhati bhūyo śramaṇānām dānaṃ dātum. utsṛṣṭā teṣāṃ*<sup>259</sup> *brāhmaṇānām yeva eṣā saptarātram dānaṃ dāsyati. tad dīyatu etāya vijñaptiḥ mucyatu saptarātram saptāhasyātyayena hariṣyati*<sup>260</sup>”. *yaṃ kāraṇaṃ brāhmaṇapariṣāye eṣa niścaya utpannaḥ taṃ Mālinīye jīvamānāya kāryaṃ. tasya*<sup>261</sup> *tehi brāhmaṇehi dattā vijñapti* “*saptarātram osṛṣṭā*<sup>262</sup> *mahato janakāyasya brāhmaṇānām śakāśāto apramādo bhaveyā*<sup>263</sup> *saptarātram pi na vilupe*” *tī*.

Thus, the king of Kāśi gave up Mālinī [saying]: “As is agreeable to the assembly of Brahmins, so let it be.” Then these Brahmins said, “If Mālinī has been given up, may she be made by the king to be fetched [here].” Then, a messenger was sent from outside the city by [the king] who was standing [there] with the Brahmins: “Go and bring Mālinī.” With the king’s words the messenger

<sup>248</sup> Sen. *niṣkāsyati pituḥ sakāśam*.

<sup>249</sup> Sen. *niṣkāsitā*.

<sup>250</sup> = Sen., Sa *rājñā aśrukaṇṭho*.

<sup>251</sup> Sen. *praṇipatitvā*. On the gerunds in *-etvā* see BHS § 35.26.

<sup>252</sup> Sen. *brāhmaṇapariṣā yadi pramāṇaṃ tī*.

<sup>253</sup> = Sen., Sa *ya*.

<sup>254</sup> Sen. omits *sā*.

<sup>255</sup> Sen. °*pariṣāye evam eva niścayo*.

<sup>256</sup> Sen. °*pariṣāyam eva*.

<sup>257</sup> Sen. *saptāhaṃ*.

<sup>258</sup> = Sen.; Sa *dho* (*va* and *dha* are very similar and can be confused).

<sup>259</sup> Sa *dātum dṛṣṭvānavoṃṣaṃ brāhmaṇānām*, Sen. *dātum utsṛṣṭā na teṣāṃ brāhmaṇānām*.

<sup>260</sup> Sen. *haniṣyati*.

<sup>261</sup> Sen. *tasyā*.

<sup>262</sup> Sen. *utsṛṣṭā*.

<sup>263</sup> Sa *apramādo bhaveyāṃ*, Sen. *apramādā bhaveyā*.

reached the palace: “Come Mālinī. You have been given up to the Brahmins by your father. You are to be devoid of life by the Brahmins.” Mālinī’s mother gave forth a cry, so did the women from the king’s palace. At the sound of that cry, all the people in the city became distressed and bewildered at this great lamentation. Mālinī was driven out by the messenger from Vārāṇasī to the presence of her father. Then, having been driven out by the messengers, she was brought near to her father: “O great king. Here is Mālinī.” The king, crying, with a weeping face, gave Mālinī, abandoned by the father, to the great crowd of Brahmins. Then Mālinī, when she was given up by her father [and] subjected to the Brahmins, with joined hands threw herself down before the assembly of Brahmins: “I want to be granted one request by the assembly of Brahmins.” They said, “Speak, what is your request?”. She said, “I have been given up by my father to the Brahmins. I am in your power [now]. The decision of the assembly of Brahmins is ‘Mālinī is to be put to death’. Then I want from the assembly of Brahmins [the request that] I live for seven nights so that I will perform the act of giving and [thus] accomplish a meritorious deed. I did service to the Brahmins, the Brahmins were served by me following my father’s words. Then, after the seven days have passed, either put me to death or do whatever pleases<sup>264</sup> you.” The most senior of the Brahmins reflected: “This is as Mālinī says. For a long time the Brahmins were served and fed by her at her father’s words. Later, an evil thought arose in her as, having abandoned the Brahmins, she became devoted to the recluses. Now, she will not dare to give alms to the recluses any more. Having been released, she will give alms to the Brahmins for seven nights. Thus, let the request be granted to her, let her be freed for seven nights. After the seven days have passed, she will be done away with.” The act because of which that decision was made by the assembly of Brahmins was [now] to be used for Mālinī remaining alive. [Thus], her request was granted by the Brahmins. “Being freed for seven nights by the large assembly of Brahmins, may there be care [on your side], may you not fail during these seven nights.”

*sā dāni osṛṣṭā samānāpi nūna<sup>265</sup> sārđhaṃ mahatā janakāyena parivṛtā puna<sup>266</sup> rājakulaṃ praviṣṭā pitaraṃ vijñapeti “icchāmi imāni sapta divasāni dānaṃ ca dātuṃ puṇyaṃ ca kartuṃ yatra mama abhiprāyo”. rājā āha “evam astu. karohi putri puṇyaṃ yatra te abhiprāyo”. sā āha “bhagavantaṃ Kāśyapaṃ samyaksambuddhaṃ saśrāvakaśaṃghaṃ saptāham iha rājakule pariviṣeyaṃ”. rājā āha “anumodāmi<sup>267</sup>”. tāye<sup>268</sup> bhagavāṃ Kāśyapo saśrāvakaśaṃgho rājakule saptāhaṃ bhaktena upanimantrito anukampāmupādāya bhagavatā Kāśyapena vaineyavaśena “mahājanakāyaṃ vinayam āgamiṣyati”ti adhvāsitaṃ. te*

<sup>264</sup> For *kṣamati* in this sense see BHSD s.v. *kṣamati* “(3) impersonally, seems good, pleases”.

<sup>265</sup> Sen. *nūnaṃ*.

<sup>266</sup> Sen. *punaḥ*.

<sup>267</sup> Sen. *anumodāhi tvaṃ*.

<sup>268</sup> Sen. omits *tāye*.

*brāhmaṇā parikupitā icchanti hanituṃ jīvati*<sup>269</sup>. *Mālini prāñjalīkṛtā “kṣamatha tāva saptāhaṃ yāvad dadāmi dānaṃ. dadato*<sup>270</sup> *brāhmaṇā kāmākāro vaḥ”*.

Thus being freed now, surrounded by a great crowd, she entered the palace again [and] announced to her father: “I want to give alms on these seven days and perform a meritorious deed wherever I wish.” The king said, “Let it be. Do perform a meritorious deed, daughter, wherever you wish.” She said, “I shall serve Exalted Kāśyapa, the perfectly awoken one, together with the assembly of his disciples, here in the palace for seven days.” The king said, “I approve.” By her Exalted Kāśyapa together with the assembly of his disciples was invited to the palace for seven days to be [served with] food. Out of compassion, for the sake of those to be converted, Exalted Kāśyapa consented [saying]: “A great multitude of people will go into the Vinaya (i.e., will be converted).” The Brahmins, angry, wanted to kill her [whom they previously granted the right to remain] alive. Mālinī with her hands joined [said]: “Bear with it for seven days, until I have performed the act of giving. One who gives, o Brahmins, fulfils your wish.”

*tāye prathamasmim divasasmim śāstā bhojāpito saha gaṇena antapurasya*<sup>271</sup> *madhye mātuś pituś ca madhyagatāya. śāstā ca prasādanīyāṃ rājño kathaye kathāṃ. vinīvaraṇaṃ dharmaṃ*<sup>272</sup> *ca abhisameti rājā antaḥpureṇa saha. dvitīyasmim divasasmi vinayesi*<sup>273</sup> *pañca putraśatā. triyasmī divasasmi*<sup>274</sup> *yo teṣāṃ abhūṣi parivāro ca. caturthasmi*<sup>275</sup> *divase rājāmātya*<sup>276</sup> *vineti sambuddhaḥ. pañcame yeva*<sup>277</sup> *balāgraṃ prathamaphale niveśaye śāstā. ṣaṣṭhasmi*<sup>278</sup> *divasasmim rājācāryaṃ vineti sambuddhaḥ, nigamāṃ ca saptame*<sup>279</sup> *śrotāpattiphale vinaye. rājā pi hr̥ṣṭacitto sambuddhaṃ paśyīya saha gaṇena bhagavantaṃ Kāśyapaṃ nimantrayed agrabhaktena. Mālinīye saptame divase bhagavantaṃ Kāśyapaṃ bhuktāviṃ viditvā apanītapātraṃ praṇidhānam utpāditaṃ “anantareṇāhaṃ duḥkhasyāntaṃ <kareyaṃ>*<sup>280</sup>.

<sup>269</sup> Sa *jāvati*, Sen. *jīvantīm*. For the acc. sg. fem. *-i* see BHSG § 10.50, Abhis. III § 8.4.

<sup>270</sup> Sen. *dadanto*. For the nom. sg. masc. *-to* see BHSG § 18.33, OBERLIES 2019: § 97.

<sup>271</sup> Sen. *antaḥpurasya*.

<sup>272</sup> Sa *vinīvaraṇā dharmāṃ*, Sen. *vinīvaraṇe ca dharme*.

<sup>273</sup> Sen. *divasasmim vinesi*.

<sup>274</sup> Sen. *trītyasmim divasasmim*. For the loc. sg. *-asmi* see BHSG § 8.63, Abhis. III § 6.22; in ms. Sa see MARCINIAK 2014: 177.

<sup>275</sup> Sen. *°smim*.

<sup>276</sup> Sen. *rājāmātyāṃ*. For the acc. pl. masc. *-a* see BHSG § 8.94, Abhis. III § 6.30.

<sup>277</sup> Sa *yeca*, Sen. *yaṃ ca*.

<sup>278</sup> Sa *ṣaṣṭismi*, Sen. *ṣaṣṭhasmim*.

<sup>279</sup> = Sen., Sa *samptamīyo*.

<sup>280</sup> = Sen.; Sa has *antareṇāhaṃ duḥkhasyāntaṃ*, the word *kareyaṃ* is lacking. Cf. the reading a few lines below *tatra ca ahaṃ duḥkhasyāntaṃ kareyaṃ*.

*edṛśo me*<sup>281</sup> *putro bhaveyā*<sup>282</sup> *yathāyaṃ bhagavāṃ Kāśyapo devamanuṣyāṇāṃ arthacaryāṃ*<sup>283</sup> *carati. evaṃ mama putro anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyitvā*<sup>284</sup> *devamanuṣyāṇāṃ arthacaryā careyā*<sup>285</sup>. *Mālinīye bhrātā Aniyavanto nāma kumāro. tenāpi praṇihitam “edṛśo me pitā bhaveyā yathāyaṃ bhagavāṃ Kāśyapo etarahiṃ. tatra ca ahaṃ duḥkhasyāntaṃ kareyaṃ*<sup>286</sup>”.

On the first day, the teacher with his company was fed by her inside the inner quarter, together with her father and mother present inside. And the teacher preached to the king a pleasing discourse. And the king together with the women from the inner quarter grasped the Dharma which was without any hindrances. On the second day, he converted five hundred sons [of the king], on the third day their attendants. On the fourth day, the perfectly awoken one converted the king’s ministers. On the fifth [day], the teacher established the army in the first stage (lit. fruit) [of religious advancement]<sup>287</sup>. On the sixth day, the perfectly awoken one converted the king’s priest, and on the seventh [day], he converted the townsmen in the stage (lit. fruit) of the ‘entrance into the stream’<sup>288</sup>. And the king, with his mind joyful after seeing the perfectly awoken one with his company, invited Exalted Kāśyapa to the most excellent meal. On the seventh day, having seen that Exalted Kāśyapa had eaten and washed his bowl, Mālinī made a vow: “May I immediately make an end to suffering. Let my son be like this Exalted Kāśyapa who lives acting for the benefit of gods and people. Thus may my son, having won the highest perfect enlightenment, live acting for the benefit of gods and people.” Mālinī had a young brother named Aniyavanta. He too vowed: “May my father be like this Exalted Kāśyapa here. Then I would make an end to suffering.”

*evaṃ bhagavatā Kāśyapena Kṛkī ca Kāśirājā sāntaḥpuro pañca kumāraśatā amātyo ca sarvo ca bhaṭṭabalāgro*<sup>289</sup> *yobhūyena ca naigamo*<sup>290</sup> *sarve āryadharme hi vinītā*<sup>291</sup>. *teṣāṃ etad abhūṣi “asmākaṃ Mālinī kalyāṇamitrā. Mālinīm āgamyā*

<sup>281</sup> = Sen., Sa *sa* (probably *me* was miswritten as *se*, then the scribe assumed that the reading was *sa* and changed it accordingly).

<sup>282</sup> = Sen., Sa *bhaveyo* (final *-ā* and *-o* are sometimes confused).

<sup>283</sup> = Sen., Sa °*caryāṃ*.

<sup>284</sup> Sen. °*bodhitvā*. For *budhyi-* / *buddhi-* in ms. Sa see MARCINIAK 2014: 191, 197. Cf. also Mv(KM) III 135, 350, 449 *samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyitvā*.

<sup>285</sup> Sen. °*caryāṃ caratu*.

<sup>286</sup> = Sen., Sa *kareyeyaṃ*.

<sup>287</sup> *Prathamaphala*, see BHSD s.v.

<sup>288</sup> *Srotāpattiphala* (in Mv often written *śrotā°*), see BHSD s.v. *srota-āpatti*.

<sup>289</sup> Sen. *amātyā ca bhaṭṭabalāgram*.

<sup>290</sup> Sen. *naigamā*.

<sup>291</sup> Sen. prints *āryadharmehi vinītā*, but cf. Mv(KM) III 169 *āryadharme vinītā*, Mv(KM) III 327 *ārye dharme pratiṣṭhāpayitvā*, Sa 14r3–4 *bahū satvā āryadharme niveśaya*.

*asmākaṃ sarvadharmeṣu<sup>292</sup> dharmacakṣur viśuddhaṃ. tāṃ brāhmaṇā jīvitād vyaparopayīṣyānti<sup>293</sup>. api nāma vayaṃ ātmānaṃ parityajeyāmaḥ na Mālinīm<sup>294</sup>. tehi teṣāṃ brāhmaṇānāṃ saṃdiṣṭaṃ “ete vayaṃ Mālinīye saha āgacchāmaḥ. Mālinī asmākaṃ kalyāṇamitrā na yuṣme śaktā asmehi jīvantehi Mālinīm jīvitād vyaparopayitum. yadi vayaṃ sarve na bhavema<sup>294</sup> evaṃ yuṣme śaknotha tāṃ Mālinīm<sup>295</sup> jīvitād vyaparopayitum<sup>296</sup>. te dāni sarve<sup>296</sup> saparivārāḥ sabalavāhanāḥ Mālinīm agrato kṛtvā Vārāṇasīto nirgamyā yena tāni brāhmaṇasahasrāṇi tena pranatā.*

Thus Kṛki, the king of Kāśi, together with the women from the inner quarter, five hundred sons, all the ministers, the best soldiers, as well as most of the townsmen, they all were converted to the noble Dharma by Exalted Kāśyapa. They thought as follows: “Mālinī is our dear friend. Thanks to her our perception of Dharma with respect to all *dharmas* is clear. The Brahmins will devoid her of life. Surely, we shall give up ourselves, not Mālinī.” They communicated to these Brahmins: “We shall go along with Mālinī. Mālinī is our dear friend. As long as we live, you may not devoid her of life. If we all would not be alive, then you may devoid this Mālinī of life.” Then they all together with their attendants, along with soldiers and chariots, having put Mālinī at the front, left Vārāṇasī and set out towards where these hundreds of Brahmins were.

*te brāhmaṇās taṃ anantaṃ balāgraṃ drṣṭvā Mālinīye<sup>297</sup> saha āgacchantāṃ bhītā trastā. tehi dūto preṣīto “rājño ca nigamyā ca ‘muktā<sup>298</sup> bhavatu Mālinī taṃ divasaṃ yevaiṣā<sup>299</sup> uddhṛtadaṇḍā. yā<sup>300</sup> eṣā pitare asmākaṃ<sup>301</sup> nisṛṣṭā bhavatūddhṛtadaṇḍā. eṣā na asmākaṃ<sup>302</sup> Mālinī aparādhyati. Kāśyapo asmākaṃ saparivāro aparādhyati. tasya vayaṃ daṇḍaṃ kariṣyāmaḥ<sup>303</sup>. tehi dāni sannaddhakavacitāḥ sahasrayodhā<sup>303</sup> daśa puruṣā Rīṣivadane preṣitā<sup>304</sup> “Kāśyapaṃ śramaṇaṃ<sup>305</sup> saśrāvakaṣaṃghaṃ jīvitād vyaparopayatha<sup>304</sup>”.*

<sup>292</sup> Sa sarve dharm<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>293</sup> = Sen., Sa vyapayīṣyānti.

<sup>294</sup> Sen. yadā vayaṃ sarve na bhavāma.

<sup>295</sup> = Sen., Sa sa mālinī.

<sup>296</sup> Sen. omits sarve.

<sup>297</sup> Sen. mālinīye. For the instr. sg. fem. -īye see BHSG § 10.96.

<sup>298</sup> Sen. rājño ca nirgamyatu muktā.

<sup>299</sup> Sa yevaiṣā, Sen. yā caiṣā.

<sup>300</sup> Sen. omits yā.

<sup>301</sup> Sen. ālokaṃ.

<sup>302</sup> = Sen., Sa yuṣmākaṃ.

<sup>303</sup> Sen. sahasrayogā.

<sup>304</sup> = Sen.; the word preṣitā is lacking in ms. Sa.

<sup>305</sup> = Sen., Sa śramaṇaṃ. For śramaṇa / śravaṇa see KARASHIMA 2016: 111. This confusion occurs frequently in ms. Sa, e.g., Mv(KM) III 73 mahāśravaṇe for mahāśramaṇe, III 285, 304 śravaṇagaṇāsya for śramaṇagaṇāsya, III 331 śravaṇāsya for śramaṇāsya, and others.

te ca<sup>306</sup> bhagavatā Kāśyapena maitryā sphāritvā<sup>307</sup> āryadharme hi pratiṣṭhāpitā. tehi brāhmaṇehi apare viṃśa puruṣāḥ sannaddhakavacitā preṣitāḥ “Kāśyapam śramaṇam jīvitād vyaparopayatha”. te puruṣā Rīṣivadanaṃ gatā sannaddhā sapraharaṇā te pi bhagavatā maitryāya sphāritvā āryadharme<sup>308</sup> pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ. evaṃ triṃśac catvāriṃśa pañcāśaṃ yattakā<sup>309</sup> preṣitā tattakā<sup>310</sup> Kāśyapena bhagavatā maitryāya sphāritvā<sup>311</sup> āryadharme hi pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ. ākarṣaṇā eṣā buddhānāṃ. bhagavatā vaineyasatvānāṃ ākarṣaṇatāyāi yattakā<sup>312</sup> taḥiṃ buddhavaineyā āsi tehi brāhmaṇasahasrehi tattakā tehi visarjitāḥ, te ca bhagavatā sarve āryadharme hi vinītāḥ. mithyāpratipannā avasiṣṭā anekaprāṇasahasrayo. teṣāṃ āryadharme hi vinītānāṃ bhavati “na ete brāhmaṇā buddhamāhātmyaṃ jānanti. yadi ete bhagavantam Kāśyapam upasaṃkramensu mahatā arthena saṃyujyensuḥ”. tena hi teṣāṃ brāhmaṇānāṃ dūto preṣito “bhagavāṃ Kāśyapo samyaksambuddho mahātmā mahākāruṇiko lokasya-m-anugrahapravṛtto<sup>313</sup>. mā bhavanto bhagavato Kāśyapasya saṃtike<sup>314</sup> bhikṣusaṃghasya bādhituṃ pradūṣetha. etaṃ<sup>315</sup> mānaṃ ca madam ca jahitvā āgacchatha sarve bhagavato Kāśyapasya pādavandā mahatā arthena saṃyujyisyatha<sup>316</sup>”.

The Brahmins, having seen the best of the army, endless, approaching together with Mālinī, became frightened and terrified. They sent a messenger: “Having come to the king, [say]: ‘Let Mālinī be set free this day, her punishment has been lifted. She whose punishment has been lifted shall be dismissed by us to her father. Mālinī has not offended us. Kāśyapa with his attendants has offended us. We will impose the punishment on him.’” Then they sent ten armed, armoured men, mighty warriors<sup>317</sup>, to Rīṣivadana: “Deprive of life the recluse Kāśyapa together with the assembly of his disciples.” But they, having been filled with love, were established in the noble Dharma by Exalted Kāśyapa. [Then] the Brahmins sent

<sup>306</sup> Sa na (na and ca can be confused, cf. e.g., Mv(KM) III 87 ye na for ye ca, III 129 yadi na for yadi ca, III 110 Magadhāca for Magadhāna, III 369 ca for na); Sen. omits this word.

<sup>307</sup> Sen. sphāritvā.

<sup>308</sup> Sen. maitryā sphāritvā ārye dharme.

<sup>309</sup> = Sen., Sa yantrakā (hyper-Sanskritism). BHSD s.v. yattaka “as much, as many, as great”.

<sup>310</sup> = Sen., Sa tattam. BHSD s.v. tattaka “so much, so many, so great”.

<sup>311</sup> Sen. sphāritvā.

<sup>312</sup> = Sen., Sa yantrakā (hyper-Sanskritism).

<sup>313</sup> Sen. lokasyānugraha°.

<sup>314</sup> Sen. kāśyapasyāntike, but in his notes he suggests reading antaśo for antike. However, santike should be kept here. See BHSD s.v. pradūṣayati “(1) with obj. citta, lit. corrupts (one’s own) mind, (= as in Pali) becomes ill-disposed, irritated, angry, malicious towards someone (usually loc., or gen. with antike, sometimes gen. alone)”.

<sup>315</sup> Sen. evaṃ.

<sup>316</sup> Sen. pādavandanam mahatā arthena saṃprayujyatha.

<sup>317</sup> Sahasrayodha, lit. “one who can fight a thousand”, = sahasrayodhin (BHSD s.v.).

another twenty armed, armoured men: “Deprive of life the recluse Kāśyapa.” These men, having gone to Rīṣivadana, armed, with weapons, were filled with love and established in the noble Dharma too. Then as many as thirty, forty, fifty were sent, and this many, having been filled with love, were established in the noble Dharma by Exalted Kāśyapa. Such is the power of attraction of the *buddhas*. Among the beings instructed by the Exalted One through his power of attraction, as many as were instructed by the *buddha* among the thousands of Brahmins there, this many were released by them, [and] they all were instructed in the noble Dharma by the Exalted One. There remained a few thousands of those who were immersed in falsehood. Those instructed in the noble Dharma thought: “These Brahmins do not know the buddha’s magnanimity. If they approached Exalted Kāśyapa, they would be furnished with a great profit.” A messenger was sent to these Brahmins: “Exalted Kāśyapa, a perfectly awoken one, is magnanimous, highly compassionate, devoted to acting for the benefit of the world. Do not be malicious towards Exalted Kāśyapa or the assembly of his disciples so as to hurt them. Having abandoned such conceit and pride, come all of you bowing at the feet of Exalted Kāśyapa, [and] be furnished with great profit.”

**Part IV:** The story is continued in verses.

(Sa 93r6–93v4; Sen. I 314.11–316.16)

*satya-m-apisunamvarṇa*<sup>318</sup> *maṃ ca arthavatim*<sup>319</sup> *śucim*<sup>320</sup> |  
*anyeṣāṃ vidhurā*<sup>321</sup> *vyaktā buddhasya sakhilā girā* ||

Truthful, of not malicious nature, beneficial to us and pure,  
unequaled among others, clever, is the *buddha*’s gentle speech.

*toṣaṇīyā nirvayaṇī(?)*<sup>322</sup> *sarvadāhavināśanī*<sup>323</sup> |  
*nelavarṇa sukhāvarṇa*<sup>324</sup> *buddhasya sakhilā girā*<sup>325</sup> ||

<sup>318</sup> If correct, *-ṃ-* in *apisunam-* is inserted *metri causa* (Śloka Pathyā, the fifth syllable has to be long).

<sup>319</sup> If correct, here *-ṃ* is *metri causa*.

<sup>320</sup> Sen. *satya apisunavarṇā naṃ ca arthavatī śuci*.

<sup>321</sup> Sen. *madhurā*. If correct, *vidhura* here means “unequaled, burdenless” (PTSD s.v., 2.). It might also be a scribal error for *vidura* “skilful, clever”.

<sup>322</sup> So reads ms. Sa. The meaning is not clear to me. Sen. emends *nirvamhaṇī*, on which BHSD s.v. *nirvamhaṇa*? “f. *nirvamhaṇī*: (cf. Pali *vamha*, *vambhanā*, *vamheti*, etc., etym. unknown; Deśī *bambhaṇī*, poison; seems hardly pertinent), free from contempt or ill-will: of Buddha’s speech (*girā*), *nirvamhaṇī* Mv i.314.13 (vs), so Senart by em.”

<sup>323</sup> Sa *toṣaṇīyāṃ nirvayaṇīm sarvadāhavināśanīm*, Sen. *tarpaṇīyā nirvamhaṇī sarvadāhavināśanī*.

<sup>324</sup> Sa *nelāmvarṇa sukhāmvarṇam*, Sen. *nelavarṇā sukhavarṇā*. I keep *-ā-* in *sukhā-* *metri causa*.

<sup>325</sup> = Sen., Sa *girām*.

Pleasing, ...(?), destroying all afflictions,  
of faultless nature, of agreeable nature, is the *buddha*'s gentle speech.

*agadgadā avikalā*<sup>326</sup> *avitathā-m-ananyathā*<sup>327</sup> |  
*yathātathā-m-avikalpitā*<sup>328</sup> *buddhasya sakhilā girā*<sup>329</sup> ||

Not stuttering, not impaired, not false, not inaccurate,  
conformable to the truth, not discriminating, is the *buddha*'s speech.

*jñeyajñānā anutpannā anosānā-m-asādisā*<sup>330</sup> |  
*naravā*(?)<sup>331</sup> *suvibhaktā*<sup>332</sup> *ca vācā*<sup>333</sup> *amītabuddhino* ||

Possessing the knowledge of what is to be known, unproduced, having no end<sup>334</sup>,  
unequaled,  
...(?) and well-divided is the speech of the one of infinite mind.

*satyam apīsunam ca bhāṣati-m-*  
*asaṃvataṃ*<sup>335</sup> *puna maitracitto* |  
*kāle paramārthopasaṃhitam*<sup>336</sup>  
*etam*<sup>337</sup> *vā*<sup>338</sup> *paramam subhāṣitam* ||<sup>339</sup>

[He] speaks the truth, without malice,  
unrestricted, one whose mind is filled with kindness,  
always aimed at the highest good,  
this highest well-spoken speech.

<sup>326</sup> = Sen., Sa *avikallā*.

<sup>327</sup> = Sen., Sa *avitathā sumananyathā*.

<sup>328</sup> Sa *yathātatvā-m-avikalpitā*, Sen. *yathātathā avikalpitā*.

<sup>329</sup> = Sen., Sa *sakhirām girām*. On the alternation *r/l* in ms. Sa see MARCINIAK 2014: 166.

<sup>330</sup> Sa *anosāne-m-anodisām*, Sen. *anosānā asādisā*. See BHSD s.v. *sādrśa* "Pāli *sādisa*; *asādisā*(h) with MIndic *i* for *r*, matchless (of Buddhas), Mv i.314.17 (vs), by Senart's plausible em., mss. *madisām*, *adisā* (meter requires long antepenult)". If the conjecture is correct, then *sā* would have been miswritten as *mā* and then as *no*. Such scribal errors are plausible.

<sup>331</sup> So reads ms. Sa. Sen. has *naravaśā*, which is unconvincing, as well as violating the metre. We could read *madhurā*, which occurs in the lists of qualities of the Buddha's voice elsewhere, but it seems too far-fetched. I am unable to propose a better conjecture here.

<sup>332</sup> = Sen., Sa *śucibhaktām* (*śa* and *sa*, and *ca* and *va* are very similar and can be confused).

<sup>333</sup> = Sen., Sa *vācam*.

<sup>334</sup> *Anosāna* = Skt *anavasāna* "endless".

<sup>335</sup> Sa *bhāṣati-s-asaṃvataṃ*, Sen. *bhāṣati sa sarvataḥ*.

<sup>336</sup> Sen. *upakāre paramārthasaṃhitam*.

<sup>337</sup> = Sen., Sa *etām*.

<sup>338</sup> Here *vā* = *va* (*eva*), see BHSD, s.v. *vā* (2), Abhis. III s.v. *vā* (2), PW s.v. *vā* (4).

<sup>339</sup> The metre is Vaitāliya; *pāda* b is defective.

*galitam āviṣṭaṃ ca bhāṣati*<sup>340</sup>  
*uccanīcam athāpi madhyamaṃ |*  
*anupadam anvaṣaram viśuddhaṃ*  
*etaṃ*<sup>341</sup> *vā paramaṃ subhāṣitaṃ* ||<sup>342</sup>

Deep(?)<sup>343</sup> and penetrating, he speaks,  
 high and low, as well as intermediate,  
 according to *padas* and syllables, clear,  
 this highest well-spoken speech.

*paramakarūṇamuditayuktāṃ*  
*girāṃ bhāṣati daśaphalayuktāṃ*<sup>344</sup>, <sup>345</sup> |  
*aṣṭāṅgupetāṃ caturaprakārāṃ*<sup>346</sup>  
*etaṃ*<sup>347</sup> *vā paramaṃ subhāṣitaṃ*<sup>348</sup> ||<sup>349</sup>

Conjoined with the highest compassion and joy,  
 he speaks the speech joined with the ten fruitions,  
 endowed with eight qualities, having four modes,  
 this highest well-spoken speech.

*subhāṣitaṃ bhāṣati paṃcapaścā(?)*<sup>350</sup>  
*suniścitāṃ*<sup>351</sup> *vā puna cchinnasaṃśayaṃ*<sup>352</sup> |

<sup>340</sup> Sen. *āviṣṭaṃ gaditaṃ sa bhāṣati*.

<sup>341</sup> = Sen., Sa *etāṃ*.

<sup>342</sup> Vaitālīya-Aupacchandāsika; *pāda* a is defective, *pāda* b becomes regular if we read *uccaṃ nīcam*.

<sup>343</sup> *Galita?* Cf. BHSD s.v. *galita* “of Buddha’s voice, perhaps fluent: Mv i.315.3, metr. dubious; i.171.11 *galita pada-saṃcayavati*, of Buddha’s voice. It would perhaps be rash to read *agalita*, which is used in Pali in the sense of (not dropping,) fluent, distinct, agreeable (CPD). Relation of the two forms obscure”. In fact, *agalita* would make more sense here: “distinct, with nothing dropped or omitted” (cf. DP II s.v. *galati*).

<sup>344</sup> = Sen., Sa *deśa*<sup>o</sup>. On *daśaphala-* see JONES 1949–1956: I 263, fn. 7.

<sup>345</sup> Sa *girāṃ bhāṣati deśaphalayuktāṃ girāṃ bhāṣati deśaphalayuktā* (dittography).

<sup>346</sup> Sen. *catusprakārāṃ*. BHSG §19.13–17 does not list the stem *catura-* in composition. In this *pāda* *catura-* could be introduced *metri causa*. I keep this form even though it is dubious.

<sup>347</sup> = Sen., Sa *etāṃ*.

<sup>348</sup> = Sen., Sa *subhāṣitānāṃ*.

<sup>349</sup> *Pādas* a and b are irregular, *pāda* c is Upajāti, *pāda* d scans as Vaitālīya.

<sup>350</sup> So reads Sa. Sen. has *vācāṃ bhāṣati paṃcapuṇyāṃ*. JONES 1949–1956: III 264: “The speech that he utters has the five good qualities.” At this point I am unable to propose a feasible conjecture.

<sup>351</sup> =Sen., Sa *suniścitānāṃ*.

<sup>352</sup> =Sen., Sa <sup>o</sup>*saṃśayāṃ*.

*na ca karma<sup>353</sup> kiṃci karoti pāpaṃ  
tathāvidhaṃ uttamapauruṣatvaṃ* ||<sup>354</sup>

He speaks the well-spoken speech, [which has] the five ...(?)  
well ascertained, with all doubts cut off.

He does not do any evil deeds.

Of this kind is the state of being a great man<sup>355</sup>.

*evaṃ upetaṃ varalakṣaṇehi  
mahādyutiṃ gaṇaṃ<sup>356</sup> anuśāsate varāṃ |  
prahīṇajñātīratanaṃ rati<sup>357</sup> ca sphītāṃ  
abhiniṣkrāme amṛtapadaṃ cikīrṣaṃ<sup>358</sup> ||<sup>359</sup>, <sup>360</sup>*

Thus endowed with the best characteristics,  
of great splendour, [he] instructs the noble crowds,  
having the jewel of kinsmen abandoned,  
[he] leaves the abundant pleasure, intent upon the state without death.<sup>361</sup>

*<sup>362</sup>ye nandanaṃ na jātāṃ ti  
drumasāraṃ varagandhaṃ uttamaṃ |  
dārutvitaṃ kṛta vikṛṇanti<sup>363</sup>  
atha tenaiva pacati<sup>364</sup> odanaṃ* ||<sup>365</sup>

<sup>353</sup> =Sen., Sa *karmaṇā*.

<sup>354</sup> The metre is Triṣṭubh-Jagatī. *Pāda* c is defective.

<sup>355</sup> *Uttamapauruṣatvaṃ*; Pāli *uttamapurisa* “a supreme, ideal man” (CPD s.v.), = *mahāpurisa* (PTSD s.v. *uttama*).

<sup>356</sup> Sen. °*dyutigaṇaṃ anu*°.

<sup>357</sup> Sa *vati*, Sen. *ratiṃ*.

<sup>358</sup> Sa *vikīrṣaṃ*, Sen. *jigīṣuṃ*.

<sup>359</sup> Sen. divides the verse in the following way: *varaṃ jñātīratanaṃ prahāya | ratiṃ ca sphītāṃ  
abhiniṣkrāme || amṛtapadaṃ jigīṣuṃ nandajātān | druma*°.

<sup>360</sup> Triṣṭubh-Jagatī. In *pāda* b (Upendravajrā) the 5th syllable is resolved; in *pāda* d the 1st and the 5th syllables are resolved.

<sup>361</sup> Cf. JONES 1949–1956: I 264: “A nature endowed with excellent qualities, which rules the great host of light. Renouncing the fair treasure of kith and kin it goes forth to larger joy.”

<sup>362</sup> This verse is hopelessly corrupted. Also, it seems to be an interpolation. See the note in JONES 1949–1956: I 264, fn. 2. Serving the rice gruel occurs in a verse earlier in the chapter: *śālīnaṃ odanaṃ vicitakālakaṃ anekavyaṅjana-m-upetaṃ svahastam upanāmayi*. I am unable to reconstruct the text here.

<sup>363</sup> Sen. *locetvāna kṛtavikṛtaṃ taṃ*.

<sup>364</sup> Sen. *pacesi*.

<sup>365</sup> The metre is Vaitāliya-Aupacchandāsika.

...(?)

the most excellent tree, of the best fragrance, the greatest,

....(?)

then she cooks the rice gruel.

*evam iha Kāśyapaṃ maharṣiṃ  
paribhāṣanti janā parittaprajñā |  
svākhyātapadam aninditaṃ  
puruṣājanyam<sup>366</sup> anomanikramaṃ<sup>367</sup> ||<sup>368</sup>*

Thus here, [him] – Kāśyapa, the great seer,  
do people of little understanding revile,  
whose utterances are well-proclaimed, faultless,  
a noble steed of a man, of supreme energy.

*śamitāvi<sup>369</sup> prahāya puṇyapāpaṃ  
bhavasamyojanasamkṣaye rataṃ |  
śāntaṃ suvibhaktamānasaṃ  
taṃ jano garhati anaṃgaṇaṃ ||<sup>370</sup>*

Tranquil, who has abandoned good and bad,  
rejoicing in the destruction of the fetters of existence,  
calm, having a well-divided mind –  
him, [who is] free from evil, people revile.

*bhikṣū ca upāsakā c' ime<sup>371</sup>  
bahavo Kāśyapaśāsane ratā |  
jvalitaṃ iva hutāsanam śikhiṃ  
eṭha vandāma sametya Kāśyapaṃ ||<sup>372</sup>*

<sup>366</sup> Sa *puruṣāyajñam* (scribal error or a wrong back-formation of *ājāñña*, see CPD s.v.), Sen. *puruṣājāniyam*. See BHSD s.v. *ājanya*. Cf. also Mv(KM) III 131 *puruṣājanyo*.

<sup>367</sup> Sa *anomatikramaṃ* (*na* and *ta* are similar and can be confused); Sen. emends to *anatikramaṃ*. Here *nikrama* is a back-formation of *nikkama* “strength, power, endurance, energy”. PTSD s.v. *anoma* “-nikkama, of perfect energy”, DP I s.v. *oma* “*anoma-nikkama*, of superior or excellent energy and exertion”. Cf. also PDhp 276c *taṃ buddham anomanikramaṃ*.

<sup>368</sup> Vaitālīya-Aupacchandāsika; in *pāda* a we should read *evaṃ, metri causa*; in *pāda* c the metre requires °*padam*.

<sup>369</sup> Sa *gamitāvi*. In some scripts the *akṣaras ga* and *śa* are similar, e.g. in proto-Bengali. Elsewhere I have shown that the script in the archetype from which ms. Sa was written was probably proto-Bengali (see MARCINIAK 2020: 123–124), hence such scribal errors occur in ms. Sa, e.g., Mv(KM) II 23 *guddho* for *śuddho*, II 32 *gatānām* for *śatānām*, III 137 *śāyanakā* for *gāyanakā*, III 330 *śorakaṃ* for *gorakaṃ* etc.; Sen. *śamitāviṃ*.

<sup>370</sup> Vaitālīya-Aupacchandāsika. In *pāda* a the initial *pr-* in *prahāya* should be simplified *metri causa*; in *pāda* d the metre requires *janō* and one long syllable after *garhati*.

<sup>371</sup> Sa *n' ime* (*na* and *ca* can be confused); Sen. omits *c'*.

<sup>372</sup> Vaitālīya, in *pāda* d we should read *ētha*.

These monks and laymen,  
 numerous, are delighted in the teachings of Kāśyapa.  
 [Who is] like a burning fire, the ‘oblation-eater’,  
 assembled here we shall honour Kāśyapa.

*eṣo dvipadānam uttamo  
 eṣo cakṣurdado nāyako*<sup>373</sup> |  
*mānaṃ ca madaṃ ca viprahāya*<sup>374</sup>  
*etha*<sup>375</sup> *vandāma sametya Kāśyapaṃ* ||<sup>376</sup>

He is the foremost among the two-legged.  
 He is a giver of insight, a guide.  
 Having abandoned pride and conceit,  
 assembled here we shall honour Kāśyapa”.

### Part V: the story is completed with a short passage in prose

*te brāhmaṇā sarve nityatvaniyatarāśī*<sup>377</sup>. *buddhasahasram apy asya dharmā deśeya*<sup>378</sup> *abhavyā te dharmam ājānituṃ buddhe ca dharme ca saṃghe ca citta prasādayituṃ*<sup>379</sup>. *te dāni daṇḍalaguḍahastā*<sup>380</sup> *yena bhagavāṃ Kāśyapo tena pradhāvitā*<sup>381</sup>. *bhagavatā pṛthivīdevatā ābhāṣṭā*<sup>382</sup>. *sā dāni tālamātreṇa ātmabhāvena bhagavato purato sthitā. bhagavāṃ tāṃ pṛthivīdevatām āha “ke va te tatra brāhmaṇe bhavanti?” sā dāni āha “ete mama pṛthivīnīśritā*<sup>383</sup> *dāsā”.* *bhagavān āha “tena hi yathā dāsā parākramyante tathā parākrama”.* *sā dāni mahāntaṃ tālaskandham unmuḍetvā yena te brāhmaṇā tena pratyudgatā tāṃ tālaskandhaṃ pṛthivīye cchaṭācchaṭāye uparipātītā*<sup>384</sup>. *te brāhmaṇāḥ bhītā nāśanaṣṭāḥ.*

<sup>373</sup> Sen. *so cakṣurdado vināyako.*

<sup>374</sup> Sen. *madaṃ ca viprahā.*

<sup>375</sup> = Sen., Sa *ete.*

<sup>376</sup> Vaitālīya-Aupacchandāsika; in *pāda* b we should read *cakṣudado*, in *pāda* d the metre requires *ētha*.

<sup>377</sup> Sa *nityatvaniyatarāśiṃ*, Sen. *nityatvaniyatarāśī.*

<sup>378</sup> Sen. *buddhasahasram api yadi dharmam deśeya.*

<sup>379</sup> Sen. *saṃghe ca prasādayituṃ.*

<sup>380</sup> = Sen., Sa *maṇḍa*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>381</sup> = Sen., Sa *pravādhitā* (metathesis).

<sup>382</sup> = Sen., Sa *ābhā aṣṭā.*

<sup>383</sup> Sa, Sen. *nīśritā* (wrong back-formation of *nissita*). Interestingly, exactly the same scribal error occurs also in Abhis. § 18.7.15B6.

<sup>384</sup> Sa *upatipātītāḥ*, Sen. *uparipatitāḥ.*

These Brahmins all were a group of those who were fixed in the [notion of] permanence<sup>385</sup>. Even if there were a thousand *buddhas* who would preach the Dharma to them, they would be unable to comprehend the Dharma and put faith in the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. Then, with cudgels and clubs in their hands, they hurried to where Exalted Kāśyapa was. The Exalted One called up the goddess of earth. Then she, with her own power, stood one *tāla*-high (i.e., the height of one palm-tree) in the air in front of the Exalted One. To this goddess of earth the Exalted One spoke: “Who are these Brahmins over there?” She said, “They are my servants inhabiting the earth.” The Exalted One said, “Then we shall handle [them] the way servants are to be handled.” Then she, having pulled up a huge trunk of the palm-tree, went towards where these Brahmins were and threw the trunk of the palm-tree down to the earth with one stroke<sup>386</sup>. The Brahmins, petrified, were destroyed.

*Mālinīye vastu samāptaṃ*

The end of the *Mālinī- vastu*

## Abbreviations

- Abhis. *Die Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ: Verhaltensregeln für buddhistische Mönche der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*, herausgegeben, mit der chinesischen Parallelversion verglichen, übersetzt und kommentiert von Seishi Karashima, unter Mitwirkung von Oskar von Hinüber. Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica XIII, 1–3. 3 vols. Tokyo: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism, Soka University, 2012.
- BHS *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*.
- BHSD Franklin Edgerton. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
- BHSG Franklin Edgerton. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
- BhV Sanskrit *Bhaiṣajyavastu* in: *The Vinayavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, Gilgit Manuscripts*. Ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, vol. 3, pts. 1–4. Srinagar 1942, 1943, 1950. Delhi<sup>2</sup> 1984: Sri Satguru Publications.
- CPD *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, begun by V. Trenckner, ed. by D. Andersen et al. Copenhagen, Bristol, 1924–2011.

<sup>385</sup> So read Sa and Sen. JONES 1949–1956: I 265, fn. 1, however, suggests *mithyātvaniyata*- “fixed in falsehood” for *nityatvaniyata* “fixed in constancy”, which is in line with the reading in a verse earlier in this chapter: *ayaṃ loko mithyādr̥ṣṭihato*. I keep the reading of ms. Sa.

<sup>386</sup> *Chatāchaṭāye*; BHSD s.v. *chaṭaṭā* “in one single mass, *en masse*, = all with one stroke”.

- DP Margaret Cone. *A Dictionary of Pāli*. Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2001–.
- Mv *Mahāvastu*.
- Mv(KM) *The Mahāvastu. A New Edition*. Ed. by Katarzyna Marciniak. Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica XIV, 1–2. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism, Soka University. Vol. III: 2019. Vol. II: 2020.
- MW Monier Monier-Williams. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1899.
- Na ms. Na – the oldest extant paper manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*.
- NORMAN Kenneth Roy Norman. *Collected Papers*. Vol. I: 1990. Vol. II: 1991. CP Vol. III: 1992. Vol. IV: 1993. Vol. V: 1994. Vol. VI: 1996. Vol. VII: 2001. Oxford: Pali Text Society. Vol. VIII: 2007. Lancaster: Pali Text Society, 1990–2007.
- PDhp Margaret Cone. “Patna Dharmapada: Part I: Text”. *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 13 (1989): 101–217.
- Pkt Prakrit
- PTSD *The Pali Text Society’s Pali-English Dictionary*. Ed. by Thomas William Rhys Davids and William Stede. London: The Pali Text Society, 1921–1925.
- PW Otto Böhtlingk, Rudolph Roth. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. 7 vols. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1855–1875.
- Sa ms. Sa – the oldest palm-leaf manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*.
- Sen. *Le Mahāvastu*, texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d’introductions et d’un commentaire, par É. Senart, 3 vols. Collection d’ouvrages orientaux; Seconde série. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1882–1897. Repr.: Tokyo: Meicho-Fukyū-Kai, 1977.
- Skt Sanskrit
- s.v(v). under the specified word(s)

## References

- VON HINÜBER, Oskar 2001. *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*. 2., erweiterte Auflage. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- JONES, John James, trans. 1949–1956. *The Mahāvastu*. 3 vols. Sacred Books of the Buddhists 16, 18, 19. London: The Pali Text Society.

- KARASHIMA, Seishi 2002. "Some features of the language of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*". *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* V: 3–66.
- KARASHIMA, Seishi 2016. "Indian Folk Etymologies and their Reflections in Chinese Translations – *brāhmaṇa*, *śramaṇa* and *Vaiśramaṇa*". *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* XIX: 101–123.
- KARASHIMA, Seishi and Katarzyna MARCINIAK 2019a. "*Sabhika-vastu*". *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* XXII: 71–102.
- KARASHIMA, Seishi and Katarzyna MARCINIAK 2019b. "The story of Hastinī in the *Mahāvastu* and *Fobenxingji jing*". *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* XXII: 103–125.
- MARCINIAK, Katarzyna 2014. *Studia nad Mahāvastu, sanskryckim tekstem buddyjskiej szkoły mahasanghików-lokottarawadinów*. *Studia Buddhica* 4. Warsaw: Research Centre of Buddhist Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw.
- MARCINIAK, Katarzyna 2017a. "*Padumāvati-jātaka* attested in the Manuscript Sa of the *Mahāvastu*". *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* XX: 67–102.
- MARCINIAK, Katarzyna 2017b. "The oldest paper manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*". *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* XX: 103–121.
- MARCINIAK, Katarzyna 2018. "The adventures of five hundred merchants as recounted in two versions in the *Mahāvastu*". *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* XXI: 109–146.
- MARCINIAK, Katarzyna 2020. "Winaja szkoły mahāsāṃghika-lokottaravāda". [In:] Mejer, Marek, ed., *W kręgu literatury i myśli buddyjskiej*. *Studia Buddhica* 5. Warszawa: Elipsa, pp. 111–129.
- MARCINIAK, Katarzyna 2021. "The Thirty-Two Marks of a Great Man in Two Metrical Lists in the *Mahāvastu*". *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia* 34: 177–204. <https://doi.org/10.60018/AcAsVa.xauz6960>
- MARCINIAK, Katarzyna 2022. "The Description of Hells in the *Mahāvastu* I 9–16 Revisited". [In:] Marciniak, Katarzyna, Stanisław Jan Kania, Małgorzata Wielińska-Soltwedel and Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, eds, *Guruparamparā. Studies on Buddhism, India, Tibet and More in Honour of Professor Marek Mejer*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, pp. 295–320. <https://doi.org/10.31338/uw.9788323558699.pp.295-320>

- MARCINIAK, Katarzyna 2023. “*Vyāghrī-jātaka* in the *Mahāvastu* and *Fobenxingji jing*”. [In:] Kudo, Noriyuki, ed., *Śāntamatīḥ. Manuscripts for Life – Essays in Memory of Seishi Karashima*. Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica XV. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University, pp. 237–246.
- OBERLIES, Thomas 2019. *Pāli Grammar*. 2 vols. Bristol: Pali Text Society.
- PISCHEL, Richard 1900. *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*. Grundriß der Indoarischen Philologie und Altertumskunde I, 8. Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner. Reprint: De Gruyter Mouton 2011. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111700007>
- YUYAMA, Akira 2001. *The Mahāvastu-Avadāna: In Old Palm-leaf and Paper Manuscripts*. 2 vols. Vol. I: *Palm-Leaf Manuscripts*. Vol. II: *Paper Manuscript*. Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 15, 16. Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for Unesco, The Toyo Bunko.



---

## Sudhana's Encounter with the Lumbinī-vana Goddess, according to the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*

Marek MEJOR

**Abstract:** Two themes are presented in this paper: one concerns the name of the place where, according to tradition, the future Buddha was born, Lumbinī-vana, and the other is devoted to the figure of the forest goddess who assisted at the birth, Lumbinī-vana-devatā. The briefly presented survey of the relevant texts attempts to show the increasing role for the Lumbinī grove deity, culminating in chapter 42 of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*.

**Keywords:** Buddhist literature, biography of the Buddha, Lumbinī, *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, story of Sudhana

Marek MEJOR, Research Centre of Buddhist Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland;  
[m.mejor@uw.edu.pl](mailto:m.mejor@uw.edu.pl);  0000-0001-7353-3818



This article is distributed under a Creative Commons Non-Commercial No-Derivatives 4.0 licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>).

---

§ 1<sup>1</sup>. The Buddhist tradition is unanimous in placing the birth of the Buddha-to-be in Lumbinī, now situated in Nepal.<sup>2</sup> As Harry Falk has pointed out, “[n]o other place than Lumbinī has ever claimed to be the site of the Buddha’s birth” (FALK 1998: 1).

In the often-quoted passage from the canonical Pāli *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (*Dīgha Nikāya* 16, § 5.8), the Buddha addressing Ānanda mentioned four places of pilgrimage that should be visited by monks, nuns and lay followers, though without specifying them:

Ānanda, there are four places the sight of which should arouse emotion in the faithful. Which are they? “Here the Tathāgata was born” is the first. “Here the Tathāgata attained supreme enlightenment” is the second. “Here the Tathāgata set in motion the Wheel of Dhamma” is the third. “Here the Tathāgata attained the Nibbana-element without remainder” is the fourth. And, Ānanda, the faithful monks and nuns, male and female lay-followers will visit those places. And any who die while making the pilgrimage to these shrines with a devout heart will, at the breaking-up of the body after death, be reborn in a heavenly world.<sup>3</sup>

§ 2. After having carried out a detailed study of the texts related to the biography of the Buddha, André Bareau observed that the name Lumbinī does not appear in the canonical *sutta* and *vinaya* texts of the Pāli Tipiṭaka and its Chinese counterparts.

On the one hand, in this immense literature preserved in Sanskrit, in Pali or in Chinese or Tibetan translation, the passages naming Lumbinī are extremely rare and several of them are moreover obvious additions to older texts. On the other hand, the birth of the Blessed One is sometimes mentioned in the *Sūtrapiṭaka* and the *Vinayapiṭaka* without Lumbinī being mentioned, whereas Kapilavastu or the Śākya are referred to. However, these latter passages certainly do not belong to the oldest strata

<sup>1</sup> From 28–29 April 2018 in Lumbini was held *The International Conference on Lumbini: The Birthplace of Buddha and Fountain of Buddhism and World Peace*. It was followed on 30 April by the 2562nd Buddha Jayanti solemn celebrations in the presence of the Prime Minister and President of Nepal. The present paper is a thoroughly revised and extended version of a presentation shown at the conference.

<sup>2</sup> Over the past few decades, a number of publications have appeared on the Buddha’s birth and birthplace, Lumbinī, based on the textual, art and archaeological researches. See CÜPPERS et al. 2010; DEEG 2003; FALK 1998; FALK 2006; FALK 2012; FALK 2017; CONINGHAM et al. 2013; UNESCO 2013. On the cycle of Ajanta paintings illustrating Buddha’s birth in Lumbinī see SCHLINGLOFF 1988: 18–20, 22. For a brief overview of the relationship between the early Buddhist texts and the art that refers to the birth of the Buddha, see ZIN 2018: 66–69.

<sup>3</sup> Trans. WALSH 1995: 263–264. For the Pāli text (§ 5.8) and the Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (§ 41.6–14) see WALDSCHMIDT 1951: 388, 390.

of the canonical texts, as they contain characteristic legendary or cultic elements.<sup>4</sup>

2.1. A few references<sup>5</sup> are found in the texts of the Pāli *Khuddaka Nikāya*, viz. the *Nidānakathā*<sup>6</sup> and the *Suttanipāta*<sup>7</sup>, and in the *Kathāvatthu* of the *Abhidhammapīṭaka* compiled by Moggaliputta Tissa.<sup>8</sup> It seems therefore – concludes Bareau – that for the first generations of the Buddha's followers, as well as for some of the monks who lived after Aśoka, the Buddha's birthplace

<sup>4</sup> BAREAU 1987: 69: “D’une part, dans cette immense littérature conservée en sanskrit, en pâli ou en traduction chinoise ou tibétaine, les passages nommant Lumbinī sont extrêmement rares et plusieurs d’entre eux sont en outre des additions évidentes à des textes plus anciens. De l’autre, il est parfois question de la naissance du Bienheureux dans les *Sūtrapīṭaka* et les *Vinayapīṭaka* sans que Lumbinī soit mentionné, alors qu’on se réfère à Kapilavastu ou aux Śākya. Or, ces derniers passages n’appartiennent certainement pas aux strates les plus anciennes des textes canoniques, car ils contiennent des éléments légendaires ou cultuels caractéristiques.” Cf. FALK 1998: 1: “Bareau recently drew attention to inconsistencies in the source texts, and on the basis of them cast doubt upon Lumbinī’s legitimacy.”

<sup>5</sup> For the references to the Pāli sources, see entry *Lumbinī* in DPPN II: 784. Cf. DPPN I: 1112: Lumbinī-vana was mentioned in the *Papañcasūdanī* commentary on the *Devadahasutta* (*Majjhima Nikāya* 101): *bhagavā taṃ nigamaṃ nissāya lumbinīvane viharati* / “The Blessed One was dwelling in the Lumbinī grove near that market town [i.e. Devadaha]” (*Papañcasūdanī*, ed. PTS II: 810).

<sup>6</sup> *Nidānakathā*, ed. PTS I: 52, 53:  
*Dvinnam pana nagarānam antare ubhayanagaravāsīnampi lumbinīvanam nāma maṅgalasālavanam atthi, [...] Sakalaṃ lumbinīvanam cittalatāvanasadisam, mahānubhāvassa rañño susajjitaṃ āpānamaṅgalaṃ viya ahoṣi.*  
Trans. JAYAWICKRAMA 2006: 140 (§ 331): “Now, between the two towns there is a pleasure grove of Sāla trees, called the Lumbinī Park, belonging to the citizens of both towns. [...] The entire Lumbinī Grove was like the Citralatā forest or like the well-arranged banqueting hall of a mighty king.” Cf. BAREAU 1987: 70 fn. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Suttanipāta*, *Nālakasutta*, v. 683, ed. PTS: 132:  
*So Bodhisatto ratanavaro atulyo manussaloke hitasukhatāya jāto, Sakyānam game janapade Lumbineyye, ten’ amha tuṭṭhā atiriva kalyarūpā.*  
Trans. NORMAN 1992: 78: “That Bodhisatta, excellent jewel, incomparable, has been born in the world of men for (their) benefit and happiness, in the village of the Sakyans, in the Lumbinī country. Therefore, we are exultant, exceedingly happy.” Cf. BAREAU 1987: 70 fn. 6.

<sup>8</sup> BAREAU 2005: 241: *Kathāvatthu* (Theravādin Mahāvihāra) XVIII.1, § 173: “173. The Buddha Bhagavant lived (*aṭṭhāsī*) in the world of humans (*manusloka*). There are places of residence of the Buddha (*buddhavuttha*), shrines (*cetiya*), parks (*ārāma*), monasteries (*vihāra*), villages (*gāma*), markets (*nigama*), towns (*nagara*), kingdoms (*raṭṭha*), lands (*janapada*) where he lived. He was born (*jāta*) at Lumbinī, he became fully enlightened (*abhisambuddha*) at the foot (*mūla*) [of the tree] of Enlightenment (*bodhi*), the wheel of the Dhamma (*dhammacakka*) was turned (*pavattita*) by the Bhagavant at Vārāṇasī, his vital element was given up (*ossatṭha*) at the shrine of Pāvāla, he was completely extinguished (*parinibbuta*) at Kusinārā. In the Suttas, the Buddha himself said that he lived in such and such a place.”

was not located in Lumbinī, but was vaguely associated with the country of Śākya and its capital, Kapilavastu.<sup>9</sup>

§ 3. The Sanskrit sources<sup>10</sup> are more explicit about the birthplace of the Buddha. Lumbinī is mentioned in the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, *Aśokāvadāna*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, etc. It is called a village (*grāma*), a garden (*ārāma*), a park (*udyāna*), or most often a grove (*vana*). The texts explain the origin of the name of the grove, describe it in ornate style, mention the name of the tree whose branch Māyādevī was grasping while giving birth, and also introduce a figure of a female deity who was residing in the Lumbinī grove (*lumbinī-vana-devatā*) and witnessed the birth of the Blessed One.<sup>11</sup>

§ 3.1. In what follows we shall briefly survey the relevant texts and attempt to show (as far as is possible within the limits of this paper) the increasing role for the Lumbinī grove deity, culminating in chapter 42 of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*.

In the *Lalitavistara* account of the bodhisattva's birth, the gods Śakra and Brahma received the child and wrapped it in the most delicate cloth. According to the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, it was only Śakra who, having assumed the appearance of an old midwife, received the child in a swaddling cloth made of deerskin. The Lumbinī grove deity appears in person in the *Mahāvastu*, but it is only in the *Aśokāvadāna* that she explicitly declares that she was a witness to the bodhisattva's birth. However, the prominent role of the Lumbinī-vana-devatā in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, who in the form of a female bodhisattva gives Sudhana a long lesson on the way to practise the bodhisattva path, is notable.

<sup>9</sup> BAREAU 1987: 70. Cf. FALK 1998: 3: “Bareau has gone to great lengths to show that authoritative Buddhist texts, in expatiating upon the birthplace of the Buddha, are highly contradictory in the details, as if the authors had never personally been to the scene of the event. [...] If we seek statements that offer a balanced account of the site as it actually was, we are forced to resort to the travel reports of foreigners, namely those written by Chinese and Tibetan.” See DEEG 2003 on the Chinese sources (relations of Faxian and Xuanzang).

<sup>10</sup> Edgerton in his *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* sub *lumbinī* (BHSD p. 463) mentioned three meanings of the word: 1. “name of the grove where Śākyamuni was born”, 2. “name of a tree = plakṣa”, 3. “name of a class of deities”. The second meaning will be discussed and corrected below, see § 6.1.1. In the *Mahāsamājasūtra* § 28 there are mentioned two classes of female spirits: *lumbinī* and *lumbinī-śreṣṭhā*, WALDSCHMIDT 1932: 191(387), however in the parallel passage of the Pāli *Mahāsamayasutta* (*Dīgha Nikāya* 20, § 18, trans. WALSHE 1995: 319) these are absent.

<sup>11</sup> See SCHMITHAUSEN 2009: 77–83: “5.2.1. Tree Deities and Numinous Trees”. The *Gilānadassanasutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (ed. PTS IV: 302, § 3) mentions the following kinds of deities (spirits) inhabiting trees and plants: *ārāma-devatā* “park deity”, *vana-devatā* “grove (forest) deity”, *rukkha-devatā* “tree deity”, *osadhītiṇa-vanaspatīsu adhvattā-devatā* “deities dwelling in medicinal herbs and in large forest trees”; cf. SCHMITHAUSEN 2009: 78 fn. 189. Cf. also SHAW 2006: 58–59 on Māyādevī and tree worship.

§ 4. The celebrated *Lalitavistara*, a Sanskrit Mahāyāna sūtra, one of the “nine Dharma jewels” of the Nepal tradition, is extolling the life of the Buddha in prose and verse.<sup>12</sup> Its seventh chapter (*janma-parivarta*) consists of a highly embellished description of the birth of the Buddha. In fact, it is for the most part the Buddha himself who narrates the story of his life to the monks. The Lumbinī grove (Lumbinī-vana) is mentioned several times.

§ 4.1. When ten full months elapsed, the time for the birth of the Bodhisattva had come and in the king Śuddhodana's palace garden (*grhodyāna*) thirty-two omens (*pūrvanimitta*)<sup>13</sup> appeared.<sup>14</sup> Māyādevī realized that the time of the childbirth is coming near, she addressed the king Śuddhodana with an ardent request to resort to a quiet and pleasant place, the pleasure garden. The king accordingly commanded his servants to duly prepare for her departure and decorate the Lumbinī garden.

Hearing these words of the lady, the king, in delight and joy of mind, thus addressed his courtiers: “Place in array my vehicles harnessed to elephants and horses, and my chariots, and decorate the precious Lumbinī garden. (VII.4). [...]

Decorate the Lumbinī garden which, in its wealth of flowers, is like the Nandana garden of the Sūras, with jewels and gold in profusion; – with precious stuffs of various kinds set off all the trees; and having done so report to me.” (VII.8).

These commands having been heard, the Lumbinī garden was immediately decorated. (VII.9ab).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Cf. LAMOTTE 1988: 648–662 (“The successive stages of the legend of the Buddha”); STRONG 2001, esp. pp. 38–40 (“The Buddha's Birth”) and note on p. 157.

<sup>13</sup> BHSD s.v. “advance-sign”.

<sup>14</sup> LV pp. 61.1–62.6. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* lists ten omens (*pūrvanimitta*), ten omens of great light (*mahāvabhāsa*), and ten miracles attending the birth (*janmavikurvita*) of the bodhisattva which appeared in the Lumbinī grove (see below § 8).

<sup>15</sup> Trans. RAJENDRALAL MITRA 1998: 111. LV pp. 62.21–24; 63.11–14:  
*vacanam imu śruṇitvā deviye pārvivendraḥ tuṣṭo muditacittāḥ pāriṣadyānavocat /  
hayagajarathaṃ paṅktiyā vāhanā yojayadhvaṃ pravaraḡuṣasamrddhāṃ lumbinīm  
maṇḍayadhvam // (VII.4) [...]*  
*maṅikanakaniṣiktām lumbinīm kārayadhvaṃ vividhavasanasaratnaiḥ sarvavr̥kṣāṃ pravethā /  
vividhakusumacitraṃ nandanam vā surānām vadatha ca mama śīghraṃ sarvam etaṃ vidhāya  
// (VII.8)*

*vacanam imu niśamyā pāriṣadyaiḥ kṣaṇena vāhana kṛta sajjā lumbinī maṇḍitā sā /*  
Cf. Aśvaghōṣa, *Buddhacarita* I.6:

“In her longing for the lonely forest as suited to trance, she asked the king to go and stay in the grove called Lumbinī, which was gay like the garden of Citraratha with trees of every kind.” (Trans. JOHNSTON 1936: 2).

The stanza I.6 was not preserved in the Sanskrit original. Michael HAHN 1975: 82–83 offered

Then, a magnificent procession set out from the palace, with Māyādevī riding in a splendid chariot carried by the four protectors of the world (*jagatipāla*), headed by the gods Indra and Brahmā.

That beautiful chariot was set off, by the king's orders, with a hundred thousand tinkling bells and a thousand chauris; it had a jewelled throne, and around it jewelled trees, rich in foliage and flowers. (VII.15). [...]

This day will the noblest of beings be born in the garden of Lumbinī. The four guardians of the quarters are carrying that chariot. Indra, lord of the gods, is purifying the road, and Brahmā is marching in front to restrain the wicked. (VII.18).

[...] The whole of the Lumbinī garden was redolent with scented waters, and besprinkled with choice flowers. All the trees in that noble park were clad with leaves, flowers and fruits out of season. That park was decorated by Devas, even as the Miśraka Park is adorned by them.<sup>16</sup>

The queen entered the Lumbinī park with her human and celestial retinue and strolling around she noticed a magnificent *plakṣa* tree:

Now, Māyādevī, having entered the park and descended from her chariot, sauntered about in the company of human and heavenly damsels. Rambling from tree to tree, strolling from one parterre to another, now looking at this tree, then at another, she came near the waved-leaved fig tree (*Ficus infectoria*, *plakṣa*). [...] Now, that *plakṣa* tree, feeling the glory of the Bodhisattva, lowered its head and saluted her. Now, Māyādevī, extending her right hand, [...] held a branch of the *plakṣa* tree, and, looking playfully towards the sky, stood there yawning. [...] Thus did the Bodhisattva, remain thriving in the womb of his mother. And when ten full months had passed, forth from the right side of his mother, he issued, with full memory, knowing everything, and undefiled by any utterine dirt, such as usually attaches to others. [...] At this time [...] there were present before him Śakra, the lord of the Devas, and Brahmā, lord

---

an improved edition of the Tibetan translation:

*de ni lum bi zhes bya'i nags mthar gyur pa'i sa /  
sna tshogs ljon shing sna tshogs shing rta mngon dga'bar /  
bsam gtan la bzod dben pa'i nags kyi mtha' bzhed ma /  
'gro ba'i ched dang gnas phyir mi skyong la zhus so /*

“Sie, die Verlangen hegte nach einer zur Versenkung geeigneten Waldgegend in[mitten] der Lumbinī benannten waldigen Örtlichkeit, welche mit ihren verschiedenen Bäumeen [so] lieblich war [wie] der [Garten] Caitraratha, bat den König darum, [dorthin] gehen und [dort] verweilen [zu dürfen].” [She, desirous of a wooded spot suitable for contemplation in [the middle of] the wooded place called Lumbinī, which was lovely with its various trees [like] the Caitraratha garden, requested the king to go and stay [there].]

<sup>16</sup> Trans. RAJENDRALAL MITRA 1998: 112, 113. LV pp. 64.15–18 (= VII.16); 64.26 (=VII.18d): *adya jagati śreṣṭho jāyate lumbinīye*; 65.21–24.

of the earth, and they respectfully and intelligently and in full memory received the Bodhisattva under cover of a beautiful piece of silk cloth [*divya-kāśika-vastrāntaritaṃ*].<sup>17</sup>

The birth was accompanied by many miracles and wonders, which were described in detail. Seven days after giving birth to the Bodhisattva, Māyādevī died and was reborn among the thirty-three Gods.<sup>18</sup>

Some elements of the narrative contained in this chapter as well as in the following chapters (esp. X and XII) of the *Lalitavistara* have parallels in some parts of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*.<sup>19</sup> However, this question of the relationship between the texts requires further study and is beyond the scope of the present paper.

§ 5. The *Sanḅhabhedavastu*, the 17th part of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya,<sup>20</sup> gives many interesting details concerning Lumbinī, its origin and its name, which were included into the description of two cities, Kapilavastu and Devadṛśa,<sup>21</sup> and this story in turn constitutes a part of a larger narrative about the origin of the Śākyas.<sup>22</sup>

§ 5.1. There were two neighbouring cities (*nagara*), Kapilavastu and Devadṛśa.<sup>23</sup> In Kapilavastu, king (*rājā*) Siṃhahanu reigned happily, while king Suprabuddha reigned in Devadṛśa. Suprabuddha's principal queen (*agra-mahiṣī*) was called Lumbinī. She was very beautiful and amiable. In the city of Devadṛśa there was also an opulent householder (*gr̥hapati*) who possessed a lovely garden (*ārāma*). From time to time (*kālānukālam*) the king Suprabuddha used to visit the park together with his female companion(s) (*antaḥpura*) to enjoy pleasures (*rati-krīḍā*). The queen Lumbinī having seen that lovely garden of pleasures felt an eager desire (*spṛha*) for it and asked the king to have it obtained for her. However, since the garden belonged to a householder, the king was unable to fulfil Lumbinī's desire and promised her to arrange a new, even more beautiful (*śobhanatara*) garden. Accordingly, the king Suprabuddha had made a new garden (*ārāma*), even better than that (*tadviśiṣṭatara*), which was named Lumbinī-vana.

<sup>17</sup> Trans. RAJENDRALAL MITRA 1998: 113–114. LV pp. 65.25–27; 66.6–8; 66.10–15. On the swaddling cloth see STOYE 2010.

<sup>18</sup> LV p. 77.1–2: *saptarātrajātasya bodhisattvasya mātā māyādevī kālam akarot / sā kālagatā trāyatrimṣatī deveṣūpapadyata /*.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Gv chapters (Vaidya ed.): 43. Gopā, 44. Māyā, 46. Viśvāmitra, 47. Śilpābhijña.

<sup>20</sup> MSV\_S I: 33–34; for the Tibetan trans. see ROCKHILL 1884: 14–15. In the following my summary follows the Sanskrit text.

<sup>21</sup> MSV\_S I: 30–31.

<sup>22</sup> See SHIRI 2020.

<sup>23</sup> MSV\_S I: 30 – on the origin and names of the two cities. Pāli: Devadaha; cf. DPPN I: 1111–1112.

Meanwhile, king Siṃhahanu for a long time (*dīrgha-rātram*) was longing (*āśāsaka*) for a cakravartin in his clan (*aho bata me kule cakravartī utpadyeta*), while king Suprabuddha wanted to make a family relationship (*saṃbandha*) with king Siṃhahanu (*aho bata me siṃhahanunā sārđhaṃ saṃbandhaḥ syād*). And Suprabuddha enjoyed pleasures with his wife. She became pregnant (*āpanna-satvā saṃvṛttā*) and gave birth to a beautiful girl (*dārikā*) who was called Māyā, as if she were not a girl but a creation of Viśvakarman (*nāsau dārikā; kiṃ tarhi, viśvakarma-nirmitā sā māyā*).<sup>24</sup> After some time the queen gave birth to another girl, equally beautiful, who was called Mahāmāyā. According to a prophecy, Māyā would beget a son endowed with marks (*lakṣaṇa-sampanna*) who would become a powerful monarch (*bala-cakravartin*)<sup>25</sup>, whereas Mahāmāyā would beget a son endowed with thirty-two marks of a great man (*mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa*)<sup>26</sup> who would become a great king (*rājā cakravartin*). When both girls became mature enough, king Suprabuddha sent a messenger (*dūta*) to king Siṃhahanu<sup>27</sup> with a matrimonial offer for his son, prince Śuddhodana. The offer was gladly accepted and the prince married Mahāmāyā first. After some delay due to unfavourable circumstances, the second daughter Māyā was also given in marriage to Śuddhodana. Thus, the prince Śuddhodana had two wives (*bhāryā*).

Now, the *Saṅghabhedavastu* continues its narrative and tells about Śuddhodana's succession as a king of Kapilavastu after the demise of king Siṃhahanu.<sup>28</sup> Under the rule of Śuddhodana, the kingdom was prosperous, secure and rich in food. While the king was amusing himself with the queen Mahāmāyā, the bodhisattva who abided in the Tuṣita heaven was looking down at the Earth, seeking the right caste, place, time, family and woman for his birth.<sup>29</sup> Next is described the descent of the bodhisattva from Tuṣita heaven,<sup>30</sup> and the miraculous conception. When the bodhisattva was willing to be born in the womb of queen Mahāmāyā, Śakra, the lord of gods, made her endowed with splendour (lustre) (*ojopasaṃhāraṃ kṛtavān*) and her womb purified (*kukṣiṃ śodhitavān*).<sup>31</sup> The interpreters of dreams (*svapnādhyāyavid*) and brahmin soothsayers (*naimittika*)

<sup>24</sup> MSV\_S I: 34.

<sup>25</sup> BHSD: 398 (“a kind of inferior cakravartin”).

<sup>26</sup> BHSD: 458–460.

<sup>27</sup> The name of Siṃhahanu's wife and mother of Śuddhodana is not mentioned. In the Pāli chronicle *Mahāvamsa* appears the name Kaccānā, cf. DPPN I: 476.

<sup>28</sup> MSV\_S I: 36.

<sup>29</sup> MSV\_S I: 36–39.

<sup>30</sup> MSV\_S I: 39–40.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. BHSD sub *upasaṃhāra*. The Tibetan translation is: “Śakra, the lord of the gods, provided the queen Mahāmāyā with brightness and purified her womb.” (Lhasa Kanjur, 'dul ba, GA, fol. 414b2–3: *lha rnam kyī dbang po brgya byin gyis btsun mo sgyu 'phrul chen mo la gzi brjid bsgrebs shing lhums kyang gtsang bar byas so //*).

were summoned by the king to explain the four auspicious signs in a dream of the queen Mahāmāyā.<sup>32</sup> They predicted that a son would be born with the thirty-two marks of a great man (*mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa*); if he stayed at home he would be a great cakravartin king, but if he left home and took up the life of an ascetic he would become a tathāgata, a fully awakened buddha. Then follows a description of the bodhisattva's entering the mother's womb (*matuḥ kukṣim avakrāntaḥ*).<sup>33</sup>

A strong desire for pregnancy (*dohada*) arose when the queen was about to give birth.<sup>34</sup> Going to the Lumbinī garden (*udḃyāna*) of her father, king Suprabuddha, was the last of the five longings of Mahāmāyā.<sup>35</sup> Accordingly, the king ordered the park to be cleansed, and then Mahāmāyā set out to Lumbinī. There, while walking she saw a blossoming aśoka-tree (*aśoka-pādapa*) and stopped at it willing to give birth (*prasavitu-kāmā*). Then Śakra, the lord of the gods (*devendra*), assuming for himself the form of an old midwife (*vrddha-dhātrī-varṇa*)<sup>36</sup>, stood behind Mahāmāyā, and at the moment of the bodhisattva's birth he received the child in a strip of cloth made of deer-skin (*ajina-sāṭikāyām pratiḡṛhita*).<sup>37</sup> When the bodhisattva came forth from the mother's womb (*mātuḥ kukṣer niṣkrānta*), she, a woman of the noble class (*kṣatriyī*), gave birth to a *kṣatriya* child in a standing position (*sthitā*).<sup>38</sup>

Then follows a description of wonderful events accompanying the birth of the Buddha, his making seven steps and the famous exclamation announcing his last birth and final liberation from the bonds of *saṃsāra*.<sup>39</sup>

§ 5.2. A feature of the story of the Buddha's birth in the *Sanḡhabhedavastu* is the explanation of the origin of the name Lumbinī from the name of the principal

<sup>32</sup> MSV\_S I: 40–41. Cf. DURT 2002: 62.

<sup>33</sup> MSV\_S I: 41–43.

<sup>34</sup> MSV\_S I: 43–44. See DURT 2002.

<sup>35</sup> DURT 2002: 64.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. BHSD sub *dhātrī/dhātrī*.

<sup>37</sup> MSV\_S I: 44.

<sup>38</sup> MSV\_S I: 45. See *Mahāpadānasutta (Dīgha Nikāya 14)* § 1.24; trans. WALSHE 1995: 204: "It is the rule that whereas other women give birth sitting or lying down, it is not so with the Bodhisatta's mother, who gives birth standing up. That is the rule." In Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita* 1.8, "the queen went to a bed covered with a canopy" (*rājapatnī* [...] *śayyām vitānopahitām prapede*), OLIVELLE 2008: 4–5.

<sup>39</sup> MSV\_S I: 45: *dharmatā khalu sāmpratājāto bodhisatvaḥ saptapadāni prakrāntaḥ pariḡṛhīto na kenacit; caturdiśaṃ ca vyavalokayati; vācaṃ ca bhāṣate, iyaṃ pūrvā dik pūrvamgamo bhaviṣyāmi nirvāṇāya, iyaṃ dakṣiṇā dakṣiṇīyo bhaviṣyāmi kṛtsnasya jagataḥ, iyaṃ paścimā dik, mama paścimaṃ janma bhaviṣyati; iyaṃ uttarā dik, bhavaṣaṃsārād uttariṣyāmi iti* /. Cf. *Mahāpadānasutta (Dīgha Nikāya 14, § 1.29)*, trans. WALSHE 1995: 205: "I am chief in the world, supreme in the world, eldest in the world. This is my last birth, there will be no more re-becoming.' That is the rule."

wife of king Suprabuddha, ruler of the city of Devadṛśa. The king, wishing to fulfil the queen's wish, had a beautiful garden (*ārāma*) laid out for her, which he named Lumbinī-vana (Lumbinī Grove). It was there that Mahāmāyā, daughter of Suprabudha and Lumbinī, wife of king Śuddhodana and ruler of Kapilavastu, gave birth to a son, the future Buddha, under a flowering *aśoka* tree. The forest goddess (*vana-devatā*) does not appear in this story. The birth was attended by Śakra, the lord of the gods, who took the form of an old midwife (nurse) (*vr̥ddha-dhātrī-varṇa*). It is only in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* that the old midwife is identified with the Lumbinī grove goddess (*lumbinī-vana-devatā*). Standing behind Mahāmāyā Śakra received the child in a strip of cloth made of deer-skin (*ajina-śāṭikāyāṃ pratigr̥hita*).<sup>40</sup> What is remarkable is the role the god Śakra plays in the story, from the moment of conception to the moment of birth.

§ 6. The *Mahāvastu* is a large text belonging to the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghika Lokottara-vāda school, which has a very complex and intricate textual structure, composed in mixed Sanskrit. It contains an account of the life of the Buddha in a series of episodes. Lumbinī(-vana) is mentioned several times.

§ 6.1. At the beginning of the Mv is a section of the *Daśabhūmika*<sup>41</sup> describing the stages (*bhūmi*) of bodhisattva spiritual progress. The Venerable Mahākātyāyana, answering the questions of the Venerable Mahākāśyapa, describes the ten *bhūmis* in turn. In the description of the third *bhūmi*, Nāmatideva<sup>42</sup>, a certain deity belonging to the Thirty Three Gods (*trāyastriṃśaka*)<sup>43</sup>, being a bodhisattva, appears, singing a song in praise of the Exalted One. It contains a brief account of the birth of the Buddha. The most interesting is the passage referring to Māyādevī's visit to the Lumbinī grove.

§ 6.1.1. The text of Senart's edition (Mv\_S I: 99.8) reads *lumbodyāna* but certainly is a corrupt reading. Moreover, Senart suggested (Mv\_S I: 453) that in this passage the word *lumba* is the name of a tree or its fruit from which comes the name of the grove (*vana*) Lumbinī. Accordingly, the passage was mistranslated by Jones (highlighting mine – M.M.):

*sā devī rājānaṃ khinnaṃ vadati vanavaram mahipate vrajeyaṃ yad  
icchasi /  
lumbodyānaṃ puṣpākīrṇaṃ madhumadhuraparabhṛtarutaṃ manohṛdi-  
nandanaṃ //*

<sup>40</sup> See STOYE 2010, esp. p. 185.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. VON HINÜBER 2023: 72.

<sup>42</sup> Ms Sa 28a4: *Nāmatināmatidevo nāma trāyastriṃśo bodhisatvo bhūtaḥ*; Ms Sb 27a7: *Nāmatidevo nāma trāyastriṃśo bodhisatvo bhūtaḥ*. According to BHSD s.v. – uncertain reading and meaning.

<sup>43</sup> BHSD s.v.

To the anxious king the queen said, “My lord, if you will, I shall withdraw to the forest, to the **Lumba** park, which is carpeted with flowers, and filled with the sweet notes of the cuckoo which give joy to heart and soul.”<sup>44</sup>

The non-existent word \**lumba* was introduced into the Sanskrit Buddhist lexicon and has become the basis for interpretation by modern scholars.<sup>45</sup>

Senart based his edition on late Nepalese manuscripts of mediocre quality. Katarzyna Marciniak's new edition of the Mv<sup>46</sup> is based mainly on the two oldest manuscripts, on palm leaves (ms Sa)<sup>47</sup> and on paper (ms Na, copied by Jayamuni in 1657 CE)<sup>48</sup>. Marciniak's edition represents a significant advance on Senart's *editio princeps*.<sup>49</sup>

K. Marciniak checked the incriminated passages and found that the correct text reads:<sup>50</sup>

Ms Sa fol. 28v2; ms Na fol. 17r11:

*sā*<sup>51</sup> *rājānaṃ khinnā vadati vanavaram aham ito*<sup>52</sup> *vrajeyaṃ yadicchasi / ramyodyānaṃ*<sup>53</sup> *puṣpāvākīrṇaṃ madhumadhuraparabhṛtarutaṃ mano- hṛdinandanaṃ* /<sup>54</sup>

Accordingly, the corrected translation (after Jones, Mv\_J I: 78) would be:

<sup>44</sup> Trans. Mv\_J I: 78.

<sup>45</sup> BHSD sub *lumba*: “a kind of tree”. See DEEG 2003: 16, fn. 30: “The pseudoetymological style of the *Mahāvastu* (ed. Senart, vol. I, 99), which interprets *lumbinī* as being derived from and belonging to *lumba*, in this text obviously the name of the tree (?) – *lumbodyāna*, ‘the grove of Lumba-(trees)’ (line 6) /... *dadarśatha lumbinīm, tasyāḥ sākḥām...* *grhyāna...*, (‘... she then saw a lumbinī-(tree), grasped its branch...’) (line 8f.) – which Māyā seized when she delivered the child, is an early Indian example of this way of dealing with the name.” Cf. FALK 1998: 3: “The tree under which the Buddha was born is called in the sources either *lumba* (Mvu I 99:6) or *pippala* (*Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefman, p. 79), *śāla* (Ja I 52: 16; Mvu 11 18:9), *plakṣa* (Mvu 11 19: 17) or else, in travel guides, *aśoka* (78).” BAREAU 1987: 78, fn. 44: “...cet arbre, mystérieux *lumba* ou *lumbinī* du Mahāvastu...”.

<sup>46</sup> Corresponding to volumes II and III of Senart's edition: Mv\_M II and Mv\_M III, respectively.

<sup>47</sup> MARCINIAK 2016.

<sup>48</sup> MARCINIAK 2017.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. VON HINÜBER 2023.

<sup>50</sup> I would like to thank Katarzyna Marciniak for her help in establishing the correct reading of the text. The initials K.M. in the footnotes refer to her critical notes (Sen. = Senart's edition, Mv\_S); my remarks are signed M.M.

<sup>51</sup> Two long syllables are lacking here, we could read with Sen. *sā devī rājānaṃ*. – K.M.

<sup>52</sup> Corrected in ms Na; ms Sa *itā*; Sen. emendation *vanavaraṃ mahipate*. – K.M.

<sup>53</sup> Sen. *lumbodyānaṃ*. – K.M. Cf. ms Sb 27b4: *ramyodyānaṃ* – M.M.

<sup>54</sup> The metre is *bhujāṅgaviṣṭambhūta* (-----, ~~~~~~). In *pāda* a the metre demands *vrajeyā* for *vrajeyaṃ*. – K.M.

[The queen,] tired, said to the king: “[My lord,] if you wish, I will retire to the most beautiful forest, a **lovely park**, carpeted with flowers, and filled with the sweet, delightful notes of the cuckoo, which give joy to heart and mind.”

§ 6.1.2. The next two stanzas, however, are a real *crux interpretum*. The text established by Senart (Mv\_S I: 99.7–10) reads (highlighting mine – M.M.):

*gatvā tasmim strībhiḥ sārdham pravicarati muditasukhitā vane  
vanalolayā /  
sā codyānam paryaṅvantī taruṇalatakīśalayadharām dadarśa 'tha  
**lumbinīm** /  
tasyāḥ śākhām... grhyāna paramaratisukhamuditā salīla-avasthitā /  
sā tatra śākhām rakṣantī janayi jinam ajitamanasaṃ mahāmunim  
uttamaṃ //*

Translation by Jones (Mv\_J I: 78):

She went, and wandered forth with her women, roaming the forest, glad and happy and eager. While she paced the forest, she espied a ***lumbini*** tree bearing fresh creepers and shoots, and, in the rapture of perfect joy and gladness she grasped a branch of it, and playfully lingered there. As she held the branch she gave birth to the Conqueror of the unconquered mind, the great supreme seer.

It would follow from the text established by Senart that queen Māyādevī gave birth holding a branch of a *lumbinī* tree in the \**Lumba* park. It is difficult to believe that the authors/redactors of the text did not know that in the Buddhist tradition *lumbinī* is the name of a park (grove) and not a tree. Especially since throughout the *Mahāvastu* text, *lumbinī* is the actual name of the park/grove, while the tree is called *śāla* or *plakṣa* (see below).

Readings of the oldest manuscripts, ms Sa and ms Na (cf. also ms Sb), do not offer a resolution to the problem. The text is undoubtedly corrupted: the Sa, Na, Sb manuscripts contain problematic, difficult to interpret forms (highlighted in underline – M.M.). According to K. Marciniak’s unpublished edition,<sup>55</sup> the oldest manuscript Sa 28v2–3 reads:

*gatvā tasmim strībhiḥ sārdham pravicarati muditasukhitā vane  
vanalolayā / sā codyāne prajñāyānti<sup>56</sup> taruṇalatakīśalayadharām  
dadarśa (')*tha lumbinīm* //*

<sup>55</sup> I am indebted to Katarzyna Marciniak for the information from her unpublished edition of Volume I of the Mv.

<sup>56</sup> Ms Sa *prajñāyānti*; ms Na *pratyāyānti*; Sen. *paryaṅvantī*. – K.M. Cf. ms Sb 27b5: *prabhyāntī* (sic!) – M.M.

*tasyāḥ śākhāṃ gr̥hya*<sup>57</sup> *paramaratisukhamuditā salīla-(')vasthitā*<sup>58</sup> /  
*sā tatra sālāṃ*<sup>59</sup> *lajyanī*<sup>60</sup> *janayā*<sup>61</sup> *jinam ajitamanasaṃ mahāmunim*  
*uttamaṃ*<sup>62</sup> //

The logic of the narrative, which we know from other passages in the Mv (see below) as well as from Buddhist texts, would suggest an interpretation of the stanzas according to which the queen, surrounded by attendant women, strolled through the park, spotted Lumbinī grove, and there, having grasped a branch of the śāla tree, gave birth to a child.

§ 6.2. In another passage of the *Daśabhūmika* section (Mv tenth *bhūmi*) it is the Venerable Mahākātyāyana who in reply to the query of the Venerable Mahākāśyapa explains how the Buddhas become conceived and how they become situated in the womb (Mv\_S I: 142.10–145.5; Mv\_J I: 113–115). Then follows the passage (Mv\_S I: 148.4–150.8; Mv\_J I: 117–119) which closely resembles the parallel *Lalitavistara* fragment (see above). Queen Māyā, expecting the time of childbirth to come, asked king Śuddhodana to arrange for her to go to the park. The king gave orders to his servants to prepare the Lumbinī grove (Lumbinī-vana) properly. Māyā, strolling in the grove accompanied by her female attendants, approached a tree (*plakṣa*) and, holding the branch with her arms, gave birth to the child.

Then when the tenth month had run its course, the mother of the Virtuous One went to Śuddhodana and said to him,

“My course is clear to me.

I have had a notion to go out into the park, o King,  
 quickly get ready for me a fitting carriage and an escort.”

When he had heard these words, King Śuddhodana, the guardian of earth, graciously and out of tender feeling for his queen, thus addressed his suite: –

“Quickly get ready an army of troops with elephants and horses, and a large host of foot-soldiers, bristling with darts and arrows and swords, and report to me.

Then harness ten-hundred thousand of the best fourhomed chariots, with bells of gold merrily tinkling.” [...] (Mv\_J I: 117)

<sup>57</sup> Sen. *śākhāṃ* ... *gr̥hyāna*. – K.M.

<sup>58</sup> Sen. *salīla-avasthitā*. – K.M.

<sup>59</sup> Ms Na *śākhā*; Sen. *śākhāṃ*. – K.M. – Cf. MW *śāla* “the Śāl tree (*Vatica Robusta*)”; *sāla* “incorrectly for *śāla*” – M.M.

<sup>60</sup> Sen. *rakṣantī*. – K.M. Cf. ms Sb 27b5: *sā tatra śākhā lakṣyanī* (sic!) – M.M.

<sup>61</sup> Ms Sa, ms Na *janayā*; Sen. *janayī*. – K.M.

<sup>62</sup> The mss read *uttamaṃ sthito calādhr̥ti*; the words *sthito calādhr̥ti* were probably miswritten here from the next line. Senart rightly omits them. – K.M.

“Quickly make the Lumbini grove like a celestial abode for the queen, clean and pleasant, with the grass, mire, leaves and litter swept away.” [...]

Entering the fair forest, Māyā, the Conqueror’s mother, attended by her friends, roamed about in her dazzling chariot, like the consort of an immortal, knowing the rule of true delight.

Playfully she went up to a wavy-leafed fig-tree and hung with her arms to the branches, and gracefully stretched herself at the moment of giving birth to the Glorious One. (Mv\_J I: 118)

Here Lumbinī-vana is explicitly mentioned (Mv\_S I: 149.3). However, the name of the tree is not given. The oldest manuscript, Sa, and the manuscripts consulted by Senart all read *lakṣmī-śākhā(m)*<sup>63</sup>, suggesting that Māyādevī was hanging with her arms on the “branch of fortune” or “branch of beauty” of an unnamed tree. The appearance of the two stanzas later in the Mv allowed Senart to make an emendation, stating that the tree was called *plākṣa*<sup>64</sup>, “a wavy-leafed fig-tree” (see below § 6.3.).

§ 6.3. The *Mahāvastu* contains a longer account<sup>65</sup> of the descent of the Bodhisattva from the Tuṣita heaven, his incarnation and the birth of the Buddha-to-be in the Lumbinī grove. Here once more is narrated a scene when the king Śuddhodana at the request of Māyādevī gives orders to his servants to prepare the Lumbinī grove for the queen who will deliver there. In this passage the name of the tree is given – it is called *pilakṣa*<sup>66</sup> (Skt. *plakṣa*).

Marciniak’s new edition reads (Mv\_M II: 27.12) (underlining mine – M.M.):

*avaḡāhya taṃ varaṃ vanaṃ Māyā sakhisaṃghatā jinajanetrī /  
vicarati Cittarathe viya amaravadhū yathā ratividhijñā //  
sā krīḍārtham upagatā pilakṣasākhā bhujāya avalaṃbya /  
pravijṛmbhitā salīlā tasya yaśavato jananakālaṃ //*<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Mv\_S I: 149 fn. 15. Interestingly, the mss Sa and Sb which I was able to consult from the facsimile edition of Akira Yuyama (YUYAMA 2001) wrongly delinate the stanza with interpunction marks (*daṇḍa*), making it incomplete.

Ms Sa 43a2:

*/ māyā sakhisaṃvṛtā jinajanetrī vicarati citrarathe iva amaravaravadhū ratividhijñā  
sā krīḍāyartham upagatā lakṣmīśākhā bhujebhir avalaṃbya pravjṛmbhitā salīlaṃ //*

Ms Sb 41b1:

*// māyā sakhisaṃvṛtā jinajanetrī vicarati citrarathe iva amaravaravadhū ratividhijñā  
sā krīḍārtham upagatā lakṣmīśākhā bhujābhir avalaṃbya pravijṛmbhitā salīlaṃ //*

<sup>64</sup> Mv\_S I: 149.15: *sā krīḍārtham upagatā plākṣāṃ śākhāṃ bhujebhiḥ avalaṃbya /*

<sup>65</sup> VON HINÜBER 2023: 75 (Subsection ii.3: Last rebirth of the Bodhisattva). Mv\_S II: 18.10–20.18; Mv\_M II: 25.10–29.9; Mv\_J II: 16–18.

<sup>66</sup> BHSD sub *pilakṣa* = Skt. *plakṣa*; MW s.v. “the waved-leaf fig-tree, *Ficus Infectoria*”.

<sup>67</sup> Senart reads (Mv\_S II: 19.17) (underlining mine – M.M.):  
*avaḡāhya taṃ vanavaraṃ māyā sakhisaṃvṛtā jinajinetrī /*

§ 6.4. After describing the youth in the royal palace of the prince Siddhārtha, the *Mahāvastu* takes up the motif of the “great renunciation” (*abhinīṣkramaṇa*).<sup>68</sup> Siddhārtha, the bodhisattva, after having realised that the life in the palace stands in the way of his quest of religious ideal resolved on leaving palace: “I shall go forth from home for homeless life” (*pravrajiṣyāmi*). He made his intention known to his father, king Śuddhodana, to his great distress:

The king replied: –

“Pray do not do so, my lotus-eyed and charmingly beautiful son. Great grief would I suffer if I were bereft of you.

Your mother as well as I would go to unwelcome death. What sort of special bliss is this then, that for its sake you would leave me, your people and your kingdom?”<sup>69</sup>

In the following scene we see the prince sitting in a quiet place on the top of the palace and plunged into a state of meditation (*dhyāna*). This fragment is particularly relevant to our theme as it contains an episode in which a forest goddess from Lumbinī appears (for the first time in Buddhist texts?) to explain prince Siddhārtha's state of mind to a worried king. Śuddhodana, having found his beloved son in such a state of mind, became anxious about him thinking that he was overcome by melancholy (*daurmanasya*). He also feared that the prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*) of the sage Asita would come true. And then, all of a sudden there appeared a female deity residing in the Lumbinī grove (*lumbinī-vane devatā nivāsikā*<sup>70</sup>) and, hovering in the air (*antarīkṣe sthitvā*), she said to him:

“Your majesty, reflect about your son. For he has no passion for the joys of any of the senses. Ere long he will break all the bonds of craving and leave none remaining.

He will go off to the forest of penance, and will develop his thought which is as yet quite limited. And now, O king, Siddhārtha, though of royal lineage and surrounded in his beautiful palace by a throng of women, reviles what in his body is impermanent, ill, and unsubstantial.”<sup>71</sup>

---

*vicarati cittarathe devi amaravadhū yatha ratividhijñā //*  
*sā krīḍārtham upagatā pilakṣasakhām bhujāya avalambya //*  
*pravijrmbhitā saltilā tasya yaśavato jananakāle //*

<sup>68</sup> Von HINÜBER 2023: 78. Mv\_S II: 140–166; Mv\_M II: 179–208; Mv\_J II: 134–161.

<sup>69</sup> Mv\_J II: 135; Mv\_S II: 140.4–11; Mv\_M II: 179.5–9.

<sup>70</sup> BHSD *nivāsikā* adj. “dwelling” (with reference to Mv\_S II: 145.6); *naivāsika* adj. “resident”.

<sup>71</sup> Mv\_J II: 139–140; Mv\_S II: 145.

Mv\_M II: 185.8–13:

*atha khalu yā Lumbinīvane devatā nevāsikā sântarīkṣe sthitvā rājānaṃ Śuddhodanam abravīt: “mahārāja kumāraṃ vitarkayāhi. virakto tava putro sarvakāmaguṇaratīhi nacireṇa*

After hearing the words of the divinity, the king went to the prince and urged him to perform his duties, apparently not understanding the warning from the deity and the motives behind his decision to leave home.

However, what is the most important in this passage is precisely the figure of the female deity (*devatā*), which was living in the Lumbinī grove. In this episode, the Lumbinī forest-dwelling goddess appears at the critical moment of Siddhārtha's decision to leave the palace and take up a religious life. The relationship of the goddess to the birth of Buddha is not revealed. But perhaps we are dealing here with a primitive form of the motif that will be developed subsequently in some Buddhist texts. As we shall see in the following, the figure of the forest deity will appear again in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, in the *Aśokāvadāna*, and in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* where she will play a significant role.

§ 7. The *Aśokāvadāna*, or the cycle of narratives about the king Aśoka which was included into the *Divyāvadāna*, is of special importance since it contains both legendary and historical elements. The story of Kunāla (*Kunālāvadāna*) describes at some length the pilgrimage of the king Aśoka to thirty-two sites connected with the life of the Buddha.<sup>72</sup>

Aśoka addressed the elder (*sthavira*) Upagupta, his teacher and mentor, with a request:

“Elder, I want to honor the places where the Blessed One lived, and mark them with signs as a favor to posterity.”<sup>73</sup>

Lumbinī, the birthplace of the Buddha, was the first site visited by Aśoka, with the elder Upagupta acting as his guide. After having shown the king the Lumbinī grove<sup>74</sup> the elder Upagupta summoned a certain deity who witnessed the birth of the Lord.

Let the divine maiden who resides in this aśoka tree  
and who witnessed the birth of the Buddha

---

*cchindiṣyati sarve tṛṣṇābandhanāṃ niravaśeṣāṃ, yāsyati tapovanam, aparītam bhāvayīsyati jñānam. khalu nrpati Siddhārtho rājavamśo prāsādavaragato pramadāgaṇaparivṛto anityaṃ dukkha nairātmyaṃ paribhāṣati śārīraṃ.*”

On *nevāsikā* see supra fn. 70.

<sup>72</sup> STRONG 1989: 244–251: “Aśoka’s Pilgrimage”; for the list of the pilgrimage sites see p. 123 fn. 61.

<sup>73</sup> Trans. STRONG 1989: 244. *Aśokāvadāna* p. 81.7–9: *sthaviro 'yaṃ me manoratho ye bhagavatā buddhena pradeśā adhyuṣītās tān arceyaṃ / cihñāni ca kuryāṃ paścimasyāṃ janatāyāṃ anugrahārtham /*.

<sup>74</sup> Trans. STRONG 1989: 244: “In this place, great king, the Blessed One was born. [...] This is the first of the caityas of the Buddha [...]” *Aśokāvadāna* p. 81.17: *asmīn mahārāja pradeśe bhagavān jātaḥ / [...] idaṃ hi prathamāṃ caityaṃ buddhasya [...]*.

make herself manifest in her own body  
so that King Aśoka's faith will grow greater still.<sup>75</sup>

Immediately there appeared a female deity (*deva-kanyā*) residing in that very *aśoka* tree whose branch had grasped Māyādevī while she was delivered of a child. Aśoka, with his hands folded in reverence, asked the deity (*devatā*):

“You witnessed his birth and saw  
his body adorned with the marks!  
You gazed upon his large lotus-like eyes!  
You heard in this wood  
the first delightful words  
of the leader of mankind!”<sup>76</sup>

The tree spirit replied:

“I did indeed witness the birth of the best of men,  
the Teacher who dazzled like gold.  
I saw him take the seven steps,  
and also heard his words.”<sup>77</sup>

“Tell me, goddess”, said Aśoka, “what was it like – the magnificent moment of the Blessed One's birth?”

“I cannot possibly fully describe it in words”, answered the deity, “but, in brief, listen:

Throughout Indra's three-fold world,  
there shone a supernatural light,  
dazzling like gold and delighting the eye.  
The earth and its mountains,  
ringed by the ocean,

shook like a ship being tossed at sea.”<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Trans. STRONG 1989: 245. *Aśokāvadāna* p. 82.14–15: *naivāsikā yā ihāśokavṛkṣe sambuddhadarśinī yā devakanyā / sāksād asau darśayatu svadeham rājño hy aśokasya prasādavṛddhyai //*.

<sup>76</sup> Trans. STRONG 1989: 246. *Aśokāvadāna* p. 82.20–21: *drṣtas tvayā lakṣaṇabhūṣitāṅgaḥ prajāyamānaḥ kamalāyatākṣaḥ / śrutās tvayā tasya nararṣabhasya vāco manojñāḥ prathamā vane śmin //*.

<sup>77</sup> Trans. STRONG 1989: 246. *Aśokāvadāna* p. 83.2–3: *mayā hi drṣtaḥ kanakāvadātāḥ prajāyamāno dvipadapradhānaḥ / padāni sapta kramāṇa eva śrutās ca vācā api tasya śāstuḥ //*.

<sup>78</sup> Trans. STRONG 1989: 246. *Aśokāvadāna* p. 83.4–8: *rājā āha – kathaya devate kīdrśī bhagavato jāyamānasya śrīr babbhūveti / devatā prāha – na śakyam mayā vāgbhiḥ samprakāśayitum / api tu samkṣepataḥ śṛṇu – vinirmitābhā kanakāvadātā saindre triloke nayanābhirāmā / sasāgarāntā ca mahī saśailā mahārṇavasthā iva nauś cacāla //*.

Hearing this, Aśoka made an offering of one hundred thousand pieces of gold to the birthplace of the Buddha, built a *caitya* there, and went on.<sup>79</sup>

§ 7.1. King Aśoka's pilgrimage under the guidance of the venerable Upagupta marks successive moments in the Buddha's biography. It is interesting to note that, as Strong has pointed out (STRONG 1989: 123), "the number of sites visited by Aśoka and Upagupta totals exactly thirty-two, the same as the number of distinguishing marks on the body of a Great Man (Mahāpuruṣa)." At each of these places Aśoka would erect a *caitya* and make a generous donation.<sup>80</sup>

§ 7.2. In his study of the Buddha's youth,<sup>81</sup> André Bareau suggested,

that the birth of the Blessed One in Lumbinī should be traced back to the presence there, before the reign of Aśoka, of a crude statue depicting a Yakṣiṇī in this posture<sup>82</sup>, carrying her child on her hip, in the Indian fashion and also as evoked in certain ancient *sūtras*.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Trans. STRONG 1989: 246. *Aśokāvadāna* p. 83. 9–10: *yāvad rājñā jātyāṃ śatasahasraṃ dattam / caityaṃ ca pratiṣṭhāpya rājā prakrāntaḥ /*.

<sup>80</sup> FALK 2012. On the discovery of Lumbinī, see FALK 1998; FALK 2006: 177–180; on the new interpretation of the inscription, see FALK 2012.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. BAREAU 1974: 205–209 ("La naissance").

<sup>82</sup> MW *śālabhañjikā* "an image or figure made of Śāl wood"; BHS *śālabhañjaka / -ikā* "breaking of the *sāl*-branch" – M.M.

<sup>83</sup> BAREAU 1987: 78–79: "[...] dans un travail antérieur, nous avons proposé de voir, à l'origine de la localisation de la naissance du Bienheureux à Lumbinī, la présence en cet endroit, dès avant le règne d'Aśoka, d'une statue grossière figurant une Yakṣiṇī dans cette attitude et portant son enfant sur la hanche, à la mode indienne et telle aussi que l'évoquent certains sutra anciens." Therefore, in Bareau's opinion (BAREAU 1987: 79): "La liaison spatiale étant ainsi établie entre cette femme et la divinité en question, la venue de la première à Lumbinī étant dès lors admise, il était alors aisé pour les fidèles bouddhistes de supposer, puis bientôt de croire, que la naissance du Bodhisattva avait eu lieu dans ce bosquet, où la Yakṣiṇī pouvait évidemment, par sa présence, utiliser au mieux son pouvoir divin pour faire en sorte que la «descente» du Bienheureux s'effectuât dans les meilleures conditions possibles, les seules qui convinsent à un être aussi merveilleux. En quelque sorte, de déduction en déduction, les dévots bouddhistes avaient fait du *caitya* sylvestre de Lumbinī une sorte de clinique d'accouchement réservée à la mère de leur vénéré Maître. Dans l'un de ses passages, le *Mahāvastu* a conservé le souvenir de cette divinité féminine habitant ce bosquet, mais le souvenir en est déjà très pâli par le temps et par l'évolution de la légende." [This established a spatial link between this woman [i.e. Māyā – M.M.] and the deity in question, and her arrival at Lumbinī was thus accepted. It was then easy for the Buddhist faithful to suppose, and soon to believe, that the birth of the Bodhisattva had taken place in this grove, where the Yakṣiṇī could obviously, by her presence, make the best use of her divine power to ensure that the "descent" of the Blessed One took place in the best possible conditions, the only ones suitable for such a marvellous being. In a way, from deduction to deduction, the Buddhist devotees had turned the sylvan *caitya* of Lumbinī into a kind of birthing clinic reserved for the mother of their venerated Master. In one of its passages, the *Mahāvastu* preserves the memory of this female divinity living in the grove, but the memory has already been faded by the passage of time and the evolution of the legend.]

However, Bareau's speculations are not widely accepted by scholars. Harry Falk (FALK 1998: 2) summarised aptly Bareau's argument, adding his critical remarks:

The arguments Bareau advances to explain why tradition has linked Lumbinī of all places to this far-reaching event are most speculative. From the Aśokan inscription he reads, following Bloch, that the king once had a stone wall (*silāvigaḍabhīcā*) constructed. This wall, Bareau assumes, supposedly marked the site of a former temple dedicated to a yakṣiṇī who was able to assure births free of complications. This yakṣiṇī is said to have had a statue representing her in the śālabañjika pose. There was, of course, no child at the side of this female being. But since the Buddha was never portrayed at the time in human form, such an absence proved no obstacle for believers of later periods to transfer thither the birth of Siddhārtha.

The first premise of this hypothesis is already unacceptable. Up to now we still have not the least idea whether *silāvigaḍabhīcā* or *silāvigaḍabhīcā* (= *ca*) is the proper reading, and what the expression *vigaḍabhī(?cā/ca)* in the inscription at hand means. [...] Thus the most one may infer from Aśoka's inscription is that, alongside the massive (i.e. not rubble) stone columns (*silāthabhe*), he had a massive (*silā*) *vigaḍabhī(cā)* erected.

§ 7.3. The site was in fact visited by the king Aśoka around 236 BCE and marked by a special stone pillar with an inscription which reads:

*devānapiyena piyadasina lājina vīsativasābhisitena  
atana āgāca mahīyite hida budhe jāte sakyamunī ti  
silāvigaḍabhīcā kālāpita silāthabhe ca usapāpīte  
hida bhagavaṃ jāte<sup>84</sup> ti lumminigāme ubalike kaṭe  
aṭhabhāgiye ca.<sup>85</sup>*

In Harry Falk's translation, the content of the inscription reads:

When king Priyadarśin, dear to the gods, had been anointed for twenty years, he came in person and paid reverence. Being aware that the Buddha was born here, he had a *vigaḍabhī* of stone constructed on the site and a stone pillar erected. Being aware that the Lord was born here, he made the village of Lumbinī taxfree and *aṭhabhāgiya*.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* § 41.6: *iha bhagavañ jātaḥ /*; *Mahāparinibbānasutta* § 5.8: *idha tathāgato jāto ti pi /*, ed. WALDSCHMIDT 1951: 388.

<sup>85</sup> FALK 1998: 15 (on the following pages an attempt is made to interpret both expressions).

<sup>86</sup> FALK 2012: 204.

Two expressions deliberately left untranslated have long been debated by scholars.<sup>87</sup>

Max Deeg, after a critical analysis of available sources in Sanskrit, Pāli, Prakrit and Chinese, proposed interpreting the phrase *silāvigadabhī(cā)* as a “stone bathing pond” (reconstructed Sanskrit: \**śilā-vigāḍha-abdhī*) (DEEG 2003: 20–21). He provided the text of the inscription with his translation (DEEG 2003: 45):

King Priyadarśin, who is dear to the gods, came here in the twentieth year following his consecration and paid reverence. Thinking (*iti*), “Here the Buddha was born – the muni of the Śākya clan”, I caused a bathing pond of stone to be made and a pillar of stone to be erected. Thinking, “Here the Lord was born”, I exempted the village of Lumbinī from imposts and had it receive the “eight rights”.

Harry Falk disagreed with Deeg’s interpretation of the phrase *silāvigadabhī(cā)* as a “stone bathing pond” (*śilā-vigāḍha-abdhī*) and proposed translating it as a “stone railing” (FALK 2006: 180; FALK 2012: 216, fn. 1):

When king Priyadarśin, dear to the gods, was consecrated for this 20th regnal year he came in person and paid reverence. Because the Buddha, the Śākyamuni, was born at this place, he had a stone railing made and a stone pillar erected. Because the Lord (of the world) was born at this place, he exempted the village of Lumbinī from taxes and granted it the eight shares.

In his article “The Fate of Aśoka’s Donations at Lumbinī”, Falk reinterpreted the word *aṭhabhāgiya* as referring to the division of the Buddha’s relics into eight parts, according to the canonical text in the *Dīgha Nikāya* 16. Lumbinī is not one of the places endowed with relics. According to Falk, “Lumbinī initially had nothing at all until Aśoka provided the site with relics and a pillar and thereby made it a powerful site for a pilgrimage” (FALK 2012: 207). He also pointed out that the term *aṭhabhāgiya* “also seems to have a legal and/or fiscal connotation, exempting the village from royal jurisdiction and placing it directly under the rule of those clerics looking after it” (FALK 2012: 207). As for the expression *vigadabhī*, it would mean “a construction ‘holding bars’” (FALK 2012: 211). Falk concluded his discussion by proposing a new translation of the inscription on the Lumbinī pillar (FALK 2012: 215–216):

When king Priyadarśin, dear to the gods, had been anointed for twenty years, he came in person and paid reverence. Being aware that the Buddha was born here, he had a stone fencing constructed on the site [of the birth] and a stone pillar erected. Being aware that the Lord was born here, he

<sup>87</sup> FALK 1998; DEEG 2003; FALK 2006; FALK 2012 – all with references to earlier works.

made the village of Lumbinī tax-free and provided it with a share in the eight parts [the ashes of the Buddha had originally been divided].

§ 8. The *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, a Sanskrit Buddhist Mahāyāna scripture, forms the last chapter of the voluminous *Avatamsakasūtra*, “The Flower Garland Sūtra”. The complete text of the *Avatamsakasūtra* has survived in Chinese<sup>88</sup> and Tibetan<sup>89</sup> translations. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* has been fully preserved in the original Sanskrit.<sup>90</sup>

In the opinion of A. K. Warder,

The *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* is a literary masterpiece, the most readable of all the Mahāyāna sūtras and almost the only one organised as a balanced work of art on an effective plan. [...] In fact it is a highly imaginative religious novel, though it opens in the manner of a sūtra. The title *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* is obscure, being generally interpreted as “array of flowers”, “bouquet”.<sup>91</sup>

§ 8.1. The *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*<sup>92</sup> tells the story of Sudhana's miraculous journey in a quest for enlightenment (*bodhi*). Sudhana, a merchant's son (*śreṣṭhi-dāraka*), on bodhisattva Mañjuśrī's advice, sets out on a spiritual journey and on his way across India visits fifty-two “good friends” (*kalyāṇa-mitra*) who teach him

<sup>88</sup> In the Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō there are two translations of the *Avatamsaka* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經): by Buddhahadra (359–429 CE) from 420 CE, in 60 scrolls and 34 chapters (Taishō 278), and by Śikṣānanda (652–710 CE) from 695–699 CE, in 80 scrolls and 39 chapters (Taishō 279). In addition, there are three separate translations of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*: by Prajñā (744–ca. 810 CE) from 798 CE (Taishō 293); by Shōken (ca. 388–408 CE) (Taishō 294); by Divākara (613–688 CE) (Taishō 295). The complete *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, including the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, was translated into English from the Chinese version of Śikṣānanda (T 279) by Thomas Cleary as: *The Flower Ornament Scripture* (CLEARY 1993).

<sup>89</sup> The text has a long title: *sangs rgyas phal po che zhe bya ba shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo* (*Buddhāvataṃsaka-nāma mahā vaipulya sūtra*). The *Gaṇḍavyūha* (Tib. *sdong po bkod pa*) occupies two final volumes of the section *Avatamsaka* (*phal chen*) in the Kanjur (Derge, Tohoku 44): Ga. fol. 274b–396a, and A. fol. 1b–363a. The Tibetan version of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* has been translated into English by Peter Alan Roberts as “The Stem Array” (ROBERTS 2023).

<sup>90</sup> There are two editions of the Sanskrit text: D.T. Suzuki–H. Idzumi, Kyoto 1934–1936 (rev. ed. Tokyo 1949); P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga 1960. In translating the Sanskrit passages of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, I have used Vaidya's edition and for some dubious passages consulted two manuscripts: palm-leaf ms HODGSON 2 (Royal Asiatic Society, London) dated 1166 CE, and paper ms ASK 6681 (Asha Archive, Kathmandu) dated 1811. In the following I have consulted also the two existing translations, by Roberts (from Tibetan) and by Cleary (from Chinese). The Tibetan translation broadly agrees with the Sanskrit text preserved in Nepalese manuscripts.

<sup>91</sup> WARDER 2000: 402. The title of the work is difficult to interpret: CLEARY (1993: 1547) suggested in short “Garland Scripture” or following the title of the Chinese translation “The Book on Entry into the Realm of Reality” (*Ru fajie pin* 入法界品). ROBERTS 2023 proposed “The Stem Array”. A new interpretation of the title was offered by OSTO 2009: “The Supreme Array Scripture”. Cf. BHSD sub *gaṇḍa* “stalk of a plant”, “piece, part, portion”.

<sup>92</sup> See FONTEIN 1967: 5–14 (“Summary of the text”).

about the bodhisattva path. However, none of them is able to explain it in full and directs Sudhana to another good friend. On his journey Sudhana visited different places in South India and in the North. He encountered successively fifty-two *kalyāṇa-mitras*, among them eight female *kalyāṇa-mitras*,<sup>93</sup> night goddesses (*rātri-devatā*), viz. Vāsantī (32), Samantha-gambhīra-śrī-vimala-prabhā (33), Pramudita-nayana-jagad-virocanā (34), Samanta-sattva-trāṇoja-śrī (35), Praśānta-ruta-sāgaravatī (36), Sarva-nagara-rakṣā-saṃbhava-śrī (37), Sarva-vṛkṣa-praphullana-sukha-saṃvāsā (38), and Sarva-jagad-rakṣā-praṇidhāna-vīrya-prabhā (39). He then, at the advice of the last named, visited Sutejo-maṇḍala-rati-śrī<sup>94</sup> (40), the Lumbinī-vana-devatā.<sup>95</sup>

§ 8.1.1. After visiting Kapilavastu he is directed by Sarvajagad-rakṣā-praṇidhāna-vīrya-prabhā, a night-goddess (*rātri-devatā*), to Sutejo-maṇḍala-rati-śrī,<sup>96</sup> the goddess of the Lumbinī grove, who unfolds to him the ten kinds of birth of bodhisattvas, ten omens, ten omens of great light, ten miracles attending the birth of enlightened beings. Next Sudhana goes again to Kapilavastu to encounter Gopā, a girl from the Śākya clan, who in turn sends him to see Māyā,<sup>97</sup> the mother of all buddhas. Finally, Sudhana encounters in a vision the bodhisattva Samantabhadra. The story of Sudhana's encounter with the Lumbinī forest goddess is written in prose and verse (chapter 42. *Sutejomaṇḍalaratiśrīh*, Gv pp. 285–299; ROBERTS 2023: §§ 42.1–132; CLEARY 1993: 1383–1397).<sup>98</sup>

§ 8.2. On the advice of Sarvajagad-rakṣā-praṇidhāna-vīrya-prabhā, the night-goddess residing in Kapilavastu, Sudhana went to the Lumbinī grove. There lived a goddess of Lumbinī grove (*lumbinī-vana-devatā*) named Sutejo-maṇḍala-rati-śrī<sup>99</sup>. The goddess was seated on a lion's throne in the calyx of a jewel lotus, at the top of a circular arrangement of branches of all the precious trees. She was surrounded by a host of millions of wood goddesses (*vana-devatā*), to whom she expounded a scripture called *Sarvabodhisattva-janma-samudra-nirdeśa* ("Elucidation of the Ocean of Births of All Bodhisattvas"). After Sudhana had paid his obeisance and stood with joined hands in reverence, he asked her:

<sup>93</sup> Cf. SHAW 2006: 156: "The *Gaṇḍavyūha*, a classical source on Mahāyāna thought and practice, also serves as a cosmological atlas, revealing that Sudhana inhabited a religious world replete with divine females."

<sup>94</sup> BHSD: 598.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. THAKUR 2006, Appendix I, Nos. 32–39.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. SHAW 2006: 160–162: "Teachings on Birth by the Goddess of Lumbini Grove".

<sup>97</sup> Cf. SHAW 2006, chapter 2: Māyādevī.

<sup>98</sup> Ms HODGSON 2, foll. 192a6–203a4; ms ASK 6681, foll. 243a5–257a1. Tib. Dege Kanjur (Tohoku 44), A., fol. 201b4–219a6.

<sup>99</sup> "Glory of Delight in the Excellent Circle of Light"; Tib. *gzi brjid kyi dkyil 'khor bzang pos dga' ba'i dpal* (ROBERTS 2023 does not translate the name of the goddess); CLEARY 1993: "Glory of the Sphere of Good Power".

O Goddess, I have raised a thought of the highest complete enlightenment, but I don't know how bodhisattvas are born in the family of Tathāgatas, and how they are practicing their course leading to enlightenment and provide illumination for the living beings.<sup>100</sup>

§ 8.2.1. In response to these words, the goddess gave a long answer, made up of several parts, in both prose and verse. She said that there are ten kinds of birth (*daśa bodhisattva-janmāni*) by which bodhisattvas are born in the family of Tathāgatas (*bodhisattvā jātā bhavanti tathāgatakule*). This is the longest section of the whole chapter.

The goddess began by listing the characteristics of bodhisattvas who have been born in the family of Tathāgatas; those issued bodhisattvas increase successfully by means of bodhisattvas' meritorious actions (Gv p. 285.15–21. Cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.5; CLEARY 1993: 1384.). They are –

1. not standing still (*na vitiṣṭhante*)
2. not desponding (*na viṣṭdanti*)
3. not regressing (*na vivartante*)
4. not abandoning (*na pratiprasrabhyante*)
5. not afflicted (*na parikhidyante*)
6. not distressed (*na saṃsīdanti*)
7. not bewildered (*na muhyanti*)
8. not dispirited (*nāvalīyante*)
9. not disturbed (*na paritrasyanti*)
10. not disappearing (*na praṇaśyanti*).<sup>101</sup>

Moreover, they –

1. follow the path in the direction of omniscience (*anugacchanti sarvajñatā-dig-anugamam*)
2. remember the principle of the realm of Dharma (*anusmaranti dharmadhātu-nayam*)

<sup>100</sup> Gv p. 285.11–13: *mayā devate anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau cittam utpāditam / na ca jānāmi kathaṃ bodhisattvā jātā bhavanti tathāgatakule, kathaṃ bodhisattvacārikāṃ carantaḥ sattvānām ālokarāḥ bhavanti* // . Cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.4; CLEARY 1993: 1384.

<sup>101</sup> Tibetan (Derge 44, A., fol. 202a6–7) reads: *thogs pa med [xyl. myed] pa dang zhum pa med pa dang / phyir ldog pa med pa dang / rgyun gcod pa med [xyl. myed] pa dang / yongs su skyo ba med pa dang / sgyid lug par 'gyur ba med pa dang / nyams par 'gyur ba med pa dang / nyams dma' bar 'gyur ba med pa dang / yongs su yi 'chad par 'gyur ba med pa dang / chud za bar 'gyur ba med [xyl. myed] pa dang /*, which Roberts (§ 42.5) translates: “are unimpeded, are not disheartened, do not regress, are not interrupted, are not dismayed, are not discouraged, do not deteriorate, do not become confused, do not become downcast, and do not come to ruin.”

3. attain the maturity for the enlightenment of the buddhas (*paripāka-prāptā bhavanti buddha-bodhau*)
4. extend the resolution of enlightenment (*vipulīkurvanti bodhicittotpādam*)
5. increase by means of all perfections (*vivardhante sarva-pāramitābhiḥ*)
6. withdraw from all worldly states (*vivartante sarva-loka-gatibhyaḥ*)
7. go towards the stage of Tathāgatas (*saṃvartante tathāgata-bhūmau*)
8. purify renowned (distinguished) [kinds of] knowledge (*uttāpayanti jñānābhijñatā*)<sup>102</sup>
9. become manifest in the qualities of enlightened ones (*āmukhībhavanti buddha-dharmeṣu*)
10. possess meanings in accordance with the sphere of omniscience (*anugatārthā bhavanti sarvajñatā-viṣaye*).

§ 8.2.2. Next the goddess listed the ten kinds of birth of a bodhisattva (*daśa bodhisattva-janmāni*) (Gv p. 285.21–28; cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.6–10; CLEARY 1993: 1384):

1. The first birth of a bodhisattva is called the womb of the application of the vow to serve all buddhas (*sarvabuddhopasthāna-praṇidhi-prayoga-garbhaṃ*<sup>103</sup> *nāma prathamam bodhisattva-janma*).
2. The second birth is called the womb of the origin of the perfect development of the characteristic of the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicittāṅga-pariṇiṣṭi-saṃbhava-garbhaṃ nāma dvitīyam bodhisattva-janma*).
3. The third birth is called the womb of the origin intending on application of deep meditation on the course of dharma (*dharmā-naya-nidhyāpti-prayogābhimukha-saṃbhava-garbhaṃ nāma tṛtīyam bodhisattva-janma*).
4. The fourth birth is called the womb of the purification of determination to illuminate the three times (*tryadhvālokādhyāśaya-viśuddhi-garbhaṃ nāma caturtham bodhisattva-janma*).<sup>104</sup>
5. The fifth birth is called the womb of all-illuminating light (*samantāvabhāsa-prabhā-garbhaṃ nāma pañcamam bodhisattva-janma*).
6. The sixth birth is called the womb of the origin of the lineage of family of all buddhas (*sarvatathāgata-kula-gotra-saṃbhava-garbhaṃ nāma ṣaṣṭham bodhisattva-janma*).

<sup>102</sup> Gv p. 285.21: *-abhijñatāḥ / āmukhī-*; ms HODGSON 2, fol. 193a6 and ms ASK 6681, fol. 243b7: *-abhijñatā āmukhī-*. Cf. BHSD sub *abhijñata*.

<sup>103</sup> Tib. *snying po* “essence; heart”.

<sup>104</sup> Gv p. 285.24: *tryadhvalokā*; read: *-ālokā-*, after ms HODGSON 2, fol. 193b1, and ms ASK 6681, fol. 244a2.

7. The seventh birth is called the womb of the ornament of light that illuminates the powers of buddhas (*buddha-balāvabhāsālokālaṅkāra-garbhaṃ nāma saptamaṃ bodhisattva-janma*).
8. The eighth birth is called the womb produced from the perfect development of intellectual mastery of the entrance to omniscience (*samantajñāna-mukha-vyavacāraṇa-pariniṣpatti-saṃbhava-garbhaṃ nāmāṣṭamaṃ bodhisattva-janma*).
9. The ninth birth is called the womb of the array of a magical creation of the realm of dharma (*dharmadhātu-nirmāṇa-vyūha-garbhaṃ nāma navamaṃ bodhisattva-janma*).
10. The tenth birth is called the womb of the impulse to ascend the stage of the enlightened ones (*tathāgata-bhūmyākramaṇa-vega-garbhaṃ nāma daśamaṃ bodhisattva-janma*).

§ 8.2.3. A detailed explanation by the goddess of each of the ten types of bodhisattva birth follows the list (Gv pp. 285.29–288.21; cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.11–40; CLEARY 1993: 1384–1387).

§ 8.2.4. A summary of the ten births then follows (Gv pp. 288.22–289.2; cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.41; CLEARY 1993: 1387–1388).

§ 8.2.5. The summary is followed by the concluding ten stanzas (*gāthā*), which explain the meaning of the ten kinds of birth of bodhisattvas (Gv pp. 289.6–290.14; cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.43–52; CLEARY 1993: 1388–1389).

§ 8.2.6. The goddess declared that she has attained a “bodhisattva salvation” of vision of the miracle of the birth of bodhisattvas in all objects for countless eons. The goddess explained that she has perfected the earnest wish (vow) to see and approach the births of all bodhisattvas, and that she comprehends the extensive ocean of births of Bhagavat Vairocana.

Comprehending the birth of a bodhisattva in this world system consisting of three thousand great thousand [worlds], I have accomplished [my] previous solemn vow to see the birth of the bodhisattva here, in Lumbinī Grove, in Jambudvīpa, one of the four continents, in Bhāgavatī [world]. So, I dwell contemplating recollection of the births of bodhisattvas, that after I have resided here for a hundred years, the Bhavavat will come from the abode of Tuṣita.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>105</sup> [...] *aham aprameyakalpa-sarvāramaṇa-bodhisattvajanma-vikurvita-saṃdarśanasya bodhisattva-vimokṣasya lābhinī / [...] ahaṃ kulaputra sarvabodhisattvajanma-saṃdarśanopasaṃkramaṇa-praṇidhāna-pariniṣpannā / sā khalv ahaṃ kulaputra bhagavato vairocanasya vipulaṃ janma-samudram avataramī / yaduta asyāṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasrāyāṃ lokadhātā bodhisattvajanma avataramāṇā bhāgavatyaṃ cāturdvīpikāyāṃ iha jambudvīpe lumbinīvane bodhisattvajanma-saṃdarśane pūrvapraṇidhānopapannā / sā ahaṃ iha*

§ 8.2.7. The goddess then described ten omens (*daśa pūrva-nimittāni*) that had appeared in the Lumbinī grove before the birth of the Blessed One<sup>106</sup> (Gv pp. 290.24–291.16; cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.56–57; CLEARY 1993: 1389–1390):

1. The whole of the Lumbinī Grove became level, without low and high or rough [ground], without pits or cliffs (*sarvam idaṃ lumbinīvanam samam samsthitam apagata-nimnonnata-viśamam apagata-śvabhra-prapātam*);
2. The entire Lumbinī Grove was free of protruding pebbles and gravel, free of stumps and thorns, with the surface of the ground [of diamonds], covered with many jewels (*sarvam idaṃ lumbinīvanam utsanna-śarkara-kaṭhallam apagata-sthāṇu-kaṇṭakam vajra-prṛthivī-tala-samsthānam aneka-ratnābhikīrṇam samavasthitam*);
3. The whole Lumbinī Grove became [a place] adorned with well-proportioned rows of trees, śāla, and palmyra, having all the jewels (*sarvam idaṃ lumbinīvanam sarva-ratna-druma-śāla-tāla-pañkti-suvibhaktālaṃkāraṃ samavāsthīṣata*);
4. The whole Lumbinī Grove became [a place] overgrown with fragrant sprouts surpassing those of the heavens, where stores of all aromatic powders arose and where a circle of the multitude of clouds like all banners was born, and which was adorned with the roots of trees arranged in fixed order, having separate fragrances and gems (*sarvam idaṃ lumbinīvanam divya-samatikrānta-gandhāṅkura-prarūḍham sarva-cūrṇa-kośa-sambhūtam sarva-dhvaja-megha-paṭala-maṇḍala-jātam gandha-maṇi-vigraha-vṛkṣa-mūla-parisamsthāpitālaṃkāraṃ samavāsthīṣata*);
5. The entire Lumbinī Grove was completely filled with all [kinds of] ornaments that sprang from the treasury of ornaments of various divine flowers and garlands (*sarvam idaṃ lumbinīvanam vividha-divya-puspa-mālyābharaṇa-kośa-nirvṛtta-sarvālaṃkāra-paripūrṇam samavāsthīṣata*);
6. Throughout this Lumbinī Grove, great treasures of precious jewels manifested on all the trees (*sarvasminn iha lumbinīvane sarva-vṛkṣeṣu mahāmaṇi-ratna-kośā abhinirvṛttāḥ*);
7. Throughout this Lumbinī Grove, in all the lotus ponds, all [kinds of] water-

---

*bodhisattvajanmānusmrīṃ bhāvayamānā viharāmi / tasyā mameha viharantya varṣāsatena bhagavāms tuṣitabhavanāc cyaviṣyātīti //* (Gv p. 290.16–23; cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42. 54–56; CLEARY 1993: 1389).

<sup>106</sup> Cf. *Lalitavistara* for the different lists of omens and miracles:

LV pp. 30.24–31.25 (*śuddhodanasya gṛhavare aṣṭau pūrva-nimittāni*) – eight omens at king Śuddhodana’s palace;

LV p. 42.9–27 (*śaḍvikāram aṣṭādaśa mahānimittam*) – eighteen supernatural occurrences of six kinds in Trisāhasra-mahāsāhasra Lokadhātu;

LV pp. 61.2–62.6 (*rājñāḥ śuddhodanasya gṛhodyāne dvātriṃśat pūrva-nimittāni*) – thirty-two signs in king Śuddhodana’s garden;

LV pp. 67.24–68.17 (*ṛddhi-prātihāryāni*) – miracles at the time of the birth.

- born jewel flowers, which were in bud after rising to the surface of the earth, appeared in the water (*sarvasmīn iha lumbinīvane sarva-nalinīṣu sarvāṇi jalaja-ratna-puṣpāṇi śuṅgī-bhūtāni dharāṇi-talād abhyudgamyā vāri-samudgatāni samavāsthīṣanta*);
8. All the male gods of the Realm of Desire and the Realm of Form of the world system, as well as nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, kinnaras, mahoragas, lords of the world, as many as they were, remained in this Lumbinī Grove with their hands joined in salutation (*yāvanta iha lokadhātau kāmāvacarā rūpāvacarās ca deva-putrā nāga-yakṣa-gandharvāsura-garuḍa-kinnara-mahoragā lokendrajagadindrā vā, te 'py asmin lumbinīvane sarve kṛtāñjali-putāḥ sthitā abhūvan*);
  9. All the goddesses of the world system consisting of the four continents, as well as female nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, kinnaras, mahoragas, as many as they were, with delighted minds, holding in their hands all kinds of offerings, and facing the branches of the plakṣa tree, remained [in this Lumbinī grove] with their bodies bowed [in worship] (*yāvanta iha cāturdvīpikāyāṃ lokadhātau deva-kanyā vā nāga-kanyā vā yakṣa-gandharvāsura-garuḍa-kinnara-mahoraga-kanyā vā, tāḥ sarvāḥ pramudita-mānasāḥ sarvapūjāvidhi-parigrhīta-hastāḥ plakṣa-śākhābhīmukhāḥ praṇata-kāyāḥ sthitā abhūvan*);
  10. The rays called “the lamps of the miracle of the birth of bodhisattva(s)”, emanating from the navel circles of all the Tathāgatas of the ten directions, when they came forth, became manifest in the entire Lumbinī Grove; and in the circular tips of all the rays were seen manifestations of the miraculous births of all the Tathāgatas; and all the qualities of bodhisattvas and miraculous births endowed with the voice of buddhas were heard coming forth from these circular tips of the rays (*daśabhyo digbhyaḥ sarvatathāgatānāṃ nābhimaṇḍalebhyo niścaramāṇā bodhisattvajanma-vikurvita-pradīpā nāma rāsmayo niścāritvā sarvam idaṃ lumbinī-vanam avabhāsyā tiṣṭhanti sma / teṣu ca sarvaraśmi-mukha-maṇḍaleṣu teṣāṃ sarvatathāgatānāṃ janma-vikurvītāni pratibhāsa-prāptāni saṃdrśyante sma / saṃprasava-vikurvītāḥ sarvabodhisattva-guṇās ca buddhasvara-saṃprayuktās tebhyo rāsmi-mukha-maṇḍalebhyo niścaramāṇāḥ śrūyante sma*).

§ 8.2.8. The goddess then described ten omens of great light (*mahāvabhāsa-pūrvanimittāni*) which appeared in the Lumbinī grove when Māyādevī left the city of Kapilavastu (Gv p. 291.17–31; cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.58–59; CLEARY 1993: 1390):

1. The light became manifest in all the chambers of the storied mansions set with jewels that came to the surface of the earth (*dharāṇī-talagateṣu*

*sarvaratna-kūṭāgāra-garbheṣv avabhāsaḥ prādurbhūtaḥ).*

2. The light became manifest in the buds of all fragrant flowers (*sarvagandha-kusuma-mukuleṣv avabhāsaḥ prādurbhūtaḥ).*
3. The light manifested in the petals of all the blossoming buds of the precious lotuses, from which a sweet and delicate sound came forth (*aśeṣa-ratna-padma-mukuleṣu vikaśamāneṣu sarvapatrebhyo 'vabhāsaḥ prādurbhūtaḥ, madhuraś ca sujātajāta-śabda ebhyo niścarati sma).*
4. This Lumbinī Grove was illuminated by the light of the first resolution (arousal of the thought of enlightenment) of the bodhisattvas of the ten directions (*yaś ca daśasu dikṣu bodhisattvānāṃ prathama-cittopādāvabhāsaḥ, sa idaṃ lumbinī-vanam avabhāsyā abhyuditaḥ).*
5. The miraculous appearance of the light ascending to all the bodhisattva stages of the bodhisattvas of the ten directions manifested here, in this Lumbinī Grove (*yac ca daśasu dikṣu bodhisattvānāṃ sarvabodhisattva-bhūmyākramaṇāvabhāsa-vikurvitaṃ, tad iha lumbinī-vane prādurabhūt).*
6. The appearance of the light of the attainment of the knowledge of the full development of all the perfections of the bodhisattvas of the ten directions manifested here, in this Lumbinī Grove (*yaś ca daśasu dikṣu bodhisattvānāṃ sarvapāramitā-pariniṣpatti-jñānādhigamālokāvabhāsaḥ, sa iha lumbinī-vane prādurabhūva).*
7. The appearance of the light of knowledge of the supremacy of all the vows of the bodhisattvas of the ten directions manifested here, in this Lumbinī Grove (*yaś ca daśasu dikṣu bodhisattvānāṃ sarvapraṇidhāna-vaśitājñānālokāvabhāsaḥ, sa iha lumbinī-vane prādurabhūva).*
8. The appearance of the light of knowledge of the maturity of discipline of the bodhisattvas of the ten directions manifested here, in this Lumbinī Grove (*yaś ca daśasu dikṣu sarvabodhisattvānāṃ paripāka-vinaya-jñānālokāvabhāsaḥ, sa iha lumbinī-vane prādurabhūva).*
9. The appearance of the light of the attainment of knowledge leading to the realm of reality of the bodhisattvas of the ten directions manifested here, in this Lumbinī Grove (*yaś ca daśasu dikṣu sarvabodhisattvānāṃ dharmadhātu-naya-jñānādhigamālokāvabhāsaḥ, sa iha lumbinī-vane prādurabhūva).*
10. The appearance of the light of the attainment of knowledge of the miraculous birth of the Buddha, the abandonment of worldly life and the realisation of enlightenment of all the bodhisattvas of the ten directions manifested here, in this Lumbinī Grove (*yaś ca daśasu dikṣu sarva-bodhisattvānāṃ buddha-vikurvita-janmābhiniṣkramaṇa-bodhi-vibudhyana-jñānādhigamālokāvabhāsaḥ, sa iha lumbinī-vane prādurabhūva).*

These ten omens of the great light manifested in the Lumbinī Grove, which illuminated the darkness of the deep foundation of the mind of countless bodhisattvas (*imāni daśa mahāvabhāsa-nimittāni prādurabhūvuḥ, yair ananta-madhyānām bodhisattvānām cittāsaya-gahanāndhakārāny avabhāsītāni*). (Gv p. 291.30–31).

§ 8.2.9. The goddess then went on to describe in detail the ten miracles of the birth of the bodhisattva in the Lumbinī Grove (*lumbinīvane bodhisattvasya daśa janma-vikurvitāni*) (Gv pp. 292.1–294.17;<sup>107</sup> cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.60–81; CLEARY 1993: 1390–1392):

Son of a good family, these ten miracles of the bodhisattva's birth were manifested in the Lumbinī Grove. Thereupon the bodhisattva, seeing the outpouring of unimaginable immeasurable light, emerged from Māyā's womb like the disc of the sun from the firmament, like a bundle of thunderbolts from a cluster of clouds, like a great cloud at dawn from the top of a mountain, like a great lamp from the deepest darkness. This is how the bodhisattva appeared, emerging from the womb of Māyā, by the way<sup>108</sup> of the vision of the intimation of form in relation to Māyā, by the way of not coming, by the way of the vision of the intimation of the world without origin or cessation.<sup>109</sup>

§ 8.2.10. The goddess then made a longer statement, saying –

Thus, son of a good family, I perceive the oceans of miraculous births of Blessed Vairocana while I am dwelling here in the Lumbinī Grove.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Vaidya in his edition (Gv p. 293.21–22 and fn. 1) reads incorrectly: *idaṃ kulaputra lumbinīvane bodhisattvasya śaṣṭhaṃ janmavikurvitam // punar aparaṃ kulaputra ----- -- lumbinīvanaśaṇḍe samavasṛtā abhijātajagadvijñānā prādurabhavat / idaṃ kulaputra...*, contrary to the reading in Suzuki-Idzumi's edition (p. 378.9–12) where the lacuna is put in brackets and which follows the reading in ms HODGSON 2, fol. 199ba6–199b1: *idaṃ kulaputra lumbinīvane bodhisattvasya [śaṣṭhaṃ janmavikurvitam // punar aparaṃ kulaputra -----] lumbinīvanaśaṇḍe samavasṛtā abhijātajagadvijñānā prādurabhavad idaṃ kulaputra...;* so also ms ASK 6681, fol. 252a1.

<sup>108</sup> BHSD sub *dharmā*: *dharmatayā* (instr.) “by the method (means) of, by the way of”.

<sup>109</sup> *imāni kulaputra lumbinīvane bodhisattvasya daśa janma-vikurvitāni prādurabhūvan / tataḥ paścād bodhisattvo 'cintyā-pramāṇa-prabhāsecanaka-darśano māyāyā devyāḥ kukṣer abhyudgataḥ sūrya-maṇḍalam iva gagana-talāt, vidyut-kalāpa iva megha-saṃghātāt, sām̐dhya iva mahāghanaḥ śaila-śikharāntarāt, mahāpradīpa iva tamo 'ndhakārāt / ity evaṃ bodhisattvo māyāyā devyāḥ kukṣer abhiniṣkramaṇaṃ saṃdarśayāmāsa māyā-gata-rūpa-vijñapti-saṃdarśana-dharmatayā anāgata-dharmatayā anutpādānirodha-loka-vijñapti-saṃdarśana-dharmatayā //* (Gv p. 294.17–22).

<sup>110</sup> *ity evaṃ ahaṃ kulaputra bhagavato vairocanasya janma-vikurvita-samudrān avatarāmi iha lumbinīvane viharamānā /* (Gv p. 294.23–24; cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.85; CLEARY 1993: 1393).

Sudhana asked her:

How long ago did you attain the liberation of bodhisattva-birth, revealing the miracle of the birth of a bodhisattva which has all [objects] as a basis for countless eons?<sup>111</sup>

§ 8.2.11. In her reply, the goddess tells the story of the past, stylized as a *jātaka* (Gv p. 295.9–27; cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.92–96; CLEARY 1993: 1393–1394).

Long ago, before millions of eons equal to the dust of ultimate atoms in the buddha fields, a buddha named *Īśvara-guṇāparājita-dhvaja* (“Emblem of the Lord’s Unsurpassed Virtue”) appeared in the world system called *Samantarātā* (“Ubiquitous Jewel”). At the centre of this world system was a world made up of four continents. In the middle of the continent of *Jambudvīpa* was the royal capital where king *Ratnārci-netra-prabha* and his wife, queen *Suharṣita-prabheśvarā*, resided. And just as *Māyādevī* was the mother of Blessed *Vairocana*, so at that time, in the four-continent world called *Vicitra-vyūha-prabhā*, queen *Suharṣita-prabheśvarā* became the mother of the tathagāta *Īśvara-guṇāparājita-dhvaja*. She was the mother of the first of all the previous eighty quadrillion buddhas. And when it was time to give birth, queen *Suharṣita-prabheśvarā* went to *Suvarṇa-puṣpābha-maṇḍala* park, where there was a storied mansion (*kūṭāgāra*) called *Subha-ratna-vicitra-kūṭa* in the centre. It was there, inside the storied mansion, that queen *Suharṣita-prabheśvarā* gave birth to the tathāgata *Īśvara-guṇāparājita-dhvaja*, holding with her hands the branches of the wish-fulfilling tree.

§ 8.2.12. At the moment of the bodhisattva’s birth (*janma-kāle*) there was present a nurse (*dhātṛī*) named *Vimala-saṃbhava-prabhā* (“Light of Pure Origin”) (Gv pp. 295.27–296.2; cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42. 97; CLEARY 1993: 1393–1394):

As soon as the bodhisattva was born, the lords of the world, having bathed him with a pot of the most excellent fragrant water, pouring down a multitude of various fragrant and charming celestial flowers, and having worshipped him with inconceivable and incalculable most excellent offerings, placed [the child] on the lap of the nurse, *Vimala-saṃbhava-prabhā*. At the same moment as she grasped the bodhisattva with both hands and embraced him, the nurse, overwhelmed with great joy and excitement, experienced the bodhisattva’s concentration under the name “range of universal vision”. With the experience of this concentration, innumerable tathāgatas in the ten directions, residing in different systems of the world, came into the range of vision.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>111</sup> *kiyac cira-pratilabdhas tvayāyaṃ devate aprameya-kalpa-sarvārambaṇa-bodhisattva-janma-vikurvitaṃ saṃdarśayamāno bodhisattva-janma-vimokṣaḥ* / (Gv p. 295.8–9; cf. ROBERTS 2023: 42.91; CLEARY 1993: 1393).

<sup>112</sup> *tena khalu samayena tasya bhagavato janmakāle vimala-saṃbhava-prabhā nāma dhātṛī*

§ 8.2.13. After saying these words, the goddess made an identification of the characters of the story as follows (Gv p. 296.5–14; cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.98–101; CLEARY 1993: 1394):

At that time Vimāla-saṃbhava-prabhā, the bodhisattva's nurse (*dhātrī*), was herself the goddess of Lumbinī Grove (*ahaṃ sā tena kālena tena samayena vimāla-saṃbhava-prabhā nāma bodhisattva-dhātrī abhūvam*);

Queen Supraharsita-prabheśvarā, the mother of Prince (*kumārasya janetrī*), i.e. the Tathāgata Īśvara-guṇāparājita-dhvaja, was herself Queen Māyā (*iyam sā māyādevī tena kālena tena samayena supraharsita-prabheśvarā nāma devy abhūt*);

King Ratnārci-netra-prabha, the father, was himself King Śuddhodana (*ayam sa rājā śuddhodanaḥ tena kālena tena samayena ratnārci-netra-prabho nāma rājā abhūt*).

She said to Sudhana:

Son of a good family, since then I have not been separated from Blessed Vairocana even for a moment of consciousness, by penetrating the oceans of miraculous births of bodhisattvas and by penetrating the oceans of miraculous majesty of guiding sentient beings.<sup>113</sup>

§ 8.2.14. This jātaka-like story is followed by twenty closing verses spoken by the goddess of the Lumbinī Grove (Gv pp. 296.31–299.16; cf. ROBERTS 2023: § 42.107–129; CLEARY 1993: 1394–1397).

§ 8.3. Finally, the goddess advised Sudhana to go to Kapilavastu, to encounter Gopā, a girl of the Śākya clan, and ask her how a bodhisattva should undergo transmigration in the world in order to bring to maturity (perfection) the sentient beings.<sup>114</sup>

*pratyupasthitābhūt / jāta-mātram ca bodhisattvaṃ lokendrā vicitra-surabhi-manojña-divya-puṣpotkarodgāribhiḥ parama-surabhi-gandhodaka-kalaśair visnāpya tadarhābhiḥ ca acintyāsaṃkhyeyābhir uttamābhiḥ pūjābhir abhipūjya tasyā vimāla-saṃbhava-prabhāyā dhātrīyā aṅke prāyacchan / pariḡrhitamātre ca tasmin bodhisattve tayā dhātrīyā ubhābhyāṃ pāṇibhyāṃ aṃse ca, tatkṣaṇam eva sā dhātrī mahāprīti-prāmodya-vega-pratilabdā samanta-caḥṣur-viṣayaṃ nāma bodhisattva-samādhiṃ praṭyalabhata, yasya samādheḥ sahapratilābhāt tasmād daśasu dikṣu nānāloka-dhātu-sthitā aprameyās tathāgatās caḥṣu ābhāsam agaman / (Gv p. 295.31–32).*

<sup>113</sup> *sā khalv ahaṃ kulaputra tata upādāya sarva-citta-kṣaṇeṣv avirahitā abhūvaṃ bhagavato vairocanasya bodhisattva-janma-vikurvita-sāgarāvatarāṇatayā sattva-naya-vṛṣabhitāvikurvita-sāgarāvatarāṇatayā // (Gv p. 296.14–16; cf. ROBERTS 2023: 42.102; CLEARY 1993: 1394).*

<sup>114</sup> *gaccha kulaputra, iyam ihaiva kapilavastuni mahānagare gopā nāma śākya-kanyā prativasati / tām upasaṃkrāmya paripṛccha – katham bodhisattvena satva-paripākāya\* sāmsāre sāmsaritavyam // (Gv p. 299.24–26). \*I read after ms HODGSON 2, fol. 203a3: satva-paripākāya, against Gv and ms ASK 6681, fol. 256b7: bodhisattva-paripākāya. Cf. ROBERTS 2023: 42.131; CLEARY 1993: 1397.*

§ 8.4. The *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* is one of the Buddhist texts that have been represented in art.<sup>115</sup> The story of Sudhana's journey was illustrated in such remote places as a monastery in the Western Himālayas and a stūpa on the island of Java, namely in a series of paintings in the Tabo (Ta pho)<sup>116</sup> monastery at Spiti, and in a cycle of reliefs covering parts of the monumental Borobudur (Barabuḍur) stūpa<sup>117</sup>. As research has shown, the scene depicting Sudhana's visit to the Lumbinī-vana goddess cannot be identified at either Tabo or Borobudur.

§ 8.4.1. The detailed description of the Tabo mural depicting Sudhana's visit to the goddess of the Lumbinī Grove was given by Steinkellner (STEINKELLNER 1995: 75–76, Panel XXVII):

The inscription would contain the visit to the goddess of the Lumbinī grove Sutejomaṇḍalaratiśrī<sup>118</sup>. [...] The remains of the inscription may be legible, but are illegible on the available slide.<sup>119</sup>

In Thakur's description of the panels, which he called Panels XXVIII–XXIX (THAKUR 2006: 65),

The scene seems to depict the Lumbinī grove where Sutejomaṇḍalaratiśrī was surrounded by twenty million billion good goddesses. She was expounding there a scripture called *sarvabodhisattva-janmasamudranirdeśa* (exposition of the ocean of lives of all enlightening beings). Neither Sudhana nor the night goddess<sup>120</sup> is visible. The inscriptional panel too is totally defaced. Immediately below it is another partially visible panel showing Sudhana in the company of the Śākya girl named Gopā.

§ 8.4.2. Borobudur.

Jan Fontein after a detailed analysis of the Borobudur reliefs illustrating the episodes from the *Gaṇḍavyūha* relating to Sudhana's visits to the eight night goddesses (the Lumbinī-vana-devatā was not mentioned by him)<sup>121</sup> wrote that it is not possible to identify these figures on the reliefs since “none of the reliefs appears to yield any specific clue to the identity of these female Good Friends” (FONTEIN 2012: 62).

<sup>115</sup> Cf. ALLINGER 2008.

<sup>116</sup> STEINKELLNER 1995; STEINKELLNER 1996; KLIMBURG-SALTER 1997; THAKUR 2006.

<sup>117</sup> FONTEIN 2012; FONTEIN 1967: 116–146 (IV. Sudhana's Pilgrimage on the Barabuḍur).

<sup>118</sup> Recte: Sutejomaṇḍalaratiśrī – M.M.

<sup>119</sup> STEINKELLNER 1995, Appendix: Concordance of text, inscriptions, and paintings, no. 42: Sutejomaṇḍalaratiśrī; cf. STEINKELLNER 1996: 36, 59.

<sup>120</sup> Recte: the grove goddess (*vana-devatā*) – M.M.

<sup>121</sup> FONTEIN 1967: 139 (II 60). Cf. SHASHIBALA, 2015: 262–264.

## § 9. Concluding remarks

Two themes are presented in this paper: one concerns the name of the place where, according to tradition, the future Buddha was born, Lumbinī-vana, and the other is devoted to the figure of the forest goddess who assisted at the birth, Lumbinī-vana-devatā.

A. Barea has shown that the name Lumbinī hardly appears in the canonical Pāli texts. It was only in the Sanskrit tradition that Lumbinī became established as the birthplace of the Buddha. The *Saṅghabhedavastu* contains an argument about the origin of the name Lumbinī. In the Senart edition of the *Mahāvastu*, the mysterious word *\*lumbodyāna* (“*lumba* park”) appears, where *lumba* is supposed to mean the name of a tree or the fruit of that tree. With the help of K. Marciniak, who prepared a new edition of the *Mahāvastu* based on the oldest manuscripts, we were able to show that Senart had misread the expression on the basis of late Nepalese manuscripts. The correct wording of the expression is *ramyodyāna* “lovely/beautiful park”.

The figure of the forest goddess (*vana-devatā*) appears (for the first time?) in an episode in the *Mahāvastu*, but here she has no connection with the Buddha's birth. In the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, the figure of the forest goddess does not appear, but in the birth episode it is the god Śakra himself who takes the form of an old midwife and delivers the baby. In the *Aśokāvadāna*, the forest goddess appears in person to king Aśoka and tells him that she witnessed the birth and heard the words of the newborn bodhisattva.

The *Gaṇḍavyūha*, on the other hand, describes the wandering of Sudhana, the son of a merchant, who, in search of answers to the question of how to attain enlightenment, visits fifty-two “good friends” (*kalyāṇa-mitra*). These spiritual guides, many of whom are female characters, give him partial explanations and then direct him to another “good friend”. Sudhana arrives at Lumbinī, where a forest goddess who has achieved “bodhisattva salvation” resides. She assisted in the birth of Buddha and, in the guise of an old midwife, accepted the delivery of the child. Here we have the culmination of the role played by the figure of the forest goddess of Lumbinī in the legend of Buddha's birth. This issue, however, would require further in-depth research, explaining the gradual rise in importance of this figure, its symbolism, its connection with tree worship, and with the mother figure, Māyādevī.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Katarzyna Marciniak for her assistance in reading the passages of the *Mahāvastu*, and Monika Zin and two anonymous reviewers for their helpful information and critical comments that allowed me to enrich and improve the text of the article.

## Abbreviations

ASK	Asha Archive, Kathmandu
ms	manuscript
<i>Mv</i>	<i>Mahāvastu</i>
PTS	Pāli Text Society
Sen.	Senart's edition of the <i>Mahāvastu</i> ( <i>Mv_S</i> )
s.v.	sub voce, under the specified word

## References

- ALLINGER, Eva 2008. "An Early Nepalese *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* Manuscript. An Attempt to Establish Connections Between the Text and the Illustrations". [In:] Bautze-Picron, C., ed., *Religion and Art. New Issues in Indian Iconography and Iconology, Volume 1 of the Proceedings of the European Association of South Asian Archaeology, London 2005*. London: British Association for South Asian Studies, pp. 153–164.
- Aśokāvadāna. The Aśokāvadāna. Sanskrit Text Compared with Chinese Versions.* Edited, annotated and partly translated by Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1963.
- BAREAU, André 1974. „La jeunesse du Buddha dans les Sūtrapīṭaka et les Vinayapīṭaka anciens”. *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 61: 199–274. <https://doi.org/10.3406/befeo.1974.5196>
- BAREAU, André 1987. “Lumbinī et la naissance du futur Buddha”. *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 76: 69–81. <https://doi.org/10.3406/befeo.1987.1717>
- BAREAU, André 2005. *The Buddhist Sects of The Lesser Vehicle*. Translated from the original French by Gelongma Migme Chodron. (*Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule* 1955.)
- BHSD. Franklin Edgerton. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
- CLEARY, Thomas 1993. *The Flower Ornament Scripture*. A Translation of *The Avatamsaka Sutra*. Boston, London: Shambhala Publications.
- CONINGHAM, R. A. E., K. P. ACHARYA, K. M. STRICKLAND, C. E. DAVIS, M. J. MANUEL, I. A. SIMPSON, K. GILLILAND, J. TREMBLAY, T. C. KINNAIRD and D. C. W. SANDERSON 2013. “The earliest Buddhist shrine: excavating the birthplace of the Buddha, Lumbini (Nepal)”. *Antiquity* 87(338): 1104–1123. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00049899>

- CÜPPERS, Christoph, Max DEEG and Hubert DURT, eds 2010. *The Birth of the Buddha: Proceedings of the Seminar Held in Lumbini, Nepal, October 2004*. LIRI Seminar Proceedings Series 3. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.
- DEEG, Max 2003. *The Places Where Siddhārtha Trod: Lumbinī and Kapilavastu*. Occasional Papers 3. Lumbinī: Lumbinī International Research Institute.
- DPPN. G. P. Malalasekera. *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*. 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1937–1938.
- DURT, Hubert 2002. “The Pregnancy of Māyā: I. The Five Uncontrollable Longings (*dohada*)”. *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies* 5: 43–66.
- FALK, Harry 1998. *The Discovery of Lumbinī*. Occasional Papers 1. Lumbinī: Lumbinī International Research Institute.
- FALK, Harry 2006. *Asokan Sites and Artefacts. A Source-Book with Bibliography*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- FALK, Harry 2012. “The Fate of Aśoka’s Donations at Lumbinī”. [In:] Olivelle, Patrick, Janice Leoshko and Himanshu Prabha Ray, eds, *Reimagining Aśoka – Memory and History*. New Delhi: Oxford India, pp. 204–216.
- FALK, Harry 2017. “The Ashes of the Buddha”. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute (New Series)* 27, 2013 [2017]: 43–75.
- FONTEIN, Jan 1967. *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana. A study of Gaṇḍavyūha illustrations in China, Japan and Java*. The Hague, Paris: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111562698>
- FONTEIN, Jan 2012. *Entering the Dharmadhātu. A Study of the Gaṇḍavyūha Reliefs of Borobudur*. Studies in Asian Art and Archaeology 26. Leiden, Boston: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004223486>
- Gv. *Gaṇḍavyūha* (1) *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtram*. Ed. by P. L. Vaidya. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 5. Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1960. (2) *The Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra*. Ed. by Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki and Hokei Idzumi. Kyoto: The Sanskrit Buddhist Texts Publishing Society, 1934–1936 (rev. ed. Tokyo 1949). (3) Translated from Tibetan, in: ROBERTS 2023. (4) Translated from Chinese, in: CLEARY 1993: 1135–1518.
- HAHN, Michael 1975. “Buddhacarita I, 1–7 und 25–40”. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 17(1–2): 77–96. <https://doi.org/10.1163/000000075794742889>
- VON HINÜBER, Oskar 2023. “Wrestling with the Mahāvastu: Struggling with Structure and Interpretation. A Critical Comment on Recent Researches on a Major Lokottaravāda Vinaya Text. (Review Article)”. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 66(1): 25–95. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15728536-06504003>

- HODGSON 2. Hodgson Manuscript No. 2: *Gaṇḍavyūha*, London: Royal Asiatic Society. <https://royalasiaticcollections.org/ras-hodgson-ms-2-ga%e1%b9%87%e1%b8%8da-vyuha/> (accessed 5 May 2023).
- JAYAWICKRAMA, N. A. 2006. *The Story of Gotama Buddha*. Volume I: *The Nidānakathā of the Jātakaṭhakathā*. Translated by... Compiled and Printed by Department of Research & Compilation Sītagū International Buddhist Academy, Sagaing Hills, Sagaing Myanmar.
- JOHNSTON, E. H. 1936. *The Buddhacarita Or Acts of the Buddha*. Part II: *Cantos i to xiv translated from the original Sanskrit supplemented by the Tibetan version together with an introduction and notes*. Panjab University Oriental Publications 32. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.
- KLIMBURG-SALTER, Deborah E. 1997. *Tabo, a Lamp for the Kingdom. Early Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Art in the Western Himalaya*. New York: Thames & Hudson.
- LAMOTTE, Étienne 1988. *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain.
- LV. *Lalitavistara*. Ed. by P. L. Vaidya. 2nd ed. Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1987.
- MARCINIAK, Katarzyna 2016. “The oldest palm-leaf manuscript of the *Mahāvastu* (MS Sa). A Paleographic Description”. *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism* XIX: 125–148.
- MARCINIAK, Katarzyna 2017. “The oldest paper manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*”. *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism* XX: 103–121.
- MSV\_S I. *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*. Part I. Ed. by Raniero Gnoli and T. Venkatacharya. Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1977.
- MV\_J. Jones, J. J., *The Mahāvastu, translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit*. 3 vols. Sacred Books of the Buddhists 16, 18, 19. London: Luzac & Company, 1949, 1952, 1956.
- MV\_M II. Marciniak, Katarzyna. *The Mahāvastu. A New Edition*. Vol. II. *Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica* XIV, 2. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism, Soka University, 2020.
- MV\_M III. Marciniak, Katarzyna. *The Mahāvastu. A New Edition*. Vol. III. *Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica* XIV, 1. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism, Soka University, 2019.

- Mv\_S. *Le Mahāvastu*, texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire, par Émile Senart. 3 vols. Collection d'ouvrages orientaux; Seconde série. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1882, 1890, 1897.
- MW. Monier Monier-Williams. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1899.
- Nidānakathā*. (1) *Jātakathavaṇṇanā. The Jātaka Together with its Commentary being Tales of the Anterior Births of Gotama Buddha*. For the first time edited in the original Pāli by V. Fausbøll. Vol. I. London: Trübner, 1877. Repr.: London: Pali Text Society, 1962, pp. 2–94; (2) Trans. JAYAWICKRAMA 2006.
- NORMAN, K. R. 1992. *The Group of Discourses (Suttanipāta)*. Vol. II. Revised Translation with Introduction and Notes. Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- OLIVELLE, Patrick 2008. *Life of the Buddha by Ashvaghosha*. The Clay Sanskrit Library 10. New York: New York University Press, JJC Foundation. [*Buddhacarita*, English & Sanskrit].
- OSTO, Douglas 2009. "The Supreme Array Scripture: A New Interpretation of the Title 'Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra'". *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 37(3): 273–290. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10781-008-9056-6>
- Papañcasūdanī. Papañcasūdanī Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā of Buddhaghosā-cariya*. Ed. by J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi and I. B. Horner. 5 vols. London: Pali Text Society, 1922–1938.
- RAJENDRALAL MITRA 1998. *The Lalita-Vistara, Or Memoirs of the Early Life of Śākya Sinha (Chs. 1–15)*. Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Series 190. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications. (Original ed. Calcutta 1881–1886.)
- ROBERTS, Peter Alan, trans. 2023. "The Stem Array' Chapter from the Mahāvaiṣṭya Sūtra 'A Multitude of Buddhas'". <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh44-45.html> (accessed 26 August 2023). (*Gaṇḍa-vyūha sūtra*, Toh 44–45). 84000: Translating the Words of the Buddha, version v 1.0.23 (2023).
- ROCKHILL, W. Woodville 1884. *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order, Derived from Tibetan Works in the Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur*. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner. [Repr. 1994.]
- Samyutta Nikāya. Saṃyutta-Nikāya of the Sutta-Pitaka*. Ed. by M. Léon Feer. 5 vols. London: Pali Text Society, 1884–1898.
- SCHLINGLOFF, Dieter 1988. *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings. Identifications and Interpretations*. Delhi: Ajanta Publications.
- SCHMITHAUSEN, Lambert 2009. *Plants in Early Buddhism and the Far Eastern Idea of the Buddha-nature of Grasses and Trees*. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.

- SHASHIBALA, 2015. “Ten Stages of Enlightenment (Daśabhūmi) in the Journey of Sudhana in Indonesian and Chinese Art”. *Ancient Silk Trade Routes. Selected Works from Symposium on Cross Cultural Exchanges and Their Legacies in Asia*, Eds. Qin Dashu, Yuan Jian. World Scientific, [Singapore], pp. 237–267.
- SHAW, Miranda 2006. *Buddhist Goddesses of India*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- SHIRI, Yael 2020. “From Royal Ideology to Religious Polemics. The Evolution of the Śākya Tutelary Temple in South Asia”. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 106: 29–107. <https://doi.org/10.3406/befeo.2020.6329>
- STEINKELLNER, Ernst 1995. *Sudhana's Miraculous Journey in the Temple of the Ta pho. The inscriptional text of the Tibetan Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra edited with introductory remarks*. Serie Orientale Roma LXXVI. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- STEINKELLNER, Ernst 1996. *A Short Guide to the Sudhana Frieze in the Temple of Ta pho*. Published on the Occasion of the Monastery's Millenium. Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien. Wien: Universität Wien.
- STOYE, Martina 2010. “The Deva with the Swaddling Cloth. On the Western Origins of Gandhāran Birth Iconography and Their Implications for the Textual and Art History of the Buddhist Saviour's Nativity”. [In:] CÜPPERS et al. 2010: 157–192.
- STRONG, John S. 1989. *The Legend of King Aśoka. A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna*. Buddhist Traditions 6. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- STRONG, John S. 2001. *The Buddha. A Short Biography*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.
- Suttanipāta. Sutta-nipāta*. Ed. by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith. Pali Text Society. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913. [Repr. 1948.]
- THAKUR, Laxman S. 2006. *Visualizing a Buddhist Sutra. Text and Figure in Himalayan Art*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195673142.001.0001>
- UNESCO 2013. *The Sacred Garden of Lumbini. Perceptions of Buddha's Birthplace*. UNESCO.
- WALDSCHMIDT, Ernst 1932. *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon*. Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte IV. Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, F. A. Brockhaus.
- WALDSCHMIDT, Ernst 1951. *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra. Text in Sanskrit und Tibetisch, verglichen mit dem Pāli, nebst einer Übersetzung der chinesischen Entsprechung im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

- WALSHE, Maurice 1995. *The Long Discourses of the Buddha. A Translation of the Dīgha Nikāya*. Translated from the Pali by... Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- WARDER, A. K. 2000. *Indian Buddhism*. 3rd revised ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. [Repr. 2008].
- YUYAMA, Akira 2001. *The Mahāvastu-Avadāna: In Old Palm-leaf and Paper Manuscripts*, 2 vols. Vol. I: *Palm-Leaf Manuscripts*. Vol. II: *Paper Manuscript*. Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 15, 16. Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for Unesco, The Toyo Bunko.
- ZIN, Monika 2018. *The Kanaganahalli Stūpa. An Analysis of the 60 Massive Slabs Covering the Dome*. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.



---

## Understanding the Career of Mongolian Speakers in the Mamluk Sultanate A Comparative Perspective

Yihao QIU

**Abstract:** As an aspect of the linguistic landscape in the Mamluk Sultanate, the role and career of Mongolian speakers remain open to discussion. Through analysis of the primary sources of various genres from different parts of Mongol and post-Mongol Eurasia, this article overviews the Mongolian language and its speakers in the circle of Mamluk Sultan's Court. Furthermore, compared with the Persian and Chinese sources, I try to point out the similarities of Mongolian education in the Mamluk Sultanate and the Mongol Empire. In addition, the complexity of the relationship between language acquisition and knowledge of Mongol history will be discussed.

**Keywords:** Mamluk Sultanate, Mongolian, Ilkhanate, History of the Mongols, Cross-cultural Exchange

Yihao Qiu, Department of the History of Fudan University, Shanghai, China;  
[kafka\\_qiuyihao@yahoo.com](mailto:kafka_qiuyihao@yahoo.com)



This article is distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

---

## 1. Introduction

The military victories under the direction of Chinggis Khan and, in the name of a new ethnonym, Mongols, finally forged a new empire – *Yeke Mongyol Ulus* (the Great Mongol State). Meanwhile, the Mongol language, initially an insignificant dialect spoken by several petty nomadic principalities of eastern inner Asia, spread rapidly along with the Mongol conquests across a vast continent stretching from northern China to the Qipchaq steppe and Anatolia. Hence, as the mother tongue of the dominator, Mongolian, both in oral and written language, was established as the premier official language. Learning the ruler's language, therefore, had a strong appeal to the governed subjects – especially, to the literati and the low-rank bureaucrats who came from different cultural backgrounds but were attracted by the obvious advantages of the language knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

As one of the regimes shadowed by the threat of Mongol incursion, the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517) was not an isolated island. In fact, population exchange between the Mamluk and the Mongols occurred continuously. It included two main routes: via the slave trades from Qipchaq Steppe, i.e. the Golden Horde, and via the *réfugiés* and captives, most of whom came from the war against the Ilkhanate. Despite the overt hostility of the Mamluks as well as the Arabic Muslims toward the Ilkhanate (1256–1336) and its ally, the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), the Mamluk sultan established an effective translation team to take charge of Mongol affairs. It was based on practical needs, e.g. acting as intelligence and espionage, serving on diplomatic occasions, etc. Similar to the cases that occurred in the government of Yuan-China and the Ilkhante, knowledge of Mongolian language was a political asset in the Mamluk Sultanate.<sup>2</sup> Translators and interpreters – usually recruited from the Mamluk military corps, were assigned to positions at the court, or, included in the sultan's intimate circle.

In summarising the role that the pastoral nomads played in the cross-cultural exchanges during the Mongol era, Allsen identifies them as the chief initiators, promoters and agents of the exchanges (ALLSEN 2001: 211). The situation in the Mamluk Sultanate is likewise. Due to linguistic and cultural affinities, acquisition of the Mongolian language for the Mamluk elites, who were mainly of Turkish origin, was not a difficult task and these Mongolian speakers usually acted as intermediaries and agents in the diplomatic and commercial contacts with the different Mongol regimes. Through daily communication, the

<sup>1</sup> Given that there are numerous contributions, I highlight the exemplary studies. As an overview on the language policy in the Mongol Empire and the successive Chinggisid states, see XIAO 1999, SINOR 1982, HONG 1990. As for the language contacts and the mutual influences between the Mongolian and Persian-Arabic, see POPPE 1927, DOERFER 1963–1975, GOLDEN 2000.

<sup>2</sup> On the position of language specialists at the Mongol court, see ALLSEN 2000: 30–40.

influence of the Mongolian language permeated the Mamluk court, the military schools and barracks (*al-ṭibāq*). A typical case was name-giving practices, that is, Mongolian names bestowed to the *mamluks* of non-Mongol origins (YOSEF 2021: 59–118).<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, serving as a means of access to information for its principal opponent, the perception – sometimes displayed via stereotypes – of the Mamluk society concerning the Mongol Empire was to some extent shaped by the introduction of Mongolian speakers and therefore inevitably influenced by their cultural preferences.

The complexity of the linguistic landscape in the Mamluk Sultanate has attracted the attention of researchers. However, most discussions so far have focused on the linguistic contacts between Qipchaq Turkic and Arabic as one of the most important issues of Turkicisation in the medieval Middle East.<sup>4</sup> This phenomenon is reasonable. Compared to the allogeneic Turkic-speaking elites, in Mamluk society, Mongols and Mongolian-speaking people were a minority community and, on the other hand, the Mamluk chronicles and biographical dictionaries only supply fragmentary depictions of the language competence of the civil and military elites. As for the Mongol people living in the territories of the Mamluk Sultanate, existing studies revolve around questions of the origin of the Mongol Mamluks and their role in the political arena (AYALON 1951, NAKAMACHI 2006, AMITAI 2008).

In view of this, the current contribution will deal with several cases of the *mamluks* who served as Mongolian interpreters and spoke the language in an intimate circle, followed by reflections on how language competence and language learning bound a minor ethnic group together with a medieval immigrant society. Based on the information recorded by contemporary Arabic writers, it is possible for us to trace the life and career of many particular personages.<sup>5</sup> The author tries, more or less, to provide a glimpse into the active scene of the Mongolian translators and interpreters serving in the Sultan's court. Besides, the relationship between the spread of the knowledge of Mongol history and language education is also worth investigating. In the meantime, my discussion will feature a comparative perspective with the western and eastern parts of the Mongol Empire. Therefore, to begin with, the systematic records of the routine duties of the Mongolian interpreters in the *dīvān al-inshā'* (Chancery Bureau) will be introduced, as well as the Chinese sources written during the Yuan Dynasty.

---

<sup>3</sup> In this article, I will distinguish between the “Mamluk”, the sultanate reigning in Egypt, Syria and Hedjaz, and the “*mamluk*” (with italics), the military slaves.

<sup>4</sup> EYCHENNE 2013: 153–188. An anthroponomastic dictionary which focuses on the Turkic personal names appearing in the Mamluk sources is contributed by RÁSONYI and BASKI 2007.

<sup>5</sup> A brief introduction of historiography and historical sources of the *Bahrī* Mamluk period is given by LITTLE 1979.

## 2. Mongolian in the Ilkhanate: a parallel case

In Central Asia and Iran, the initial interpreters who were proficient in Mongolian appeared even before Chinggis Khan ascended to the throne in 1206. His earlier Muslim followers, for instance, Ḥasan (阿散, Asan) and Ja'far Khvāja (札八兒火者, *Zha-ba-er-huo-zhe*), very likely, talked to Chinggis Khan in the latter's mother tongue. In Ögedei's time, a centralised bureaucracy was formed, including an office of the secretary, which was under the leadership of the *Ulugh-bitigchi* (the chief scribe). Hülegü, who established the Ilkhanate after the fall of Baghdad in 1258, brought the Mongol chancery practice into his state, which spanned much of the Iranian plateau and Mesopotamia. As al-'Umarī said, although Hülegü intended to maintain the *status quo*, the people around him “emphasised everything in the way of Mongolisation”<sup>6</sup>. The impact of the Mongols on the bureaucratic institution is apparent. Hülegü installed an office of the *bitigchi* (scribe) in his chancellery, to deal with the secretarial services in Mongolian and Turkic languages, and even replaced the position of *dīwān al-inshā' wa'l-tuḡhrā* (office in charge of incoming and outgoing correspondence), traditional in Islamic governance (SPULER 1955: 240–241; LAMBTON 1988: 58).

There is no denying that in Ilkhanid Iran, Mongolian was the first official chancellery language in the initial period and was thus used officially and colloquially. Besides, there are several official letters in Mongolian issued by Ilkhan, and it is reasonable to assume that there should be more epistles written in Mongolian, or, with a Mongolian translated version (MOSTAERT and CLEAVES 1952). A similar situation also occurred in the correspondence with other Chinggisid states, e.g. the Golden Horde (VÁSÁRY 2005: 120; FAVEREAU 2007). After the 1300s, as Vásáry pointed out, Mongolian began to wane both in the public sphere and in private use. Yet, bilingual documents and Uyghur-script Mongolian were continued down to the Jalayirid era (1336–1431) (VÁSÁRY 2016a: 142–146). Therefore, mastering the Mongolian language for civil officials (i.e. “the men of the Pen”) in the court circle became an essential skill. Also, given that the linguistic landscape of the Ilkhanate is quite complex, multilingualism was not only a means of communication but a daily reality.

When an Ayyubid vassal, Mulk 'Azīz b. al-Mulk al-Mughith, the lord of Karak visited the Mongols' camp in 658 AH / 1259–1260 CE, his cousin – son of the Lord of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, served as a Mongolian interpreter in his conversation with Toquz Khatun, Hülegü's chief wife (*Ta'riḫ Majmū'* p. 105). Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (1244–1323, full name Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Shaybānī al-Ḥanbalī), a librarian of the royal library in Baghdad, collected abundant information to record such a polyglot situation in intellectual circles of the Ilkhan's court (AIGLE 2008–2009: 17). Maḥmud Yalawachī al-Khwārmī, a Muslim

<sup>6</sup> Translated from the German text as given in LECH 1968: 102.

from Central Asia who was assigned as a city governor in Chinggis Khan's time, and then held the high position in the "Mobile Secretariat for Yanjing and Other Places" (*yanjing dengchu xingshangshusheng*, 燕京等處行尚書省) after the enthronement of Möngke, was described by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī as able to "write in Mongolian, Uyghur, Turkic and Persian, and speak in Chinese, Indian and Arabic".<sup>7</sup> The aforementioned depiction is impressive and raises further questions in the meantime, because there is no other documentation proving that Yalawachī knew Chinese and Indian – in this context probably referring to Sanskrit. Therefore, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī might exaggerate Yalawachī's polyglot competence, due to the latter's reputation in the Islamic world. Nevertheless, his depiction illustrates a linguistic landscape under Mongol domination. There are four written languages – the most important of which is undoubtedly Mongolian – that correspond to the principal languages used to communicate with the Mongol rulers and their "various foreign assistants" (*semu*, 色目) in daily affairs. As for the three oral languages, they relate to the three intellectual communities that served the Mongol Khan, i.e. Confucian, Buddhist monks and Muslims. Sa'd al-Dawla (1240–1291), a Jewish minister who won favour with Arghun Khan (r. 1284–1291), likewise is mentioned as a man fluent in "the languages of these territories which adjoin and interlock with the Mongols and Turks" (*mukhālāhat va mujāvart-i mughūl va turk mālik-i in zabān-hā shuda*).<sup>8</sup>

In the provincial administration, the performance of Mongolian-speaking officials was active too. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Qutluq Bek, an *amir* from a Kashghari merchant family, served Urūq *noyan* as his companion in Baghdad and knew Persian, Turkic, Mongolian and Chinese.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the "Scribe" (*kātib*) Mujāhid al-Dīn's experience is typical in the initial decades of Ilkhan's era. During the fall of Baghdad, he and his father were captured by a commander Sunghūchāq (*asīran ma'a al-amīr Sunghūjāq*). The latter was a Mongol commander from a Suldus lineage. He, together with Baiju and Buqa Temūr, attacked and took control of the western side of Baghdad in 1258 (*Jami'u't-tawarikh* vol. 2, 495). As Sunghūjāq's personal captives, Mujāhid al-Dīn and his father were taken to Marāgha. During the days when they settled there, he accompanied a Uyghur scholar and *bakhshi* (*al-bakhshiyya*, "scribe"), and learnt about writing with the Uyghur script (*al-khaṭṭ*) and their language.<sup>10</sup> In the above context, the "Uyghur script" doubtlessly refers to Mongolian, which uses the same script as the Uyghurs. Under the Mongol ruler, it was an ideal

<sup>7</sup> *Al-Alqāb* vol. 3, 192, no. 2472: *yaktubu bi-l-mughūliyya wa al-uyghūriyya wa al-turkiyya wa al-fārsiyya wa yukallimu bi-l-khiṭāyya wa al-hindiyya wa al-'arabiyya*. Trans. mine.

<sup>8</sup> *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf* p. 236. Regarding his biography also see *Nasā'im al-Ashāra* p. 108.

<sup>9</sup> *Al-Alqāb* vol. 2, 448, no. 1785; As for Arūq, the Mongol emir in Baghdad, see *Al-Hawādith al-Jāmi'a* p. 313.

<sup>10</sup> His full name is: Mujāhid al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍā'il Ṣad-mard b. Naṣirat al-Dīn Baghdī b. Bahā' al-Dīn Urghshī al-Baghdādī. *Al-Alqāb* vol. 4, 366–367, no. 3995.

method to promote social status through his language skill. The lower-class upstarts, who relied on their Mongolian knowledge, displaced the former local elites, and this situation – as Juvaynī's (1226–1283) bitter comment describes – “the Mongol language in the Uyghur script, and that, in this present age is the essence of learning and proficiency” (BOYLE 1997: 523).

In Ilkhanate, two terms referring to Mongolian-Turkic secretaries frequently appear in historical sources, as *bitigchī* and *bakhshī*. Although the definition of the term *bakhshī* originally meant the Buddhist monk in Old Turkic, during the 13th–14th century, the meaning had already evolved to refer to not only the Buddhist monk or Shaman but also the “Mongolian scribe”, especially when this title appeared in administrative documents. In such contexts, the term *bakhshī* is utilised as the synonym of *kātib*, *munshī* and *muḥarrir*, all these Arabic-Persian terms referring to the Persian secretary (VÁSÁRY 1987: 120–121). Nakhchiwānī Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh (also known as Shams-i Munshī Nakhchivānī, 1293–1376), the compiler of the *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yyin al-marātib* (“Manual of the Scribe for the Affixing of Ranks”, compiled circa 1365, hereafter cited as DK) – an anthology of Persian *inshā'* style, collects three commissions of the Mongolian *bakhshīs* (Ürük, Toghay, Qutluḡ Būqā). There are detailed depictions of *bakhshī*'s rights and duties. The first commission, entitled “Appointment of the *Bakhshīs* (scribes) for writing the decrees in Mongolian”, noted:

As one of these kindnesses [of the Majesty], we know that to every community, the decrees must be issued and produced in their own languages, so that they will easily understand the content of those [decrees]. Thence, in the Islamic City, Baghdād, and in the rest of the country of Arab Iraq (*bilād-i 'Irāq-i 'arab*), the decrees are produced in Arabic; in Persian communities (*a'ājim*), in the mountainous areas and the low-lands of Fars (*bilād-i jibāl va biqā'-i furs*), it is necessary [to produce the decrees] in Persian; as for the Mongolian and Turkic communities, likewise, the decrees dispatched in their customs and with their letters (*bi al-sana va khuṭūṭ-i īshān*) are easily to be understood.

[...] He (*bakhshī*) will write the content of the royal decrees (*aḥkām-i yarlīgh-hā*) issued] to the regional governor, the commanders of myriarchs, the chiliarchs and the centurions, and [write] all the other kinds of judicial documents. To make it apparent, he should confirm the meaning with an abridged summary, so that from the entire content, anything minute will not be lost. Thus, while the arrival of decree for being read publicly, it aims to be understood rapidly. If some Mongols and powerful men (*mughūlān va mutaghallibān*) oblige him and make him write something which is far off the way of justice and the law of

*yāsā* and *yāsāq* (i.e. “the law and ordinance”),<sup>11</sup> by compulsion, he does not heed such [requests].<sup>12</sup>

Needlessly to say, the bureau of *bitigchī* and *bakhshī* and their function were inherited from a prototype of the central administration in the time of the Great Mongol Empire. We can easily point out that a similar function already existed in the secretariat under the leadership of Chingqai (Zhenhai 鎮海), a Christian of Uyghur background active in Ögedei and Güyük’s reigns. A Chinese envoy noted that, “they (i.e. Mongols) use the Western writing under Chinqai’s direction”.<sup>13</sup>

In Chinese context of the Yuan dynasty, a parallel term “Mongolian translation official” (*mengguyishi*, 蒙古譯史) frequently appears in historical sources, and – according to the *Official History of the Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuanshi* 元史, hereafter cited as YS) – the translation official was installed in each rank of the bureaucratic institution with a fixed staffing level.<sup>14</sup> As Nakhchivānī recorded, after *bakhshī* composes the official document, “he should confirm the meaning with an abridged summary”. Coincidentally, such an obligation also appeared in the practice of the Yuan chancellery. In the *Yuan dianzhang* (元典章, “Institution of the Yuan Dynasty”), a relevant term *shimu* (事目, “outline”)

<sup>11</sup> The term “law” in classical Mongolian is *jasaq* and in the medieval Persian-Arabic sources was transliterated as *yāsā* and *yāsāq* randomly. (DOERFER: 1963–1975: vol. 4, 71–81) In the article I use transcription of *yasa* because it is commonly used in English-language literature, but in the translations of primary sources I keep the original transcription of *yasāq*. As for the definition and the distinction of the Turkic-Mongolian terms, *yasa* and *yasāq*, see VÁSÁRY 2018: 68, n. 28, 29. But in another article (VÁSÁRY 2016b: 164), he said, “*yāsā* and *yāsāq* are actually the same notion, the first used in Muslim (Turco-Persian) sources, the second being the original Turco-Mongol form. Consequently, no distinction can be made between them.” However, I tend to regard it as a formulaic expression, which usually appears in a scenario where people need to invoke the *Yasa* of Chinggis Khan. Several variants of this phrase are also familiar to scholars, including the “*yāsā va yusūn*”, “*yāsā va tūra*” and “*yāsā va bīlik*”. Or, to be aligned with the writing style in Persian, one of the Turco-Mongolian words in the above phrase is replaced by an Arabic-Persian synonym, for instance, *qavā’id*, *qānūn* and *siyāsa* (all these terms mean “law, rule”), etc. Although no distinction can be made between them, it is – at least in a Turkic-Mongolian context – a solemn testimony to emphasise the legitimacy of the law to which people resorted.

<sup>12</sup> DK vol. 2, 39–41; trans. mine.

<sup>13</sup> “Among the Westerners, they use the Western writing under Chinqai’s direction.” 行於回回者，則用回回字，鎮海主之。 *Heida shilue* p. 61). In here, I use Atwood’s translation and according to his comment, the term “Huihui” later came to mean “Muslim”, but in the Yuan era it was used for all people from the West with a more or less “Caucasian” appearance. “Western writing” (*huihuizi*, 回回字) refers to the basis of the Uyghur-Mongolian script. ARWOOD 2021: 106.

<sup>14</sup> Whenever the official Mongolian translator is appointed, each order issued from the hundred offices within and outside the palace, must be written in Mongolian script [as well as in Chinese]. 諸內外百司應出給劄付，有額設譯史者，並以蒙古字書寫 (YS p. 2615).

is defined as “to summarise the official documents in Mongolian letters”,<sup>15</sup> and later, this obligation was extended through the entire government apparatus, from the Central Secretariat to the local government. Gakusho Nakajima supplies evidence according to documents found at Qara-Qota (GAKUSHO 2009). It reveals that in both the Ilkhanate and Yuan dynasties, the chancery practice, to a certain extent, shares a common experience. In Ilkhanate, this can be illustrated from a *Vaqf* document of 1272, which was addressed to Nūr al-Dīn b. Jājā, for protecting his endowment in Anatolia from the potential seizures of Mongol soldiers, and was concluded with a Mongolian summary (TEMIR 1959: 59–165).

To compose the diplomatic letter is *bitigchī* and *bakhshī*'s duty too. The diplomatic letter addressed to Mamluk Sultan and the latter's response are written in Mongolian, usually attached with an Arabic version (*al-Tā'rif* p. 47; *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* vol. 7, 294). Given the enduring influence of the Mongol Empire, which lasted even after its dissolution, the Mongolian language continued to be used as a *lingua franca* on diplomatic occasions. In the earlier contacts between the Ming and the Timurid empires, both Hāfiz-i Abrū and Samarqandī report the official correspondences sent by the Ming Emperor included three copies, in Persian, Chinese and in “Mongolian script” (*khaṭṭ-i muḡhūlī*), though the content of the three letters is the same. In addition, the list of the animals and gifts – usually constituted by nines or multiples of nine – were also made in “all three languages and with three scripts” (*bi har sa zabān va har sa khaṭṭ*).<sup>16</sup> Even down to the year 1453, an edict issued by Emperor Jingtai (景泰, r. 1449–1457) to the “leader” (*toumu*, 頭目) of Lār (i.e. capital of the district of Lāristān, in Iran), Yanglirgi, was composed in Mongolian, although Mongolian was not a native language of either side in this diplomatic exchange (CLEAVES 1950). The situation in western Asia is similar. One of the *mamluks* of Sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq (r. 1382–1399), Manklī-Bughā al-Ṣalāḥī al-Zāhirī who “was good at reading in Mongolian”, was dispatched as an envoy to Timur in 799 AH / 1396 CE.<sup>17</sup>

Given the visible benefits, the Mongolian language attracted non-Mongols seeking a position in the government to acquire it. Mastering Mongolian supplied (non-Mongol) subjects with access to the ruling class, that is, the Mongol rulers and their companions. Among them, Uyghur people had a natural advantage, due to the relative similarity of their language with Mongolian. A Yuan author concludes, “the *Gaochang* [i.e. Uyghur] people of the present day are honoured

<sup>15</sup> “Each document [between Central Government institutions] must include the outline of files in Mongolian script.” 凡有行移文字並用蒙古字標寫本宗事目 (*Yuan dianzhang* vol. 2, 524).

<sup>16</sup> *Zubdat al-tavārīkh* vol. 2, 699; *Maṭlāq* vol. 3, 266.

<sup>17</sup> *Al-Manhal* vol. 11, 286; *Ta'rikh Ibn al-Furāt* vol. 9, 453; YOSEF 2021: 106 n. 263.

far more than other nations, due to their language and writing abilities”<sup>18</sup>

Likewise, when Hülegü departed on his western campaign, he took a certain number of Uyghur intellectuals along with the expeditionary forces. Most of them were recruited from his own fief in Zhangde (彰德, today's Anyang, in Henan Province) and the fiefs of the Toluid family, i.e. Zhending (真定, today's Zhengding, in Hebei Province). Later, several of them stayed in Iran and were appointed local governors in southern provinces. For example, Vankiānū, with a Chinese name *Wanjianu* (萬家奴), who came from the group of Hülegü's "initiate amirs" (*umarā'-i mulāzim*), was assigned as fully fledged governor (*hukūmāt-i kullī*) of Fars (MIYA 2010: 178). Ūnkiyānū was dismissed in 1271, and his successor Sunghūchāq Aqa (or Sūnchāq, Mongolian *Su'unčaq*) was a Ughur *bitigchī*, too (CHEN 2019: 11–25). In the time of Arghun Khan, Shishī *bakhshī*, a senior Uyghur courtier was dispatched to Shabankāra as *shihna*, i.e. the overseer of a city (*Majma' al-ansāb* pp. 180–181).

Besides, local Muslims in the Ilkhanate also held the post of *bakhshī*, i.e. taking charge of the Mongolian interpreter. A typical case is: Muḥammad Bakhshī (full name Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Samarqandī), a polyglot scribe, who completed a copy of Juvaynī's *Tārīkh-i jahāngūshā* on 26 May 1324 (1st Jamādī II, 724), wrote the verses in four languages (Arabic, Persian, Mongolian and Turkic) (DE RACHEWILTZ 1969; GANDJEI 1970). As Tourkhan Gandjei pointed out, Muḥammad Bakhshī might be no more than a copyist of these verses, but it is enough to prove that he was a proficient scribe (*bakhshī*) in all the four languages above and with personal curiosity in Turco-Mongolian literature as well. On the other hand, the people who associated with the Mongols, via verbal communication, were easily influenced by the aliens' living style and manners.

Mongolian words permeated daily life, especially in Persian slang. Even for contemporary Persian literati, inserting Mongolian words in their literary works is a prevailing style. A poet, and satirist living in the early era of Ilkhanate, Pūr Bahā' Jāmī in his famous "Mongol Ode", which was dedicated to 'Izz al-Dīn Ṭāḥir Faryūmadī, *vizir* of Khurasan, cited a wide range of Turco-Mongolian technical terms, for illustrating a vivid scene of Persian life under Mongol domination (MINORSKY 1956). Even erudite authors, e.g. Vaṣṣaf al-Ḥaẓrat and Majd-i Hamgar, who were not known for their polyglot competences, could not forbear ornamenting their prose and verses with some Mongolian words (*Majmū'a-yi Ash'ār-i Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥaẓrat* p. 74; *Dīvān-i Majd Hamgar* pp. 622–623). A similar phenomenon is also seen in the jestbook by a post-Mongol poet, 'Ubayd Zākānī's (full name as: Khvāja Niẓām al-Dīn 'Ubayd Zākānī, d. ca. 770

<sup>18</sup> 於今高昌之人...語言文字之用尤禁於他族。See, "Epitaph of the Great Zongzhengfu Yeke Jaručī, King of Gaochang" (*dazongzhengfu yeke zhaluhochi gaochangwang shendaobeiming*, 太宗正府也可札魯火赤高昌王神道碑銘). *Yüji Quanjī* vol. 2, 1068.

AH / 1370 CE) jestbook, *Rasāla-yi dilgūshā* (“The Joyous Treatise”) (*Rasāla-yi dil-gūshā* p. 86). It seems to have been a welcome prevalence in the circle of Persian literati to which the aforementioned authors belonged, since these foreign words “which from military camps and market-places” endowed their works with an exotic shadow (MINORSKY 1956: 261).

For the common population, a basic knowledge of Mongolian had some benefits, too. Several bilingual glossaries come down to us, e.g. a Turkic and Mongolian vocabulary included in the zoological section of the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (“Adornment of Hearts”), and a manuscript found in Kaitak (in Dagestan, southern Caucasus) scribed in 1647, reveals how knowledge of the Mongolian language penetrated into the local society (PELLIOT 1927; PELLIOT 1931). Likewise, the *Zarnī* Manuscript, a Mongolian-Persian lexicon found in Afghanistan and edited by Iwamura, to a certain extent, reveals a heritage language that can be traced back to the Mongol era (IWAMURA 1961).

For contemporary Persian writers, the terms *Mongol* and *Turk* are interchangeable. In most cases, the author tends to use *Turk* rather than *Mongol* to designate these nomadic conquerors who came from the East. This is not only due to the longer history of the Turkic people migrating to Iran than the Mongols, but also the stronger influence of the Turkic culture in Iran after it took root in these new territories. As an example, Vaṣṣaf mentioned Ghazan Khan’s envoy Noqai, who, when he took an audience at the Palace of the Yuan Emperor, “knelt and considered a *salām* sufficient with Turkic ritual” and replied to the Emperor in eloquent Turkish (QIU 2020: 162). The author sometimes chose the term *Mongol* just to emphasise people’s ethnic background. Or, when the terms *Turk* and *Uyghur* appear together in the same context, the latter one, Uyghur, more likely means the Mongolian (script or language). Ibn al-Fuwaṭī once met a man in Sultan Öljeitü’s (r. 1304–1316) army, named Quṭb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḥ Muḥammad b. Ḥamd Ṭāyankū al-Khwārazmī, and said this person who “served in the ministers’ office wrote with Uyghur, Turkic and Chinese (*al-khiṭā’iyya*) perfectly”.<sup>19</sup> In this context, Uyghur doubtless refers to Mongolian written in the Uyghur script.

### 3. Mongolian speakers among the Mamluks

The military system of the Mamluk Sultanate was claimed to have continued and reformed the institution of the later Ayyubid period, based on the manpower that was constantly imported from the steppe areas outside the Islamic World. Later, a reformation of the military and administrative structure took place during Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars’ (r. 1260–1277) reign. The general structure of the Mamluk forces, as seen in Ayalon’s exemplary studies, was constituted

<sup>19</sup> *Al-Alqāb* vol. 3, 422, no. 2885. In this critical edition, Ṭāyankū is misspelled as Ṭānikū.

of three main parts: a) Royal Mamluks; b) Amir's *mamluks*; and c) the troops of the free corps. The young *mamluks*, mainly imported from the Qipchaq Steppe and Caucasian lands, were purchased and set free by the ruling sultan (AYALON 1953: 204). Thereafter, they converted to the Islamic faith and received military training, and therefore developed a profound loyalty toward their master and liberator (*ustādh*). In the meantime, the bond of *khushdāshiyya*, i.e. “brothers-in-arms”, linked all the *mamluks* that belonged to a single master. The relationship between the senior and junior *mamluks* of the same household was regarded as that of *aghā* and *īnī* (pl. *aghawāt*, *iniyyāt*, Turkic, elder and younger brother), very similar to those of a family (AYALON 1987; LEVANONI 1995: 14; YOSEF 2017: 18–19). Given that most of the *mamluks* spoke allogeneic Turkic dialects, it follows that in Mamluk Egypt, the populations were divided into the Turkish-speaking military elites and the rest of the Arabic-speaking people.

Unexpected evidence indicates, however, that some traces of the Mongols appeared in Mamluk Cairo even before the first encounter between two states on the battlefield. Kolbas introduces a Mamluk mint of 651 AH / 1251–1252 CE, with a personal name “Ilqāy ‘Alī”, and gives a hypothetical biography of the career of this person. She suggests that Ilqāy ‘Alī is a Mongol treasury officer who was sent to organise vassal coinage in Georgian and Rum Seljuq territory in 645–646 AH / 1247–1248 CE, and then offered his services to the Mamluks (KOLBAS 2022: 1–11).

On 25 Ramaḍān 658 AH / 3 Sept. 1260 CE, the Mamluks, led by Sultan Quṭuz, defeated a Mongol army under the command of Ket-Buqa at ‘Ayn-Jālūt, in northern Palestine. This victory finally stopped the momentum of the Mongols’ western march, and unexpectedly facilitated the initial diplomatic connection between the Mamluk and the Golden Horde, two sworn enemies of Hülegü and his newly founded regime (FAVEREAU 2018: 13–40). Afterwards, a number of the Mongols entered Egypt, as refugees (*wāfidiyya*, pl. *wāfidūn*), defectors, and, mostly, slaves. The *wāfidiyya* Mongols mainly belong to troops of the Jochid, consisting of the soldiers of Oyirat ancestry (LANDA 2016). The Mongol soldiers were integrated into the regiment of *Bahriyya* and their female relatives were married to the Mamluk Sultan and nobles (AYALON 1951; NAKAMACHI 2006; AMITAI 2008: 126–130). In view of the number and influence of the Mongols during Baybars’ reign, some Arabic writers stated, perhaps with a certain exaggeration, “al-Malik al-Zāḥir (i.e. Baybars) [...] acted according to the principles of the Mongol kings and most of the laws of Chinggis Khan as *yāsā*”.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Al-Nujūm* vol. 7, 182–185; *al-Khiṭaṭ* vol. 2, 221. Here I cite Levanoni’s English translation (LEVANONI 1995: 6).

In Sultan Qalāwūn's (r. 1279–1290) era, the Mongols became the second most important ethnic group among the Mamluks besides the Turkic people. Not only the constant Black Sea slave trade, but also the civil war among different Chinggizid states, e.g. the Ilkhanate-Golden Horde conflicts and the war between khan Toqta and Noghay, etc., brought a considerable number of the Mongol slaves into the Mamluk Egypt. After Qalāwūn, Sultan 'Ādil Kit-Bughā (1294–1296), an Oyirat Mongol, was even installed on the throne of the sultanate. Kit-Bughā's partiality for the Mongol is apparent. As Little pointed out, at that time, occasionally, "the consciousness of being Mongol outweighed the traditional Mamluk loyalties" (LITTLE 1970: 126). Kit-Bughā's reign was short. He was deposed by the disgruntled Mamluk elites. Yet, the influence of the Mongols continued to increase.

Qalāwūn's son, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 1310–1341), made no secret of his partiality to Mongol customs. During his third reign, several of the highest rank *mamluks* in his court were Mongols, or behaved like Mongols. One of his favourite amīrs, Sayf al-Dīn Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī, originally came from the Golden Horde. He arrived in Egypt because Sultan al-Nāṣir once asked a slave trader, Majd al-Dīn al-Sallāmī, to bring a *mamluk* who resembled Abū Sa'īd (r. 1315–1335), the last Ilkhan. Therefore, Majd al-Dīn al-Sallāmī introduced Bashtāk and brought him to the Sultan's court.<sup>21</sup> Bashtāk's political opponent, Sayf al-Dīn Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī (or named Qawṣūn al-Sāqī), also came from the Golden Horde. Qawṣūn was known as one of the few of Sultan al-Nāṣir's amirs who had colloquial and writing competence in Mongolian, and his manner and actions, in various aspects, expressed a deep Mongol influence. Some contemporary authors depict his arrival in Cairo thus: "he would ride like the Mongol kings, escorted by 300 horsemen in two lines, each line preceded by a man beating a *qubuz* or Mongol drum".<sup>22</sup> At the wedding ceremony of the Sultan's son Anūk, Qawṣūn supplied fifty horses for eating meat and making *qumiz*, an alcoholic brew made by fermenting mare's milk (IRWIN 2010: 1–2). The honourable status of Sultan al-Nāṣir's Mongol-*mamluk* reveals the extent to which the Sultan was attracted by Mongol culture. This is, probably, the reason why the Arabic author in the post-Qalāwūnid era, e.g. al-Maqrīzī, described the Sultan al-Nāṣir's period in such a distorting way. He said: "Egypt and Syria became crammed with the Mongol peoples and their customs and manners spread there" (AYALON 1973: 111).

The positive integration of the Turkic people and Mongols resulted from their millennial symbiosis in Inner Asia. According to Nakamachi's inventory, there were altogether twenty-four defections from 1262 to 1337, the eve of the collapse of the Ilkhante. Twenty-four *Wāfidiyya* commanders' names and their military

<sup>21</sup> *Al-A'yān* vol. 1, 691. *Al-Durar* vol. 1, 478. *Rihlat Ibn Baṭṭūta* vol. 1, 361.

<sup>22</sup> *Al-Sulūk* vol. 2, 615; trans. VAN STEENBERGEN 2001: 454.

ranks were recorded in Mamluk sources (NAKAMACHI 2006: 66–67). Compared to the majority of Mongol-*mamluks* who remained in their modest ranks and left merely ambiguous traces in the historical accounts, several prominent personages reached a higher status – even including one sultan, in various ways. Just as in Sultan al-Nāṣir’s own words, “the Mongol and Turks are now one people (*jins wāḥid*)” (AYALON 1973: 121–122).

### 3.1. The Mongol language in the Mamluk

In Mamluk society, different languages mark different origins and classes of the speaker. On the one hand, the Turkic language in allogeneic dialects, especially Qipchaq Turkish, in the period we discuss, represented a common language among the military elites and in contrast to it, Arabic was the language of civilians and the administrative and religious elites. On the other hand, considering that the Sultan’s private *mamluks* (*khāṣṣakiyya*, bodyguard) were selected according to their ethnic origins, some minority languages, therefore, continued to display a social bond, to maintain ethnic solidarity (AYALON 1953: 214 n. 6).

In the Mamluk administrative institution, the secretariat – especially, the department of interpreting – was a place gathering the polyglot officers in charge of the official documents and diplomatic correspondence of the sultan. This might have been due to the scattering of the population caused by the Mongol conquest of the Eurasian continent. To compose official letters and decrees in several languages, or to translate them from one language to another, the establishment of this agency was therefore necessary for an Empire with people from a diverse variety of ethnic backgrounds. In comparison with the dominant status of Chinese in East Asia and Arabic in the ‘Abbasid government, a multi-lingual chancellery practice first took precedence in the central minister office of the Mongol Empire, and then, was imitated by contemporary rulers. Juvaynī describes the scribes of diverse origins, e.g. Persian, Uyghur, Khitai, Tibetan and Tangut, in Möngke Khan’s office who wrote the governmental documents in different languages (BOYLE 1997: 607). Gradually, this tendency of multilingualism in chancellery practice spread from the core of the Mongol Empire to the realms located on the fringe area, from the Black Sea to Yemen.

The diplomatic correspondence of the Mamluk addressed to the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanate was usually composed in two versions, an Arabic version in which content was accepted by the Sultan, and a Mongolian translation. Sultan Baybars’ first mission to Berke Khan, dispatched in 1262, carried an Arabic letter and its Mongolian translation drafted by Sirghān Aghā, a *wāfidiyya* Mongol commander (*al-Rawḍ* p. 138; FAVEREAU 2018: 43). Later, al-‘Umarī introduces the process of drafting diplomatic correspondence during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir, as:

The form of correspondence to [the Khan of the Golden Horde] – if it is written in Arabic – is [the same] form as written to the ruler of Iran [i.e. the Ilkhan], as has been mentioned. But most of the time it is written in Mongolian (*bi-l-mughulī*), for which is responsible Ötemiš al-Muḥammadī, Ṭayir Bughā al-Nāširī (also spelt as: Ṭahir Būqā al-Mughulī), the translator \*Arghudāy (ARĠDAQ) and Qawṣūn al-Sāqī.<sup>23</sup>

Ötemiš (his full name in Arabic sources as: Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish Muḥammadī) was the chief member in charge of drafting the diplomatic letter to Ilkhan Abū Sa‘īd. However, the transliteration as “Aytamish” must be ruled out. In classical written Mongolian, if the mid vowel *ö* is the first letter or in the first syllable of a word, it requires the stroke of the *-i* added under the *u* (GRÖNBECH and KRUEGER 1993: 57). During the 13th–14th century, Persian/Arabic scribes followed this rule when they transliterated the Mongolian word with Arabic letters. Therefore, the mid vowels *ö* and *ü* were usually transliterated as *wāw* (if it is the first letter, *alef* should be added) plus *yā‘* (و + ی).<sup>24</sup> Therefore, although his name appears in the Mamluk sources as “Aytamish”, it doubtlessly should be identified as “Ötemiš”. Ötemiš is a Uyghur Turkic word, deriving from the verb *ötä-/ödä-* (“to carry out an obligation”) and therefore he is presumed of Uyghur origin.<sup>25</sup> One can also find a parallel Chinese form in the YS as *yuedemishi* (月的迷失, i.e. Ödemiš) (YS pp. 274, 278). Given that he had adapted the spelling of his name in Qipchaq Turkic, it seems very likely that he came to the Mamluk sultanate – where the western Turkic occupied a dominant position – at a very young age.

As for the third person, his name “ARĠDAQ” (ارغداق) is perplexing. I tend to identify it as “Arghudāy”, i.e. Ötemiš’ brother Sayf al-Dīn Arquṭāy. Since in Arabic transliteration, the *alef* in initial position can designate any vowel and *gh-* and *q-* are interchangeable. The pronunciation *t-* in Uyghur or Qipchaq corresponds to *d-* in Oghuz Turkic (AMITAI 2007: 271–272 n. 36.), and the last letter *qaf*, most likely, is a typo of *yā‘*. Arquṭāy derives from the Mongolian person’s name “Uru’udai” (or Uryudai), and its transliteration in Chinese is

<sup>23</sup> *Al-Tā‘rīf* pp. 62–63. Here I quote Amitai’s translation, AMITAI 2008: 137.

<sup>24</sup> Abundant cases can be found in the *Shu‘ab-i panjāna* (“the Five Genealogies”), which is identified as Rashīd al-Dīn’s works. In this work, each name of the Chinggisid members (e.g. Khan, prince and princess) is recorded in the Mongolian scripts and Arabic letters (*Shu‘ab-i panjāna*).

<sup>25</sup> Ötemiš’ biography is included in several Mamluk biographical dictionaries, as: *al-A‘yān* vol. 1, 634; *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafāyāt* vol. 9, 249; *Al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr* vol. 3, 335–342; *Al-Manhal* vol. 2, 291. For the etymologic discussion of the name Aytamīš, see RÁSONYI and BASKI 2007: 25. The authors identified that the etymon of Aytamīš derives from Turkish “to say (sagen, söylemek)”. But I have to reject Rásonyi and Baski’s presumption, because based on Ötemiš’ personal Mongolian signature, Cleaves has already pointed out it is Uyghur Turkic (CLEAVES 1953: 485; RYBATZKI 2006: 36). For studies on his biography, see LITTLE 1979: 347–401; AMITAI 2007: 264–275.

Uluwutai (兀魯兀台).<sup>26</sup> As al-Şafadī's recorder, both Arquṭāy and Ötemiš, spoke "Turkish" (*lisān al-turk*) and were fluent in the Qipchaq language (*lisān al-qibjāqī*), and the Sultan consulted them about the "Yasa" that was prevalent among the "Turks" (*Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafāyāt* vol. 8, 233). Here, al-Şafadī distinguishes the "Turkish" language and Qipchaq and indeed, in the above context "Turks" and "Turkish" refer to the Mongols and Mongolian, respectively.

Only when Ötemiš was absent, Ṭayir Bughā – Sultan Nāşir al-Dīn's maternal uncle – would be asked to take over the former's duty. Ṭayir Bughā had been the Ilkhanid governor of the Anatolian city of Akhlāt, but had submitted to Mamluk during Qalawūn's reign. His son, Yaḥyā, also served the Sultan on diplomatic occasions.<sup>27</sup> Qawşūn al-Sāqī, i.e. Sayf al-Dīn Qawşūn al-Nāşirī is Ötemiš' assistant too. Al-Nuwayrī reported that when Ötemiš was absent at the arrival of Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd's mission in 726 AH / 1326 CE, Qawşūn presented the greeting ceremony as a Mongolian interpreter (*Nihāyat al-Arab* vol. 33, 226). This tradition seems to have remained in the period after the centralised authority of Ilkhan dissolved in Iran. Qādī Nāşir al-Dīn b. al-Nashā'ī stated, the letter to Ṭaghāy Timur, a descendant of Jochi Qasar who was elevated as a Mongol khan in Khurasan after Abū Sa'īd's death, was composed in Mongolian (*Şubḥ al-A'shā* vol. 7, 253.3).

Without a doubt, the above four persons in al-'Umarī's chancery manual represent the highest level of Mongolian competence in the Sultan's court. Moreover, al-Yūsufī, a biographer of Sultan Nāşir al-Dīn, asserted that "his (i.e. Ötemiš) speaking in Mongolian was at the utmost level (*kāna fī kalāmhi bi-l-mughulī fī ghāya*) and his Mongolian was perfect (*yakūnu min al-faşāḥa bayna al-mughul*)". His handwriting is praised as "more beautiful than fine Kufic [script]" (*khaṭṭ al-kūfī al-majīd*) (*Nuzhat al-Nāzir* p. 330). It is worth noticing that the authors of the biographic dictionary prefer to use a term, *faşīḥ* (pl. *faşāḥā*), which means "clear, eloquent, who speaks a good language, purist", to emphasise proficiency in a certain language (EYCHENNE 2013: 154 n. 3). The definition of *faşīḥ* is close to the Chinese term *Xiangsheng* (像生, "lifelike, fluent as a native speaker").<sup>28</sup> Living in a similar multilingual environment under Mongol rule, such a term

<sup>26</sup> Rásonyi and Baski suggest identifying his name as Ariq-tay, "kinny, meagre foal". RÁSONYI and BASKI 2007: 71. Yet, considering that the names of him and his brother Ötemiš might not derive directly from Qipchaq Turkic, I tend to presume it comes from the Mongolian "Uryudai". For an etymological discussion, see also RYBATZKI 2006: 151. In the YS, an ancestor of Jočitai (Zhuchitai, 朮赤台) is mentioned by this name (YS p. 2962).

<sup>27</sup> Ṭayir Bughā's biography, see *Al-Durar* vol. 2, 234, in the entry of "Zahir Buqā al-Mughulī"; *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafāyāt* vol. 13, 422. For the discussion about his relation with the Mamluk Sultan, see BROADBRIDGE 2019: 278–279.

<sup>28</sup> One case came from a poetic drama (*zaju*, 雜劇), which titles "A Mongolian *kuogu* (i.e. *gugu*) cap wearing actresses, speaking fluent barbarian language" (*xiangsheng fanyu kuogudan* 像生番語括罟旦, *kuogu* 括罟 is a variant form of *gugu* 罟罟). *Luguibu* p. 212.

reveals the special attention of the contemporary literati to the people who have a high linguistic competence.

Eychenne suggests that the term *faṣīḥ* means perfect knowledge of a language, but suspects it does not for sure imply that someone has already acquired all its subtleties. Yet, an exception could be found in Sayf al-Dīn Qibjaq's (an Arabic transliteration of "Qipčaq") experience. He was a senior Mongol-Mamluk amir trusted by Sultan Lajīn (r. 1296–1299), and his father served a Mongol *noyan*, Ḥasan Tuqū as a scribe, mastering both Mongolian and Arabic. Therefore, Qipchaq "was good (*yajyadu*) in speaking and writing with Mongolian". Once, in a conversation with his father, Qibjaq observed that "we [Mongols] like you [that is, the Arabs] have a 'good' (*jayyid*) and 'bad' (*radi*) speech".<sup>29</sup> Corresponding to it, in a poetic drama (*zaju*), titled *Scenery of Peach Blossom Land* (*taoyuanjing*, 桃源景), we find a parallel expression that reflects ordinary people's stereotype of the Mongolian language. The dramatist arranges a line in the transliteration of Mongolian and its Chinese explanation, as "[a Chinese man] abuses someone with immoral words" (歹言語罵人—卯兀客勒莎可只).<sup>30</sup> The transliteration of a Mongolian phrase, according to Fang Linggui's identification, can be reconstructed as: "*ma'u kele sügü-zhi*", meaning "abuses [someone] with bad words".<sup>31</sup> Therefore, in al-Şafadī's recording, it is obvious that the adjectives "good" and "bad" are literal translations from the Mongolian words, *sayin* and *ma'u*, respectively. This case truly reflects his knowledge of the subtleties of his mother tongue, Mongolian and the acquired language, Arabic.

However, for people who did not have an affinity with the Mongols, acquiring knowledge of this language was not an easy matter. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentioned that Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Muḥāsan Maṣūr b. Aḥmad, an Arabic poet, "is used to speaking in Mongolian with an emphatic pronunciation but without understanding its meaning; he just uses it to speak in a funny way [with it] in his speech".<sup>32</sup> In view of the natural advantage, translators and interpreters who served in the administrations usually inherited their positions within the family, not only indicating a tradition of linguistic expertise, but also as an ideal method

<sup>29</sup> *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafāyāt* vol. 24, 133, and Little translates this sentence as "high and low speech" (LITTLE 1979: 395).

<sup>30</sup> *Zhu Youdun ji* p. 194. Zhu Youdun (朱有燾, 1379–1439) is son of the first Emperor of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). As a productive dramatist and poet, he shows a great interest in collecting the anecdotes of the Yuan dynasty.

<sup>31</sup> "Shake" (莎可, Hitoshi transliterates it as "*sökō*") also appears in the *Huayi yiyu* (華夷譯語, "Chinese-Barbarian Glossary", 1389) and its Chinese explanation is "abuse" (*ma*, 罵). HITOSHI 2003: 43. As for the "*zhi*" (只), according to Fang's opinion, this character is used as a suffix of perfect aspect in the colloquialism of the Yuan period (FANG 2001: 266–270).

<sup>32</sup> *yukallimu bi-tafakkhim al-alfāz min ghayr ma'rifat bihā wa yutamaskharu fī kalāmhi. Al-Alqāb* vol. 4, 263, no. 3812; trans. mine.

of maintaining social networks and social status. The Ilkhanate's chancery manual supplies a parallel case. It said:

If he (i.e. Ürük *bakhshī*) intends to retire from the position of secretary after years of serving at the chancellery for reasons of age, people should consider one of his children, or someone else who acts as deputy or [who] replaces his position as the superintendent [of *bakhshī*] and his successor. It is necessary to commit him in charge of writing the decree.<sup>33</sup>

In fact, Arabic sources prove a similar situation in the Mamluk sultan's court. For example, the aforementioned Ṭayir Bughā al-Nāṣirī's (or Ṭayir Būqā al-Mughulī) son Yaḥyā on 14 Rajab 726 AH / 16 June 1326 CE, assisted his father in treating Chopan's envoy and read the latter's letter to Sultan Nāṣir.<sup>34</sup> Besides his son, Ṭayir Bughā al-Nāṣirī's nephew Muḥammad once was mentioned as an attendant who worked on the reception of Abū Sa'īd's mission on 4 Rajab 727 AH / 26 May 1327 CE (*Nihāyat al-Arab* vol. 33, 231). Probably in Ötemiš' absence, his personal *mamluk*, Sayf al-Dīn Kirmās took Chopan's letter back from the Ilkhanate in 1326 (*Nihāyat al-Arab* vol. 33, 226).

Refraining from speaking Arabic, or actually lack of competence to acquire Arabic, in the Mamluk Sultanate, was a common stereotype about the Mongol-*mamluks*. For example, the Sultan expressed a reluctance to speak Arabic on official occasions, so as to keep his distance from the audiences (*al-Rawḍ* p. 85; FAVEREAU 2018: 56). The case of Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī is similar. It was said that he “refused to speak Arabic” though some sources say that he knew it, and “if there is no interpreter, he does not speak to his *ustādhdar* (i.e. major-domo) and scribe”.<sup>35</sup> This tendency can probably be attributed to privilege, or the need to keep a certain social distance (EYCHENNE 2013: 160). However, we cannot rule out that some Mongol people had the talent to learn a new language. Quṭlū-Bak seems to be an exception. It is said that he “knew Arabic, jurisprudence and Prophetic tradition very well”.<sup>36</sup>

### 3.2. Language acquisition and the dissemination of Mongol history

If we could take a bird's-eye view of the Asian continent in the 13th–14th century, we would see, coincidentally, a multilingual environment, alongside a multicultural administration and multi-ethnic immigrants, common across various empires, west to east. Therefore, when comparing the Mamluk sultanate and Yuan-Ming China, many similarities can be observed in the process of foreign language acquisition in spite of the wide difference in cultural background. The

<sup>33</sup> DK vol. 2, 42; trans. mine.

<sup>34</sup> *Al-Durar* vol. 2, 234; vol. 4, 417; *Nihāyat al-Arab* vol. 33, 226.

<sup>35</sup> *Al-A'yān* vol. 1, 690; trans. mine.

<sup>36</sup> *Al-A'yān* vol. 4, 124; trans. mine.

compilation of bilingual (multilingual) vocabularies thus became indispensable for interacting with speakers on the other side of the language barrier. The double-column lexicon is a popular style. Several vocabularies passed down until today were compiled in the Mamluk era, for instance, the Leiden Manuscripts and Arabic-Mongolian vocabularies in the Biblioteca Corsini in Rome, and a trilingual manuscript titled *Tarjumān turkī wa ‘ajamī wa muḡhulī* – a Turkish Arabic and Mongolian-Arabic dictionary composed for a Qāḏī of Cairo in the 1340s, written by an Anatolian from Konya (POPPE 1927; WEIERS 1972; FLEMMING 1968).

The Rasulid *Hexaglot*, a dictionary of Greek, Arabic, Armenian, Persian, Turkic and Mongolian languages, reveals the working process of the compilation. Al-Malik al-Aḡḡal (d. 778 AH / 1377 CE), King of the Rasulid dynasty and the compiler of this work, asked an informant of Mongolian origin to supply a basic vocabulary and appended the equivalent terms in other languages. It is notable that the work of compilation revolves around the Mongolian language.<sup>37</sup> Meanwhile, these bilingual vocabularies are usually listed in the classification of meaning rather than in alphabetical order. In post-Mongol China, a parallel case also can be found, e.g. the lexicon *Huayi yiyu*. According to the *Ming shilu* (明實錄, “Veritable records of the Ming dynasty”).

(On 6th day, first lunar month, 1382) Now, consequently, he (Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang) commanded Huoyüanjanje, together with Mashayihei (Ma Shaykh), a Compiler [of the College of Literature], and others to translate its words into Chinese. Everything in astronomy, geography, human affairs, categories of living things, food and raiment, utensils – none is left out of the compilation.<sup>38</sup>

In such a tradition, the compiler’s primary target focuses on practicality, namely to enable the learner to quickly acquire the necessary words relating to daily life. In contrast, grammar was not the teacher’s priority. From a modern perspective, it is probably not a good language learning theory, because it means that the formal instruction is inadequate. This is also the reason why Ötemiş, as a person of non-Mongol origin (see above), is highly praised by Mamluk historians due to his distinguished Mongolian competence. Several authors describe how he became “a master of their language (i.e. Mongolian), his level amongst the Turks was [like] the status of a grammarian (*al-naḡwiyya*) among the [uneducated] common people (*al-‘amma*)”.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> VALLET 2015: 647. For a modern edition of the *Hexaglot*, see GOLDEN 2000.

<sup>38</sup> “乃命火原潔與編修馬沙亦黑等以華言譯其語，凡天文、地理、人事、物類、服食、器用、靡不具載。” *Ming shilu*: “Taizu”, pp. 2223–2224. Mashayihei (馬沙亦黑) is a Uighur scholar. He, as a descendant of Central Asian migrants, was instrumental in the activities of the Directorate of Arabo-Persian Astronomy. For English translation, see HUNG 1951: 452.

<sup>39</sup> *Al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr* vol. 3, 240; *Al-Durar* vol. 1, 424; trans. mine.

Besides bilingual vocabularies, historical works were widely used as learning material for foreign languages in this era. Al-Şafadī provides an impressive depiction of Ötemiš' knowledge of Mongol history. He said,

He was trained in Mongol manners. He used to judge the members of the bodyguard (*khāşşakiyya*) within the Sultan's house according to the Law and "Yasa" (*siyāsa wa al-yāsaq*) which had been established by Chinggis Khan. He knew the biography (*sīrat*) of Chinggis Khan, and he used to read and consult it repeatedly. He knew the Mongol families (*buyūt al-mughul*) and their lineage (*ansābahum*) and origins (*uşūlahum*). He used to learn by heart their [the Mongols'] histories and events (*tawārīkhihim wa waqā'i'ihim*).<sup>40</sup>

The aforementioned paragraph includes an abundance of information that enables us to catch a glimpse of the complex relationship between language acquisition and historical knowledge. Al-Şafadī mentions several different types of historical documents. The term *sīrat*, according to Aigle's explanation, means the idea of life and exemplary conduct. Its extended meaning, therefore, refers to the historical work about a certain personage who is worthy of remembrance, including both his superior quality and his faults (AIGLE 2008–2009: 21). It is also used as a synonym of the term *Tārīkh* (history). For example, Ibn al-Fuwaḫī sometimes names Juvaynī's *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā* as *sīrat al-mughūl* ("History of the Mongols") (*al-Alqāb* vol. 4, 25). Given this, when Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī reports, [Sultan] al-Nāşir liked him (Ötemiš) very much, and if someone mentioned the *sīrat al-turk*, he (Sultan Nāşir) would say: "let them tell Ötemiš". In this context, I tend to construe the *sīrat al-turk* as the "History of the Mongols" (*Al-Durar* vol. 1, 424).

Coincidentally, a Mongolian-Arabic bilingual document in Ötemiš' own handwriting is inserted into an Arabic manuscript of al-Nasawī's *Sīrat Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirtī* ("Biograph of [Khwarazm Shāh] Jalāl al-Dīn") and passed down to today.<sup>41</sup> Several scholars already provided the translation and explanation of this document, and the content as following:

Mongolian:

1. ene biçig Ötemis karag-un
2. nayıbayın büi möna qoyın-a
3. ene biçig-i ken unğşibası iraqmad

<sup>40</sup> *Al-A'yān* vol. 1, 634; *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafāyāt* vol. 9, 249; *Al-Durar* vol. 11, 424. Here I quote Ayalon's translation of this paragraph (AYALON: 1973: 135). To enhance clarity in the ensuing discussion, I have included transliterations of certain specific Arabic terms.

<sup>41</sup> HOUDAS 1895: IX–X. For the translation of Arabic paragraph, see DE SLANE: 1883–1895, 341; for a modern translation of the Mongolian text, see CLEAVES 1953: 478–486 and for a detailed reference, see AMITAI 2007: 263–275.

4. kitügei Ötemiš kereg-ün irgen

5. medelün бүкүи-дүр биçibeи.

Arabic:

– hadhā kitāb al-amīr Sayf al-Dīn, nā'ib al-Karak

Cleaves' translation is “This *biçig* is [that] of the [*n*]ayiba of Karag (Karak) Ötemiš. If anyone reads this *biçig* in the future, let him show mercy. The *nayib* Ötemiš wrote [this]”. (CLEAVES 1953: 483). The Arabic text is: “This is the book (or letter) of the officer Sayf al-Dīn, governor of al-Karak” (i.e. al-Karak Castle, in Jordan).<sup>42</sup>

Amitai identifies that Ötemiš in this context is Sayf al-Dīn Ötemiš al-Muḥammadī, the famous Mongolian interpreter of Sultan al-Nāṣir. All later researchers seem to be guided by de Slane's following statement: “The page including these lines is the end part of a scroll that seems to be the content of an official letter, and there is no relationship with the text of al-Nasawī's work”.<sup>43</sup> Given that they translate the Mongolian term *biçig* as well as the Arabic *kitāb* into “letter” rather than “book”. Yet, I prefer to identify these two terms (*biçig* and *kitāb*) as “book”, namely, al-Nasawī's biography. Thus, I regard these words more as a colophon that Ötemiš wrote after reading this work of al-Nasawī. Moreover, we cannot completely exclude the possibility that this manuscript once belonged to Ötemiš' private collection.

Moreover, the phrase “let him show mercy” (Mongolian *iraqmad* < Arabic *rahmat*, also means “kindness”) seems like a formula people usually scribed at the end of the book. In Chinese sources, we can easily find parallel examples. In the later period of the Yuan dynasty, Gong Shitai (貢師泰) wrote a colophon at the end of a poem scroll collected by Nai Xian (迺賢), a sinicised Turk, as “Yizhi (易之, Nai Xian's adult name), please keep [this work] with kindness (易之尚善葆之)”.<sup>44</sup> Based on this assumption, we can understand which kind of reference is used by Ötemiš to acquire knowledge of Mongol history.

As for three other terms that appear in the aforementioned Ötemiš biography, the Mongol families (*buyūt al-mughul*), the lineage (*ansāb*, sing. *nasab*) and the origins (*uṣūl*, sing. *aṣl*), to a great extent, are equivalent terms of Mongolian words *ger*, *uruy* and *huja'ur*, respectively.<sup>45</sup> These terms also appear in Rashīd

<sup>42</sup> AMITAI 2007: 267. He translated the term *kitāb* as “the letter”.

<sup>43</sup> “Le feuillet qui porte ces lignes est un bout de rouleau qui paraît avoir contenu une dépêche officielle et n'a aucun rapport avec le texte d'Al-Nasawī” (DE SLANE 1883–1895: 341). This sentence was also quoted by CLEAVES 1953: 478.

<sup>44</sup> In “A colophon of Huang taishi's scroll of the ‘Poems on Itinerary of visiting Capital’” (*tiwangtaishi shangjing shigaohou*, 題黃太史上京詩彙後), *Wanzhai ji* p. 354.

<sup>45</sup> Arabic: *bayt*; Turkic: *ev*; Mongolian: *ger*-. GOLDEN 2000: 249.

al-Dīn's *Compendium of the History*. Rashīd al-Dīn mentions "Chinggis Khan and his offspring" (*Chīnggīz khān va ūrūgh*), and "the history of the origin and the genealogy of the Mongols" (*tavārīkh-i aṣl va nasab-i muḡhūl*), to classify the different definitions referring to Mongol history (*Jami'u't-tawarikh* vol. 1, 34–35). This reflects that Ötemiš's knowledge of Mongol history was systematic and might be the reason that al-Ṣafadī praises him as the person "who was the most knowledgeable person of his time in the Mongols' affairs" (*kāna a'raf ahl zamānahu bi-aḥwāl al-muḡhul*) (*Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafāyāt* vol. 25, 122).

Although according to Ötemiš' case, we can conclude that learning Mongol history was motivated by the requirement of acquiring the language, which led to the dissemination of the knowledge of the Chinggisid family in the Mamluk Sultanate. Meanwhile, the Mongolian speakers played the role of an introducer who supplied historical information to contemporary Arabic historians. Ṭayir Bughā al-Nāṣirī, one of the four Mongolian translators, contributes another example. He introduced the "Dynasty" (*al-bayt*) of Chinggis Khan to al-'Umarī while the latter compiled the section of the Mongol history in his encyclopaedia.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, the practice of using historical materials as foreign language textbooks seems to have been very popular throughout the Eurasian continent in the 14th century. In Ming China, the compilers "moreover, used the *Yuanmishi* (元秘史, "The Secret History of the Mongols") for reference, joining or cutting the words [on the one hand] to approximate the sounds [on the other]".<sup>47</sup> Similarly, in Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910), the official textbooks of Mongolian language used by the "Bureau of Interpreters" (*sayeogwon*, 司譯院) included the "biography of the General Bayan" (*boyan bodou*, 伯顏波豆, "Bayan Bayatur") and "Wang Qayan" (*wangkehan*, 王可汗, "Ong Qan").<sup>48</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

The Mongolian speakers in the Mamluk Sultanate, just as Allsen points out in his exemplary work on Eurasian cross-cultural contact during the Mongol era, mainly appear as agents who make such contact possible. Thanks to their efforts, the Mongolian language became a bridge for the transmission of culture and knowledge between the eastern and western Eurasian continent, even far beyond the borders of the Mongol Empire. As the above discussion indicates, the Mongolian language and its speakers, in a circumstance completely in contrast

<sup>46</sup> *Masālik al-abṣār* p. 104, Arabic text, p. 20.

<sup>47</sup> "復取《元秘史》參考，紐切其字，以譜其聲音。" *Ming shilu*: "Taizu", p. 2223; HUNG 1951: 452.

<sup>48</sup> "Bayan Bayatur" is the name of [a Mongol] general. As it is [the collection] of his speech, we therefore use [his name] as the title of the book. (伯顏波豆：將帥名。以其言，故仍為書名。) "Ong Qayan" is the ancestor of Emperor Taizu of the Yuan (王可汗：元太祖之先。) Obviously, the compiler confused chief of Kereyit tribe with Chinggis Khan's ancestor. *Gyeongguk Daejeon* pp. 222–225.

to their native cultural background, still have a certain place. In addition, since most of these Mongolian speakers were active in the secretariat, according to Grévin's words, they also participated in the creation of "the culture of interpreting office", which covered the space from the Black Sea to Yemen and shared a multilingual practice (GRÉVIN 2012: 347, 355).

The acquisition of the Mongolian language, in both eastern and western Eurasia, demonstrates multifaceted similarities. One of the typical cases is the relationship between the knowledge of history and language acquisition. In the Mamluk Sultanate and in the Ming China, people would – from written history and oral tradition – master the Mongolian. Meanwhile, adapting historical works into foreign language textbooks was a common practice. Furthermore, the connections in a matrix between history and language acquisition inevitably influence the form and style of historical knowledge during its dissemination.

Traditionally, the Mamluk political system is considered to have been based on a concept of "comradeship" (*khushdāshiyya*, i.e. "brothers-in-arms"). The "comradeship" between *mamluks* and their masters and liberators served as bonds of loyalty within groups of ethnic outsiders (CHAMBERLAIN 2002: 43). Yet, on the other hand, linguistic competence is indispensable for people who want to develop social relations in a complex ethnic community. It sometimes manifests as a linguistic affinity to tie the people of various ethnic origins. As a minor group in Mamluk society, a few *mamluk* elites constructed a quasi-ethnic network. In this network, linguistic competence rather than ethnic origin formed a basis of identity (*Nuzhat al-Nāzir* p. 330, 334; LITTLE 1979: 391).<sup>49</sup>

## Funding

Research for this article was sponsored by the National Social Science Fund under the "International and Regional Studies Program" 冷門絕學及國別史項目 (19VJX013).

## References

### Abbreviations and primary sources

AH. Anno Hegirae, in the year of the Hijrah.

*al-Alqāb*. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-Ādāb fī Mu'jam al-Alqāb*. 6 vols. Tehran: Vizārat-i farhang va irshād-i īslāmī, 1995.

<sup>49</sup> For example, Ötemiş was elevated by Sayf al-Dīn Qibjaq of Mongol origin, because of his language skill and although he was generally identified as a "Turk" (see above), but in al-Yūsufi's chronicle, he was depicted as "of pure Mongol stock (*min khāliṣ jins al-mughul*)". This case reveals that the ethnic boundary in Mamluk society sometime is flexible.

- al-A'yān*. Khalīl ibn Aybak Al-Şafadī, *al-A'yān al-Aşr wa A'wān al-Naşr*. Ed. by 'Alī 'Abū Zayd. 4 vols. Dimashq: Dār al-Fikr bi-Dimashq, 1998.
- Dīvān-i Majd Hamgar*. Majd al-Dīn Hamgar, *Dīvān-i Majd Hamgar*. Ed. by Aḥmad Karīmī. Tehran: Instishārāt-i Mā, 1996.
- DK. Nakhchīwānī Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh, *Dastūr al-Kātib fī Ta'yin al-Marātīb = Dastūr al-Kātib fī Ta'yin al-Marātīb*. Kritich. Tekst, Predisl i Ukazateli. Ed. by A. Alizade. Vol. 2. Moscow: Nauka, 1976.
- al-Durar*. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah*. 4 vols. Hyderabad, 1972–1976.
- Gyeongguk Daejeon*. *Gyeongguk Daejeon Juhae* (經國大典注解, 1555) ["Commentary of Great Compendium on Statecraft"]. Ed. by AN Wi 安瑋 and MIN Jeon 閔荃. Seoul: Dankook University Press, 1979.
- al-Ḥawādith al-Jāmi'a*. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-Jāmi'a wa-l-Tajārib al-Nāfi'a fī l-mi'al-Sābi'a*. Beirut, 2002.
- Heida shilue*. PENG Daya 彭大雅, *Heida shilue jiaozhu* 黑韃事略校注 [A Critical Edition and Commentary of "A Sketch of the Black Tatars"]. Lanzhou: Lanzhou University Press, 2014.
- Jami'u't-tawarikh*. Faḏl Allah Rashīd al-Dīn, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh*. Trans. by THACKSTON 1998–1999.
- al-Khiṭaṭ*. Aḥmad b. 'Alī Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā'iz wa'l-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa'l-Āthār*. 5 vols. London, 2002.
- Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafāyāt*. Khalīl ibn Aybak Al-Şafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafāyāt*. Ed. by Aḥmad al-Arnā'ūṭ and Turkī Muştafā. 29 vols. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 2000.
- Luguibu*. ZHONG Sicheng 鍾嗣成, *Luguibu xubian* 錄鬼簿續編 [Continuation of "the Register of Ghosts"], *Luguibu jiaoding* 錄鬼簿校訂 [A Critical Edition of "the Register of Ghosts"]. Ed. by WANG Gang 王鋼. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2021.
- Majma' al-ansāb*. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Shabankāra'ī, *Majma' al-ansāb*. Ed. by Mīrhāshim Muḥadath. Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1984.
- Majmū'a-yi Ash'ār-i Vaşşāf al-Ḥaẓrat*. al-Ḥaẓrat Vaşşāf, *Majmū'a-yi Ash'ār-i Vaşşāf al-Ḥaẓrat*. Ed. by 'Abd al-Maḥmad Āyātī. Tehran: Haft-i Vādī, 2013.
- al-Manhal*. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Sāfi wa'l-Mustawfi ba'da al-Wāfi*. 12 vols. Cairo, 1986–2007.
- Masālik al-abşār*. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Yahyā Al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abşār fī mamālik al-amşār* = Ed. and trans. by LECH 1968.
- Maṭlāq*. 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Maṭlāq al-sa'dayn wa majma' al-baḥrayn*. Ed. by 'Abd Ḥusayn Nawā'ī. Vol. 3. Tehran: Pazhuhishgāh-i 'Ulūm-i Insānī wa Mutālī'āt-i Farhangī, 2004.

- Ming shilu. Ming shilu* 明實錄 [Veritable Records of The Ming]. 133 vols. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishiyuyan yanjiusuo, 1961–1966.
- al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*. 8 vols. Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1991.
- Nasā’im al-Ashāra*. Munshī Kirmānī, *Nasā’im al-Ashāra min Niḡā’im al-Akhhbār: dar Tārīkh-i Vuzarā’*. Ed. by Mīr Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥusaynī Urmavī “Muḥaddith”. Tehran: Instishārāt-i Ittīlā’āt, 1985.
- Nihāyat al-Arab*. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*. 33 vols. Cairo, 1997.
- al-Nujūm*. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa’l-Qāhirah*. 16 vols. Cairo, 1929–1949.
- Nuzhat al-Nāzir*. Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāsir*. Ed. by Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ. Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1986.
- Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūta*. Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūta*. 5 vols. Beirut, 1997.
- Rasāla-yi dil-gūshā*. ‘Ubayd Zākānī, *Rasāla-yi dil-gūshā*. Ed. by ‘Alī Ṣaḡhr Ḥalabī. Tehran: Asāṭir, 2004.
- al-Rawḍ*. Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir*. Ed. by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Khuwayṭir. Riyadh, 1976.
- Shu‘ab-i panjgāna*. Faḡl Allah Rashīd al-Dīn, *Shu‘ab-i panjgāna*. İstanbul, Topkapı-Sarayı Müzesi kütüphanesi, MS. Ahmet III 2937.
- Ṣubḥ al-A’shā*. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A’shā fī Ṣinā’at al-Inshā’*. 14 vols. Cairo, 1913–1919.
- al-Sulūk*. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma’rifat al-Mulūk*, I–II. Ed. by M. Ziyāda. 4 vols. Cairo, 1956–1958.
- al-Tā’rīf*. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Yahyā Al-‘Umarī, *al-Tā’rīf bi-l-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf*. Beirut, 1988.
- Ta’rīkh Ibn al-Furāt*. Ibn al-Furāt / Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, *Ta’rīkh Ibn al-Furāt*. Ed. by Q. Zurayq. Vol. 9. Beirut: al-Maṭba‘a al-Amīrikānīyya, 1936–1942.
- Ta’rīkh Majmū’*. Shihāb al-Dīn Qaraṭāy al-‘Izzī al-Khazindārī, *Ta’rīkh Majmū’ al-Nawādir Minnā Jarā li-l-Awā’il wa-l-Awākhīr*. Ed. by Horst Hein and Muḥammad al-Ḥuḡairī. Beirut: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2005.
- Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*. al-Ḥāzrat Vaṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf (Tajziya al-amṣār va tazjiya al-a’sār)*. Ed. by Muḥammad Mahdī Iṣfahānī. Bombay, 1853. Repr. Tehrān: Ibn Sīnā, 1959–1960.
- Wanzhai ji*. GONG Shitai 貢師泰, *Wanzhai ji* 玩齋集 [Literary Collection of Gong Shitai]. [In:] Juli, Qiu 邱居里 and Zhao Wenyong 趙文友, eds, Gongshi

- sanjiaji 貢氏三家集 [Literary Collection of Gong's Family]. Jinlin: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 2010, pp. 145–477.
- YS. *Yuanshi* 元史 [Official History of the Yuan Dynasty]. Ed. by SONG Lian 宋濂. New edition. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976.
- Yuan dianzhang*. *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章 [Statutes of the Yuan Dynasty]. Ed. by CHEN Gaohua 陳高華 and ZHANG Fan 張帆. 4 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011.
- Yüji Quanji*. Yü Ji 虞集, *Yüji Quanji* 虞集全集 [Complete Literary Collection of Yü Ji]. Ed. by WANG Ting 王頌. 2 vols. Tianjing: Tianjing guji, 2008.
- Zhu Youdun ji*. ZHU Youdun 朱有燾, *Zhu Youdun ji* 朱有燾集 [Literary Collection of Zhu Youdun]. Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2014.
- Zubdat al-tavārīkh*. Ḥāfīz-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*. Ed. by Sayyid Kamāl Ḥajj Sayyid Jawādī. 2 vols. Tehran: Nashir-i Nay, 1993.

### Secondary sources

- AIGLE, Denise 2008–2009. “L’histoire sous forme graphique, en arabe, persan, et turc ottoman, origines et fonctions”. *Bulletin d’Études Orientales* 58: 11–49. <https://doi.org/10.4000/beo.58>
- ALLSEN, Thomas 2000. “The Rasūlid Hexaglot in its Eurasian Cultural Context”. [In:] GOLDEN 2000: 25–49. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004492585\\_006](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004492585_006)
- ALLSEN, Thomas 2001. *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, New York: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511497445>
- AMITAI, Reuven 2007. “A Mongol Governor of al-Karak in Jordan? A Re-examination of an Old Document in Mongolian and Arabic”. *Zentralasiatische Studien* 36: 263–275.
- AMITAI, Reuven 2008. “Mamluks of Mongol Origin and Their Role in Early Mamluk Political Life”. *Mamluk Review* 12(1): 119–138.
- ATWOOD, Christopher P. 2021. *The Rise of the Mongols: Five Chinese Sources*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.
- AYALON, David 1951. “The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom”. *Islamic Culture* 25: 89–104.
- AYALON, David 1953. “Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army, I”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15(2): 203–228. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00111073>
- AYALON, David 1973. “The Great Yāsā of Chingiz Khān: a Reexamination (C2)”. *Studia Islamica* 38: 107–156. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1595311>
- AYALON, David 1987. “Mamlūk Military Aristocracy: a non-hereditary Nobility”. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10: 205–210.

- BOYLE, J. A., ed. and trans. 1997. *Genghis Khan. The History of the World-Conqueror by Ata-Malik Juvayni*. Translated and edited by J. A. Boyle with an Introduction by David O. Morgan. Manchester: Manchester University Press; Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- BROADBRIDGE, Anne F. 2019. “Careers in Diplomacy among Mamluks and Mongols, 658–741/1260–1341”. [In:] Bauden, Frédéric and Malika Dekkiche, eds, *Mamluk Cairo, a Crossroads for Embassies Studies on Diplomacy and Diplomatics*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 263–301. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004384637\\_007](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004384637_007)
- CHAMBERLAIN, Michael 2002. *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CHEN, Xinyuan 陳新元 2019. “Suhuncha aha yilangshishi xinzheng” 速混察·阿合伊朗史事新證 [A new resurvey on the career of Suqunchaq Aqa in Iran]. *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 [Western Regions’ Studies] 1: 11–25.
- CLEAVES, Francis Woodman 1950. “The Sino-Mongolian Edict of 1453 in The Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi”. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 13(3/4): 431–446. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2718063>
- CLEAVES, Francis Woodman 1953. “The Anonymous Scribal Note Pertaining to The *Biçig* of Ötemiş”. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 16(3/4): 478–486. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2718251>
- DOERFER, Gerhard 1963–1975. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. 4 vols. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- EYCHENNE, Mathieu 2013. *Liens personnels, clientélisme et réseaux de pouvoir dans le sultanat mamelouk (milieu XIIIe-fin XVe siècle)*. Beyrouth-Damas: Presses de l’Ifpo. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.ifpo.3908>
- FANG, Lingui 方齡貴 2001. *Gudian xiqu wailaiyu kaoshicidian* 古典戲曲外來語考釋詞典 [Dictionary of the Loanwords in Classic Drama]. Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe.
- FAVEREAU, Marie 2007. “Comment le sultan mamelouk s’adressait au khan de la Horde d’Or: Formulaire des lettres et règles d’usage d’après trois manuels de chancellerie (1262-v. 1430)”. *Annales Islamologiques* 41: 59–95.
- FAVEREAU, Marie 2018. La Horde d’Or et le sultanat mamelouk: Naissance d’une alliance (660/1261–662/1264). Paris: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- FLEMMING, Barbara 1968. “Ein alter Irrtum bei der chronologischen Einordnung der *Tarğumān turkī wa ağamī wa mugalī*”. *Der Islam* 44: 226–229.
- GAKUSHO, Nakajima 中島樂章 2009. *Gendai no bunsho gyōsei ni okeru pasupa ji shiyō kitei ni tsuite* 元代の文書行政におけるパスパ字使用規定について [On the Regulations concerning the Use of “Phags-pa Letters in Yuan Administrative Documents”]. *Tōhō Gakubō* 東方學報 84: 91–138.

- GANDJEI, Tourkhan 1970. "Was Muhammad Al-Samarqandi a Polyglot Poet?". *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 18: 53–56.
- GOLDEN, Peter B., ed. 2000. *The King's Dictionary. The Rasûlid Hexaglot: Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol*. Translated by Tibor Halasi-Kun, Peter B. Golden, Louis Ligeti and Edmund Schütz with introductory essays by Peter B. Golden and Thomas T. Allsen, edited with notes and commentary. Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004492585>
- GRÉVIN, Benoît 2012. *Le parchemin des cieux. Essai sur le Moyen Âge du langage*. Paris: Le Seuil. <https://doi.org/10.14375/NP.9782020878944>
- GRØNBECH, Kaare and John R. KRUEGER 1993. *An Introduction to Classical (Literary) Mongolian. Grammar, Reader, Glossary*. Third, corrected edition. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- HITOSHI, Kuribayashi 栗林均 2003. *Huayiyiyu Kōshu hon Mongoru-go: zentanko Gobi sakuin 華夷譯語 (甲種本) モンゴル語 : 全單語・語尾索引* [Word and Suffix Index of the Mongolian in the *Huayiyiyu*]. Sendai: Tohoku University Tohoku Research Centre.
- HONG, Jinfu 洪金富 1990. *Yuandai menggu yuwen de jiaoyuxue 元代蒙古語文的教與學* [The Education of the Mongolian in the Yuan Dynasty]. Taipei: Mengzang weiyuanhui.
- HOUDAS, O. 1895. *Histoire du sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti, prince du Kharezm par Muhammed En-Nesawi*. Vol. 2. Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales. IIIe série, No. X. Paris: E. Leroux.
- HUNG, William 1951. "The Transmission of the Book Known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*". *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14(3/4): 433–492. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2718184>
- IRWIN, Robert 2010. "Eating horses and drinking mare's milk". [In:] Irwin, Robert, ed., *Mamluks and Crusaders. Men of the Sword and Men of the Pen*. Burlington: Ashgate, pp. 1–7.
- IWAMURA, Shinobu 岩村忍 1961. *The Zirni Manuscript: A Persian-Mongolian Glossary and Grammar*. Kyoto: Naigai Printing Company.
- KOLBAS, Judith 2022. "A Mongol in the Cairo Mint". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 32(4): 1030–1040. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1356186322000396>
- LAMBTON, Ann K. S. 1988. *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia. Aspects of Administrative, Economic and Social History, 11th–14th Century*. Albany, N.Y.: The Persian Heritage Foundation.
- LANDA, Ishayahu 2016. "Oirats in the Ilkhanate and the Mamluk Sultanate in the Thirteenth to the Early Fifteenth Centuries: Two Cases of Assimilation into the Muslim Environment". *Mamlūk Studies Review* 19: 149–191. <https://doi.org/10.6082/M1B27SG2>

- LECH, Klaus, ed. and trans. 1968. *Das Mongolische Weltreich: al-Umarī's Darstellung der Mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-absār fī mamālik al-amṣār*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- LEVANONI, Amalia 1995. *A Turning Point in Mamluk History. The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)*. Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004493032>
- LITTLE, Donald P. 1970. *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography. An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780773594258>
- LITTLE, Donald P. 1979. “Notes on Aitamiš, a Mongol Mamlūk”. [In:] Haarmann, Ulrich and Peter Bachmann, eds, *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Hans Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*. Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen-Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, pp. 387–401.
- MINORSKY, V. 1956. “Pūr-i Bahā's ‘Mongol’ Ode (Mongolica, 2)”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18(2): 261–278. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00106846>
- MIYA, Noriko 宮紀子 2010. “Azuma kara nishi e no tabibito: Changde” 東から西への旅人：常德 [Changde, A Traveller from East to West]. [In:] *Yūrashia chūō-iki no rekishi kōzu: 13–15 Seiki no tōzai ユーラシア中央域の歴史構図：13–15 世紀の東西* [Historical Composition of the Central Eurasia: East and West during 13th–15th Century]. Kyoto: Research Institute for Humanity and Nature, pp. 175–180.
- MOSTAERT, Antoine and Francis Woodman CLEAVES 1952. “Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes”. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 15(3/4): 419–506. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2718237>
- NAKAMACHI, Nobutaka 中町信孝 2006. “The Rank and Status of Military Refugees in the Mamluk Army: A Reconsideration of the *Wāfidīyah*”. *Mamluk Studies Review* 10(1): 55–81. <https://doi.org/10.6082/M1D798K9>
- PELLIOT, Paul 1927. “Le prétendu vocabulaire mongol des Ƙaitaƙ du Daghestan”. *Journal Asiatique* 210: 279–294.
- PELLIOT, Paul 1931. “Les Formes turques et mongoles dans la nomenclature zoologique du *Nuzhatu-l-ƙulūb*”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 6(3): 555–580. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00093095>
- POPPE, N. 1927. “Das mongolische Sprachmaterial einer Leidener Handschrift: Zweiter Abschnitt”. *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS*. VI série, 21(7): 1251–1274.
- QIU, Yihao 2020. “Background and Aftermath of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ṭībī's Voyage: a Reexamination of the Interaction between the Ilkhanate

- and the Yuan at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century”. [In:] May, Timothy, Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog and Christopher P. Atwood, eds, *New Approaches to Ilkhanid History*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 147–175. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004438217\\_007](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004438217_007)
- DE RACHEWILTZ, Igor 1969. “The Mongolian Poem of Muḥammad al-Samarqandī”. *Central Asiatic Journal* 12(4): 280–285.
- RÁSONYI, László and Imre BASKI 2007. *Onomasticon Turcicum: Turkic Personal Names*. 2 vols. Bloomington: Indiana University.
- RYBATZKI, V. 2006. *Die Personennamen und Titel der mittelmongolischen Dokumente: eine lexikalische Untersuchung*. University of Helsinki, Phd. diss.
- SINOR, Denis 1982. “Interpreters in Medieval Inner Asia”. *Asian and African Studies, Journal of the Israel Oriental Studies* 16: 293–320.
- DE SLANE, M. 1883–1895. *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- SPULER, Bertold 1955. *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- TEMIR, Ahmet 1959. *Kırşehir Emiri Caca Oğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 Tarihli Arapça-Moğolca Vakfiyesi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- THACKSTON, W. M., trans. 1998–1999. *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*. English Translation & Annotation. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations.
- VALLET, Éric 2015. “La grammaire du monde: Langues et pouvoir en Arabie occidentale à l'âge mongol”. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 70(3): 637–664. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ahs.2015.0092>
- VAN STEENBERGEN, J. 2001. “The amir Qawsun: Statesman or Courtier? (720–741 AH/1320–1341 AD)”. [In:] Vermeulen, U. and J. Van Steenbergen, eds, *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 102. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 449–466.
- VÁSÁRY, István 1987. “Bemerkungen zum uigurischen Schrifttum in der Goldenen Horde und bei den Timuriden”. *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 7: 115–126.
- VÁSÁRY, István 2005. “Oriental Languages of the ‘Codex Cumanicus’: Persian and Cuman as ‘Linguae Francae’ in the Black Sea Region (13th–14th Centuries)”. [In:] Schmieder, Felicitas and Peter Schreiner, eds, *Il Codice Cumanico e il suo mondo*. *Atti del colloquio internazionale*, Venezia, 6–7 dicembre 2002. Roma: Storia e Letteratura, pp. 105–124.

- VÁSÁRY, István 2016a. “The Role and Function of Mongolian and Turkic in Ilkhanid Iran”. [In:] Csató, Éva Á., Lars Johanson, András Róna-Tas and Bo Utas, eds, *Turks and Iranians. Interactions in Language and History*. Turcologica 105. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 141–152. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvc5pftm.15>
- VÁSÁRY, István 2016b. “The Preconditions to Becoming a Judge (*Yargúči*) in Mongol Iran”. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, series 3, 26(1/2): 157–169. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1356186315000899>
- VÁSÁRY, István 2018. “Yāsā and Sharī‘a. Islamic Attitudes toward the Mongol Law in the Turco-Mongolian World (from the Golden Horde to Timur’s Time)”. [In:] Gleave, Robert and István T. Kristó-Nagy, eds, *Violence in Islamic Thought from the Mongols to European Imperialism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 58–78. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781474413015-006>
- WEIERS, Michael 1972. “Ein arabisch-mongolischer Wörterspiegel aus der Bibliothek Corsini in Rom”. *Zentralasiatische Studien* 6: 7–61.
- XIAO, Qiqing 蕭啓慶 1999. “Yuanchao de tongshi yu yishi: duoyuan minzuguojia zhongde goutongrenwu” 元朝的通事與譯史：多元民族國家中的溝通人物 [Interpreter and Translator in the Yuan Dynasty: The Mediator in a Multi-ethnic State]. [In:] *Yuanchaoshi xinlun* 元朝史新論 [New Approaches of History of Yuan]. Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, pp. 323–384.
- YOSEF, Koby 2017. “Usages of Kinship Terminology during the Mamluk Sultanate and the Notion of the ‘Mamlūk Family’”. [In:] Ben-Bassat, Yuval, ed., *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 16–75. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004345058\\_003](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004345058_003)
- YOSEF, Koby 2021. “The Names of the *Mamlūks*: Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Solidarity in the Mamluk Sultanate (648–922 / 1250–1517)”. [In:] Levanoni, Amalia, ed., *Egypt and Syria Under Mamluk Rule: Political, Social and Cultural Aspects*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 59–118. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004459717\\_006](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004459717_006)

---

## The Concept of “Buddha-Nature” in Women’s Salvation and Its Relationship to Japanese Buddhist Teachings on Menstruation

Małgorzata SOB CZYK

**Abstract:** This paper explores one aspect in the evolution of “buddha-nature” (*bussō*) in Japan within the context of Buddhist teachings regarding women’s salvation. “Buddha-nature”, symbolised by the lotus throne where buddhas and bodhisattvas reside, was fused with the notion of menstrual impurity due to syncretism with Shintō beliefs. The introduction of the *Bloody Pond Sutra* (*Ketsubon-kyō*) solidified discussions on menstruation’s origin, attributing menstrual impurity to women’s “mind” poisons. Practical manifestations of this complex idea included wearing chest talismans. This research sheds light on the evolving “Buddha-nature” concept in Japan and its implications for women’s spirituality.

**Keywords:** buddha-nature, lotus throne, women in Buddhism, *Bloody Pond Sutra* *Ketsubon-kyō*, impurity, menstruation

Małgorzata SOB CZYK, Department of Oriental Studies of Nicolaus Copernicus University,  
Torun, Poland; [m\\_sobczyk@umk.pl](mailto:m_sobczyk@umk.pl);  0000-0002-1697-1990



Except where otherwise noted, this article is distributed under a Creative Commons Non-Commercial No-Derivatives 4.0 licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>).

---

## Introduction

The lotus flower holds various meanings and interpretations within the context of Buddhist philosophy and iconography, with one of its most profound connotations being the representation of buddha-nature – the inherent potential for enlightenment that exists within all sentient beings. This concept of buddha-nature found expression through the metaphor of the heart as a “lotus throne” (*rendai* 蓮台) with eight petals on which buddhas and bodhisattvas reside. This paper aims to explore how, in Japanese Buddhism, this metaphor was applied specifically to women.<sup>1</sup> It highlights how, in women, the lotus throne was believed to have a distinct positioning or structure compared to men, as exemplified in forthcoming sources. The central argument of this paper posits that these differences were meant to indicate the discrepancy in the potential for attaining the state of a buddha. Furthermore, this divergence was strongly associated with menstrual bleeding and the impurity caused by blood. While this complex set of ideas is traceable in Japanese sources spanning from the 14th to the 19th centuries, it appears to be most prevalent from the 17th century onwards.

## Theoretical expressions

The eight-petalled lotus, commonly appears at the center of mandalas (known as the central pavilion or *chūin* 中院), such as the Womb Realm Mandala (*taizōkai mandara* 胎藏界曼荼羅), representing the heart of the universe. The human body is considered a reflection of the universe, and therefore, the lotus throne corresponds to the central organ in the human body – the heart. As mentioned above, this image became intertwined with *kechi'e* 穢血 (or impurity caused by blood), which has deep-rooted associations within Shintō, Japan’s indigenous religion, but initially did not have a presence in Buddhism<sup>2</sup>. A syncretism of

<sup>1</sup> “Buddha-nature” – as one of the key concepts of Sino-Japanese Buddhism – receives a fair amount of scholarly attention. See e.g., ZAPART 2017.

<sup>2</sup> To support this statement, we can refer to the words of Hōnen (Genkū), the founder of the Pure Land School (Jōdoshū). In *Ippyaku shijū gokajō mondō* [Dialogue in One Hundred and Forty-Five Points], written around 1201, he responds to questions from aristocratic women by stating that there is no obstacle to reciting sutras during menstruation (OHASHI 1989: 254–255). This thinker dedicated considerable attention to the position of women in Buddhism, as evidenced by his extensive commentary on the thirty-fifth vow of Buddha Amida (Amitābha), making his opinion authoritative in this regard. A similar view was held by Nichiren who, in correspondence from 1264, denied the existence of sutras or other scriptures that prohibited women from practicing due to menstruation. He extensively discussed this issue in *Gassui/Gessui goshō* 月水御書 [Correspondence on Menstruation]. At the same time, he invoked the principle of *zuihōbini* 隨方毘尼 (adaptation of the discipline to circumstances), which allowed for flexible adjustment of universal precepts to local and temporal conditions, as long as it did not contradict the fundamental teachings of Buddha. This theoretically paved the way for foreign concepts to be assimilated into Japanese Buddhism (NGG pp. 501–503).

Buddhism and Shintō, catalysed by the introduction of a new, apocryphal sutra *Ketsubon-kyō* 血盆経 [Bloody Pond Sutra<sup>3</sup>] around the 15th century (*Chōben shianshō* p. 125), played a crucial role in incorporating into Buddhism the idea that female blood – especially menstrual and postpartum blood – has polluting properties. The *Shintōshū* 神道集 [Collection of Shintō Texts] (mid-14th century) exemplifies doctrinal innovation regarding the Buddhist understanding of defilement caused by menstrual blood. When asked why divinities of Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples view menstrual blood as repulsive, the explanation – based on a pseudo-quotation from sutra – is provided:

答、心地観経ニハ、一切衆生ノ胸ノ間、八葉ノ有ニ肉壇、女肝ハ低  
 様ナリ、男ノ肝ハ仰背リ、故男ノ食物、肉壇留テ、尸虫ヲ養、女食物ハ、  
 早ク熟蔵下、尸虫ヲ不レ養、故虫共飢テ、食物求、泣涙ノ流テ、血ト  
 成テ出ルヲ月水ト云ナリ云云

(KONDŌ 1959: 164)

Response: The *Shinji kangyō* [The Sutra on the Contemplation of the Mind] states that within the chest of every sentient being there is a fleshy mass (*nikudan*) in the shape of an eight-petalled lotus. In a woman, the liver is situated lower, while in a man, it is positioned horizontally. For this reason, what a man consumes is retained within the fleshy mass [i.e. heart], providing nutrition to the corporal worms (*shichū*) [within his body]. What a woman consumes directly enters her intestines, failing to supply nourishment to the corporal worms, so they demand food out of hunger. The tears they shed turn into blood, which is released externally as what is called menstrual blood.<sup>4</sup>

The next stage in the evolution of this concept began with the reception of the *Ketsubon-kyō* [Bloody Pond Sutra] around the 15th century. Following its introduction to Japan, interpretations regarding the origin of menstruation began to emerge in exegetical literature. The *Tenkai-zō* “*Ketsubon-kyō*” *dangi shi* 天海蔵血盆経談義私 [Private Copy of the Sermon on the “Bloody Pond Sutra” from Tenkai’s Archives], copied in 1599, provides the most detailed exploration of this issue:

<sup>3</sup> The author interprets a Sino-Japanese term *ketsubon* 血盆 in the title of the sutra as the equivalent of the native term *chinoike* 血(の)池, thus chooses to translate both as “bloody pond”. The semantic suitability of both terms is supported by a range of source texts, including a manuscript titled “*Ketsubon-kyō*” *no yurai* [The Origin of the “Bloody Pond Sutra”] (FUKUMITSU 2002: 406; SOBZYK 2022: 509). The semantic component *bon*, in its first variant, alludes to the round shape of the body of bloody water. This interpretation is further reinforced by the commentary “*Ketsubon-kyō*” *dangi shi* [Private Copy of the Sermon on the “Bloody Pond Sutra”], where the shape of the pond is likened to a vessel (KŌDATE and MAKINO 2000: 22; SOBZYK 2022: 95). The phrase in the title appears to be a figurative expression referring to its round shape, rather than a literal expression of a vessel.

<sup>4</sup> The author of this paper is responsible for all translations included.

月水ノ由来ノ事一切衆生ノ肉団ニ八葉ノ蓮花有リ[...]是即チ男ノ蓮花ハ上ニ向テ生シ女ノ蓮ケハ下ニ向キ不レ開ケ常ニ有ル也此ノ八葉ニ五仏四菩薩居シテ常住御座ス故ニ心ノ蓮台ト云也

而ルニ男ニ蓮ケハ上ニ向ク故ニ仏菩薩安穩也女ノ蓮ケハ下ニ向キツホム故ニ難シテ住シカン涙ヲ流シ玉フカ月水ト成テ血盆地獄ノ池ニ留ル也是レ月水ノ調レ也

(KŌDATE and MAKINO 2000: 21–22)

About the origin of menstruation (*tsukimizu*). Within the body of every sentient being, there is a fleshy mass (*nikudan*) that resembles an eight-petalled lotus flower. [...] To be more precise, in men, the lotus flower always grows upwards, as a result of which, five buddhas and four bodhisattvas always reside there. Thus, the heart is called the lotus throne. Contrary to men, in whom the lotus flower grows upwards, making buddhas and bodhisattvas reside peacefully, in women, the lotus bud grows downwards, causing discomfort and leading them [buddhas and bodhisattvas] to cry out of despair. From their tears menstrual blood is formed, and it gathers in the Hell of the Bloody Pond (*ketsubon jigoku*). This is how menstruation occurs.

In another part of the same source, the commentator addresses the question of why the tears shed by buddhas and bodhisattvas have a polluting effect:

私云四仏五菩薩ノカン涙ノ露ナラハ清浄ニ雖レトモ可レト有ル譬ハ朱ヲ清水ニスリ合スレハ如ニク赤ク成ル仏菩薩ノ悲嘆ノ涙モ大不浄「ト成テ」交ル故血水ニ反ル也 [...]

女ノ愚「痴ノ」煩惱ニ交ル故ニ仏菩薩ノ悲嘆ノ涙モ大不浄「ト成テ」三宝ヲケカス也[...] 一血ト者赤色ノ物ノ煩惱ノ種也サル程ニ一切衆生ハ此ノ血脉カ地大ト作テ

五大具足ノ成レシテ身ヲ受レ苦也地獄等ノ苦ハ血盆ノ血ノ一字ヨリ起ル可心得也 [...]

今ノ血盆血水カー一切衆生ト成テ受レク苦ヲ根元ナレハ広ハ八万四千由旬ノ血盆地獄ト顕現シテ一切ノ女人ニ業障ヲツクノハセル也 [...]

(KŌDATE and MAKINO 2000: 20–22)

In my view, the tears of despair from buddhas and bodhisattvas should be as pure as dewdrops. However, just as crystal-clear water turns red when cinnabar is added to it, the tears of buddhas and bodhisattvas, despite resembling pearl-like dews, transform into blood (*chi*) when mixed with the redness of a woman's mental defilements (*bonnō*). [...] Likewise, the tears of despair from buddhas and bodhisattvas, as they mingle with a woman's ignorance (*chi*), one of her mental defilements, become greatly impure and go on to pollute the Three Treasures [of Buddhism]. [...] Blood

is the red seed of mental defilements. Therefore, the veins of sentient beings form the earth element (*chi*), which makes up a five-element human body [...] being subject to suffering. Thus, one should understand that infernal suffering, as well as other forms of suffering, originate from just one blood, character in bloody pond – blood. [...] The menstrual blood from the Bloody Pond, which I am discussing here, is the source of suffering for all sentient beings, which is why the Hell of the Bloody Pond manifests as [a vast] hell measuring eighty-four thousand yojanas<sup>5</sup>, where all women must settle their karmic debts. [...] All delusions of the mind have their origin in ignorance (*chi*).

This complex discussion essentially revolves around the notion that a woman’s mental imperfections, particularly “ignorance/foolishness” prevent her from realising her potential to attain buddhahood. In my opinion, the above argumentation relies on the homonymy of “blood” (*chi* 血), which originates from “ignorance/foolishness” (*chi* 痴) and forms “earth” (*chi* 地), which is considered the fundamental substance of the human body subjected to suffering. This is indicated by the nuanced choice of term *guchi* 愚痴 (in other parts of the document frequently abbreviated to *chi*) instead of *mumyō* 無明 (ignorance) – commonly used to denote the first link in the twelvefold chain of dependent origination and the fundamental cause of remaining in conditioned existence. The application of the homonymy principle allowed for the integration of blood, earth, and ignorance/foolishness into a coherent conceptual framework, extracting hidden knowledge within language, which aligns with the exegetical style of *myōsen jijō* 名詮自性 (“the essence [of the signifier] is contained in its name”).<sup>6</sup>

The 17th (or early 18th) century compilation of materials titled “*Urabonkyō*” *shikisho* 孟蘭盆經私記疏 [Private Notes on the Commentaries to the “Ullambana Sutra”]<sup>7</sup>, makes two separate mentions of the lotus throne as a representation of

<sup>5</sup> A unit of measurement often used in Buddhism to describe the vastness of space. Roughly equivalent to about 7 miles or approximately 11.3 kilometers.

<sup>6</sup> To reinforce this claim, it should be noted that this is not an isolated instance of applying this method of analysis in the document. Another section provides an interpretation of the title *Myōhō rengēkyō* 妙法蓮華經 [Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law]. The commentator broke down the characters that make up “*myōhō*” 妙法 into their basic elements, obtaining the sequence 少女水去. Then, he interpreted it as “*shōjo mizu o saru*” 少女水ヲ去ル, meaning “a young girl leaving water/emerging from water”. He further attributed the meaning of “moonwater” (*tsukimizu* 月水) to “water”, referring to menstrual blood that collects in the Bloody Pond Hell. This line of reasoning led him to conclude that the *Lotus Sutra* implicitly teaches about woman’s salvation from the Bloody Pond Hell (KŌDATE and MAKINO 2000: 22).

<sup>7</sup> Despite its title, this source text consists of five sections dedicated, in sequence, to the presentation of the *Ullambana Sutra* and two commentaries on it, the history of the Bloody Pond along with the text of the *Bloody Pond Sutra* and a commentary on its content.

buddha-nature. The latter reference explicitly ascribes to women an incapacity to receive the Teachings of Buddha, linking the concept of impurity with limitations in their buddha-nature:

去<sup>レ</sup>女人<sup>ノ</sup>胸之間<sup>ニ</sup>八葉之蓮華逆<sup>ニ</sup>開<sup>テ</sup>逆<sup>ニ</sup>萎<sup>ム</sup>。仍<sup>テ</sup>内<sup>ヲ</sup>分<sup>テ</sup>流<sup>ル</sup>零色、青黃赤白黒見<sup>ル</sup>中<sup>ニ</sup>モ赤<sup>キ</sup>色之零、一月之間<sup>ニ</sup>一七日之數<sup>ヲ</sup>重<sup>テ</sup>、一年十二月<sup>ノ</sup>間八十四日也。此<sup>ノ</sup>血積<sup>テ</sup>一期之間不<sup>レ</sup>知<sup>ル</sup>數<sup>ヲ</sup>。

(IJIMA 1998: 68)

And so, inside a woman's chest, an eight-petal lotus flower blooms upside down and withers upside down. Thus, from blue, yellow, red, white, and black drops [of liquids] that circulate inside her, red drops accumulate for seven days each month, amounting to eighty-four days throughout the twelve months of a year. Who could know how many drops accumulate during one's lifetime!

又女人垢穢也。非是法器。男<sup>ノ</sup>胸<sup>ノ</sup>中<sup>ニ</sup>ハ、毎朝開<sup>ニ</sup>八葉<sup>ノ</sup>蓮華<sup>ハ</sup>、納<sup>ニ</sup>食物<sup>ノ</sup>。此食身中<sup>ノ</sup>八万四千<sup>ノ</sup>虫<sup>ノ</sup>飲<sup>テ</sup>持<sup>レ</sup>命。女人<sup>ノ</sup>蓮華<sup>ハ</sup>、依<sup>ニ</sup>倒<sup>ニ</sup>開<sup>ク</sup>、不<sup>レ</sup>留<sup>レ</sup>食<sup>ヲ</sup>。故諸虫泣<sup>キ</sup>悲<sup>レ</sup>之其涙作<sup>ニ</sup>愛水<sup>ノ</sup>、反<sup>シテ</sup>月<sup>ニ</sup>一<sup>ニ</sup>度<sup>ノ</sup>月水是<sup>ナリ</sup>。

(IJIMA 1998: 69)

[...] Above all, a woman is dirty and impure. She lacks the capacity to receive the Dharma<sup>8</sup>. Within a man's chest every morning a lotus with eight petals blooms and stores nutrition. Eighty-four thousand worms, existing inside his body, consume this food and sustain life. In the case of a woman, the lotus opens facing downwards, and as a result, it does not accumulate food. For this reason, worms [within her] cry out of sadness. Their tears form a fluid of love (*aisui*), which each month turns into menstrual blood.

A similar teaching about the origin of menstruation can be found in the “*Ketsubon-kyō*” *Jizō-son engi* 血盆經地藏尊緣起 [History of the “Bloody Pond Sutra” of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha] published in 1792. As opposed to the manuscripts cited above, its printed format facilitated the dissemination of this knowledge to

This arrangement of material demonstrates that the author must have recognised a thematic connection between both sutras. What binds them together is the central figure of Maudgalyāyana (Mokuren) and his overarching mission – to liberate his mother from posthumous suffering.

<sup>8</sup> This opening passage appears to have been influenced by the famous passage from the *Lotus Sutra*, as translated by Kumārajīva. These words were spoken by Śāriputra, who expressed doubt about whether the dragon king's daughter (Shagara ryūō 娑伽羅竜王) could attain enlightenment. In Japanese Buddhism, the *Lotus Sutra* has historically been regarded as a key text addressing the salvation of women. Despite the accumulation of circumstances that might hinder spiritual emancipation, such as her young age (8 years old), female gender, and even an animal form, she achieved salvation.

a wider audience. The text originates from Shōsen Temple in Abiko-shi (Chiba Prefecture), which in the 18th century, gained fame as the place the *Bloody Pond Sutra* first appeared in Japan due to revelation from Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha:

夫原に一百三拾六地獄の中に血盆地獄と言ておそろ敷地獄あり縦横広さ八万由旬なり然に此地獄ハ一切の女人業を作るに依て墮所の地獄なり其故ハ如何女人の胸の間に八葉の蓮華あり逆に生し逆に開か故に胸の間より血を出す其色五色なり就レ中赤色の血流る事一月に七日あり十二月の間に八十四日なり是を以て名て月水といふ大悪不浄の水也然るに此悪水大地に落れハ地神の頭を汚す [...] 若水中にすつれハ水神をけがし山中に捨れハ山神を穢す或ハ穢れたる衣装を川水にて洗濯する時其川下の諸の善人は是をしらずして此水をくみ茶を煎じ飯を炊き仏神に供養するに仏神是を請給はず

Let us begin by stating that among the one hundred and thirty-six hells, there is one particularly dreadful known as the Hell of the Bloody Pond (*ketsubon jigoku*). It measures eighty thousand yojanas in height, eighty thousand yojanas in length, and eighty thousand yojanas in width. It is the hell where all women end up due to the bad karma they accumulate. Here is why: In a woman’s chest, a lotus flower with eight petals grows. It grows with its roots pointing upwards and blooms in that manner, which is why blood of five colours flows from a woman’s chest. Specifically, the red blood flows for seven days each month, totaling eighty-four days per twelve months of the year. [...] It is a repulsive and impure fluid. When this impure fluid comes into contact with earth, it defiles the heads of the earth deities. [...] If this menstrual blood gets into water, it contaminates the water deities; if it falls on the mountains, it contaminates the mountain deities. And when a woman washes her stained clothes in a river, people from respectable households unknowingly fetch water downstream, brew tea and cook rice. When they offer the tea and rice to the deities and buddhas, they do not accept them.

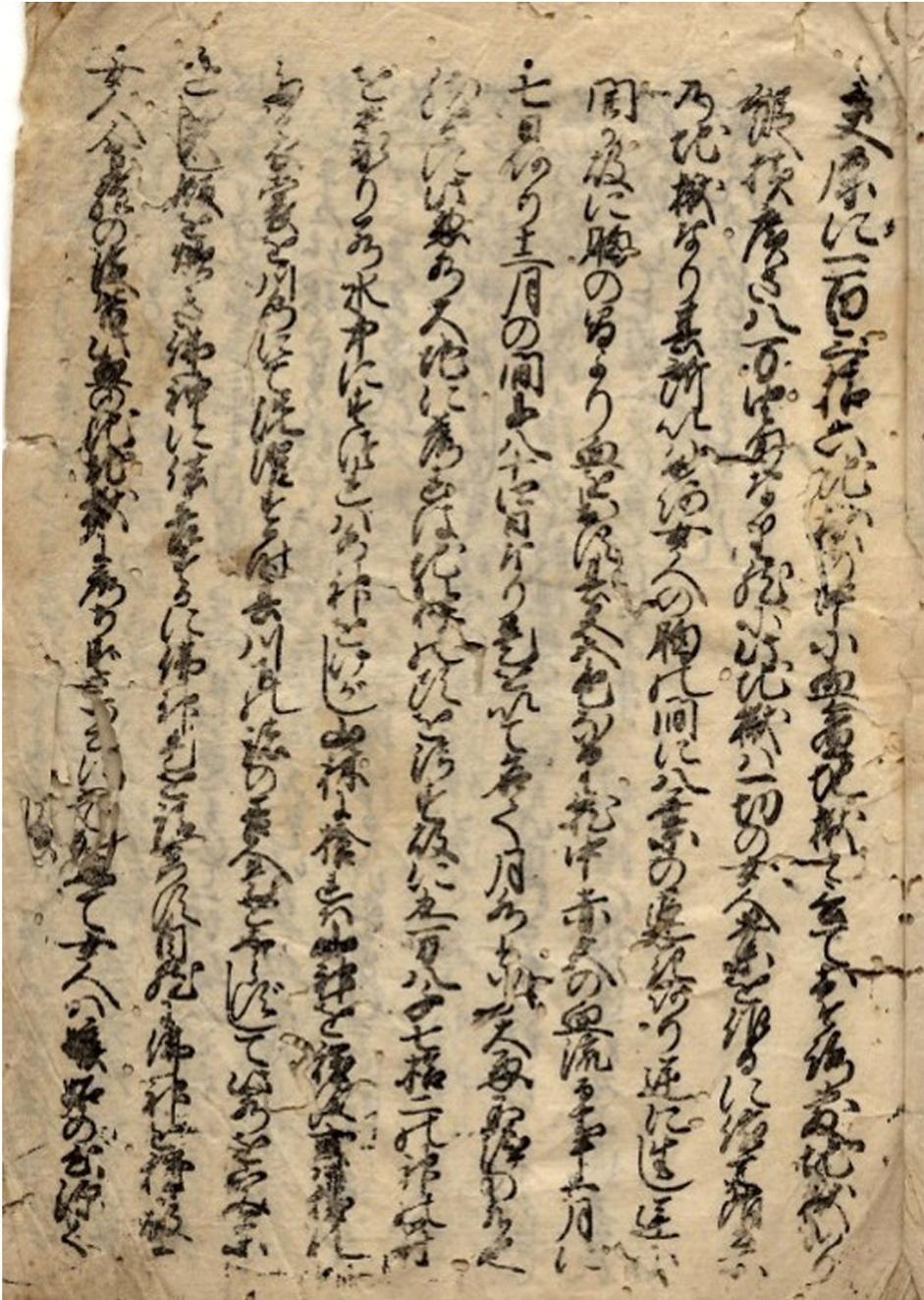


Fig. 1. Opening part of the *Jizō-son engi*, first printed in 1792, where the origin of menstruation is discussed. © Małgorzata Sobczyk. The CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 licence does not apply to this picture.

The passage merits attention as its focus on menstrual blood as the sole cause of a woman’s rebirth in hell. Menstrual bleeding is associated with the improper positioning of the inner lotus throne. Even though the text partially paraphrases the *Bloody Pond Sutra*, especially in terms of how the pollution is disseminated, this explanation for a woman’s posthumous fate lacks confirmation in any existing version.<sup>9</sup> While some versions mention menstrual blood alongside postpartum blood, postpartum blood is often presented as the primary source of defilement. Given the circumstances of the sutra’s revelation, where a bodhisattva responded to a request from a teenage girl possessed by the spirit of a nun (both women did not experience motherhood), the omission of postpartum blood in the introduction seems to be a justifiable editorial choice.

“*Ketsubon-kyō*” *no yurai* 血盆経の由来 [The Origins of the “Bloody Pond Sutra”] 18th–19th century source, seems to suggest that a woman’s ignorance provides nutrients for a lotus flower to develop:

血の池地獄といふて恐ろき地獄あり。縦横八万四千由旬。然ニ此地獄ハ一切の女人業を作るに依而墮る所の地獄。其故ハ如何。女人の胸の間ニ八葉の蓮華あり。迷に生じ迷にひらくか故ニ胸の間より血を出す。其色五色なり。就中赤色の血流ること一月に七日あり。十二月の間に八十四日なり。是をとって名づき申て月水といふ

(FUKUMITSU 2002: 406–408)

There is a dreadful hell known as the Bloody Pond Hell, which is eighty-four thousand yojanas long and eighty-four thousand yojanas wide. It is a realm where all women find themselves as a result of accumulating negative karma. But why does this occur? Inside every woman’s chest, there grows an eight-petalled lotus flower. It sprouts from ignorance and blooms in ignorance. Consequently, blood flows in five different colours from between her breasts. Specifically, the red one flows for seven days every month, adding up to eighty-four days over the course of twelve months, which is why it is called menstrual blood.

Evidence of the widespread acceptance of this interpretation of buddha-nature can be found in a Japanese-style Buddhist hymn (*wasan* 和讃) titled *Shihon Jōdo* 四品浄土 [The Four Levels of the Pure Land], which was transcribed in 1806. Hymns like these were frequently recited by Pure Land fraternities.

<sup>9</sup> In a manuscript [*Shōtoku*] *taishi den* [The Life of Prince [Shōtoku]] copied in 1466 by Shaku Keigon 釈慶巖 of the Tendai sect (property of Temple Kawaraya Zen, Shiga Prefecture, Higashi Ōmi), there is a passage concerning Prince Shōtoku’s thirteenth year of life that discusses the origin and content of the *Bloody Pond Sutra*. From this fragmentary record emerges a unique version of the text, in which polluting water and earth with menstrual blood serves as the sole criterion for the rebirth of women in the Bloody Pond (MAKINO 1991: 110).

It presents the idea that the lotus flower within women is inherently unable to bloom, leading to a pessimistic view of their salvation. This particular hymn even offers a specific timeframe for the development of an inner lotus flower:

男胸ニモ蓮華有女人ノ胸ニモ蓮華有男ノ胸ノ蓮華ハ八夜ツホミテ  
花カサク。又モツホミテ花カサク。女人ノ胸ノ蓮華ハ八夜ツホミ  
テ花サカス。又ツホミテ花サカス。ナニノ女人タスカラス。ナニ  
ノ女人タスカラス。

(BUKKYŌ DAIGAKU MINKAN NENBUTSU KENKYŪKAI 1966: 567–568)

Both men and women have a lotus within their chests. In the case of men, after eight nights, the lotus bud in their chests blooms. Then, it releases another bud, which eventually blossoms into a flower. In women, the lotus in their chests also releases a bud but fails to blossom after eight nights. It then releases another bud, yet again without developing a flower. Why could a woman be saved? Why could a woman be saved?

The concept of buddha-nature being expressed in this manner finds resonance in the widely-read and often-copied prose narratives (*otogi zōshi* 御伽草子). Within this literary genre, menstrual blood is frequently likened to tears shed by bodily worms. One example can be observed in the work *Fuji no sōshi* 富士之草紙 [The Story of Mount Fuji] (dated 1800):

女の胸にハ三寸内に血の池有是に蓮華三ぼん有さかさまにうひたり。  
女ハ瞋恚をなす時ハかうじや虫のなく泪つもりて月に一度の  
月水と成されハ女人ハ一年に八十四日のさわりの罪の深  
き事をしりながらも善根にかたぶく事もなくして女ハマよいふか  
くさとり少き事ふ便也。

(AMANO 1976: 65)

In the chest, every woman carries the Bloody Pond of the size of three *sun* [circa 9.09 cm], within which three lotuses float with their roots pointing upwards. When a woman experiences anger, tears shed by the worms of bad karma accumulate, and once a month, menstrual blood is produced from them. For eighty-four days a year, the woman remains impure because of it. Even though she is aware of the burden on sins she carries, she has no inclination for good deeds. A woman is profoundly lost in ignorance. Rarely does she attain enlightenment, which makes her truly worthy of pity!

Another work of the genre titled *Tokiwa monogatari* 常盤物語 [The Tale of Tokiwa], with the oldest extant copy dating back to 1625, addresses the issue of the origin of menstruation during a discussion between Tokiwa Gozen and the monk Tōkōbō from Kurama Temple. The monk's explanation aimed to

convince the heroine why women should not be allowed to enter sacred places is below:

おとこのむねの、れんげは、八ようと申て、あしたにひらき、夕べにしほむ、ぬしがものを、ふくすれば、かうしやのむしか、えてふくして、なんもくせもなし、[...]おとこは、ほとけに、はやくなり  
又女人のむねの、れんげは、七ようとて、あさゆふ、ひらく事もなし、物をふくすれども、かうしやのむしは、ふくせず、かなしみのあまりに、とりあひ、つかみあひけるほとに、ちのなみだを、なかすにより、月に一との、さはりとて、

(YOKOYAMA 1964: 468–469)

The lotus flower in a man’s chest has eight petals. It blooms in the morning and withers in the evening. When its carrier consumes food, worms of karma feed on it, hence [the man] is free of faults. He quickly attains the state of buddha. [...] On the other hand, the lotus in a woman’s chest has seven petals. It does not bloom in the morning or in the evening. Even when [a woman] eats, worms of karma do not feed on [her food]. Out of despair, they fight over the food and tear it from each other, and as the fight intensifies, they shed bloody tears. As a result, impurity arises once a month.

As the above example indicates, the monk recognised differences in the predispositions for attaining a state of buddhahood between men and women based on the lotuses they carry (a woman’s lotus having seven petals and never blooming). In the context of this discussion, it is relevant to note that in one of the literary works, drawing inspiration from Buddhist teachings, namely in *Gosuiden* (the protagonist’s name), from Yamamoto Kakutayū’s (dated 1700) repertoire, the lotus throne developed in the human heart during the late stages of fetal development (in the eighth month), with no differentiation based on gender – the lotus always had eight petals (SAKAGUCHI 2020: 454).

From the above review of sources, two predominant perspectives come to light. Firstly, within Buddhist texts, particularly in sutra commentaries, menstrual blood was symbolically perceived as the tears shed by buddhas and bodhisattvas who were envisioned to be seated on a lotus throne. Initially, this interpretation possessed somewhat esoteric qualities and was primarily found in manuscripts with a limited readership. However, with the dissemination of printed brochures from Shōsen Temple, this teaching gradually reached a wider audience. Secondly, an alternative line of interpretation emerged, dating back to the 14th century as recorded in the *Shintōshū*, which later found its way into various narratives. This perspective portrayed menstrual blood as tears shed by worms. These tears, whether attributed to worms or enlightened beings, were believed to be a consequence of certain imperfections in the lotus throne within

a woman's chest, such as an inverted position, having seven petals, and an inability to bloom. In my opinion, these characteristics symbolically alluded to the imperfection of a woman's buddha-nature and were meant to indicate of her inability to realise her full potential in attaining the state of buddhahood.

Building upon the previous discussions, it raises the question of whether this inner lotus throne could be improved. In this regard, the text “*Ketsubon-kyō*” *dangi shi* (dated 1599) presents a noteworthy perspective:

男ノ事ハ勿論女房モ法花ヲ信仰シ法ケト人法ノ事ニテ有ル弥陀ノ  
名号ヲ唱ハ、心中ノ蓮華カ上ニ向キ反成男子シテ胸中ノ仏菩薩顕現シテ成  
仏スト者也

一反成男子ヲ女ノ胸中ノ蓮ケカ上ニ向テ反成男子ト云フ是レハ愚痴者智慧  
ノ心口又タハ煩惱即菩提ノ心トク

(KŌDATE and MAKINO 2000: 22)

There is no need to mention a man. However, when a woman who believes in the flower of the law (*hokke*), when she recites the invocation to Amitābha, which is [based on] a doctrine different from the flower of the law and [has been preached] for individuals with different predispositions, the lotus flower in her heart turns upwards, and she transforms into a man. Buddhas and bodhisattvas residing within her chest manifest their presence, and she attains a state of buddhahood.

Transformation into a man (*henjō nanshi*) is a change that occurs when the lotus flower in a woman's chest turns upwards. It signifies that ignorance is transformed into wisdom, and the state of delusion turns into enlightenment.

The above passage reflects the syncretism of Buddhist doctrines. Both faith in the *Lotus Sutra* and Pure Land Buddhism had the ability to instantaneously transform a woman into a man, as symbolised by the reversal of the inner lotus. Such sudden transformations into men serve as clear references to the parable of the dragon king's daughter, who offered a miraculous pearl containing three thousand worlds to the Buddha, and he accepted it immediately. She then turned to Śāriputra, seeking confirmation of the instantaneous exchange. Subsequently, she underwent a rapid transformation into a man (*henjō nanshi* 変成男子), seated herself on a lotus flower, and exhibited thirty-two signs of enlightenment on her body.

## Practical expressions

This concept of the lotus throne in relation to menstrual bleeding found practical expressions. Buddhist and Shintō priests crafted special talismans for women as a means of neutralising impurity. These talismans often took the form of

pocket-sized versions of the *Bloody Pond Sutra* or short passages from the sutra, intended as protective charms. Some sources suggest that women were advised to carry these talismans close to their chests, a significant choice as the chest symbolically corresponds to the location of the lotus throne.

**Fig. 2.** Pocket-sized *Bloody Pond Sutra* intended as a talisman for women to be carried on their bodies.  
© Małgorzata Sobczyk. The CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 licence does not apply to this picture.



Shōyo Ganteki in the *Ketsubon-kyō waga* 血盆經和解 [Explanation of the “Bloody Pond Sutra” in Japanese] (dated 1713) justified the utility of talismans for women and specified the way, they should be carried:

故ニ公家武家社家等ニ居住ノ女人ハ其家ノ棟ヲ出テ別家ニ籠リ七日ノ間堅ク穢汚ヲ忌果シテ常ノ住居ニ帰ル是レ他人ヲ穢サジガ為メナリ其ノ外中下ノ女人ニ於テハ別火ノモノイミ成リ難キ故ニ [...] 此等ノ人々ハ今血盆經不浄除守ヲ頸ニカケ懷ニ持テ浄心ナラシメバ月ノ障リ其ノ外諸ノ汚穢不浄等悉ク免ルナリ又或ハ神社等ノ参詣ノミニ不<sub>レ</sub>限世人ニ交テモ茶菴菅袖ノ振合ニモ他人ヲ汚サジガ為メナリ

(KŌDATE 2024: 95–96)

[...] Hence, women from aristocratic, samurai, and priestly families would, for seven days, seclude themselves in a separate hut (*bekka*) not connected by a roof to the main dwelling. The taboo concerning blood is strictly observed, and after this period, women return to their usual place of residence. They do this in order not to transfer impurity to others. Women of middle or lower status find it difficult to adhere to the command of using separate fire (*bekka*). [...] If these individuals carry with faith the *Bloody Pond Sutra* discussed here, either around their necks or placed in chest pockets (*futokoro*) as a talisman against impurity (*fujōyoke*), they

will be protected from monthly impurity, as well as from all other stains and impurities. This extends not only to temple visits. This [talisman] is used to avoid transferring pollution to laypeople with whom they come into contact, or whom they meet while sharing tobacco or tea.

As demonstrated by the above source, talismans worn in proximity to the chest, where the lotus throne was traditionally believed to be located, held the power to safeguard not only impurity-afflicted women but also individuals who might come into contact with impurity through fire. This method of protection proved particularly beneficial for women from middle and lower social classes, who lacked the means to observe seclusion during their menstrual impurity periods.

Similar mention can be found in the *Rue no daiji* 留穢之大事 [Secret Method for Halting Impurity], passed down as *kirigami* (i.e. records on a scrap of paper), and obtained in 1824 by Yūten 宥天, a Zen monk. This document offers detailed instructions to priests on crafting and application of talismans designed for women, particularly for specific occasions such as participation in Buddhist ceremonies. According to this method, a woman was to wear a specially prepared talisman around her neck for as many days as she wished to delay menstrual bleeding.

雖<sub>レ</sub>然<sub>リ</sub>ト穢血少<sub>ニ</sub>テモ出<sub>ル</sub>則<sub>キ</sub>ハ忽<sub>チ</sub>受<sub>レ</sub>ク穢<sub>ヲ</sub>故<sub>ニ</sub>疾<sub>ク</sub>掛<sub>ク</sub>左<sub>ノ</sub>守<sub>ヲ</sub>而可<sub>レ</sub>  
 趣<sub>ニ</sub>ク神前或<sub>ハ</sub>道場<sub>ニ</sub>了<sub>テ</sub>而取<sub>ニ</sub>リ戻<sub>シ</sub>其<sub>ノ</sub>守<sub>ヲ</sub>

(SŌTŌSHŪ JINKENYŌGO SUISHIN HONBU 1985: 134)

If a woman was to experience even a small amount of impure blood, she would immediately be considered impure overall. In this case, she should wear this talisman around her neck before approaching sacred places or attending Buddhist places of practices (*dōjō*). Afterwards, she should remove the talisman from her neck and return it.

One noteworthy example comes from the *Tsūzoku bukkyō hyakka zensho* 通俗仏教百科全書 [General Encyclopedia of Buddhism] published in 1891, aimed at lay practitioners of Pure Land School. Despite challenging the very idea of wearing talismans and suggesting that protection can be secured simply by calling out the name of Buddha Amitābha, it explicitly states that talismans – even metaphorical ones – were intended to be worn on the chest, where the inner lotus is believed to be situated:

問ふ、其守は女人は何の所に持て居るや  
 答ふ、女人の胸の蓮華に授かりてあり  
 問ふ、其守如何  
 答ふ、南無阿弥陀仏なり

(NAGAOKA 1891: 230)

Question: Where should a woman wear such a talisman?

Answer: It is appropriate for a woman to wear it on the lotus in her chest (*mune no rengo*).

Question: What kind of talisman is it?

Answer: [It says] “I pay homage to Buddha Amitābha.” (*Namu Amida butsu*)

In conclusion, this exploration of the lotus throne concept in the context of menstrual impurity within Japanese Buddhism highlights its profound role as a symbol that conveyed perceived imperfections in women’s buddha-nature. The deficiencies associated with the lotus throne in women served as a vehicle for expressing the obstacles women encountered in their pursuit of complete spiritual realisation. It is evident that the development of this tradition was significantly influenced by the reception and interpretation of the *Bloody Pond Sutra*.

## References

- AMANO, Fumio 1976. “Fuji no sōshi: shiryō honkoku” [The Story of Mount Fuji: Transcription of a Source Text]. *Denshō Bungaku Kenkyū* 19: 57–75.
- BUKKYŌ DAIGAKU MINKAN NENBUTSU KENKYŪKAI, ed. 1966. *Minkan nenbutsu shinkō no kenkyū: shinryōhen* [Study on Folk Beliefs Relating to Nenbutsu Invocations: Materials]. Tōkyō: Ryūbunkan.
- Chōben shianshō*. Chōben, *Chōben shianshō* [Private Notes of Chōben]. [In:] Hanawa, Hokiichi, ed., *Zoku gunsho ruijū*. Vol. 28. Tōkyō: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1977, pp. 103–131.
- FUKUMITSU, Mitsuru 2002. *Kinsei Tateyama shinkō no tenkai* [Development of Beliefs Relating to Tateyama Mountains in Early-modern Period]. Kinseishi kenkyū sōsho 7. Tōkyō: Iwata Shoin.
- IJIMA, Nami 1998. “Tōyō Daigaku Tetsugakudō bunkozō ‘Urabon-kyō’ shikisho: kaidai, honkoku. ‘Kestubon-kyō’ shinkō no ichi shiryō toshite”. *Mita Kokubun* 27: 48–69.
- KŌDATE, Naomi, ed. 2014. *Bussestu daizō shōgyō “Kestubon-kyō” wage* [Explanation of the “Bloody Pond Sutra” in Japanese]. Tōkyō: Iwata Shoin.
- KŌDATE, Naomi and Kazuo MAKINO 2000. “Nikkō-san Rinnō-ji zō Keichō yonen Shaku Shuntei sha ‘Kestubon-kyō dangi shi’ ryaku kaidai narabi ni honkoku” [Private Copy of the Sermon on the “Bloody Pond Sutra” from Nikkō-san Rinnō Temple Copied by Shaku Shuntei in the Fourth Year of Keichō Era]. *Jissen Joshi Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyō* 43: 11–34.

- KONDŌ, Yoshihiro, ed. 1959. *Shintōshū: Tōyōbunkobon* [Collection of Shintō Texts: Copy of Tōyō Archives]. Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten.
- MAKINO, Kazuo 1991. *Chūsei no setsuwa to gakumon* [Medieval Anecdotal Stories and Knowledge]. Ōsaka: Izumi Shoten.
- NAGAOKA, Jōkun, ed. 1891. *Tsūzoku bukkyō hyakka zensho* [General Encyclopedia of Buddhism]. Vol. 3. Tōkyō: Kaidō Shoin.
- NGG. Nichiren, *Gessui gosho* [Correspondence on Menstruation]. [In:] Kokuyaku Daizōkyō Henshūbu, ed., *Kokuyaku Daizōkyō: Shōwa shinsan* [Japanese Translation of Tripitaka: New Edition of Shōwa Era]. Vol. 7. Tōkyō: Tōhō Shoin, 1932.
- ŌHASHI, Shunnō, ed. 1989. *Ippyaku shijū gokajō mondō* [Dialogues in One Hundred Forty Points]. [In:] *Hōnen zenshū* [Complete Collection of Hōnen]. Vol. 3. Tōkyō: Shunjūsha.
- SAKAGUCHI, Hiroyuki 2020. *Kojōruri, sekkyō kenkyū: Kinsei shoki geinō jijō* [Study on Old-Type Jōruri Narratives and Sermons: Performing Arts at the Beginning of Early-modern Period]. Vol. 2. Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin.
- SOBCZYK, Małgorzata 2022. *Krew kobieca w religiach i folklorze Japonii: konteksty „Sutry krwawego jeziora”*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.
- SŌTŌSHŪ JINKENYŌGO SUISHIN HONBU, ed. 1987. “*Ashiki gōron*” *kokufuku no tame ni* [How to Overcome the Doctrine of “Bad Karma”]. *Sōtōshū bukkuretto: Shūkyō to sabetsu* [Booklets of *Sōtōshū*: Religion and Discrimination]. Vol. 7. Tōkyō: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō.
- YOKOYAMA, Shigeru, ed. 1964. *Kojōruri shōhonshū* [Collection of Scripts of Old-type Jōruri Narratives]. Vol. 1. Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten.
- ZAPART, Jarosław 2017. *Tathagatagarbha: u źródeł koncepcji natury buddy*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

## Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's View on Negation in the *Nañarthanirṇaya* of the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra*

Małgorzata SULICH-COWLEY

**Abstract:** Studies on negation in the school of Vyākaraṇa have focused on the early period of its development, especially on the interpretation of *prasajya* and *paryudāsa* types of negation provided by early commentators starting with Patañjali and elaborated on by Bhartṛhari. The post-Bhartṛhari period requires thorough research when it comes to the theory of meaning and cognition proposed by Indian grammarians. The present article analyses the interpretation of negation proposed by Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa in the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* and shows it against the background of theory of negation that had been developing for centuries within the school of Vyākaraṇa.

**Keywords:** negation, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, *vaiyākaraṇa*, superimposition, *prasajya-pratiṣedha*, *paryudāsapratīṣedha*, *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra*

Małgorzata SULICH-COWLEY, University of Warsaw, Poland; [m.sulich@uw.edu.pl](mailto:m.sulich@uw.edu.pl);

 0000-0002-8589-9136

## Introduction

The concept of negation has been investigated in the West and East alike since the dawn of linguistic and philosophical thought. Both traditions developed their own, sometimes incompatible, logical systems tackling the problem of negative propositions, negative facts, contradictions and contraries in a language. What makes the school of Vyākaraṇa in India unique in this context is its combination of a formal linguistic as well as philosophical approach to the subject. So far, it has been mostly this formal, more semantically oriented position proposed by Pāṇini (4th century BCE) and Patañjali's (2nd century BCE) that has been given more attention. Later grammatical tradition has not been sufficiently examined and a complete theory of negation developed by the school of grammarians remains a desideratum.<sup>1</sup> Analysis of grammatical and philosophical commentaries beginning with Patañjali shows a path of development in the understanding of negation, shifting the focus onto the semantic and pragmatic domains to justify the various forms we find in Sanskrit. This development seems to be quite uniform, stemming from Patañjali's concept of headedness (*prādhānya*) in compounds,<sup>2</sup> through Bhartṛhari's (5th century CE) metaphorical or secondary existence (*upacārasattā*), and finally, to the utilisation of the concept of superimposition (*āropa*) by post-Bhartṛhari commentators. Sanskrit grammatical literature of the late period drew heavily from discussions with other philosophical systems such as the school of Nyāya. It also developed concepts borrowed from other systems in an ingenious way, adapting them to their linguistic and epistemic constructs. One of those concepts, the concept of superimposition (*āropa*), can be found in the discussion on negation, which entered the school of grammarians at a relatively early stage but was employed to explain the cognitive processes behind the comprehension of negative expressions only at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries CE.<sup>3</sup> The application of superimposition to the analysis of negation was further advanced by the grammarians of the 17th century. The present article presents the views of one of the most prominent representatives of the late period of development

<sup>1</sup> There have been some works on the subject of negation in the post-Bhartṛhari period, such as OGAWA 1984 (in Japanese) or, more recently, LOWE and BENSON 2023, both of which contain translations of original Sanskrit texts. TIMALSINA 2014 with his analysis of Bhartṛhari's position should also be mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* proposed the analysis of compounds based on their semantic headedness (*prādhānya*), which he discussed in a number of places (see e.g. VMBh\_1 I.359.21–361.24, I.378.23–379.5). He distinguished between *pūrvapadārthaprādhānya*, *uttarapadārthaprādhānya* and *anyapadārthaprādhānya*, which corresponded to *avyayibhāva*, *tatpuruṣa* and *bahuvrīhi* types of compounds respectively. On the limitations of such a semantically oriented classification see also WUJASTYK 1982: 181.

<sup>3</sup> I discuss the adoption of *āropa* for the interpretation of negation by Sanskrit grammarians in SULICH-COWLEY 2022 and in SULICH-COWLEY 2023.

of the school of grammarians (Vyākaraṇa) in India, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa (17th century CE), which he expressed in his treatise *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra*.

### Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's background

Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa was a linguist and philosopher composing circa 1650 in Varanasi in heavily intellectual circles (JOSHI 1990: 255). He is believed to have authored the works in the field of Nyāya as well as Vyākaraṇa. His versatile background in both grammatical and philosophical areas allowed him to discuss, and refute, the arguments of other schools such as Nyāya or Mīmāṃsā. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa was the son of Raṅgoji Bhaṭṭa and the nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, whose works he commented on. The *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* (VBhS), being in itself an abridged version of the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa*, serves as a commentary to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakārikā* (VSK), also known as *Vaiyākaraṇamatonmajjana*, a set of only 75 verses on the philosophy of language (RATHORE 1998: 5–6). VSK, in turn, was intended as a summary of concepts presented by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini – the *Śabdakaustubha*. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's VBhS is therefore an expansion and explanation of the ideas on negation contained in VSK; in this explanation he draws heavily from the earlier tradition – preceding Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita – and references both Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* (11th century CE), as well as Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*.

### Issues raised

The present paper is based primarily on the text of the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* as contained in the Ānandāśrama Saṃskṛta Granthāvali edition (VSK and VBhS) with occasional references to the editions of Penna and Dās. It contains a translation of the text with explanations extrapolated from Māṛulakara's commentary following the VBhS edition.

As mentioned above, the school of Vyākaraṇa operated in the framework of verbal cognition (*śābdabodha*), and an understanding of how this process occurred was the foundation of many of the proposed ideas, especially in the late period of the school's development. When it comes to negation, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa naturally operates on the well-known distinction between *prasajyapraṭiṣedha* (non-implicative, sentential negation) and *paryudāsapraṭiṣedha* (implicative, nominal negation),<sup>4</sup> which he, however, neither defines nor even refers to explicitly. This division does not correspond precisely to sentential versus nominal negation as negative compounds (*nañsamāsa*) can sometimes exhibit both types depending on the adopted interpretation. As Cardona puts it, *nañ* in a compound “can be construed with the nominal following it in the compound,

<sup>4</sup> See CARDONA 1967 and STAAL 1962 for more detailed description.

or it can be construed with a verb” (CARDONA 1967: 34). Later grammarians also explain negation in terms of *atyantābhāva* (complete absence) and *anyonyābhāva* (mutual absence), this nuanced distinction also found in VBhS.<sup>5</sup> As we will see below, the versatile character of *nañsamāsa*s and the lack of their semantic uniformity led the Vaiyākaraṇas to accept other meanings that the negative particle could express. This view, however, is challenged by Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, who makes an attempt to account for all the cases of negation employing merely the notion of absence (*abhāva*). He thus, interestingly, questions the interpretation of superimposition (*āropa*) proposed by Kaiyaṭa (11th century CE). By not entirely rejecting the role it plays in the cognition of negative statements, he nonetheless modifies it to present a semantically simpler approach to negation. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa in the VBhS primarily concentrates on an explanation of examples that pose morphological issues (*abrāhmaṇa*, *asarva*, *atvaṃ bhavaśi*), and his aim is to find a solution that would be morphologically and semantically sound.

Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa also pays a lot of attention to the relation between negation and its substratum, which is generally described by Pāṇinīyas in terms of a qualifier and a qualificand (*viśeṣyaviśeṣaṇabhāva*). Despite various semantically and pragmatically feasible interpretations, grammarians usually accept that negation serves as a qualifier, especially in compound constructions, as such an interpretation allows for the simplest morphological explanation of different examples. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa does not seem to be attached to such a position, though.

## Text and explanations

VSK 42.14–20 / VBhS 356.1–7

*nañartham āha –*

[The author] talks about the meaning of *nañ* –

VSK 39

*nañsamāse cāparasya prādhānyāt sarvanāmatā |*  
*āropitatvaṃ nañdyotyam na hy aso 'py a(sarvo )<sup>6</sup>tisarvavat ||*

<sup>5</sup> As will be seen in the glosses provided by Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, the meaning of difference is also expressed with the help of the verb *bhid*, hence either *bheda* (“difference”) or *bhinna* (“different from”).

<sup>6</sup> The last *pāda* of this *kārikā* differs in various editions. Mārulakara’s edition is identical to Āpte’s; Dās’s edition reads *na hy aso 'py atisarvavat* (DĀS 1990: 146); and Penna’s *na hy aso 'py apy asarvavat* (PENNA 2013: 484). Āpte’s, Mārulakara’s and Dās’s versions are acceptable as they juxtapose the forms *asaḥ* and/or *asarva* with *atisarva* to show the difference in the pronoun classification between them. Penna’s reading is not supported by Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa’s explanation.

And in a negative compound the [technical] term *sarvanāman* [applies] because the other [member] is predominant. What has been superimposed is to be indicated by *nañ* because it is not so that *atad* [and] *asarva* are like *atisarva*.

VBhS: *nañsamāse 'parasyottarapadārthasya prādhānyāt sarvanāmatā sidhyaṭīti śeṣaḥ | ata evāropitatvam eva nañdyotyam ity abhyupeyam iti śeṣaḥ | ayaṃ bhāvaḥ – asarva ityādāv āropitaḥ sarva ity arthāt sarvaśabdasya prādhānyābādhāt sarvanāmatā sidhyati | anyathāṭisarva ity atreva sā na syāt |*

Because the other, that is the latter, member of a compound is predominant in a negative compound, the state of being a *sarvanāman* is achieved – this is how [the sentence] should be completed. From this follows that only that which was superimposed is to be indicated by *nañ*, this should be agreed upon – this is how [the sentence] should be completed. So, this is the meaning – in the case of *asarva* etc., [the meaning] *sarva* is superimposed on [another] meaning and the state of being a *sarvanāman* is achieved, because there is no obstruction of the predominance of the word *sarva*. Otherwise, this (i.e. the designation of a pronoun) would not happen as in the case of *atisarva*.

### Explanation

The first of two *kārikās* discussing negation refers to the issue of headedness (*prādhānya*) in a compound raised already by Patañjali, which Kaiyaṭa explains through the notion of superimposition (*āropa*).<sup>8</sup> The question of semantic predominance in a compound is important because faulty attribution can result in mistaken designations and, consequently, incorrectly declined words. The examples cited are *asarva* (“incomplete”) and *atisarva* (“superior to all”), both containing the element *sarva*, classified as a pronoun (*sarvanāman*) by A 1.1.27<sup>9</sup>; yet despite their superficial similarity, they behave differently morphologically. This difference in form is attributed to the predominant element in each compound, which in the case of *asarva* should be the latter, thus giving rise to a *tatpuruṣa* compound in accordance with Pāṇini's rule A 2.2.6<sup>10</sup>. Consequently, the compound *asarva* will be treated as a pronoun as well, which will enable the forms such as *asarve* or *asarvasmai* in its declension. This is not the case

<sup>7</sup> Dās proposed the reading *ityarthe* (Dās 1990: 146), which seems more logical.

<sup>8</sup> See VMBh\_2 II: 670, 672, 674.

<sup>9</sup> A 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* | (“[The technical term] *sarvanāman* denotes the class of [nominal bases] beginning with *sarva* (‘all’).”) All the translation of Pāṇini's rules is based on Katre unless stated otherwise.

<sup>10</sup> A 2.2.6 *nañ* | (“[The indeclinable] *nañ* [combines with a *pada* conveying the same meaning as the formally corresponding wordgroup and being called *tatpuruṣa*].”) ”

with *atisarva*, where the predominance is granted to the initial member of a compound (*pūrvapada*), thus making *sarva* a subordinate element (*upasarjana*<sup>11</sup>) and resulting in a different declension type.

VSK 42.20–23 / VBhS 357.1–359.1

VBhS: *ghaṭo nāstītyādāv abhāvaviṣayakabodhe tasya viśeṣyatāyā eva darśanāt | asmadrītyā ca sa ārtho bodho mānasah | tathā cāsarvasmā ityādy asiddhiprasaṅga iti | atra cāropitatvam āropaviṣayatvam, āropamātram artho viṣayatvam tu saṃsarga iti niṣkarṣah | dyotyatvoktir nipātānām dyotakatvam abhipretya ||*

Because in cases such as *ghaṭo nāsti* (“There is no pot”) etc., when there is comprehension that it is an object of negation, it (i.e. negation) is only seen as being the qualificand. In our view, this comprehension of the meaning is mentally produced. Accordingly, there is the possibility that examples such as *asarvasmai* etc. are wrong. In this respect then, what is meant by the state of being superimposed is the object of superimposition; the meaning is just superimposition and the state of being the object is the relation – this is the main point. What is intended by the statement *dyotyatva* (the state of being indicated) is that particles are indicative.

### Explanation

In this passage Kaunḍabhaṭṭa discusses the option where negation is a qualificand characterised by the object of negation. What that means is that the analysis of an uncompounded particle in a sentence should be understood thus:

(1) *ghaṭo nāsti* = *ghaṭābhāva* 'stitvāśrayah / *ghaṭakarṭṛkasattābhāvaḥ*

Absence of a pot that has a substratum in [its] (the pot's) existence. /  
Absence of existence whose (i.e. existence) agent is a pot.

The meaning of *nañ* would then be *abhāva*, and the sentence would be completed by adding a verbal root with the ending. Treating negation as *viśeṣya* rather than *viśeṣaṇa* would allow for agreement between the action (*kriyā*), the verb, and the agent whose existence is being denied. Simultaneously, however, a problem arises with compounded forms, such as the aforementioned *asarva* or *aghaṭa*.

<sup>11</sup> The term *upasarjana*, meaning a subordinate element, can be used with reference to semantic subordination (see also fn. 2 regarding Patañjali's classification of compounds) as well as in its technical meaning defined by Pāṇini in A 1.2.43 *prathamānīrdiṣṭam samāsa upasarjanam* | (“[The technical term] *upasarjana* denotes an element prescribed in the nominative in [a rule referring to] a compound”) and A 2.2.30 *upasarjanam pūrvam* | (“An *upasarjana* is an element occurring as the first (prior) [member in a compound]”). In the discussed cases of *atisarva* and *asarva*, there is a difference in which element gets the designation of *upasarjana*. As we can see, in *asarva* subordination is both based on semantic as well as technical grounds. In the case of *atisarva*, on the other hand, the rule A 2.2.30 clearly fails to apply.

(2) *asarvaḥ* = *sarvabhinnah* / *sarvapratyogiko bhedaḥ*

Different from *sarva*. / Difference whose counterpositive is *sarva*.

Allowing for *bheda* to be the qualificand characterised by *sarva* leads to the latter serving as *upasarjana* in a compound, which ultimately makes the proper declension impossible. So, what Kaunḍabhaṭṭa takes into account is superimposition (*āropa*) and what the state of being superimposed means. As will be seen below, this is the point where he differs from Kaiyaṭa in his interpretation of the concept. For Kaunḍabhaṭṭa *āropitatva* means being the object of superimposition, and this object is indicated when *nañ* is used alongside it. When we look at the example *abrāhmaṇa* (“a non-Brahmin”), which is the core example cited for *āropa* to take place, we can understand it in two ways:

(3.1) *abrāhmaṇa* = *āropaviśayatvavān brāhmaṇah* / *āropitabrāhmaṇyavān kṣatriyah*

That which possesses/is characterised by *brāhmaṇa* being the object of superimposition / Kṣatriya that has Brahminhood superimposed on him.

(3.2) *abrāhmaṇa* = *āropitabrāhmaṇatvavān* / *āropitavaviśiṣṭabrāhmaṇa-tvavattvaṃ brāhmaṇabhinnah*

That which possesses/is characterised by superimposed Brahminhood. / Someone different from *brāhmaṇa* whose nature is being like Brahminhood further characterised as being superimposed.

In (3.1) there is the connection of the object with the relation of difference; superimposition is the reason for usage through analogy. In this case the particle *nañ* would serve to indicate the object of superimposition, which is *brāhmaṇa*. In (3.2), on the other hand, the word *brāhmaṇa* is not used in its primary meaning in a negative compound. This could lead to the conclusion that *āropa* is actually an additional meaning of the particle *nañ*, which is what Kaunḍabhaṭṭa is trying to avoid. This is why he presents an alternative.

VSK 42.24–43.4 / VBhS 359.2–360.5

*ghaṭo nāsti abrāhmaṇa ityādāv āropabodhasya sarvānubhavaviruddhatvāt pakṣāntaram āha* –

As in the expressions *ghaṭo nāsti* and *abrāhmaṇa* the comprehension of superimposition goes against common understanding, the author has proposed another view:

## VSK 40

*abhāvo vā tadārtho 'stu bhāṣyasya hi tadāśayāt |  
viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyo vā nyāyatas tv avadhāryatām ||*

Alternatively, let its (i.e. the negative particle's) meaning be “absence” because this is the intention in the Bhāṣya; whether it (negation) is a qualifier or a qualificand should be logically determined.

VBhS: *tadārtho nañarthah | arthapadaṃ dyotyatvavācyatvapakṣayoḥ  
sādhāraṇyena kīrtanāya | bhāṣyasyeti | tathā ca nañsūtre mahābhāṣyam  
– nivṛttapadārthaka iti | nivṛtṭaṃ padārtho yasya napuṃsake bhāve kta iti  
kto 'bhāvārthaka ity arthaḥ | yat tu nivṛtṭaḥ padārtho yasminn ity arthaḥ |  
sādrśyādinādhyāropitabrāhmaṇyāḥ kṣatriyādayo 'rthā yasyety artha iti  
kaiyaṭaḥ | tan na, āropitabrāhmaṇyasya kṣatriyāder nañavācyatvāt<sup>12</sup> |  
anyathā sādrśyāder api vācyatāpatteḥ |*

[The expression] *tadārtha* means the “meaning of *nañ*”. The word *artha* is used to offer an overview of the views related to the suggestiveness and expressiveness [of particles]. [The expression] *bhāṣyasya* [is now explained]. Thus the *Mahābhāṣya* on A 2.2.6 states “*nivṛttapadārthakah* – whose meaning has been removed”. [The suffix] *Kta* is used [in the participle *nivṛtta*] based on A 3.3.114 in the sense of state (*bhāva*) and neutral gender (*napuṃsaka*).<sup>13</sup> So the meaning is the following: “*Kta* whose meaning is absence”. According to Kaiyaṭa, the meaning [of the expression *nivṛttapadārthakah*] is “that in which the meaning has been removed”; [consequently,] the meaning [of *abrāhmaṇa*] is the following: “whose meanings of *kṣatriya* etc. have Brahminhood imposed on due to similarity”. This is not the case [in our opinion], because [the word] *nañ* does not express the meaning of *kṣatriya* etc. on whom Brahminhood was superimposed. Otherwise, [*nañ*] would also express similarity etc.

*Explanation*

What Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa means by the introductory passage to the *kārikā* is that the common usage and understanding of negative expressions focuses on negation itself, not secondary processes. So even though we know what *abrāhmaṇa* ultimately means, that it does have a positive referent in a *kṣatriya*, we do not perceive the particle itself as expressive of imposing one entity onto another.

<sup>12</sup> Āpte's edition reads *vācyatvāt* here but this does not fit the context. I am following Mārulakara's edition with *nañavācyatvāt*.

<sup>13</sup> A 3.3.114 *napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ* | (“[The suffix] *Kta* is introduced [after a verbal stem] to denote a neuter action noun”.)

In this passage, Kaunḍabhaṭṭa also refers to the ongoing discussion among various schools of thought regarding words as meaning carriers. Disagreement, especially between the schools of Vyākaraṇa and Nyāya, regarding the indicative and expressive properties of particles and prepositions was widely debated, and the arguments exceed the scope of the present article. It should be mentioned, however, that the possibility was considered that the negative particle can change its properties depending on whether it appears in a compounded or un-compounded form. As we can see from this passage, however, there were certain discrepancies within the school of Vyākaraṇa itself. The author of VBhS refers to an expression used by Patañjali, in which he explains the nature of negative compounds and says that the following item becomes *nivṛttapadārthaka* – whose object/meaning has been removed or denied, and Kaiyaṭa's interpretation of the said "removal of meaning" (*nivṛtti*), which he explains via superimposition.<sup>14</sup> As mentioned above, *āropa* refers to the object being imposed for Kaunḍabhaṭṭa. Accepting Kaiyaṭa's position would, in Kaunḍabhaṭṭa's opinion, inevitably lead to the negative particle being expressive (*vācaka*) of superimposition (and other secondary meanings). The problem seems to be two-fold for Kaunḍabhaṭṭa here; firstly, it is the semantic range of *nañ*, exceeding absence, and secondly, the potential *vācakatva* of particles which he does not accept.

VSK 43.5–9 / VBhS 360.6–361.2

VBhS: *yat tu* –

*tatsādṛśyam abhāvaś ca tadanyatvaṃ tadalpatā |*  
*aprāsastyam virodhaś ca nañarthāḥ ṣaṭ prakṛtītāḥ ||*

*iti paṭhitvābrāhmaṇo 'pāpam anaśvo 'nudarā kanyāpaśavo vā anye*  
*go-aśvebhyo 'dharma ity udāharanti, tat tu ārthikārtham abhipretyeti*  
*sapaṣṭam anyatra |*

Because [some], having cited [the following verse]

Six meanings of [the particle] *nañ* are mentioned: similarity to that, absence, being different from that, smallness of that, lack of excellence/inauspiciousness and opposition/contradiction,

give the examples, such as: *abrāhmaṇa* (similar to a Brahmin), *apāpa* (lack of sin), *anaśva* (other than a horse), *anudarā kanyā* (a girl with a thin waist), *apaśavo vā anye go-aśvebhyaḥ* (animals other than cows and horses are inauspicious) and *adharmā* (unrighteous); it is clear elsewhere that the intended meaning is the mental meaning.

<sup>14</sup> VMBh\_2 II: 670.5–8: *nañviśiṣṭasyeti | āropitabrāhmaṇasya kṣatriyāder ityarthaḥ | kaḥ punar aśv ity | bhāvābhāvayor virodhān nañviśiṣṭo brāhmaṇārtho nopapadyate iti bhāvāḥ | nivṛttapadārthaka ity | nivṛttāḥ padārtho mukhyaṃ brāhmaṇyaṃ yasmin sa kṣatriyādir arthaḥ | sādrśyādinādhyāropitabrāhmaṇyo nañdyotitadavastha ityarthaḥ |*

### Explanation

The quoted verse is often attributed to Bhartṛhari, but, to my knowledge, he does not enlist those meanings of the negative particle. It is, however, commonly quoted in the later literature, and the examples provided are usually similar. Despite the fact that the verse mentions the particle *nañ* in general, a variety of examples refer to *nañsamāsa*s; it is not observable in the case of sentential negation. It also states that all those meanings enlisted in the cited verse are actually secondary to the meaning of *abhāva*. This is what Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa seems to be agreeing with here; the basic meaning of *nañ* is always absence.

VSK 43.9–16 / VBhS 361.2–363.4

VBhS: *viśeṣaṇam iti | pratiyoginīti śeṣaḥ | tathā cāsarvapade sarvanāmasaṃjñā* | “*anekam anyapadārthe*” (A 2.2.24) “*sevyate ’nekayā saṃnatāpāṅgayā*” *ityādāv ekaśabdārthaprādhānyād ekavacananiyamaḥ | abrāhmaṇa ityādāv uttarapadārthaprādhānyāt tatpuruṣatvam | atvaṃ bhavasi anahaṃ bhavāmītyādau puruṣavacanādivyavasthā copapadyate* | At “a qualifier” the completion [of the meaning is] “with regard to a counterpositive”. Thus, in the word *asarva* the technical term *sarvanāman* (pronoun) applies; and in the examples such as A 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*<sup>15</sup> or *sevyate ’nekayā saṃnatāpāṅgayā* (“is enjoyed by many women with the corner of their eyes”, *Śiśupālavadhā* 4.42) there is restriction on using the singular number as a result of the predominance of the word *eka*. [The compound] *abrāhmaṇa* etc. gets the designation of *tatpuruṣa* as a result of the predominance of the latter member. In the examples *atvaṃ bhavasi* (“This is not you”) and *anahaṃ bhavāmi* (“This is not me”) the use of the person and number are determined.

VBhS: *anyathā tvadabhāvo madabhāva itivadabhāvāṃśe yuṣmad-asmador anvayena yuṣmatsāmānādhikarānyasya tiṅkṣv asattvāt puruṣavyavasthā na syāt | asmanmate ca bhedaḥpratiyogitvadabhinnāśrayikā bhavanakriyety anvayāt sāmānādhikarānyam nānupapannam iti bhāvaḥ* |

Otherwise, in “the absence of you”, “the absence of me” and the such through the logical connection of [the pronominal stems] *yuṣmad* and *asmad* to the part of absence, and because there would be no co-referentiality of *yuṣmad* with the verbal endings, the use of the [correct] person would not occur. In our view then, the meaning [of *atvaṃ bhavasi*] is the action of becoming having a substratum not different from you whose counterpositive is difference, [therefore] it is not impossible [to achieve] co-referentiality due to the logical connection.

<sup>15</sup> A 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* | (“Two or more [nominal *padas* combine] to denote something different [from what is implied by the constituent *padas* to form a *bahuvrīhi* compound].”)

*Explanation*

Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa proceeds to investigate the possibility of the negative particle serving as a qualifier rather than a qualificand. He focuses on explaining some terminological and morphological features, which could be more difficult to account for if negation were considered a *viśeṣya*. Terminological issues regard the previously discussed cases of *asarva* (with its pronominal designation) and *abrāhmaṇa* (being a *tatpuruṣa* compound), both resulting from the predominance of the latter member of a compound. Two following cases are *aneka* (“many”), with the justification of the singular number, and *atvaṃ bhavasi* / *anahaṃ bhavāmi*, where agreement between a pronoun and a verbal form is being investigated. We see that agreement thanks to the predominance of the second member in a negative compound. The forms *atvaṃ* and *anahaṃ* are still considered pronouns, similarly to *asarva*, because the meaning of the compound, and consequently its morphosyntactic features, are determined by *tvam* and *aham* respectively, not by *nañ*. As Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa explains in the next passage, considering *abhāva* as the main meaning in these expressions might lead to a lack of co-referentiality between a pronoun and a verb. He does, however, find a solution to that as well, thus indicating that he does not share the commonly accepted viewpoint in the school of Vyākaraṇa that a compounded *nañ* should always be treated as a *viśeṣaṇa*.

Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa is convinced that even by granting semantic predominance to negation rather than other elements, one is able to account for proper grammatical forms. This is how he explains *atvaṃ bhavasi*:

(4) *atvaṃ bhavasi* = *abhāvapratiyoginī yo yuṣmadarthas tadabhinnā-śrayikā sattā*

Existence with the substratum not different from you whose meaning is counterpositive to absence.

In other words, you are the substratum for the action of existence, and that the meaning (of you) is opposite to non-existence.

Such a shift in meaning and focusing on the substratum of existence rather than absence allows for the logical co-referentiality between a pronoun and a verb. Despite such a possibility, however, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa goes back to negation as a qualificand and looks for a solution within Pāṇini's grammar.

VSK 43.16–18 / VBhS 363.4–363.7

VBhS: *viśeṣyo veti | pratiyoginīti śeṣaḥ | ayaṃ bhāvaḥ – gauṇatve 'pi nañsamāse “etattadoḥ sulopo 'kor anañsamāse hali” (A 6.1.132) iti jñāpakāt sarvanāmasaṃjñā nānupapannā |*

At “or a qualificand” the completion [of the meaning is] “with regard

to a counterpositive”. This is the meaning – even if this (i.e. the second member of a compound) is secondary in a negative compound, based on the indication in A 6.1.132<sup>16</sup> it is not impossible to get the designation of *sarvanāman*.

### Explanation

The problem with *yusmad* and *asmad* being designated as pronouns occurs when they lose their status as *viśeṣya* and are considered *viśeṣaṇa*, as this would force them to be considered subordinate<sup>17</sup> in a compound; the case is identical to *asarva* discussed earlier. There is, however, an indication found by the author of VBhS in A 6.1.132, that is the explicit mention of *anañsamāsa*, thus implying that regardless of the *viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa* relation between the negative particle and the following stem, words such as *tad* etc. can be still assigned the technical term *sarvanāman*.

VSK 43.18–27 / VBhS 363.7–366.1

VBhS: *asaḥ śiva ity atra sulopavāraṇāyānañsamāsa iti hi viśeṣaṇam | na ca tatra tacchabdasya sarvanāmatāsti gauṇatvāt | akor ity akac-sahitavyāvṛtṭyā sarvanāmnor eva tatra grahaṇalābhāt | tathā cānañsamāsa iti jñāpakam suvacanam* |<sup>18</sup>

Thus, the qualifying [expression] *anañsamāse* (“not in a negative compound”, from A 6.1.132) is done in order to prevent the deletion of [the ending] *sU* in [the expression] *asaḥ śivaḥ* (“Someone else is Śiva”). And in this case the word *tad* does not get the designation of a pronoun as a result of being secondary. As through the exclusion of *akAC* [obtained by mentioning the condition] *akoḥ* only two pronouns (i.e. *tad* and *etad*) are included there. In such a way, the indication *anañsamāse* is easily explained.

VBhS: *anekam anyapadārtha ityādāv ekavacanam viśeṣyānurodhāt | “sub āmantrite parāṅgavat svare” (A 2.1.2) ity ato ’nuvartamānam subgrahaṇam viśeṣyam ekavacanāntam eva | kiṃ cānekaśabdād dvivacanopādāne bahūnām bahuvacanopādāne dvayor bahuvrīhir na*

<sup>16</sup> A 6.1.132 *etattadoḥ sulopo ’kor anañsamāse hali* | (“A nominal ending, namely *sU*, when used after [the pronominal stems] *etad* (‘this’) and *tad* (‘that’) not containing *k* and not being used in a negative compound, is deleted, provided a consonant follows and *samhīta* finds its scope.” trans. Sharma)

<sup>17</sup> See fn. 11.

<sup>18</sup> Neither Āpte nor Māṛulakara divide the text here, but read it together with the beginning of the following explanation. I opt for Penna’s reading where the individual examples are separated (PENNA 2013: 493–494).

*sidhyet ity ubhayasaṃgrahāyaikavacanam jātyabhiprāyam autsargikam vā |*

In A 2.2.24 etc. the single number (of *aneka*) is used following the qualificand. The word *sUP* following from A 2.1.2 (*sub āmantrite parāṅgavat svare*)<sup>19</sup> is the qualificand ending in the singular number. Moreover, if the dual number were added after the word *aneka*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound [consisting] of many [elements] would not result, and if the plural number were added, a *bahuvrīhi* compound [consisting] of two [elements] would not result; the singular number [is adopted] in order to include both, either with the intention to signify a class or as a general rule.

VBhS: *sevyate 'nekayety atrāpi yoṣayetiviśeṣyānurodhāt pratyekam sevānāvayabodhanāya caikavacanam na ūttarapadārthaprādhāny aprayuktam | ata eva patanty aneke jaladher ivormaya ityādikam api sūpapādam |*

In *sevyate 'nekayā* (“is enjoyed by many”, *Śiśupālavadha* 4.42) here as well [the word *aneka* is in] the singular number following the qualificand, that is [the word] *yoṣā* (“girl”), and in order to comprehend the connection of *sevanā* (“act of enjoying”) with each [element], it is not used [to indicate] the predominance of the second member [in a compound]. From this follows that in [the sentence] *patanty aneke jaladher ivormayaḥ* (“Many fall like the waves of the ocean”) and the such, it [i.e. the use of the plural number] is also highly adequate.

### Explanation

The last example in this passage that Kaunḍabhaṭṭa discusses is the case of *aneka* yet again, but in a different context. Here, in *sevyate 'nekayā* (*yoṣayā*) the use of a singular number is not in correlation with the noun *yoṣā*, also in singular, but points to the individual experience. The expression indicates that the act of *sevanā* is experienced one by one, regarding every particular girl, not a group. This is how Kaunḍabhaṭṭa omits the predominance of *uttarapada* and is able to account for the *nañ* as a *viśeṣya* interpretation.

Kaunḍabhaṭṭa also tries to avoid the need for *uttarapadārthaprādhānyā* in the case of pronouns by resorting to a *jñāpaka* (indication) contained in A 6.1.132. He claims that the very use of the expression *anañsamāse* in the wording of that rule shows that the designation of *sarvanāman* does apply to negative compounds regardless of its predominant member. One could argue, however, that from

<sup>19</sup> A 2.1.2 *sub āmantrite parāṅgavat svare* | (“[An expression ending in] *sUP* occurring before a vocative is treated as an integral part of the subsequent pre-affixal stem with respect to accent.”)

Pāṇini's perspective this solution is more far-fetched than the acceptance of negation as *viśeṣaṇa*, which is stated almost explicitly in A 2.2.6 by making negative compounds of a *tatpuruṣa* type.

The following, final, passage summarises Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's view on negation and the process of its cognition.

VSK 43.27–44.2 / VBhS 366.1–367.3

VBhS: *atvaṃ bhavasītyādau yuṣmadasmados tadbhinne lakṣaṇā | nañ dyotakaḥ | tathā ca bhinnena yuṣmadarthena tiṅaḥ sāmānādhikaranyāt puruṣavyavasthā | tvadbhinnābhinnāśrayikā bhavanakriyeti śābdabodhaḥ | evaṃ na tvaṃ pacasīty atra tvadabhinnāśrayakapākānukūlabhāvanābhāvaḥ | ghaṭo nāstīty atra ghaṭābhinnāśrayakāstivābhāva iti rītyā bodhaḥ | asamastanañāḥ kriyāyām evānvayabodhāt | sa cābhāvo 'tyantābhāvatvānyonyābhāvatvādirūpeṇa śakyas tattadrūpeṇa bodhād ity anyatra vistarāḥ |*

In [the examples] such as *atvaṃ bhavasi* etc. there is the secondary meaning of [the stems] *yuṣmad* and *asmad* in the sense of “different from that”. [The particle] *nañ* [serves as] an indicator [of that secondary meaning]. And thus, the person is determined through the co-referentiality of the verbal ending with the meaning of *yuṣmad* that is different. The verbal cognition is the following: the action of becoming has a substratum not different from what is different from you. In the same way, in [the example] *na tvaṃ pacasi* (“You do not cook”) there is the absence of action conducive to cooking which has a substratum not different from you. In [the example] *ghaṭo nāsti* (“There is no pot”) the customary cognition is this: the absence of existence in the substratum not different than the pot. [This understanding] is due to recognising the connection with the action only when *nañ* is uncompounded. And this absence is possible to [be understood] in the form of *atyantābhāva* (absolute absence) or *anyonyābhāva* (mutual absence), because this is how it is cognised. This is explained elsewhere.

### Explanation

In this last passage, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa rejects the multitude of meanings that *nañ* can express and accepts *abhāva* as the only one of significance. He does distinguish two aspects of the said absence: absolute (*atyantābhāva*) and relative (*anyonyābhāva*), but also recognises that negative compounds should be analysed differently. He presents his final thoughts on the verbal cognition (*śābdabodha*) of negative expression by giving three different examples. Those already discussed above:

(4) *atvaṃ bhavasi* = *tvadbhinnābhinnāśrayikā bhavanakriyā*

The action of becoming whose substratum is not different from what is different from you.

In other words, the substratum of the action of becoming lies in someone other than you.

(5) *na tvaṃ pacasi* = *tvadabhinnāśrayakapākānukūlabhavanābhāvaḥ*

Absence of an action conducive to cooking whose substratum is not different from you.

That is, you are the substratum of the action of cooking; the action which is being negated.

(6) *ghaṭo nāsti* = *ghaṭābhinnāśrayakāstitvābhāvaḥ*

Absence of existence whose substratum is not different from a pot.

That is, a pot is the substratum of existence and this existence is being negated.

As we can see, in the examples (5) and (6) Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa chooses negation to be a qualificand characterised by accompanying elements. Sentential negation, namely the negation of an action, is the crucial meaning of the sentence further specified by its substratum and participants. In this case then, he decides to go against the early Pāṇinian commentators such as Patañjali, and even Pāṇini himself, and treat *abhāva* (absence) as an element to be specified rather than a specifier.

The case of negative compounds, however, such as in (4), poses some problems for Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, because it cannot be explained with the help of *abhāva* as a *viśeṣya*. What Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa decides to do here is resort to the notion of *lakṣaṇā* (secondary meaning), which is contained within the word itself. The existence of this secondary meaning allows the author to achieve co-referentiality with the verb in a sentence, thus explaining the second person ending. In other words, the stem *tvaṃ* in (4) contains in its meaning the existing as well as non-existing aspect of “you”, with the latter considered a secondary meaning. This absence of existence is, according to Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, brought to our knowledge and is revealed by the use of the negative particle *nañ*. As the author says, negation is the indicator (*dyotaka*) of the *lakṣaṇā* (secondary meaning), of this difference from the original “you” (*tvadbhinnatva*).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa elaborates on the secondary meaning and the capability of particles to reveal it in the following chapter in his treatise, the *Nipātārthanirṇaya* (“The determination on the meaning of particles”), where he discusses the relation between words that are commonly accepted as meaning carriers (*vācaka*), such as nouns and verbs, and those whose status was heavily debated among various schools. Particles (*nipāta*) and prepositions (*upasarga*) were generally considered as suggestive or indicative (*dyotaka*) of meaning by the Vaiyākaraṇas, while the Naiyāyikas claimed the expressive nature of particles and suggestive character of prepositions.

## Concluding remarks

The theory of negation we find in the post-Bhartṛhari period of the Vyākaraṇa school was reaching its final form in the works of 17th-century grammarians and philosophers. We can observe the centuries-long development from a purely linguistic syntactic and morphological analysis into the territory of semantics and pragmatics, concentrating on the deconstruction of mental processes behind the comprehension of various types of negation. There seem to be two crucial elements defining the manner in which the school of Vyākaraṇa conducted its analysis. Firstly, the usage of language (*prayoga*); a fact often emphasised by commentators. What the grammarians were trying to do was a kind of reverse engineering; they were not trying to figure out the meanings of particular utterances, which were known and obvious, but were trying to determine what happens in our mind before we reach the conclusion. Secondly, they took ontology out of the picture in a way. When we analyse negative expressions, the actual ontological status of various referents is secondary, if not entirely irrelevant, because we operate on a purely linguistic level. The aforementioned superimposition (*āropa*) is a mental process, not an actual substitution of entities existing in reality.

Yet this philosophical analysis by the grammarians of the later period was still rooted in the Pāṇinian formal system, thus what the commentators, including Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, were trying to do was explain the semantic intricacies of negative expressions while remaining faithful to the original classification. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's analysis of negation was part of a broader discussion on the meaningfulness of indeclinable parts of speech, such as prepositions and particles, which were predominantly considered indicative (*dyotaka*) rather than expressive (*vācaka*) in the school of grammarians. As the discussion on negation centred to a great extent on the determination of a qualifier-qualificand relation between the elements involved, it prompted Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa to treat it separately from the other particles. The unique character of the negative particle lies naturally in its semantic domain of absence, lack or non-existence and its capability of either qualifying or being qualified by the existence of accompanying elements, albeit on a purely linguistic level. Pāṇini's classification of the particle *nañ* as a qualifier was questioned, or at least approached with flexibility, in the later tradition. While commenting on Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *kārikās*, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa is more inclined to consider negation as a qualificand than a qualifier as far as sentential negation (*prasajyapratishedha*) is concerned. What Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa is more interested in is the semantics of the negative expressions and the meaning expressed, or more precisely suggested, by *nañ*. While recognising the variety of shades found in negative expressions, he limits the meanings of negation to absolute absence (*atyantābhāva*) and mutual absence (*anyonyābhāva*), both of which we can find in *prasajyapratishedha*.

Turning to analysis of *nañsamāsas*, however, the situation seems more complex. As Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa concentrates on the suggestive, or indicative, role of particles, he points to elements that are revealed by the use of the particle *nañ*. In this context, he makes reference both to the notion of superimposition (*āropa*), in whose analysis he goes against the interpretation proposed by Kaiyaṭa, and in his final argument, to the secondary meaning (*lakṣaṇā*) of the stem, with the help of which he establishes the meaning of *bheda* (difference) in a negative compound. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa claims that the purpose of *nañ* is to bring to our attention the secondary meaning of the negated stem, thus showing the difference between the two.

Analysis of this chapter shows the following: (1) Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa is trying to limit the semantic range of the negative particle to absence as much as possible, which he does in the case of sentential negation; (2) he opts for negation being a qualificand rather than a qualifier; (3) he does not treat the negative particle as expressive, but only indicative; (4) in negative compounds the particle is indicative of the secondary meaning the negated stem possesses, which – in some cases – might be superimposed. It seems, though, that the relation between *lakṣaṇā* and *āropa* is not entirely clear.

## Funding

The research which forms the basis for this article was made possible by the financing provided by the National Science Centre, Poland. This article is the result of the project on negation in the school of Indian grammarians (number DEC-2017/26/D/HS1/01112).

## References

### Primary sources

- A Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*: (1) *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. Trans. by Sumitra M. Katre. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989. (2) *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. Trans. by Rama Nath Sharma. Vol. II–VI. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1990–2003.
- Śiśupāla-*vadha* Māgha, *Śiśupālavadha of Māgha with The Commentary of Mallinātha*. Ed. by Pandit Durgāprasāda and Pandit Śivadatta of Jeypore. Bombay: Nirṇaya Sagar Press, 1933.
- VBhS Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāraḥ*. Ed. by Mārulakara. Ānandāśrama Saṃskṛta Granthāvali, 1957.

- VMBh\_1 Patañjali, *The Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*. Ed. by F. Kielhorn. 3 vols. Bombay: Government Central Book Depôt, 1880–1885.
- VMBh\_2 Patañjali, *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya of Patañjali with the commentary Bhāṣya-pradīpa of Kaiyaṭa and the super commentary Bhāṣya-pradīpōddyota of Nāgoji Bhāṭṭa*. Ed. by Vedavrata. 5 vols. Gurukula Jhajjar (Rohatak): Haryāṇā Sāhitya Saṁsthāna, 1962–1963.
- VSK Bhattoji Dīkṣita, *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakārikā*. Ed. by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Saṁskṛta Granthāvali, 1901.

### Secondary sources

- CARDONA, George 1967. “Negations in Pāṇinian rules”. *Language* 43(1): 34–56. <https://doi.org/10.2307/411384>
- DĀS, Karuṇāsindhu 1990. *A Pāṇinian Approach to Philosophy of Language: Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa’s Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra Critically Edited and Translated into English*. Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar.
- JOSHI, Shivaram Dattatray 1990. “Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa and Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra”. [In:] Coward, Harold G. and K. Kunjunnī Raja, ed., *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, Vol. V: *The Philosophy of the Grammarians*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 255–308.
- LOWE, John J. and James W. BENSON 2023. “A Grammarian’s View of Negation: Nāgeśa’s Paramalaghumañjūṣā on Nañartha”. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 51(1–2): 49–75. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10781-022-09527-z>
- OGAWA, Hideyo 1984. “Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa on the Meaning of the Negative Particle nañ”. *The Hiroshima University Studies, Faculty of Letters* 44: 75–97 [in Japanese].
- PENNA, Madhusudan 2013. *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasārah. Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar*. New Delhi: New Bharatiya Book Corporation.
- RATHORE, Sandhya 1998. *Kauṇḍa Bhāṭṭa’s Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra: An Analytic Study*. New Delhi: Indian Council of Philosophical Research.
- STAAL, J. F. 1962. “Negation and the Law of Contradiction in Indian Thought: A Comparative Study”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 25(1/3): 52–71. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00056251>
- SULICH-COWLEY, Małgorzata 2022. “The Role of Superimposition in the Semantics of Negative Compounds in Sanskrit”. [In:] Marciniak, Katarzyna, Stanisław Jan Kania, Małgorzata Wielińska-Soltwedel and Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, eds, *Guruparamparā. Studies on Buddhism, India, Tibet and More in Honour of Professor Marek Mejer*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa

- Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, pp. 403–414. <https://doi.org/10.31338/uw.9788323558699.pp.403-414>
- SULICH-COWLEY, Małgorzata 2023. “From *nivṛttapadārthaka* to *āropa*: The Turning Point in the Interpretation of Negation in the Eyes of Vaiyākaraṇas”. *Folia Orientalia* 60: 15–32. <https://doi.org/10.24425/for.2023.148418>
- TIMALSINA, Sthaneshwar 2014. “Semantics of Nothingness. Bharṭhari's Philosophy of Negation”. [In:] Liu, JeeLoo and Douglas L. Berger, eds, *Nothingness in Asian Philosophy*. New York: Routledge, pp. 25–43. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315774244-3>
- WUJASTYK, Dominik 1982. “Bloomfield and the Sanskrit Origin in the Terms ‘Exocentric’ and ‘Endocentric’”. *Historiographia Linguistica* IX(1/2): 179–184. <https://doi.org/10.1075/hl.9.1-2.19wuj>



---

## The *vīthī*, *lāsya* and *nāṭikā*, and the *daśarūpa* List in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*

Herman TIEKEN

**Abstract:** This article aims to show that the term *vīthī*, the tenth in the *daśarūpa* list of plays found in the early dramatic treatises, does not refer to a play but to a number of small-scale dramatic scenes. As such, the *vīthī* is an exception in the list, which otherwise is made up of fully-fledged plays. However, as a collection of scenes, it does form a group with numbers 8 and 9, the *prahasana* and *bhāṇa*, each of which has two lives, namely as complete plays and as scenes within plays. The *vīthī* plays we have are all late reconstructions based on the general characteristics mentioned in the dramatic treatises. In some of the treatises the *daśarūpa* list is extended by the *lāsya*, another term designating a number of minor dramatic scenes which involve singing and dancing. It will be argued that the *lāsya* – as well as another set of minor dramatic types, the *uparūpakas* – came to be included into the dramatic theory through its occurrence within the *nāṭikā*, a type of play that is presented as a mixture of the *nāṭaka* and *prakaraṇa*, numbers 1 and 2 in the *daśarūpa* list, and was consequently not counted separately. It will furthermore be shown that the *daśarūpa* list consists of three clearly distinct groups, namely of 1–2 (*nāṭaka*, *prakaraṇa* and supernumerary *nāṭikā*) and 8–10 (*prahasana*, *bhāṇa* and *vīthī*), separated by a group of five types of play (3–7) dealing with battle and its aftermath. Of the latter five no early, classical examples have come down to us; apparently their topics have fallen outside the sphere of interest of the *kāvya* literary tradition.

**Keywords:** *Daśarūpa*, *vīthī*, *lāsya*, *uparūpaka*, *nāṭikā*, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Daśarūpaka*, *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*

Herman TIEKEN, Leiden University, Netherlands; [H.J.H.Tieken@hum.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:H.J.H.Tieken@hum.leidenuniv.nl)



This article is distributed under a Creative Commons Non-Commercial No-Derivatives 4.0 licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>).

---

## 1. Introduction

Chapter 18 of the Baroda edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NS) is dedicated to what is known as the ten types of plays (*daśarūpa*). The order in which the plays are presented is the following:

1.	<i>nāṭaka</i>	10–43
2.	<i>prakaraṇa</i>	44–56
	<i>nāṭikā</i>	57–61
3.	<i>samavakāra</i>	62–76
4.	<i>īhāmṛga</i>	77–82
5.	<i>ḍima</i>	83–88
6.	<i>vyāyoga</i>	89–92
7.	<i>utsṛṣṭikāṅka</i>	93–100
8.	<i>prahasana</i>	101–106
9.	<i>bhāṇa</i>	107–110
10.	<i>vīthī</i>	111–126ab

The number “ten” appears to have been sacrosanct, as becomes apparent when we have a closer look at the list. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the *nāṭikā* is presented as a subtype of the *nāṭaka* and *prakaraṇa* here, and in the introductory “table of contents” in NS 18, 2–3ab it is not mentioned at all.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, in Ghosh’s edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the *vīthī* is followed by a twelfth type of play, namely the *lāsya*, which is not mentioned in the table of contents either, or indeed included in the numbering. In the Baroda edition, however, the *lāsya* is not found in Chapter 18 but in 19, appearing among various sets of minor building blocks making up the plot of a play. In Dhanañjaya’s *Daśarūpaka* the *nāṭikā* is likewise not counted (3, 42–48), while the *lāsya* is accommodated in the *bhāṇa* (3, 53–54), with which, as we will see, it shares the theatrical *ākāśabhāṣita* device. The Paramāra king Bhoja (11th century), in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Chapter 11, pp. 713–720), first treats the ten plays from *nāṭaka* to *vīthī*, leaving out the *nāṭikā*, ending the text with the words *iti daśarūpakam etad bharatācāryānusārato gaditam* (p. 720, l. 9). Next, he describes the *nāṭikā*, to which he adds yet another play, namely the *saṭṭaka*, evidently a subtype of the *nāṭikā*. In the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* the *lāsya* is dealt with in Chapter 12, pp. 757–761, after which follows a detailed treatment of the so-called *vīthyaṅgas*, which I will go into below.

<sup>1</sup> As will be shown below, the order of the ten plays in *Nāṭyaśāstra* 18, 10–126ab is meaningful, though the order in the table of contents in vv. 2 and 3ab, which is determined by metrical considerations, is not:

*nāṭakam saprakaraṇam aṅko vyāyoga eva ca*  
*bhāṇaḥ samavakāraś ca vīthī prahasanaṃ ḍimaḥ (2)*  
*īhāmṛgaś ca vijñeyaḥ daśamo nāṭyalakṣaṇe (3ab).*

The *daśarūpa* list not only accommodates more than the ten types of plays of its title, it also contains some rare types of which no early specimens have come down to us, namely the *vyāyoga*, *samavakāra*, *ḍima*, *īhāmṛga*, *utsyṣṭikāṅka* and *vīthī*. The plays of these types that we do have, all quite late, are most probably reconstructions on the basis of the definitions provided in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and later treatises on drama. Furthermore, as will be shown, the list forms a heterogeneous collection, with the *vīthī* being the odd one out. The description of the *vīthī* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not provide for a play like the other *rūpas* in the list, that is, a complete play with a well-developed plot. The term *vīthī* appears to cover a set of minor scenes found embedded in a play, and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* mentions altogether thirteen such scenes, called *vīthyaṅgas*, “*vīthī* members”. The term *lāsyā* likewise covers a number of small-scale dramatic performances, but it is exceptional for different reasons: it is made up mainly of dancing and singing, features that are rare in the other plays of the list.

In what follows I will have a closer look at the *daśarūpa* list and the position of the *vīthī* and *lāsyā* in it. The exceptional nature of the *vīthī* raises the question of what it, or rather its *aṅgas*, is doing in the list of ten complete plays. After having gone through the thirteen *vīthyaṅgas*, I will turn to the list and in particular to the relationship of the *vīthī* with the *prahasana* and *bhāṇa*. As to the *lāsyā*, like the *vīthī*, it appears to be a heading for a number of minor dramatic scenes; the *Nāṭyaśāstra* distinguishes ten of them. However, while the inclusion of the *vīthī* in the *daśarūpa* list has never been questioned, the *lāsyā* is almost certainly a later addition. Not only that, it has also been moved around: in Ghosh’s edition it occurs immediately after the *vīthī*, while in the Baroda edition the *lāsyā* is found in the next chapter among the so-called *sandhis*. After having had a closer look at what may have determined the respective positions of the *lāsyā* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, I will suggest that the addition of the supernumerary *lāsyā* to the dramatic theory may have taken place in the wake of the addition of the equally supernumerary *nāṭikā* to the *daśarūpa* list, as a provisional reconstruction of the *Werdegang* of this list.

## 2. The *vīthī* passages in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*

The *vīthī* section in Chapter 18 opens in v. 111 with the words:

*bhāṇasyāpi hi nikhilaṃ lakṣaṇam uktaṃ tathāgamānugataṃ  
vīthyāḥ samprati nikhilaṃ kathayāmi yathākramaṃ viprāḥ.*

I have given a description of the characteristics of the *bhāṇa*, complete and (*tathā*) based on the learned tradition. Now, o brahmins, I will offer a complete description of the characteristics (*nikhilaṃ*, scil. *lakṣaṇam*) of the *vīthī* (i.e., of the *vīthyaṅgas*) one by one (*yathākramaṃ*).

Next, it is said that its topics may cover all (the eight) *rasas* and that it abounds in all the (thirty-six) *lakṣaṇas*,<sup>2</sup> has thirteen members (*aṅgas*), consists of just one act, and is performed by one or two actors (*hārya*) only, who represent low, middle or high characters (*prakṛti*). After this, in vv. 113cd–114, the names of the thirteen *vīthyaṅgas* are given, followed in vv. 115–126ab by short descriptions of the individual members.

### 3. The thirteen *vīthyaṅgas*

The general character of the *vīthyaṅgas* is clear: they consist of small segments of text spoken by the actors (note the words *vacana*, *vāk(ya)*, *pada*, *vivāda*, *ucyate*, *artha*), which may, for instance, involve mutual misunderstandings and confusion. In many cases there is also a strong comic element (*hāsya*) present. However, due to the brevity of the characterisations in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* it is not easy for each of the thirteen *aṅgas* to reconstruct a specific dramatic scene. For information of that kind, scholars (e.g., LÉVI 1963) have tended to turn to Abhinavagupta's commentary (10th cent., available in the Baroda edition) and to later treatises on drama and their commentaries, which by way of illustration often quote specimens from known Sanskrit plays. However, apart from the fact that it is not always easy to go back from these scenes in classical plays to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* definitions, it is questionable if we may assume an unbroken tradition between the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and these later treatises and commentaries. In this connection I may point to the definition of the Guṇa *mādhurya* in *NŚ* 16, 104. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes the flaw (*doṣa*) of annoying people by again and again telling them the same thing, which in certain circumstances, however, proves to be a *guṇa*, or effective strategy. It is in this sense that *mādhurya* is used in Aśoka's Rock Edict 14 from the third century BCE. The various interpretations of the later commentarial tradition (and in this case that given in the *Arthaśāstra* as well) should subsequently be interpreted as attempts to make sense of a term that was no longer understood.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the following discussion of the *vīthyaṅgas* is as a matter of principle restricted to the bare text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Even though the texts do not always speak for themselves, the general character of the *vīthyaṅgas* is clear.

I will proceed to discuss the thirteen *vīthyaṅgas* in the order as found in the Baroda edition, in the list in *NŚ* 18, 113cd–14 and the passages offering brief descriptions of them in *NŚ* 18, 115–126ab. The order in Ghosh's edition in 20, 114–15 and 117–129 respectively differs slightly from the one in the Baroda edition, as shown in the following overview:

<sup>2</sup> For the *lakṣaṇas*, see RAGHAVAN 1973: 1–52.

<sup>3</sup> See TIEKEN 2006 and 2023: 117–119.

Baroda	Ghosh
Chapter 18, 113cd–114, 115–126ab	Chapter 20, 114–115, 117–129
1. <i>udghātyaka</i>	id.
2. <i>avalagita</i>	id.
3. <i>avaspaṇḍita</i>	id.
4. <i>nālikā</i>	<i>asatpralāpa</i>
5. <i>asatpralāpa</i>	<i>prapañca</i>
6. <i>vākkelī</i>	<i>nālikā</i>
7. <i>prapañca</i>	<i>vākkelī</i>
8. <i>mṛdava</i>	<i>adhibala</i>
9. <i>adhibala</i>	<i>chala</i>
10. <i>chala</i>	<i>vyāhāra</i>
11. <i>trigata</i>	<i>mṛdava</i>
12. <i>vyāhāra</i>	<i>trigata</i>
13. <i>gaṇḍa</i>	<i>gaṇḍa</i>

### *udghātyaka*

The definition of the *udghātyaka* reads as follows (vv. 115cd–116ab):

*padāni tvagatārthāni ye narāḥ punar ādarāt  
yojayanti padair anyais tad udghātyakam ucyate.*

When characters repeat a message which has not come across, using other, carefully selected words, we speak of *udghātyaka*.

On the basis of the available textual variants mentioned in the Baroda edition it is possible to reconstruct another text in which a particular twist to the situation is given: for the benefit of very simple-minded people (*ye narāḥ svalpabuddhayaḥ*) the text, (though) perfectly clear as it is (*padāni gatārthāni*), is explained with the help of synonyms (*paryāyair eva bodhyante*).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The *vīthyaṅgas udghātyaka* and the *avalagita* (for which, see below) are also mentioned among the five “members” (*aṅgas*) of the *āmukha*, or “introduction”, to a play (*NS* 20, 33). For their definitions, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* refers to the section dealing with the *vīthyaṅgas* (*udghātyakāvalagitalakṣaṇam kathitaṃ mayā*, 20, 34ab), that is, to *NS* 18, 115 and 116 respectively. These five *āmukhāṅgas* also include the *kathodghāta*, which resembles the *udghātyaka*: an actor enters upon the scene for the first act, repeating or paraphrasing parts of a text spoken before by the *sūtradhāra* in the introduction (*NS* 20, 35):

*sūtradhārasya vākyam vā yatra vākyārthaṃ eva vā  
grhītvā praviśet pātram kathodghātaḥ sa prakīrtitaḥ.*

*avalagita*

The second *vīthyaṅga*, the *avalagita* (vv. 116cd–117ab), is defined as:

*yatrānyasmin samāveśya kāryam anyat prasādhyate  
tac cāvalagitaṃ nāma vijñeyaṃ nāṭyayokṭṛbhiḥ.*

As mentioned above, and as we will see below, the *vīthyaṅgas* describe small speech segments, though in the definition of the *avalagita* words for spoken text are absent.<sup>5</sup> In Lévi's paraphrase of it (LÉVI 1963: 113), "Lorsqu'une première affaire est engagée déjà [*samāveśya*], une autre s'y substitue en la continuant", it seems to describe a switch in the characters' actions or behaviour (*affaire*): they engage in one activity, which is abandoned for the sake of another, which would somehow be a continuation of the former and be carried out to the end. In Abhinavagupta's interpretation, however, we do have a speech segment. As an illustration of *avalagita* he refers to a brief exchange between the king and *vidūṣaka* from Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī*, p. 32, in which the king is asked if it makes him happy to look at the woman in a painting that someone had left lying in the palace garden. The king, in turn, asks if it is happiness when his eyes have the greatest problems to detach themselves from her thighs or breasts and move on to any of her other limbs. In this way he (involuntarily) presents himself as a man smitten with love. While apart from the context there is nothing in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* text to take it as a definition of a verbal exchange, it is also difficult to see how it accounts for the *Ratnāvalī* scene. Below, a more or less literal translation, or rather paraphrase, is given:

When an aim (*kāryam*) has been inserted into (or: made dependent on) another aim (*anyasmin samāveśya*) and (in the end) that other aim<sup>6</sup> (or: yet another, third, aim) is realised, among experts of dramatic performances that should be known by the name *avalagita*.

*avaspandita*

The *aṅga avaspandita* is defined as follows (vv. 117cd–118ab):

*ākṣipte'rthe tu kasmimścic chubhāśubhasamutthite  
kauśalyād ucyate'nyo'rthas tad avaspanditaṃ bhavet.*

When something is rejected because the outcome may or may not be pleasant (and) someone adroitly (*kauśalyād*) joins the conversation to suggest something else, that will be an example of *avaspandita*.

<sup>5</sup> For *prasādhyate* Ghosh's edition (*NS* 20, 118) reads *praśasyate*, "is praised", which, however, is not found among the textual variants mentioned in the Baroda edition.

<sup>6</sup> Normally, the meaning "the other" is reserved for *itara*. However, we have to do with a construction *anya* ... *anya* here.

*nālikā*<sup>7</sup>

The definition of the fourth *vīthyaṅga*, the *nālikā* (v. 118cd), is tantalisingly brief:

*hāsyenopagatārthaprahelikā nāliketi vijñeyā.*

for which I suggest the following translation:

*nālikā* is when a funny solution is offered to a riddle.<sup>8</sup>

*asatpralāpa*

The definition of *asatpralāpa* (v. 119) speaks for itself:

*mūrkhajanāsannikarṣe hitam api yatra prabhāṣate vidvān  
na ca gṛhyate'sya vacanaṃ vijñeyo'asatpralāpo'sau.*

When a learned man addresses a bunch of fools, who fail to appreciate his good intentions, that should be known as *asatpralāpa*, or “wasted words”.

*vākkeli*

No. 6, *vākkeli*, defined in v. 120ab as *ekadviprativacanā vākkeli syāt prayoge'smin*, is a situation in which the characters are involved in an argument in which one of them reacts to a statement of the other by playfully (*kelī*) disagreeing by varying on it (*prativacana*, “echo”) one or two times.

*prapañca*

The definition of *prapañca* (vv. 120cd–121ab) reads:

*yad asadbhūtaṃ vacanaṃ samstavayuktaṃ dvayoḥ parasparaṃ yat tu  
ekasya cārthahetoḥ sa hāsyajananaḥ prapañcaḥ syāt.*

As I see it, the definition describes a comic situation (*hāsyajananaḥ*) in which of two people each goes out of his way to praise (*vacanaṃ samstavayuktaṃ*) the other (*parasparaṃ*), knowing that the praise lacks any ground (*asadbhūtaṃ*) but (*yat tu ... ca*) hoping to profit from it (*arthahetoḥ*).

<sup>7</sup> Together with the *gaṇḍa*, for which see below, the *nālikā* is itself also part of the *trigata* in the *pūrvaraṅga*; see *NS* 5, between 134 and 135, quoted below, p. 274.

<sup>8</sup> Or “*nālikā* is a riddle, the solution of which comes with mirth”.

*mṛdava*

In the next *vīthyaṅga*, *mṛdava*, the two characters cannot agree on what are excellent qualities and what defects; this time the reasons for these opinions (*kāraṇād*) are provided:

*yat kāraṇād guṇānām doṣṭikaraṇam bhaved vivādakṛtam  
doṣaguṇīkaraṇam vā tan mṛdavaṃ nāma vijñeyam* (vv. 121cd–122ab).

When two people disagree, explaining (*kāraṇād*) why certain virtues are actually defects, or certain defects virtues, that (*aṅga*) is to be known by the name *mṛdava*.

*adhibala*

The *vīthyaṅga adhibala* is defined as follows (vv. 122cd–123ab):

*paravacanam ātmanaś cottarottarasamudbhavaṃ dvayor yat tu  
anyonyārthaviśeṣakam adhibalam iti tad budhair jñeyam*.

It describes a situation in which two characters are locked in an endless altercation (*uttarottara*) in which at every point one of them makes a suggestion the other retorts, saying he sees it differently (*anyonyārthaviśeṣaka*).

*chala*

The definition of *chala* (v. 123cd) is brief again. It reads:

*anyārtham eva vākyaṃ chalam abhisandhānahāsyaroṣakaram*.

*chala* is an expression, which, inadvertently (?*anyārtham*), convinces people, makes them laugh or makes them angry.<sup>9</sup>

*trigata*

For the *trigata* there are two definitions. The one commented upon by Abhinavagupta reads (v. 124):

*śrutisārūpyād yasmin bahavo'rthā yuktibhir niyujyante  
yad dhāsyam ahāsyam vā tat trigataṃ nāma vijñeyam*.

In it [viz. the *trigata*] many meanings are artfully attached to (a sentence, etc.) owing to a resemblance of sound. This, which may have a comic or non-comic character, is to be distinguished by the name Trigata (trans. KUIPER 1979: 181).

<sup>9</sup> The Baroda edition mentions the following alternative definition:

*yatrādau prativacanair vilobhayitvā paramparākāraiḥ  
tair evārthavihīnair viparītaḥ* .....

Unfortunately, the text of the final part of this verse is not specified.

The second definition, which in the Baroda edition is relegated to the part dealing with the textual variants (p. 458), reads:

*yad udāttavacanam iha ca tridhā vibhaktaṃ bhavet prayoge tu  
hāsyarāśasamprayuktaṃ tat trigataṃ nāma vijñeyam.*

The passage has been translated by KUIPER (1979: 181) as:

When in a performance a talk of (non?-)exalted<sup>10</sup> characters is divided over three (characters) and it has the comical sentiment, it is to be distinguished as a Trigata.

The translation of *tridhā vibhaktaṃ* is inspired by the *trigata* scene in the *pūrvaraṅga*, which is described in *Nāṭyaśāstra* 5, 133cd–134 and during which three actors are on stage, namely the *sūtradhāra* and his two *pāripārśvikas*, or assistants (see below). This is assumed to have given the scene its name *trigata*. However, this translation of *tridhā vibhaktaṃ* does not align with the information supplied in *Nāṭyaśāstra* 18, 112cd, according to which the *vīthī* is performed by either one or two actors (or *hārya* in *vīthī syād ekāṅkā tathaikahāryā dvihāryā vā*). This has raised the question of whether the *vīthyaṅga trigata* and the *trigata* in the *pūrvaraṅga* are one and the same. According to KUIPER 1979: 185 they are, that is, historically, the *pūrvaraṅga trigata* being the original. It should be noted, though, that the fact that in the *pūrvaraṅga* the scene is performed by three actors<sup>11</sup> is not a distinctive feature of the *trigata* scene: the *pūrvaraṅga* is in its entirety performed by three actors, the above-mentioned *sūtradhāra* and the two *pāripārśvikas*.<sup>12</sup> Apart from that, the *sūtradhāra* and the two *pāripārśvikas* have different roles in the *trigata* scene. To put it simply: the two *pāripārśvikas* are involved in a dispute, the *sūtradhāra* listens and, as an outsider, pronounces judgement. The relevant passage in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* consists of two parts, namely 5, 133cd–134 and two verses not commented upon by Abhinavagupta, and are therefore not included in the numbering in the Baroda edition:<sup>13</sup>

*tathā ca bhāratībhede trigataṃ samprayojayet (133cd).*

<sup>10</sup> The Baroda edition mentions a variant reading *yatrā(yac cā)nudāttavacanam*. I will return to this variation below.

<sup>11</sup> See also the expression *naṭādītritaya* in *Daśarūpaka* 3, 16 about the *trigata* in the *pūrvaraṅga*, to be quoted below.

<sup>12</sup> *NŚ* 5, 65–67 describes the entrance of the *sūtradhāra* and the two *pāripārśvikas* (*praviśeyur samam trayah*), and 5, 136 deals with how all three of them leave the stage (*niṣkrāmeyuḥ samam trayah*) after they have been invited to start the performance of the play itself (*prarocanā*) and after the announcement of the topic of the play (*kāvyavastunirūpaṇa*) (for the *prarocanā* and *kāvyavastunirūpaṇa*, see TIEKEN 2001a: 96–97). At one point in the so-called *citra* variety of the *pūrvaraṅga* a fourth person, called a *caturthakāra*, makes his appearance (*NŚ* 5, 150).

<sup>13</sup> The passage is also dealt with in TIEKEN 2001a: 94–97.

*vidūṣakas tv ekapadāṃ sūtradhārasmitāvahām  
asambaddhakathāprāyāṃ kuryāt kathanikāṃ tataḥ* (134).

and:

*vitaṇḍāṃ gaṇḍasaṃyuktāṃ<sup>14</sup> nālikāṅ<sup>15</sup> ca prayojayet  
kas tiṣṭhati jitaṃ kenetyādikāvyaṃprarūpiṇīm.  
pāripārśvikasañjalpo vidūṣakavirūpitaḥ  
sthāpitaḥ sūtradhāreṇa trigataṃ samprayujyate.*

The first section presents only two characters, a *vidūṣaka* and the *sūtradhāra*. However, from the second section it becomes clear that there are three of them: beside the *sūtradhāra*, two *pāripārśvikas*, or assistants, who are involved in some kind of altercation (*sañjalpa*) in which one of them plays the role of *vidūṣaka*, or *Verstehrder*, interrupting the other with loud objections (*gaṇḍa*), interjections (or incomplete sentences? *ekapadā*), critical remarks (*vitaṇḍā*) and enigmatical utterances (*nālikā*), and with questions about their texts (*kāvyanirūpiṇī*), such as “who(se interpretation) holds, who (of us) has won?”.<sup>16</sup> As can be seen, the *sūtradhāra* is merely an onlooker here, who at first is only amused (*smita*) but in the end also has to decide which of the two parties has won (*sthāpita*). In this connection it should be noted that the *trigata* is the counterpart of the ritual fight between the *devas* and *asuras* during the *raṅgapūjana* described in *Nāṭyaśāstra* 3, 92–93 (KUIPER 1979: 165 and 192). The specification *bhāratībhede* (v. 133cd), “in the verbal mode”, defines the contrast between the *trigata* and the fight, which involved real, physical violence. In the verbal contest, however, the *sūtradhāra* does not seem to add an argument, a third, of his own; he merely decides which of the two parties wins.

It cannot be ruled out that the *pūrvaraṅga trigata* is original and had been inserted into the list of *vīthyaṅgas* without any adaptation. At the same time, it may be questioned if the expression *tridhā vibhakta*, and *trigata* as such, too, does indeed refer to the number of characters in the scene. As I see it, *tridhā vibhakta* could equally well be translated as “analysed in three ways”, thus making the same point as *yasmin bahavo'rthā* (see above) and *anekārtha* in *Daśarūpaka* 3, 16 about the *trigata* in the *pūrvaraṅga*:

*śrutisāmyād anekārthayojanaṃ trigataṃ tv iha  
naṭāditritayālāpaḥ pūrvaraṅge tad iṣyate.*

<sup>14</sup> For the *vīthyaṅga gaṇḍa*, see below.

<sup>15</sup> For *nālikāṅ* instead of *tālikāṅ* of the Baroda text, or the variant reading *nāmikāṅ*, see KUIPER 1979: 178, n. 290. For the *vīthyaṅga nālikā*, see above.

<sup>16</sup> I do not take *kāvya* in *kāvyanirūpiṇī* to refer to the text of the play which is performed next, but to the arguments that are passed between the two *pāripārśvikas*.

Found side-by-side with the expression *śrutisārūpya*, the verb *vibhaj-*, and *bahavo'rthā* and *anekārtha* seem to describe the exercise of solving double entendres like *śleṣas* and *yamakas*. The term *trigata*, in turn, may be taken as a formation like *dvigata*, “ambiguous, zweideutig”.<sup>17</sup> While in a *dvigata* discussion one participant disagrees with the interpretation of a certain utterance made by the other, after which the discussion is closed, in a *trigata* the one disagrees with the interpretation given by the other, and so on. The two are thus locked in an endless altercation, which requires a third party to bring an end to it, as happened in the *pūrvaraṅga*. As such, the *trigata* resembles the *vīthyaṅga adhibala* (see above), but differs from it in that the conflict is apparently not so much about the interpretation of a situation as about how a textual utterance should be broken up or analysed (*śrutisārūpya*, *vibhaj-*). Thus, Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣya* I, p. 14, lines 12–14 and the repetition of the passage in III, p. 388, lines 8–10) for *dvigata* cites the example *śveto dhāvati*, “a person dressed in white runs away”, which can also be analysed as *śvā ito dhāvati*, “the dog runs away from here”. To return to the *pūrvaraṅga trigata*, the role of *vidūṣaka*, or *Verstehrder*, is not reserved for one of the *pāripārśvikas* in particular; with the next round in the discussion it is taken upon himself by the other.

Finally, a brief note may be added on the variants *udātta-* and *anudāttavacana* in the *vīthyaṅga trigata*. As noted, Kuiper left open which might have been the original reading. Furthermore, while he translated “talk of an (non-)exalted person”, he also pointed to several instances in which *udātta* refers to words as well as people (KUIPER 1979: 180, fn. 297). As to the latter question, a crucial passage is in my opinion *Nāṭyaśāstra* 18, 34, which provides a description of the so-called *praveśaka*, or interlude:

*nottamamadhyamapurūṣair ācarito nāpyudāttavacanakṛtaḥ  
prākṛtabhāṣācāraḥ prayogam āśritya kartavyaḥ.*

It is indeed clear that in this passage the phrase *nāpyudāttavacanakṛta* does not refer to the social position of the speakers – this is already dealt with in *nottamamadhyamapurūṣa*, or, for that matter, to the language – the *praveśaka* is performed by servants who speak a Prākṛit (*prākṛtabhāṣā*). Instead, the phrase seems to refer to the low level of the discussion, which is about trivialities. This does of course not rule out that in another context (*an*)*udāttavacana* may refer to “talk of a (non-)exalted **person**”. At the same time it is difficult to decide if in the definition of the *vīthyaṅga trigata* we should read *udātta-* or *anudāttavacana*. In contrast to the *praveśaka* and *pūrvaraṅga trigata*, which feature assistants (servants), in the case of the *vīthyaṅga trigata* nothing is said about the status of the speakers – the characters in the *vīthyaṅgas* may belong to either the *uttama*, *madhya*(*ma*) or *adhama* category, who speak Sanskrit and

<sup>17</sup> See WEBER 1873: 483.

Prākṛit respectively.<sup>18</sup> We could thus be dealing with a discussion in solemn Sanskrit about trivialities or one in “vulgar” Prākṛit about solemn topics, which would each in their own way produce a comic effect.

*vyāhāra*

*vyāhāra* is the presentation, with a touch of humour, of events taking place before one’s very own eyes (v. 125ab):

*pratyakṣavṛttir ukto vyāhāro hāsyaleśārthaḥ.*

*gaṇḍa*<sup>19</sup>

Finally, *vīthyaṅga* no. 13, *gaṇḍa* (vv. 125cd–126ab) is described as follows:

*saṃrambhasaṃbhramayutaṃ vivādayuktaṃ tathāpavādakṛtaṃ  
bahuvacanākṣepakṛtaṃ gaṇḍaṃ pravadanti tattvajñāḥ.*

According to the wise, *gaṇḍa* involves violent and confused speech, disagreements, cursing and loud objections.

After this overview of the thirteen *vīthyaṅgas* and before turning to the question of the position of the *vīthī* in the *daśarūpa* list, brief comments should be made on the names of the *vīthyaṅgas* and the order in which they are dealt with. As to the names of the *vīthyaṅgas*, I have so far made no attempt to translate the Sanskrit titles, except in the case of *asatpralāpa*. The reason for that is that as descriptions of specific dramatic scenes, the meanings of the titles provided by the Sanskrit dictionaries do not seem to be sufficiently informative and would, in turn, require (complex) circumscriptions. Therefore, it is decided that translations given of the definitions, even though they do not always speak for themselves, should do. As to the second point, as seen, the order of the *vīthyaṅgas* in Ghosh’s edition differs from the one above, which is that of the Baroda edition. Typically, in both editions the order is that of the respective lists heading the detailed treatment of the *vīthyaṅgas*, Baroda 18, 113cd–114 and Ghosh 20, 114–115. It is nevertheless difficult to establish which was the first, the list, in which the order is determined by metrical considerations, or the detailed treatment of the *vīthyaṅgas*? Furthermore, there does not seem to be an obvious system to the order in which the thirteen *vīthyaṅgas* are dealt with. Occasionally, one may identify a few pairs in the one edition, which are,

<sup>18</sup> See NŚ 18, 113ab: *adhamottamamadyābhir yuktā syāt prakṛtibhis trisṛbhiḥ*. This passage was misunderstood by KUIPER 1979: 183, who took the word *prakṛti*, which describes the type of characters present in the scene, to refer to the actors on stage, totalling three. This contradicts the immediately preceding rule (v. 112cd) which states that in the *vīthī* there are only one or two actors on stage.

<sup>19</sup> The *gaṇḍa* is also part of the *trigata* in the *pūrvaraṅga*; see above, fn. 7. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* passage in question is quoted above, p. 274.

however, separated in the other. One example is the pair *prapañca* and *mṛdava*, the numbers 7 and 8 in Baroda. This pair revolves around the contrast of praise which lacks any foundation (*asadbhūta*) and trying to decide what makes (*kāraṇād*) someone praiseworthy: in Ghosh's edition they are found as numbers 5 and 11, respectively. If besides the definition in the *daśarūpa* chapter the one in the *pūrvarāṅga* chapter is taken into account as well, it is possible to see a relationship between the *trigata* and *ganḍa*, numbered 12 and 13 in Ghosh's edition. In the Baroda edition, however, they are separated by the intervening *vyāhāra*. In connection with the question of the order of the *vīthyaṅgas* it is nevertheless telling that the last in the list describes such impolite behaviour such as cursing and making loud objections, as if there is a movement from polite conversation to quarrels – which, however, does not seem to be the case.

#### 4. The *vīthī* in the *daśarūpa* list

As discussed in the previous section, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* provides a list of thirteen independent microscenes under the heading “*vīthī*”. The definitions do not bear witness of a complete play with a plot or story line, which agrees with the fact that there are no contemporary *vīthī* plays, the earliest examples being two plays by the Kerala author Rāmapāṇivāda from as late as the eighteenth century. These two plays will be discussed further below. At this point, we may go into the question of what this collection of scenes is doing in an enumeration of complete plays with proper plots. To this end, we need to take a closer look at the structure of the list. Its introduction suggests that the list is organised on the basis of the number of *vṛttis*, or styles, which are called the “mothers” (*māṭṛkā*) of all poetic compositions (*kāvya*), and as such would define the nature of the performance and the differences between the various types of plays.<sup>20</sup> Four styles are distinguished, namely *bhāratī*, in which speech predominates, *sāttvatī*, in which speech and bodily acting serve to present one's mental state, *kaiśikī*, the elegant style portraying people in love, and *ārabhaṭī*, a violent style causing fear and terror. The first two items on the list, the *nāṭaka* and *prakaraṇa*, and by implication the *nāṭikā* as well, are said to make use of all four styles and the remaining eight have in common that they lack *kaiśikī* (*NS* 18, 7 and 9ab). The *ḍima* also lacks the *bhāratī vṛtti* (v. 88), and the *utsṛṣṭikāṅka* has only the *bhāratī vṛtti* (v. 96).

Another arrangement, on the basis of the *sandhis*, is described in *Nāṭyaśāstra* 19, 44–47. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* divides the plot into successive developments (*sandhis*): *mukha*, or introduction, in which the problem to be solved is

<sup>20</sup> *NS* 18, 4:

*sarveṣāṃ eva kāvyānāṃ māṭṛkāḥ smṛtāḥ*

*ābhyaṃ vinissṛtaṃ hy etad daśarūpaṃ prayogataḥ.*

For more detailed information on the *vṛttis* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, see BANSAT-BOUDON 1992: 169–180 and *passim*.

explained, *pratimukha*, in which the first steps are taken to tackle the problem, *garbha*, in which the aim is in sight, *vimarśa* or *avamarśa*, in which doubt arises about a successful outcome, and *nirvahaṇa*, the dénouement.<sup>21</sup> The *nāṭaka* and *prakaraṇa* (the *nāṭikā* is not mentioned separately) have all five *sandhis*, the *ḍima* and *samavakāra* have only four, lacking the *avamarśa sandhi*, the *vyāyoga* and *īhāmṛga*, in which *garbha* and *avamarśa* are absent, only three, and the *utsṛṣṭikāṅka*, *prahasana*, *bhāṇa* and *vīthī*, only two, namely the *mukha* and *nirvahaṇa*.

In these two ways the list is presented as one going from (long) plays with complex plots to (shorter) plays with less elaborate plots. I believe, however, that there is yet a third, more precise and more meaningful division, dividing the plays into three distinct groups. The first group is formed by the *nāṭaka*, *prakaraṇa* and *nāṭikā*. The first two are long plays of five to ten acts. The plot of the *nāṭaka* is an adaptation of a well-known story from mythology featuring kings and seers<sup>22</sup> and deals with royal concerns like the king's efforts to find a proper heir to the throne (e.g., Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*). The story of the *prakaraṇa*, by contrast, is of the playwright's own invention<sup>23</sup> and the action is set in a non-royal milieu<sup>24</sup> of such type as traders and caravan leaders<sup>25</sup> (e.g., Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭīka*).<sup>26</sup> As already indicated, the *nāṭikā*, with four acts at the most, is a mixture of the former two types:<sup>27</sup> in contrast to the *nāṭaka* the story is invented by the playwright and in contrast to the *prakaraṇa* the action is set in the royal milieu<sup>28</sup> (e.g., Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*). If these characteristics do not necessarily make the three (or two) types a group – though note the mutual division of labour which is highlighted by the *nāṭikā* – their nature as a group becomes clearer if we go further down the list. Doing so shows that

<sup>21</sup> For the *sandhis*, “portions de sens”, see BANSAT-BOUDON 1992: 132–136.

<sup>22</sup> NŚ 18, 10:  
*prakhyātavastuviṣayaṃ prakhyātoḍḍātanāyakaṃ caiva  
rājarṣivamśyacaritaṃ tathaiva divyāśrayopetaṃ.*

<sup>23</sup> NŚ 18, 45:  
*yatra kavir ātmaśaktyā vastu śarīraṃ ca nāyakaṃ caiva  
autpattikaṃ prakurute prakaraṇam iti tad budhair jñeyam.*

<sup>24</sup> NŚ 18, 49:  
*nodātanāyakaḥṛtaṃ na divyacaritaṃ na rājasambhogam  
bāhyajanasamprayuktaṃ taj jñeyam prakaraṇam tajjñaiḥ.*

<sup>25</sup> NŚ 18, 48:  
*vipraṇīksacivānām purohitāmātyasārthavāhānām  
caritaṃ yan naikavidhaṃ jñeyam tat prakaraṇam nāma.*

<sup>26</sup> A much earlier example of the *prakaraṇa* is the Aśvaghōṣa's *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*.

<sup>27</sup> NŚ 18, 57:  
*anayoś ca bandhayogād anyo bhedaḥ prayokṛbhiḥ kāryaḥ  
prakhyātas tv itaro vā nāṭakayoge prakaraṇe vā.*

<sup>28</sup> NŚ 18, 58ab: *prakaraṇanāṭakabhedād utpādyam vastu nāyakaṃ nṛpatim.*

the following five play types form a group that is clearly separate from the *nāṭaka*, *prakaraṇa* and *nāṭikā*, and, as we will see, from the next three types of plays as well, as they all deal with battle and its aftermath. Thus, the theme of the three-act *samavakāra* is the battle between the *devas* and *asuras*<sup>29</sup> as presented in the *Amṛtamanthana*, “The Churning of the Ocean”. This play is referred to in the myth about the origin of drama in *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Chapter 4, and is performed by Bharata at the request of Brahmā before an excited audience of both gods and demons.<sup>30</sup> The *ḍima* is likewise just one extended battle scene in four acts.<sup>31</sup> The same myth referred to above mentions the performance of the *ḍima Tripuradāha*, or “the Burning of the Three Cities”, an heroic feat performed by Śiva.<sup>32</sup> By contrast, the *vyāyoga*, a one-acter, does not feature any god but a great number of well-known men (epic characters?), who are involved in all kinds of violent actions.<sup>33</sup> With the *īhāmṛga*, probably a one-acter as well, we are back in the world of the gods: the theme is a fierce battle between gods about a heavenly maiden.<sup>34</sup> These four plays are, as a group, concluded by the *utsṛṣṭikāṅka*. The scene of this one-acter is set after the battle in which the wives lament the heroes killed.<sup>35</sup>

While the above five plays are about the same topic – as said, all deal with battle and its aftermath – the three plays that follow, namely the *prahasana*, *bhāṇa* and *vīthī*, do not seem to have anything like that in common. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not provide any information about their topics or plots. It does mention the plays’ characters: saints, ascetics and other marginal figures, such as courtesans and servants in the *prahasana*,<sup>36</sup> a scoundrel or a man-about-

<sup>29</sup> The *samavakāra* is *devāsurasabījākṛta* (NŚ 18, 63).

<sup>30</sup> NŚ 4, 4:

*tasmin samavakāre tu prayukte devadānavāḥ  
hṛṣṭāḥ samabhavan sarve karmabhāvānudarśanāt.*

<sup>31</sup> NŚ 18, 86cd: *yuddhaniyuddhādharṣaṇasaṃpheṭākṛtās ca kartavyaḥ.*

<sup>32</sup> NŚ 4, 10cd: *tathā tripuradāhas ca ḍimasamjñāḥ prayojitaḥ.*

<sup>33</sup> NŚ 18, 92:

*na ca divyanāyakaḥ kṛtaḥ kāryo rājarṣināyakanibaddhaḥ  
yuddhaniyuddhadharṣaṇasaṃgharṣakṛtās ca kartavyaḥ.*

<sup>34</sup> NŚ 18, 78ab: *divyapuruṣāśrayakṛto divyastṛīkārāṇopagatayuddhaḥ.* See also *amarastṛī* in 18, 81.

<sup>35</sup> NŚ 18, 95:

*karuṇarasaprāyākṛto nivṛttayuddhodhataprahāras ca  
strīparidevītabahulo nirveditabhāṣitās caiva.*

The function of the *utsṛṣṭikāṅka* (*aṅka* for short), if not for the group as a whole, then for the individual plays of the group, was already acknowledged by RAGHAVAN 1933: 281: “The *Aṅka* is, so to say, an epilogue or a sequel to a *Samavakāra*, *īhāmṛga*, *ḍima* or *Vyāyoga*. These four plays depict fights among gods and other *Prakhyāta* heroes while the *Aṅka* depicts the result of those fights.”

<sup>36</sup> NŚ 18, 103:

*bhagavattāpasaviprair anyair api hāsyavādasambaddham*

town in the *bhāṇa*,<sup>37</sup> and, as already noted above, characters of all social classes (high, low and middle) in the *vīthī*. Furthermore, we learn that the *prahasana* is full of amusing conversations and characters wearing extravagant clothes and behaving accordingly;<sup>38</sup> the one act of the *bhāṇa* is said to be full of activity and to present all kinds of situations;<sup>39</sup> and, as seen above, a *vīthī* is a brief scene of humorous and enigmatic exchanges. There is one thing all the plays do have in common, though. In this connection it should be noted that there are two versions of the *prahasana* and *bhāṇa*, fully fledged plays and brief dramatic scenes presumably of the same format as the *vīthyaṅgas*.<sup>40</sup> Thus, the three acts of the *samavakāra*, beside having scenes of disaster and fraud, are full of *vīthī* and *prahasana* scenes.<sup>41</sup> The *bhāṇa* makes use of a particular theatrical device, namely of holding an imaginary conversation with someone who is not on the stage but, so to speak, “in the sky” (*ākāśe*).<sup>42</sup> A full-length *bhāṇa* play consists of a string of such conversations. At the same time, in, for instance, the

---

*kāpuruṣasamprayuktaṃ parihāsabhāṣaṇaprāyam.*

NŚ 18, 105:

*veśyāceṭanapūṣakaviṭadhūrtā bandhakī ca yatra syuḥ  
anibhṛtaveṣaparicchadaceṣṭitakaraṇais tu saṃkīrṇam.*

<sup>37</sup> NŚ 18, 110:

*dhūrtaviṭasamprayojyo nānāvasthāntarātmakāś caiva  
ekāṅko bahuceṣṭaḥ satataṃ kāryo budhair bhāṇaḥ.*

<sup>38</sup> See *hāsyavādasambaddha*, *parihāsabhāṣaṇaprāya* and *anibhṛtaveṣaparicchadaceṣṭitakaraṇa* in the passages quoted in fn. 36.

<sup>39</sup> NŚ 18, 110 quoted in fn. 37.

<sup>40</sup> The fully fledged *prahasana* plays include incidental scenes of the *vīthī* type; see NŚ 18, 107ab: *vīthyaṅgaiḥ saṃyuktaṃ kartavyaṃ prahasanaṃ yathāyogam*. See also Bhoja’s *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Chapter 11, p. 720, line 5: *ughātyakādibhir idam vīthyaṅgair miśritaṃ bhavet miśram*, which concludes the description of the mixed (*saṃkīrṇa*) *prahasana* and takes care of a smooth transition to the *vīthī* mentioned next; the individual *vīthyaṅgas* are dealt with in Chapter 12, pp. 761–769.

<sup>41</sup> NŚ 18, 65ab: *aṅkas tu saprahasanaḥ savidravaḥ sakapaṭaḥ savīthikaḥ*.

<sup>42</sup> On this and other theatrical devices, like “speaking to oneself” (*ātmagatam*) or “asides” (*janāntika* or *apavāritam*), see BANSAT-BOUDON 1992: 138–145. As to the *ākāśabhāṣita*, the actor listens to the voice in the sky and his reaction is directed to the sky as well. In his edition of the *Śakuntalā* MONIER-WILLIAMS 1876: 96 refers to several such scenes in Sanskrit plays in which an actor addresses a person in the sky who is visible only to him, in his mind’s eye, so to say. One of these passages is found in Śūdraka’s *Mudrārākṣasa*, on p. 68, in which Cāpakya looks at the sky and addresses the Nanda king’s minister who would seem to be standing in front of him (*pratyaḥśavad ākāśe lakṣyaṃ baddhvā*) (for an English translation of the passage, see VAN BUITENEN 1971: 189). Another passage is found in Kālidāsa’s *Vikramorvaśīya*, Act 4, after stanza 5/68, at which point Purūravas enters, looking at the sky and in his madness addressing Urvaśī’s kidnapper (*tataḥ praviśaty ākāśabaddhalakṣaḥ sonmādo* [v.l. *unmattaveṣo*] *rājā. sakrodhaṃ. āḥ durātman rakṣas tiṣṭha tiṣṭha. kva me priyatamām ādāya gacchasi*) (edition SCHARPÉ 1956: 98). LÉVI 1963: 95 refers to a passage from the fourth act of Kālidāsa’s *Śakuntalā* (pp. 162–163, v. 13/91), where all those present on the stage listen to a voice from the sky (*ākāśe*). For an English translation, see COULSON 1981: 98.

third act of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*, we find such a scene in the *viṣkambhaka*, or interlude. In this scene, the actor, a pupil of the local ascetic, pretends to listen to Śakuntalā's friend Priyaṃvadā, who is not physically present on the stage, and repeats, presumably *verbatim*, what she had said to him, introducing it with the words *kiṃ bravīṣi*, "what did you say?" His reply is directed at the invisible Priyaṃvadā in the sky.<sup>43</sup>

Among the three members of this group the *vīthī* stands apart, as, while we have fairly early examples from the first millennium of *prahasana* and *bhāṇa* plays, plays called *vīthīs* made their appearance only in the eighteenth century. To begin with the *prahasana*, probably the earliest example is the *Mattavilāsa* attributed to the Pallava king Mahendravarman I (circa 590–630).<sup>44</sup> The earliest *bhāṇa* is Śyamilaka's *Pādatāḍitaka* (before 900 CE?).<sup>45</sup> As noted, the earliest examples of *vīthī* plays date only from the eighteenth century. All earlier examples of "vīthīs" consist of short scenes embedded in regular plays. According to Raghavan, Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* mentions two *vīthī* plays, the *Mālatikā* and *Indulekhā*,<sup>46</sup> neither of which has unfortunately come down to us. All we have of these plays are quotations providing examples of the *udghātyaka* and *nālikā* from the *Mālatikā* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Chapter 12, pp. 761 and 766, respectively) and of the *trigata* from the *Indulekhā* (p. 764). Furthermore, the term *vīthī* is not part of the title (e.g., *Mālatikāvīthī*); relevant passages are introduced by the words *yathā mālatikāyāṃ / indulekhāyāṃ vīthyāṃ*, "as in the *vīthī* in the *Mālatikā/Indulekhā*", in which the word *vīthī* may well refer to *vīthī*

<sup>43</sup> For an English translation of the *viṣkambhaka*, see COULSON 1981: 70–71.

<sup>44</sup> For the *Mattavilāsa* and Mahendravarman I's authorship, see TIEKEN 1993.

<sup>45</sup> The date of this play is discussed in detail by the editor of the text, Godard Schokker, who distinguishes between external and internal evidence (SCHOKKER 1966: 13–31). As to the external evidence, a reference to the play's author, as Śyāmadeva, in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* suggests 875 CE as a *date ante quem*. However, it is uncertain if Śyāmadeva, who Rājaśekhara claims to be the author of a treatise on poetics, is indeed the same person as the playwright Śyāmilaka. In addition, Schokker refers to Abhinavagupta's commentary of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which mentions, and quotes from, the *Pādatāḍitaka* twice, thus showing that the play was more or less well known before or in the tenth century in practically the same form as we now have it. On the basis of the internal evidence gleaned from the text itself, consisting of historical people and data mentioned in it, Schokker arrives at a much earlier date, namely between 455 and 510 CE. As I see it, however, this type of evidence is to be treated with the greatest care, as we may be dealing with a historical setting and should not underestimate the classical authors' skills in piecing together an internally consistent and convincing historical picture (see the Śuṅga milieu in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* or the Nanda-Maurya conflict in Śūdraka's *Mudrārākṣasa*).

<sup>46</sup> RAGHAVAN 1963: 592 writes: "While illustrating the Vīthyaṅgas, Bhoja draws instances from two regular Vīthīs called *Mālatikā* and *Indulekhā*. This is something; for even the *Daśarūpaka* which is especially devoted to the treatment of the ten types of drama, does not give any specimen of the Vīthī and the Avaloka upon it illustrates all the thirteen Aṅgas from every kind of drama and even from non-dramatic compositions but not from any kind of Vīthī".

scenes in these two plays.<sup>47</sup> In addition we have the first act of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* (8th cent.), which is given the title "*bakulavīthī*". However, all acts in this play have titles referring to a striking object or incident in the act in question: Act 2, for instance, is called *dhavalagrha*, "the white pavillion", and Act 5 *śmaśānaparikrama*, "going around in the cremation ground". In the first act, the *bakula* flower is the object of an intricate, punned, *vīthī*-like passage.<sup>48</sup>

And then, in the eighteenth century, out of the blue, we have two complete plays called *vīthīs* by Rāmapāṇivāda, the *Candrikā* and *Līlāvātī*.<sup>49</sup> Though the *vīthī* is not the only play for which early examples are lacking, the point is that these two *vīthīs* are exceptionally late. Thus, the first examples of the *ḍima* and *samavakāra* after the mythical *Tripuradāha* and *Amṛtamanthana* mentioned in Chapter 4 of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, are the *Tripuradāhaḍima* and *Samudramathanasamavakāra* by Vatsarāja (12th cent.), included in the anthology *Rūpakaṣaṭka*. Besides the *Karpūracaritabhāna* and *Hāsyacūḍāmaṇiprahasana*, this collection contains the *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya-īhāmṛga* and *Kirātārjunīavyāyoga* by the same playwright. Furthermore, it should be noted that the *Madhyamavyāyoga* is definitely not a work of the pre-Kālidāsa author Bhāsa.<sup>50</sup> Finally, there do not seem to be plays of the *utsṛṣṭikāṅka* type.<sup>51</sup>

Turning to the two *vīthīs* by Rāmapāṇivāda, in the *prastāvanā* of the *Candrikā* the author mentions the features that would make it a *vīthī*:<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Going by the titles of the two plays, which refer to the respective female protagonists, their plots might have been those of the *nāṭikā*.

<sup>48</sup> For the text, see p. 23 of Coulson's edition, and for an English translation of the passage in question, see COULSON 1981: 321.

<sup>49</sup> In the introduction to his edition of the *Līlāvātī* Sugyan Kumar Mahanty, in addition to the *Bakulavīthī*, *Indulekhā* and *Mālatikā*, mentions a *Mādhavavīthikā* or *Mādhavivīthī*, a *Kāmadattā*, *Premābhirāma* and *Sītākalyāṇavīthī*, none of which have come down to us apart from the last one (MAHANTY 2020: 14–20). As to the *Sītākalyāṇa* by Veṅkappiah, it is Mahanty who identifies it as *vīthī*, not its eighteenth-century author. On pp. 52–53 Mahanty mentions a number of "modern" Sanskrit *vīthīs*.

<sup>50</sup> See TIEKEN 1997.

<sup>51</sup> MAHANTY 2020: 19 provides a list of eight plays by the eighteenth-century author Veṅkappiah which, besides a *bhāna*, *ḍima*, *samavakāra*, *vīthī*, *prahasana* and *īhāmṛga*, includes an *utsṛṣṭikāṅka*, the *Rukmiṇīsvayamvara*.

<sup>52</sup> The verse is quoted in RAJENDRAN 1985. In this connection I want to draw attention to NS 18, 115 (according to the Nepalese manuscript ḍ):

*trayoḍaśa sadāṅgāni vīthyām etāni yojayet*  
*lakṣaṇam punar eteṣāṃ pravakṣyāmy anupūrvaśah.*

It seems to say that a *vīthī* (play) should always (*sadā*) contain the just mentioned thirteen members, that probably means "all the above thirteen members". This idea was taken up by MAHANTY 2020: 33–40, who with a fine dust comb went through the *Līlāvātī* trying to identify the *vīthyaṅgas* and claiming to have found examples of all thirteen of them. Apart from the fact that for *asatpralāpa*, "useless talk" (p. 10), Mahanty points to a passage consisting of

*pātradvayaprayojyā bhāṇavad ekāṅkikā dvisandhiś ca  
ākāśabhāṣitavatī kṛtrimaṃ itivṛttam āśritā vīthī.*

As to the plot (*itivṛtta*), it is of the playwright's own invention (*kṛtrima*), that is, it is not a story borrowed from epic mythology. The play is performed by two actors (*pātradvaya*). In the *Candrikā* and *Līlāvatī* these two actors divide between them the roles of the king and *vidūṣaka*. However, to present the other characters of the story, like the queen and servant girls, recourse is taken to the *ākāśabhāṣita* device known in particular from the *bhāṇa*. Like the *bhāṇa* (*bhāṇavad*), the *vīthī* consists of one act (*ekāṅka*) and two *sandhis*, or successive developments that make up the plot. The specification of one act is found in *NŚ* 18, 112 and means that the play has a plot, uninterrupted by intervals of one or more days. The characterisation "two *sandhis*" is obvious taken from *NŚ* 19, 44–47, in which the ten major plays are divided into groups on the basis of the number of *sandhis* they contain, and the *vīthī* is put into one group along with the *prahasana*, *bhāṇa* and *utsṛṣṭikāṅka* (see above). The characterisation "two *sandhis*" looks tailored to plays, which, however short and simple, indeed consist of at least two *sandhis*, namely an opening and a *dénouement*. Admittedly, it is difficult to interpret *vīthī* scenes in this light, as they consist of brief utterances or equally brief exchanges. In this connection it must be noted, though, that two *sandhis* are the absolute minimum: a *sandhi* on its own, whether it is the *mukha*, *pratimukha*, *garbha*, *vimarśa* or *nirvaḥaṇa*, is meaningless, as each, except the last one, anticipates the following (the *mukha* the *pratimukha*, the *pratimukha* the *vimarśa*, etc.). Furthermore, even a short exchange or a riddle leads to a *dénouement* of sorts, producing laughter, some form of agreement or the *eureka* or *sphoṭa* feeling of having reached a solution.

It may well have been the case that the positioning in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of the *vīthī* side-by-side to the *prahasana* and *bhāṇa* and the fact that it consists of two *sandhis* and thus must have a plot of sorts has suggested the idea that beside the *vīthyāṅgas* there should have been a *vīthī* play, which, however, as far as we know, there is not. As with Vatsarāja earlier, for instance, with the *ḍima* and *vyāyoga*, the challenge was taken up by Rāmapāṇivāda, who also provided his own definition of such a play, by which definition he made the number of actors one of the most distinctive features.

The *daśarūpa* list in fact appears to be a heterogeneous collection of three groups of plays, the last one of which does not consist of plays but of minor scenes. Two of the three scenes in this group have been blown up to the size of complete plays and with the third type of scene this seems to have happened only very late. If the *vīthī* is exceptional in the *daśarūpa* list as a whole, it is less so in this third

---

"incoherent talk" (p. 35), I want to argue that one may find, if not all thirteen, at least quite a number of *vīthyāṅgas* in any classical Sanskrit play.

group where it follows the *prahasana* and *bhāṇa*. There is, therefore, no reason to assume that the *vīthī* is a later (misplaced) addition to the list. In any case, the same list with the *vīthī* as the tenth member is already found in Abhinavagupta's commentary (10th cent.), Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpaka* (10th cent.) and Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (11th cent.). In the dramatic tradition the inclusion and position of the *vīthī* in the list have apparently never been questioned. What is more, as minor dramatic scenes the *vīthī* has attracted another set of such scenes. In Ghosh's edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the *daśarūpa* list does not end with the *vīthī* but is continued by the so-called *lāsyāṅgas*.<sup>53</sup> However, in contrast to the *vīthī*, the position of the *lāśya* (I use the singular here for a *lāsyāṅga* or the *lāsyāṅgas* to match the term *vīthī* for a *vīthyaṅga* or the *vīthyaṅgas*) in the list has proved to be less stable: in the Baroda edition it is found among the *sandhis* and related elements in the next chapter, in the *Daśarūpaka* it is treated as a subtype of the *bhāṇa*, and in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* it is, as in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, dealt with side by side with the *sandhis*. Apart from the question of which of the two editions, Ghosh or Baroda, might present the more original situation, I want to deal with the question of how the *lāśya* came to be added to the *daśarūpa* list in the first place, and will try to show that it is linked to that other addition to the list, the *nāṭikā*: it is in this type of play that we come across the earliest examples of minor dramatic scenes like the *lāśya* and an even later arrival in the dramatic treatises, the *carcarī*.

## 5. The *lāśya*

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* distinguishes ten *lāsyāṅgas*, each of which deals with a particular erotic situation, for instance, a woman deserted by her lover or a woman who is frustrated after having failed to meet her lover.<sup>54</sup> A *lāśya* is performed by a single – female – actor and is accordingly said to have the appearance of a *bhāṇa* (*bhāṇākṛtīvad*, NŚ 19, 118ab).<sup>55</sup> An interesting example is the so-called *uktapratyukta lāśya*, which consists of a dialogue between an angry woman and a man trying to appease her and in which the female actor thus impersonates both characters.<sup>56</sup> The various erotic situations enacted in the *lāśyas* are treated in NŚ 19, 117–137. On the basis of these situations, which are said to be invented

<sup>53</sup> The *lāsyāṅgas* mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are *geyapada*, *sthitapāṭhya*, *āsīna*, *puṣpagaṇḍikā*, *pracchedaka*, *trimūḍhaka*, *saindhavaka*, *dvimūḍhaka*, *uttamottamaka* and *uktapratyukta*. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to this list of ten are added an eleventh (*citrapada*) and twelfth (*bhāvika*).

<sup>54</sup> For a (French) translation of the passages in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Abhinavagupta's commentary on these passages, see BANSAT-BOUDON 1992: 281–340.

<sup>55</sup> As indicated above, in the *Daśarūpaka* the *lāśya* is presented as a subtype of the *bhāṇa*.

<sup>56</sup> NŚ 19, 135:  
*kopaprasādajaniṭam sādhiḥṣepapadāśrayam*  
*uktapratyuktam evaṃ syāc citragītārthayojitam.*

by the author, the *lāsyā* is linked to the *prakaraṇa*.<sup>57</sup> As to the form or script of the play, the *lāsyā* consists of a string of independent stanzas in different metres, which besides *ṛtta* metres (e.g., the *śloka*) include a number of moric metres which are specifically associated with songs (e.g., the *śīrṣaka*, *narkuṭaka* and *khañjaka*).<sup>58</sup> The metres used in the *lāsyā* are dealt with in *NŚ* 31, 330–367. The texts of the songs, which are often distorted by the requirements of the *rāga* and *tāla*, are supported by meaningful dance movements (*karaṇa*).<sup>59</sup> For actual examples of how these descriptions might have worked out in practice we may turn to the 150 *kali* poems of the Tamil anthology *Kalittokai* (8th or 9th cent. at the earliest) and to Jayadeva’s *Gītagovinda* (12th cent.). Before proceeding it should be noted that in *Tolkāppiyam* 3, 56 the *Kalittokai* – and the *Paripāṭal*, about which more below – are both characterised as dramatic genres, and Jayadeva says that his *Gītagovinda* “is meant to be danced” (TIEKEN 2001b: 163–164). While, as I will show, they look very much like *lāsyās* as defined in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, it is difficult to make out if they are *lāsyās*, as there appears to have been a wide range of minor dramatic scenes of the *lāsyā* type. As far as the *kali* poems are concerned, there is positive evidence that they were traditionally taken to belong to these types (TIEKEN 2001b: 185–190). Thus, the so-called *kuravai* poems, which depict a festival scene and as such belong to the so-called *uparūpakas* (see below), have been included in the *Kalittokai* as poems 101–108. In doing so the compilers of the *Kalittokai* followed Bhoja, who misunderstood the definition of the *hallīsaka*, as the *kuravai* scene is called in the Sanskrit tradition, and did not include it in the category of *prekṣaṇas*, or “spectacles”, the scenes of which are set on the street and are performed by many actors. Instead, Bhoja included it in the category of *nartanakas*, which consisted of, among other dramatic scenes, the *lāsyā* (see below) and which are set on a stage and have only one (female) actor.

In *Kalittokai* 44, a typical *kali* poem, a girl addresses a boy on behalf of her friend. The boy is delaying his decision to approach the girl’s parents and ask them for her hand. In the first seven lines of the poem, the go-between describes a mountain slope watered by a waterfall coming down from the opposite mountain in order to try and convince the boy that he will flourish once he has brought the girl to his house.

After this scene the metrical pattern changes. We get three short stanzas in which the go-between describes to the boy how the girl stores away her grief about her lover’s wickedness deeply in her heart, which may be paraphrased as follows:

<sup>57</sup> *NŚ* 19, 118cd: *prakaraṇavad ūhyakāryāsaṃstavayuktaṃ vividhabhāvam*.

<sup>58</sup> The *geyapada lāsyā* features a woman, seated and singing (*gīyate*) a wordless (*śuṣka*) song (*NŚ* 19, 121). Note also *geya* in 19, 126, *gīta* in 19, 128 and 135, and *gāna* in 19, 126.

<sup>59</sup> Note in this connection *svyaktakaraṇānvitam* in *NŚ* 19, 131, “provided with expressive *karaṇas*, or dance positions”.

Even if her grief is great, my friend hides your lack of grace from me, for she is afraid that if I hear about it I will upbraid you in front of others.

Even if this great illness is overpowering her, my friend hides your lack of grace from the village, for she is afraid that if they hear about it the villagers will chase you away.

Even if she suffers from a deadly illness, my friend hides your lack of grace from her companions, for she is afraid that they will tell others about your lack in virtues.

These three stanzas are concluded by the short phrase “like this”, which underlines the status of the preceding stanzas as independent poems. The refrain and the instances of rhyme visible in the Tamil originals give the stanzas a clear song-like character. Next, the metrical pattern changes once more. What follows is a conclusion by the go-between, who again speaks directly to the boy:

Thinking of the terrible things such as these, which could happen to you, she protects you with such rare virtue. But let us go quickly to cure her from this suffering.

We find a similar variation between songs and narrative stanzas describing the setting in which the songs are sung in the *Gītagovinda*. The narrative stanzas which serve to introduce this text are in *vr̥tta* metres (e.g., *śārdūlavikr̥ḍita*), while the songs are in moric metres, accompanied by indications of *rāga* and *tāla*. There are, however, four ways in which the *Gītagovinda* poems deviate from the descriptions given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as well as from the *kali* poems. To begin with, the *Gītagovinda* is in Sanskrit, while the *lāśya*, in which the speaker is a woman, is in Prākṛit – it should be noted that the use of Tamil in the *kali* poems has the same function as that of a Prākṛit in Kāvya literature.<sup>60</sup> The *Gītagovinda* may be the outcome of a literary experiment introduced at the court of Jayadeva’s patron, the Bengali king Lakṣmaṇasena, where at least one other “translation” of a literary text into Sanskrit was made, namely Hāla’s *Sattasāi* into Govardhana’s *Āryasaptaśatī*.<sup>61</sup> Secondly, while in the *kali* poems the number of songs may vary, in the *Gītagovinda* eight songs is the standard. Thirdly, the songs are concluded by a so-called *bhaṇitā*, in which Jayadeva is

<sup>60</sup> Prākṛit is explicitly mentioned in the case of, for instance, the *saindhava* in *NS* 19, 131cd: *prākṛitair vacanair yuktaṃ viduḥ saindhavakaṃ budhāḥ*. Tamil in classical Caṅkam poetry is occupying the very same slot as Prākṛit in Sanskrit Kāvya literature (TIEKEN 2001b and 2008).

<sup>61</sup> See TIEKEN 2010: 70. Or, as KNUTSON 2014: 74 describes the process: “Sanskrit was made vernacular”. (I take the opportunity to note that Knutson should have read my book on Tamil Caṅkam poetry (TIEKEN 2001b) more carefully. He mixes up several of my findings when he writes on p. 81 that “Herman Tiekens has suggested, however, that the studied simplicity of the *Gītagovinda*’s songs hearkens unmistakably back to early Tamil poetry”). On Lakṣmaṇasena’s court poets, see PISCHEL 1893.



to plan.<sup>66</sup> This is a typical motif of the *nāṭikā* type of play exemplified in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Mentioning the name Śarmiṣṭhā is thus the functional equivalent of the introductory stanzas in the *Kalittokai* or the summarising *bhaṇitās* in the *Gītagovinda* and Tamil Bhakti poetry. However, an important argument for Bansat-Boudon to identify the scene as a *lāsya* is based on the first line of the fifth stanza of the first act: *yat yat prayogaviṣaye bhāvīkam upadiśyate mayā tasyai*, “tout *bhāvika* dont je lui enseigne le jeu” (p. 442). According to her the word *bhāvika* would stand for the twelfth, supernumerary *lāsyaṅga* (NS 19, 137), in which a woman sees her lover in a dream. However, as I have shown elsewhere (TIEKEN 1998: 174), the phrase “whatever *bhāvika*” (*yat yat bhāvīkam*) does not refer to a specific scene. The line may instead be translated as “whatever I teach her in the matter of acting *bhāvas* (emotions)”. Furthermore, with a figure and a situation known from the epics the “plot” is not an invention by the author, which is one of the characteristics of the *lāsya* (see above, fn. 57). It is, however, something the *garbhāṅka* shares with the Tamil Bhakti poems and the *Gītagovinda*, which deal with the well-known mythology of well-known gods and are sung by presumably well-known poets and saints. Finally, it should be noted that the scene in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is not explicitly identified as a *lāsya*. On page 4 a servant speaks about a *caliam ṇāma ṇaṭṭaam*, that is, “a short play called *Calia*” (SCHARPÉ 1956: 11 and 132 mentions the variants *calidaṃ* and *chaliyaṃ*). However, from *deva catuspadottham calitam udāharanti* (p. 31), “Sir, they mention a *calita* (vl. *chalikam*, SCHARPÉ 1956: 19), which consists of a *catuspadā* or of *catuspadās*, (as a fine example of their repertoire)”, it would seem that *c(h)ali(t)a* rather than the title is the name of the type of play. Interestingly, as the name of a type of play *chalita* is found in Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyaḍarśa* I 39 in an enumeration of minor dramatic scenes: “a *lāsya*, a *chalita*, a *śalyā*, etc”. In Bhoja’s *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (pp. 723–724) the *chalita* lives on in the guise of *chalika*: *śamyālāsyaacchalikadvipadyādi*. The plays mentioned belong to the category of minor dance scenes (*nartanaka*) featuring one actress-cum-dancer (*nartakī*) performing on a stage (*sadasi*). Bhoja’s treatment of the *śalyā/śamyā* – he defined it twice, namely as a *chalika* and as a *lāsya* (RAGHAVAN 1963: 558–559) – shows that in his time this type of play was no longer known. However, what the list does show is that the *chalita/chalika* and *lāsya* would represent different types within a larger group. If the

<sup>66</sup> *Mālavikāgnimitra*, pp. 37–42:

*Ganadāsa (praviśya): deva śarmiṣṭhāyāḥ kṛtir layamadhyā catuspadā/ tasyās  
caturvastunaḥ prayogam ekamaṇāḥ śrotum arhati devaḥ/*

.....

*Mālavikā/ upavahanam kṛtvā catuspadaṃ vastu gāyati/  
dullaho pio tassiṃ bhava hiaa niraśam  
amho apaṅgao me papphurai kiṃpi vāmo/  
eso so ciradiṭṭho kahaṃ uvaṇaidavvo  
ṇāha maṃ parāhīṇaṃ tui gaṇaya satīṇaṃ//  
iti yathārasaṃ abhinayati/*

short scene in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is indeed a specimen of a *chalita/chalika*, then it would be distinguished from the *lāsyā* by its epic heroine (*Śārmiṣṭhā*) and by its format, that is, consisting of a *catuspadā*.<sup>67</sup>

If the *garbhāṅka* in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is not an example of the *lāsyā*, it is the earliest example of a minor dramatic scene belonging to the same category as the *lāsyā*. It seems that we are dealing with a literary experiment, one which, moreover, appears to be typical of the *nāṭikā*, for in another play of this type, Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī* (7th cent.), we come across a unique example of a festival scene, called a *carcarī*, which belongs to the category of *uparūpakas*.

## 6. The *carcarī*

The *carcarī* scene consists of dancing and singing. In classical Sanskrit plays songs and dance are rare.<sup>68</sup> Another type of small-scale plays full of singing and dancing besides, for instance, the *lāsyas* are the *uparūpakas*. Bhoja in his *Śṅgāraprakāśa*, Chapter 11, pp. 721–725, distinguishes altogether twelve types of *uparūpakas* (RAGHAVAN 1963: 545–574).<sup>69</sup> These plays differ from the *lāsyas* by such things as their setting (festivals celebrated on the streets, in public places), the number of actors (crowds) and language (a Prākṛit going into the direction of Apabhraṃśa).<sup>70</sup> For dramatic texts in which the participants of festivals are put on the stage where they are speaking (joking and quarreling), singing and dancing, we have, once more, to turn to Tamil literature, namely to the *Paripāṭal* (8th or 9th cent. at the earliest).<sup>71</sup> Because of its setting at festivals, one of the *uparūpakas*, the *carcarī*, has provided the Jainas with an ideal format for pious sermons and treatises dealing with their religious practices, which make up large parts of the early medieval Apabhraṃśa literature. In classical Sanskrit literature, however, we do not find stand-alone *uparūpakas* like the

<sup>67</sup> The *catuspadā* is dealt in a mere three verses in *NS* 31, 327–329, which are immediately followed by no fewer than 36 verses on the various metres of the *lāsyā* in 330–366. In 328ab the *catuspadā* is said to be performed by one, two or more (female) actors (*ekasyā vā bahūnām vā dvayor vātha prayojitam*). It is impossible to make out if in the *chalika* in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* other characters besides *Śārmiṣṭhā* are involved. According to Bhoja, however, the *nartanakas*, to which the *chalika* would belong, have only one actress-dancer (see above).

<sup>68</sup> On the *dhruvā* songs, which are part of the performance without being a regular part of the text or script of a play (except in Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya*), see TIEKEN (2008: 363–365). An example of a song is found in *Śakuntalā* Act 5, v. 104 (p. 183), which is *ākāṣe gīyate* and is described by the king as a *rāgaparivāhiṇī gīti*. There are more, but their number is relatively small.

<sup>69</sup> The twelve types are *śrīgadita*, *durmilitā*, *prasthāna*, *kāvya*, *citrakāvya*, *bhāṇa*, *bhāṇikā*, *goṣṭhī*, *hallīsaka*, *rāsaka*, *nāṭyarāsaka* and *carcarī*.

<sup>70</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the *uparūpakas*, see TIEKEN 2001b: 174–190. For the Prākṛit/Apabhraṃśa of the *uparūpakas*, see TIEKEN 2001b: 180–182 and 2008: 356–361.

<sup>71</sup> For the *Paripāṭal* poems as examples of *uparūpakas*, see TIEKEN 2001b: 170–190.

*Paripāṭal* poems but only descriptions of festivals in texts such as plays.<sup>72</sup> An example is the *hallīsaka* scene in the Trivandrum play *Bālacarita* discussed by HARDY 1983: 80–85, which is not a play within a play but a description by one of the characters of the play of a *hallīsaka* festival (as indicated above, the same festival as the one in the *kuravai* poems in the Tamil *Kalittokai*) taking place offstage. Another example is Rājasekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* (IV 915–18), in which the king is invited to look at the preparations for the *vaṭasāvitrī* festival. What follows is a description in verse by the king's companion, the *vidūṣaka*, of the various dances performed by the festival crowd. The *Karpūramañjarī* dates from the tenth century and the *Bālacarita* cannot be earlier than the seventh (COUTURE 1994) and is most likely even considerably later (TIEKEN 1993 and 1997). The *carcarī* found in the first act of the *Ratnāvalī* by the seventh-century king-poet Harṣa is most likely the earliest example.<sup>73</sup> It starts off as a description of a festive crowd in the streets of the town, but when a servant girl enters singing a song sung by this crowd, the imaginary festival spills over into the main scene of the drama performed on stage.<sup>74</sup>

## 7. The place of the *uparūpaka* and *lāsyā* in dramatic treatises

The *uparūpakas* are a late arrival in dramatic treatises. They are not found in the main text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but eight of them are mentioned in Abhinavagupta's commentary on NS 4, 268 (p. 179), admittedly with reference to earlier scholars (*tad uktaṃ cirantanaiḥ*). The earliest detailed descriptions of the *uparūpakas* are found only in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Chapter 11, pp. 721–725), which, as indicated, mentions altogether twelve types, almost immediately after the *daśarūpa* list.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> A detailed description of a festival, and the singing and dancing taking place at it, is found in, for instance, the *Harivaṃśa* (II, Appendix No 29D, 164–515). For a discussion of this passage, see TIEKEN 2001b: 174–175.

<sup>73</sup> The passage is discussed in detail in TIEKEN 2001b: 178–182.

<sup>74</sup> The song is a so-called *dvipadīkhaṇḍa*, consisting of two *āryās* followed by a *gīti*.

<sup>75</sup> The descriptions of the ten main type of plays run from the *nāṭaka* upto and including the *vīthī*, but omit the *nāṭikā*. This passage is concluded by the statement that these are the ten types recognized in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*iti daśarūpakam etad bharatānusārato gaditam*, p. 720, l. 9). This is followed by descriptions of the *nāṭikā* and *saṭṭaka*, both subtypes, the former of the *nāṭaka* and *prakaraṇa*, and the *saṭṭaka* of the *nāṭikā*. It should be noted that in Chapter 11 only the general characteristics of the *vīthī* are mentioned: one act, one or two actors and thirteen scenes. Before that, a link has been established with the preceding *prahasana*, which is said to contain *vīthyaṅgas* (p. 720, l. 5: *udghātyakādibhir idam* (scil. *prahasanam*) *vīthyaṅgair miśritaṃ bhaven miśram*). However, the individual *vīthyaṅgas* are not treated here, but in the next chapter. After the *nāṭikā* and *saṭṭaka*, which is followed by some additional information of a general nature about the *nāṭaka* and *utsṛṣṭikāṅka*, come the twelve *uparūpakas* (pp. 721–725). Chapter 11 is concluded by a section on text types which lack any kind of acting, dancing or singing, like the *ākhyāyikā* and *upakhyāna* (pp. 725–727).

As we have seen, the *lāsyā* is dealt with in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, though the Baroda and Ghosh editions differ in which context it is discussed. Before going into this, I want to draw attention to *NS* 19, 117 (= Ghosh 20, 132):

*anyānyapi lāsyavidhāv aṅgāni tu nāṭakopayogīni (v.l. nāṭake prayuktāni)*  
*(t)asmād viniṣṭāni tu bhāṇa ivaikaprayogāni.*

Both versions do not, or not yet, seem to acknowledge *lāsyas* as short stand-alone plays such as found in the poems in the Tamil *Kalittokai* anthology (if these poems are *lāsyas*). They speak of *lāsyas* as plays within a play<sup>76</sup> referred to as *nāṭaka*, the most inclusive type of play. According to the second line the *lāsyāṅgas* stand out (*viniṣṭāni*) in these plays by being performed as *bhāṇas*.<sup>77</sup> For Dhanañjaya, the author of the *Daśarūpaka*, this was a reason to accommodate the *lāsyā* in the *daśarūpa* list as a subcategory of the *bhāṇa*. In the Ghosh edition, however, the *lāsyā* is treated immediately after the *vīthī* from *NS* 20, 132 onwards and formally added to the ten members of the *daśarūpa* list: the passage is concluded with the words *iti daśarūpavidhānam sarvaṃ proktaṃ mayā hi lakṣaṇataḥ*, 20, 150ab. The situation in the Ghosh edition resembles that in Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. By contrast, Chapter 18 of the Baroda edition ends with the last item of the list (*gaṇḍa*) and an announcement of the topics to be dealt with in the following chapter, namely the *sandhis* or building blocks of the plot (*NS* 18, 126cd): *punar asya śārīragataṃ sandhividhau lakṣaṇam vaksye*. These *sandhis* are the five *avasthās* (vv. 8–19), the five *arthaprakṛtis* (vv. 20–35), the five *sandhis* (vv. 36–49), the 64 *sandhyaṅgas* (vv. 49–104), the 21 *sandhyantarās* (vv. 107–109) and the five types of entr'actes, namely the *viṣkambhaka*, *cūlikā*, *praveśaka*, *aṅkāvatāra* and *aṅkamukha* (vv. 110–116). Then (vv. 117–137) follows the description of the *lāsyā* and its ten types, introduced as yet another type of *aṅga*, or scene, found in a classical play (*nāṭaka*; v. 117ab). After this the *Nāṭyaśāstra* returns to the *nāṭaka*, which among all the types of plays offers the most space for the *aṅgas* passed review in the chapter (19, 138–153). However, the *lāsyā* is the only scene that has not been assigned a fixed position in the story. To illustrate how this works for the other items, the 64 *sandhyaṅgas* may serve as an example. They consist of short utterances (e.g., *narma*, “joke”, *prārthanā*, “supplication”) or minor incidents (e.g., *toṭaka*, “quarrel”, *niṣedhana*, “opposition”), which are divided over the five *sandhis*, e.g., the first twelve are assigned to the *mukha sandhi* (vv. 57–58ab), the next thirteen to the *pratimukha sandhi* (vv. 58cd–61a) and so on. As to entr'actes,

<sup>76</sup> *anyāni* in *anyāni* [...] *aṅgāni* refers to the other *aṅgās* that precede; in the Baroda edition the *lāsyāṅgas* are preceded by the 64 *aṅgāni sandhiṣu* in *NS* 19, 57–104, in the Ghosh edition they are preceded by the *vīthyaṅgas*.

<sup>77</sup> *(t)asmād* refers back to *nāṭaka* in the first line. Compare the phrase *(t)asmād viniṣṭāni* (scil. *lāsyāṅgas*) with *ābhyām viniṣṭam hy etad daśarūpaṃ* in *NS* 18, 4 (quoted in fn. 20): “these ten types of plays are distinguished from each other by these (the *sandhis*)”.

found immediately before the *lāsyāṅgas*, they are all found between the acts into which the plot is divided and serve to introduce an act or else provide a smooth transition from one act to the other. At the same time, the size of these *lāsyāṅgas* shows a superficial resemblance to these entr'actes, which may have been why they were placed immediately after them. Even so, in the chapter as a whole they seem to fall out of tune.

It is difficult to decide which of the two versions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is the more original one, Ghosh's or the one in the Baroda edition.<sup>78</sup> Possibly, placing the *lāsyā* among the *sandhis* was just a temporary measure and its move to a position after the *vīthī* a step taken on second thought. Whatever the case, this moving around of the *lāsyā* does show that we are most probably dealing with a later addition to the dramatic repertory. The same applies to the *uparūpakas*, which seem to have been added to the dramatic repertory even later. It is interesting to see that the earliest examples of such small-scale dramatic scenes are found inserted in *nāṭikās*, a type of play the status of which in the *daśarūpa* list is uncertain. It was as if it were smuggled into an existing list as a subtype of the *nāṭaka* and *prakaraṇa* in the same way in which the *lāsyā* was given a place in the *Daśarūpaka* as a subtype of the *bhāṇa*. It may therefore be asked if the *nāṭikā* and these minor dramatic scenes are related, in the sense that the latter have found a place in the dramatic theory through their occurrence in a new kind of play, the *nāṭikā*.<sup>79</sup>

## 8. Concluding remarks

As I have tried to show, the *vīthī* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not refer to a complete play but consists of a set of short scenes. It forms an independent group among ten plays together with the *bhāṇa* and *prahasana*, which, however, besides being short scenes like the *vīthī*, have second lives as complete plays. If the inclusion of the *vīthī* as a collection of short scenes in the *daśarūpa* list is not self-evident, it has nevertheless never been questioned. The number "ten" was strictly adhered to, in particular at the cost of the *nāṭikā*. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* this play was treated as just a subtype, namely of the *nāṭaka* and *prakaraṇa*, and in Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* it was together with the *saṭṭaka* placed after the

<sup>78</sup> The version of the Baroda edition is supported by Abhinavagupta's commentary from the tenth century; as indicated, the author of the *Daśarūpaka* incorporated the *lāsyā* as a subtype of the *bhāṇa* into the list of ten (*Daśarūpaka* 3, 51cd–53). Bhoja, in the eleventh century, placed the *lāsyā* among the *sandhis* in Chapter 12, as done in the Baroda edition, though he took the *vīthyāṅgas* with it, leaving "the" *vīthī* behind in Chapter 11. It would seem that between the tenth and eleventh centuries two parallel but different versions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* circulated.

<sup>79</sup> As indicated above, in *NS* 19, 117 the *lāsyā* is presented as a play within a play of the *nāṭaka* type. Most probably, as the first in the *daśarūpa* list and the most inclusive type of play the *nāṭaka* seems to stand muster for the other types of plays in the list.

*vīthī* outside the *daśarūpa* list. It has been treated like the *lāśya*, which in one treatise is placed after the *vīthī* and in the other among the *sandhis*. The *lāśya* is one example of a larger category of short dramatic scenes mainly consisting of singing and dancing. This category includes the *chalika* and the so-called *uparūpakas*. The latter types of short dramatic scenes are demonstrably later additions to the dramatic theory. It may be asked if the way the *nāṭikā*, *lāśya* and *uparūpaka* are treated in the dramatic theory could indeed not be part of one and the same intervention in that theory. Or, as I have suggested, we may well be looking here at a new type of play, the *nāṭikā*, that had somehow found its way into the list, and that it might also have been through the occurrence of small-scale dramatic scenes in this new type of play that first the *lāśyas* and next the *uparūpakas* have come to be accommodated in the dramatic theory.

With or without the *nāṭikā*, the *daśarūpa* list is a curious compilation, in which at least three distinct groups may be distinguished. The first one is a collection of plays with plots borrowed from epic mythology (*nāṭaka*) and *purāṇic* history (*prakaraṇa*) respectively; and the third one seems in the first place to be a collection of scenes which had the potential of being expanded to the size of full-blown plays. Like the *nāṭaka* of the first group, the five plays that make up the second group have plots and characters borrowed from epic mythology. What is more, they have in common that they all deal with battle and its aftermath. What they also have in common, though, is that they seem to have fallen outside the range of the classical literary tradition; the examples we have are all late reconstructions on the basis of the summary definitions in the handbooks. This sets them completely apart from the plays of both the first and third group, which have survived and come down to us in the form of texts as part of the learned Kāvya literary tradition. All this raises interesting new questions that require further study, about, for instance, the milieu in which the battle plays were composed and performed, and who patronised their authors.

### Acknowledgements

This paper is a by-product of my participation in a Zoom group reading Rāmapāṇivāda's *Līlāvātī* organised by Cezary Galewicz (Cracow). The text we read was the one published by the University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, 1948. While working on this essay I benefited from cooperation with a research project supported by the National Science Centre, Poland, research grant no. 2018/31/B/HS2/02328: UMO-2018/31/B/HS2/02328. Furthermore, I like to express my gratitude to the two reviewers of *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia* for their comments.

## References

### Primary sources

- Daśarūpaka. The Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya with the Commentary Avaloka by Dhanika and the Sub-commentary Laghuṭīkā by Bhaṭṭaṅṣiṃha.* Ed. by T. Venkatacharya. The Adyar Library Series 97. Madras: Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1969.
- Harivaṃśa. The Harivaṃśa, Being the Khila or Supplement to the Mahābhārata, Vol. II (Appendices).* Ed. by Parashuram Lakshman Vaidya. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1971.
- Karpūramañjarī. Rāja-çekhara's Karpūra-mañjarī, A Drama by the Indian Poet Rājaçekhara.* Ed. by Sten Konow and trans. by Charles Rockwell Lanman. Harvard Oriental Series IV. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1901.
- Kāvyaśāstra. Daṇḍin's Poetik (Kāvyaśāstra). Sanskrit und Deutsch.* Ed. and trans. by O. Böhtlingk. Leipzig: Verlag von H. Haessel, 1890.
- Mahābhāṣya I. The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali.* Ed. by F. Kielhorn. Vol. I. Second Revised Edition. Bombay: The Department of Public Instruction, Government Central Book Depôt, 1892.
- Mahābhāṣya III. The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali.* Ed. by F. Kielhorn. Vol. III. Bombay: The Department of Public Instruction, Government Central Book Depôt, 1885.
- Mālatīmādhava. A Critical Edition of the Mālatīmādhava.* Ed. by Michael Coulson. Revised by Roderick Sinclair. Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Mālavikāgnimitra. The Mālavikāgnimitra, A Sanskrit Play by Kālidāsa. With the Commentary of Kāṭayavema.* Ed. by Shankar Pāṇḍurang Paṇḍit. Bombay Sanskrit Series 6. Bombay: Government Central Book Depot, 1889.
- Mudrārākṣasa. Mudrārākṣasa by Viśākhadatta, with the Commentary of Dhunḍhirāja.* Ed. by Kāshināth Trimbak Telang. Fourth Revised Edition. Bombay: Tukārām Jāvajī, 1908.
- Nāṭyaśāstra (Ghosh). The Nāṭyaśāstra Ascribed to Bharata-Muni.* Vol. I (Chapters I–XXVII). Ed. by Mānomohan Ghosh. Calcutta: Manisha Granthalaya, 1967.
- Nāṭyaśāstra (Baroda I). Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni with the Commentary Abhinavabhāratī by Abhinavaguptācārya. Chapters 1–7, Vol. I.* Ed. by K. Krishnamoorthy. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 36. Fourth Revised Edition. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1992.
- Nāṭyaśāstra (Baroda II). Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni with the Commentary Abhinavabhāratī by Abhinavaguptācārya. Chapters 8–18, Vol. II.* Ed. by

- V. M. Kulkarni and Tapasvi Nandi. Gaekwad Oriental Series 68. Second Revised Edition. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 2001.
- Nāṭyaśāstra* (Baroda III): *Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni with the Commentary of Abhinavagupta*, Vol. III. Ed. by Kavi M. Ramakrishna. Gaekwad Oriental Series 124. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1954.
- NŚ. Nāṭyaśāstra*
- Ratnāvalī*. (Harṣa's) *Ratnāvalī*. Ed. and trans. by Maurice Lehot. Paris: Collection Émile Senart, 1933.
- Rūpakaṣaṭka. Rūpakashaṭkam. A Collection of Six Dramas of Vatsarāja*. Ed. by Chimanlal D. Dalal. Baroda: Central Library, 1918.
- Śakuntalā. Śakuntalā, A Sanskrit Drama in Seven Acts by Kālidāsa*. Ed. by Monier Monier-Williams. Second Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1876.
- Śṅgāraprakāśa. Śṅgāraprakāśa of Bhoja*. Part I, Adhyāya 1–14. Ed. by V. Raghavan. Cambridge, MA, London, 1998.
- Tolkāppiyam. Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram, Ilampūraṇar uraiyūṭaṅ*. Ed. by Ce. Re. Irāmacāmi Piḷḷai et al. Kaḷaka veḷiyūṭu 629. Ceṅṅai, Maturai, Tirunelvēli: Tirunelvēlit teṅṅintiya caivacittānta nūṛpatippuk kaḷakam, 1969.
- Vikramorvaśī*. See SCHARPÉ 1956.

### Secondary sources

- BANSAT-BOUDON, Lyne 1992. *Poétique du théâtre indien. Lecture du Nāṭyaśāstra*. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- VAN BUITENEN, J. A. B. 1971. *Two Plays of Ancient India. The Little Clay Cart, The Minister's Seal*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- COULSON, Michael 1981. *Three Sanskrit Plays, Śakuntalā by Kālidāsa, Rākshasa's Ring by Viśākhadatta, Mālatī and Mādhava by Bhavabhūti*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd.
- COUTURE, André 1994. "Le Bālacarita attribué à Bhāsa et les enfances hindoues et jaina de Kṛṣṇa". *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* 10 (1992) [appeared 1994]: 114–144.
- HARDY, Friedhelm 1983. *Virahabhakti. The early history of Kṛṣṇa devotion in South India*. Delhi, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- KNUTSON, Jesse Ross 2014. *Into the Twilight of Sanskrit Court Poetry. The Sena Salon of Bengal and Beyond*. South Asia across the Disciplines. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520282056.001.0001>.
- KUIPER, F. B. J. 1979. *Varuṇa and Vidūṣaka. On the origin of the Sanskrit drama*. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen,

- Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 100. Amsterdam, Oxford, New York: North-Holland Publishing Company.
- LÉVI, Sylvain 1963. *Le théâtre indien*. Deuxième tirage. Paris: Collège de France.
- MAHANTY, Sugyan Kumar 2020. *Līlāvātī Vīthī of Rāmapāṇivāda with the Sanskrit Commentary “Prācī” and Introduction in English*. New Delhi: DK Printworld.
- MILLER, Barbara Stoler 1977. *Love Songs of the Dark Lord. Jayadeva’s Gītagovinda*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- PISCHEL, Richard 1893. “Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena”. *Abhandlungen der Königlich-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 39: 1–39.
- RAGHAVAN, V. 1933. “A Note on the *Daśarūpaka*”. *The Journal of Oriental Research Madras* 7: 277–290.
- RAGHAVAN, V. 1963. *Bhoja’s Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*. Madras: Punarvasu.
- RAGHAVAN, V. 1973. “The History of *lakṣaṇa*”. [In:] Raghavan, V., *Studies on Some Concepts of the alaṃkāra śāstra*. Revised edition. Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Center, pp. 1–52.
- RAJENDRAN, C. 1985. “The Vīthīs of Rāmapāṇivāda”. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* XXVII(i–iii): 123–130.
- SCHARPÉ, A. 1956. *Kālidāsa-Lexicon*. Vol. I: *Basic Text of the Works*. Part II: *Mālavikāgnimitra and Vikramorvaśī*. Brugge: De Tempel.
- SCHOKKER, G. H. 1966. *The Pādatāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka*. Part I. Indo-Iranian Monographs IX. The Hague, Paris: Mouton.
- SHULMAN, David Dean 1990. *Songs of the Harsh Devotee, The Tēvāram of Cuntaramūrttināyaṇār*. Studies on South Asia 6. Philadelphia: Department of South Asia Regional Studies, University of Pennsylvania.
- TIEKEN, Herman 1993. “The So-Called Trivandrum Plays Attributed to Bhāsa”. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 37: 5–44.
- TIEKEN, Herman 1997. “Three Men in a Row (Studies in the Trivandrum Plays II)”. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 41: 17–52.
- TIEKEN, Herman 1998. “Review of Bansat-Boudon 1992”. *Asian Folklore Studies Nagoya* LVII(1): 171–175. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1179015>
- TIEKEN, Herman 2001a. “The *pūrvaraṅga*, the *prastāvanā*, and the *sthāpaka*”. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 45: 91–124.
- TIEKEN, Herman 2001b. *Kāvya in South India. Old Tamil Caṅkam Poetry*. Gonda Indological Studies 10. Groningen: Egbert Forsten (reprint Delhi 2017). <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004486096>
- TIEKEN, Herman 2006. “Aśoka’s Fourteenth Rock Edict and the Guṇa *mādhurya*

- of the Kāvya Poetical Tradition”. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 156(1): 95–115.
- TIEKEN, Herman 2008. “The Process of Vernacularization in South Asia”. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51(2): 338–383. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156852008X287576>
- TIEKEN, Herman 2009. “Bhoja’s *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and the *kuravai* Poems in the *Kalittokai*”. [In:] Kannan M. and Jennifer Clare, eds, *Passages: Relationships between Tamil and Sanskrit*. IFP-Publications hors série 11. Pondichéry: Institut Français de Pondichéry, pp. 145–161.
- TIEKEN, Herman 2010. “Songs Accompanied by So-called *bhaṇitās* in Dramatic Texts”. [In:] Steiner, Karin and Heidrun Brückner, eds, *Indische Theater: Text, Theorie, Praxis*. Drama und Theater in Südasien 8. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 63–75.
- TIEKEN, Herman 2023. *The Aśoka Inscriptions, Analysing a Corpus*. Delhi: Primus Books.
- WEBER, Albrecht 1873. “Das *Mahābhāṣya* des Patañjali”. [In:] Weber, Albrecht, *Indische Studien. Beiträge für die Kunde des indischen Alterthums* 13: 293–496.



## 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 1,600 characters, followed by 4–8 keywords which should describe the article’s main arguments and conclusions.**

Full papers can be up to 80 thousand characters (including the main text, notes, and tables) and should be written on A4 paper, in Times New Roman font (12 point) with adequate 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 translation of non-standard language titles should be provided in parentheses after the title.

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>.

