

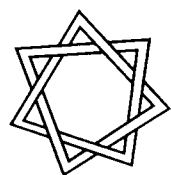
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A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI. II. AVADĀNAS AND JĀTAKAS (PART 2)

This article continues the publication of a Sanskrit manuscript on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali, presenting a section with several *avadāna* and *jātaka* stories [1].

In point of fact, we do not know the Sanskrit texts of the *Sūtra-piṭaka*, *Vinaya-piṭaka* and *Abhidharma-piṭaka* of the Sarvāstivāda school, although the Sarvāstivāda canon contained all of these sections, as is clear from the Chinese translations of these texts [2]. Scholars, however, have long known Sanskrit collections of *avadānas* which they believe to go back to the Sarvāstivāda canon: these are the *Avadānaśataka* (100 *avadānas*) and *Divyāvadāna* (38 *avadānas*).

Some sense of the structure of the Sarvāstivādins Sanskrit *Vinaya* is provided by the compilative work included in the Bairam-Ali manuscript; we have already published it in preceding issues of *Manuscripta Orientalia*, beginning with vol. 5, No. 2 (1999). A better understanding of the Sarvāstivādins *Vinaya* can be obtained by examining the Sanskrit text of another Buddhist school, that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins; it was found among the Gilgit manuscripts and published in transliteration [3]. It is a colossal text, copied on 523+11 extant folios of birch bark, each 66.0×12.0 cm with 10 lines of text on each side [4].

Raniero Gnoli dates the formation of the Sanskrit text of this *Vinaya* to the time of Kaniṣka the Great and links it to the Buddhist assembly he allegedly held in Kashmir [5]. The *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins was translated in full into Tibetan and Chinese; the Tibetan translation is exact and thorough, while the Chinese contains certain additions and independent interpretations [6].

There are two views on the canons of the two early Buddhist schools, the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins, which took shape in close chronological proximity. E. Frauwallner believes that the Mūlasarvāstivāda canon is based on that of Mathurā, which is linked with the Buddhist assembly in Vaiśālī [7]. É. Lamotte holds otherwise. He argues that Mathurā was not the centre for the codification of the Mūlasarvāstivāda canon, that the canon itself took shape no earlier than the fourth — fifth century A.D., and that it was based on the canon of the Sarvāstivādins. Unlike Lamotte, A. Bareau sees in the Mūlasarvāstivāda canon a multitude of archaic features and considers it one of the most ancient canons, earlier than that of the Sarvāstivādins [9].

In a word, the relation between the canons of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and Sarvāstivādins remains far from clear.

The competing points of view were introduced here with the sole aim, that is to underscore that the language and palaeography of the Bairam-Ali manuscript indicate that it was set down in written form in Kashmir. The language of the texts was greatly influenced by the North-Western Prakrits of the *Gandhārī* variety. The scribe evidently followed traditions developed in Kashmir. The writing material — birch-bark — also points to Kashmir.

On the other hand, a comparison of the text preserved in our manuscript with the text of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* shows that the latter underwent significant literary adjustment, incorporating many *jātakas* and *avadānas* in an order that points to a link with certain parts of the *Vinaya*. The Sarvāstivāda canon has not preserved an edited text. As concerns the number of *jātakas* and *avadānas* in it, it appears to be no fewer than what has come down to us in a conspectus form.

A comparison with the *Saṅghabhedavastu* allows us to make some additions to what was published by us in vol. 6, No. 4 of *Manuscripta Orientalia*. For one, we can identify the story on fol. 4a—b about the elephant Dhanapālaka, which follows the Buddha, dies of grief, and is reborn in the heaven of the four great kings. Part of the *gāthā* is from this story: “*parigamya ca dakṣiṇam jītārim suralokabhimukho divaṃ jagāma*” (*Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 189—91). On fol. 4b, a new story begins: “The story of the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his faithful captain Pūrṇamukha...” (it concerns a previous incarnation of Ānanda, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 192—4). This story is absent in our text. The new story, which begins on fol. 4b, concerns a leader of the monkeys, but differs from that included under the same title in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, p. 202.

Further, the text on fol. 5b under the title *Sākṣiti* appears to have a parallel in the story of how the king Ajātaśatru repented of the murder of his father and was converted to Buddhism by Buddha himself (*Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 251—4; see also the Buddha's sermon on the unreality of the Self, *ibid.*, pt. I, pp. 158—9). Finally, the story under the name *Pampha*, which remains unidentified, is reflected in two stories in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*: “The five *bhikṣus* and “The name of Ājñatakaṇḍinya” (pt. I, pp. 133—6). The comparison with the *Saṅghabhedavastu* allows us to make some addition to Part 1 of my work published in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VI/4. Now we can identify the story on fol. 4a—b. It is a story of how the elephant Dhana-

pālaka obediently follows the Buddha, then dies of grief and is born again in the heaven of the four great kings. Part of a *gāthā* from the story is: *parigamya ca dakṣiṇam jītarim suralokabhimukho divaṃ jagāma* (*Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 189—91). Then, on fol. 4b a new story goes, that is “The story of the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and his faithful captain Pūrṇamukha, etc.” (concerning previous birth of Ānanda, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 192—4). The story is absent in our text, a new story, which begins on fol. 4b, is devoted to the leader of the monkeys. However, it differs from the story included under the same title in *Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, p. 202.

The text on fol. 5b entitled *Sākṣīti* seems to be similar to what we find in a story of how king Ajātaśatru repented of the murder of his father and finally was converted by Buddha (*Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 251—4). See also the Buddha's sermon on the unreality of Self (*Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 158—9).

The story under the title *Pampha* — this name remains unidentified — found a reflection in two stories of *Saṅghabhedavastu* — “The five *bhikṣus*” and “The name of Ājñatakaunḍinya” (pt. I, pp. 133—6).

The following is the publication of the next five folios of the manuscript from Bairam-Ali.

FOL. [6a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *aj[a]karo jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ yena vanijā pariv[e]ṣṭ[i]tā āsī¹ ||
dvimukhāyaka śarīra [vi]-*
2. *stareṇa yathā vinayo lokahito ca alokahito ca || ṭṭivā devadattasya
yadā bhagavatā*
3. *śilā-kṣiptā upasāntaśa karya²-pathena ca janam toṣayati pūrvva-
yogaṃ ṭṭiva sākam-*
4. *m-anubhāṣati śanair-uddharate pādāmidam ca ābhāṣase tuvaṃ
niṣevase sā-sakam karma na[?]e³*
5. *jñāta vi[stare]ṇaḥ || śuka iti devadattasya akṛtajñikam kṛtvā pūrvva-
yogo rāja-śuko rāja [*

TRANSLATION

1. it was entrusted [to him] to eliminate [hunger, thirst, and illness] among living things^[1]. Thanks to this, the merchants received help. On the body with two faces in de-
2. tail^[2]. As [it is said] in the *Vinaya*, and holds for this world, and for that world. [The story of] “ṭṭivā”^[3]. How Bhagavan
3. hurled away the cliff [that was brought down upon him] by Devadatta, and [how] Upasānta, fulfilling [his] duty, brought joy to people. In a previous birth, with ṭṭivā he
4. spoke. Such relations were eventually established [between them]: “You order — you carry out.” Her *karma* was [thus] determined,
5. [thus was it] in the details. [The story] of “The parrot”^[4]. Devadatta displayed ingratitude. In a previous birth, the parrot of the *rājā*...

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] We could not find the proper name Ajakara in Buddhist texts. Judging by the content of the excerpt, the reference is to Ajatakarṇa, a pupil of the Buddha mentioned in the *Mahāvastu*, I, 76, 1, although the details differ. In the *Mahāvastu*, after the Buddha's death Kāśyapa orders Ajatakarṇa to go out into the world and eliminate hunger, thirst and illness among people: “*kṣudhāṃ pipāsāṃ vyādhim ca manuṣyāṇāṃ nivartaya*”. Merchants are not mentioned in this regard. We were unable to find this tale in the Pāli canon.

^[2] *Dvimukhāyaka* literally means “two-faced”. We were unable to find the story of the body with two faces in the Pāli *Vinaya*. The story of the two birds Dharma and Adharma (concerning a previous birth of the Buddha and of Devadatta) is part of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, see pt. 2, pp. 177—8. The story of the pheasant with two heads has been preserved in the Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, see *bKa*’-*gyur*, Nartan edition, section ‘*dul-ba*, vol. *na*, fols. 232—3. The story of the bird with two heads, one of which swallows *amṛta*, and the other poison, is widespread in ancient Indian literature. See, for example, *Pañcatantra*, also *Muṇḍaka-upaniśada* [10].

Another interpretation of this image is, however, possible. In all likelihood, this story spread beyond India and was popular not only in Tibet, but also in China and the Tangut state of Xi Xia. In his diaries, Xuan Zang records a story about two paupers, followers of the Buddha's teaching, who simultaneously had a dream in which they were ordered to prepare a sculpture of the Buddha. They were so poor that they could not engage two sculptors, so they ordered a single statue together. The Buddha, in an act of mercy, made the statue bear two heads. The parable is confirmed by an exhibit at the State

¹ Instead of *āsīd*.

² Instead of *kārya*-.

³ Instead of *tena*? Possibly a slip of the pen.

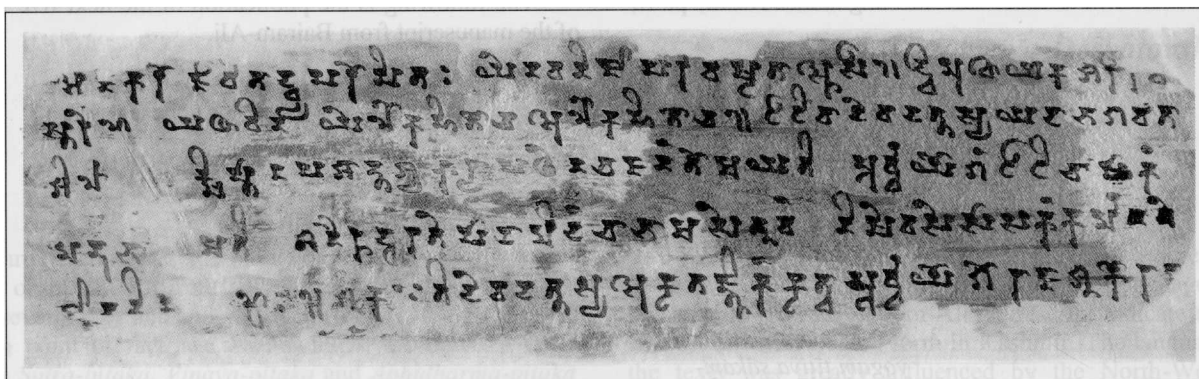


Fig. 1

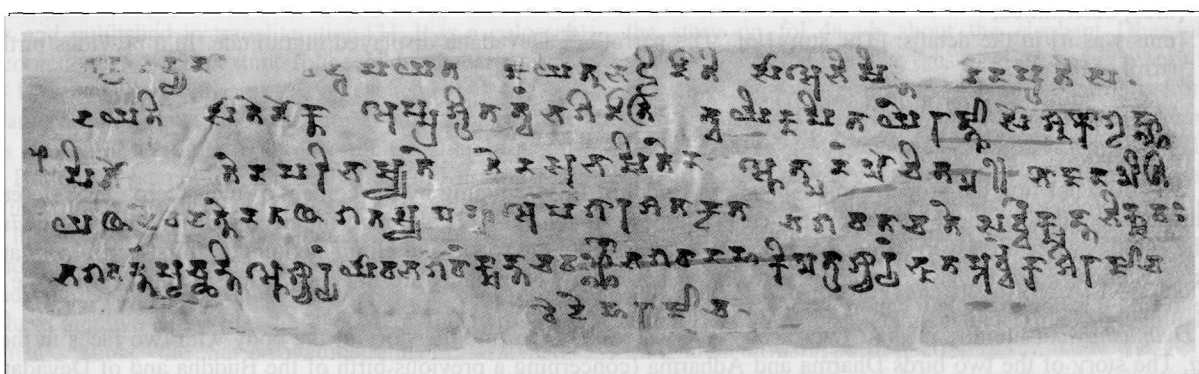


Fig. 2

Hermitage: a small (62 cm in height) clay statue of the Buddha with a single body and two heads. Archaeologists date it to the thirteenth century A. D. It was found by the Russian scholar P. K. Kozlov in Khara Khoto [11].

[3] As far as we know, the proper name Ṭṭivā (fem.) is not attested in Buddhist texts. Judging by its phonetic form, it is not Sanskrit, but a borrowing. The story mentions two facts that are known in the Buddhist canon: 1) Devadatta's attempt to kill the Buddha on the mountain of Ghṛdrakūṭa, where two cliffs fell on the Buddha but did not cause him serious harm (see *Apadāna*, I, p. 300); 2) when Upasānta, a pupil of the Buddha, fed the Buddha and the community for seven days together with his friend Śanta; see *Mahāvastu*, III, 237, 11 ff.: “Buddhavaṃsa Commentary”, 179 ff.

[4] In all likelihood, this refers to a story incorporated into *jātaka* No. 546 about the *rājā*'s wise parrot named Mathurā, which was sent to the court of the *rājā* Videha to learn from the court's *mayna* bird the *rājā*'s thoughts when he announced the engagement of his daughter. The parrot, who became the husband of the *mayna* for a time, learned from her all the secrets of the court and prevented his master from committing an error.

FOL. 6b

TRANSLITERATION

1. ... X [u]dyānaṃ ... [bu]ddh[o]payāta jayatu bhāṭṭinīti
sā abhiṣi[k]tā ca na pratisa[mo]-
2. dayati sā tenoktā apraśrītā tvam bhaginīti tvayi kupi-
tāye⁴ rājñā so śuko gṛhñā-
3. pito⁵ tena paribhāṣyate tena subhāṣitena ātmānaṃ mo-
cītam || **bhojanamiti**
4. yathā devadattena tathāgatasya bahu-apagāra-śatā kṛ-
tā bhagavatā ca te sarve kṣantā bhikṣavaḥ
5. bhagavantam pṛcçganti āścāryaṃ yāva bhagavāṃ kṣanta
ca varṇṇo bhagavān āha kim-atra-āścāryaṃ bhūtapūrvvaṃ
kāśi-rājā ca
6. vaideha-rājā ca

TRANSLATION

1. ...and the Buddha came to the park of Udyāna and said: “May [you have] success, lady”. She was watering [the flowers] and did not respond to
2. the greeting. He said to her: “You are not polite, lady. Because of your anger, the *rājā* issued an order to seize ^[1]
3. the parrot”. [This is how] he explained it, and thus were the good [words] he pronounced. Thanks to them, [she] was freed [from rebirths]. [**The story**] “**Hosting**”.
4. How Devadatta inflicted many hundreds of insults on *tathāgata*, and the Bhagavan forgave them all. The monks asked
5. the Bhagavan: “[Is it not] wonderful that the Bhagavan forgave [Devadatta]? How glorious he is!” Bhagavan said: “What here [seems] wonderful [is explained by the relations] between the *rājā* of Benares
6. and the *rājā* of Videha in a previous life ^[2].”

C o m m e n t a r y

[1] The form *gṛhñāpita* is used in the text; it is not attested in Buddhist Sanskrit. It appears to have been used in place of the Skt. *grāhayita* (“ordered to seize”), the past passive participle of the causative form of the root *grah*.

[2] The reference is to *jātaka* No. 51 (*Mahāsīlava-jātaka*), about relations between the *rājā* of Benares and the *rājā* of Koshala. The *rājā* of Benares displayed kindness and patience, putting up no resistance to the forces of the enemy when his country was attacked. He was able to regain his kingdom and glory through kindness and a lack of malice.

We find a similar story in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 195—6: the story of Karadaṇḍī, the Sahasrayodha, an early rebirth of Ānanda. There is a *gāthā*: “*Karadaṇḍī sahasrayodho gāthāṃ bhāṣate: tyajanti sarvamitrāni cirasaṃstutikāni te | mitram te karadaṇḍī tu tvam eko na prahāsyati || iti*”.

FOL. [7a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. [anya]manya prativiruddhā babhūvatuh te abhikṣṇaṃ anyoyanaṃ
karonti yāva kāśirājñā caturaṃga
2. balakāya-sannāhetvā abhiniryāsi yūthāya amātyāḥ kathayanti
āgato rājā sa

⁴ Instead of *kopitāyām*? Loc. Sg. Fem. Agrees with *tvayi*.

⁵ Instead of *grāhayito*.

3. *kathayati visrabdhaṃ praviśatu sa 'pi ca rājā bhakte⁶ upaviṣṭaḥ
kāśī rājā praviṣṭaḥ vaide-*
4. *ha rājā kathayati ehi rājaṃ imaṃ bhojanaṃ imaṃ vastra yugaṃ
yasyedamarthe kalaho*
5. *varṭatāṭī tataḥ sa rājā pratyāgataḥ sva-viśayaṃ gataḥ so 'pi rājā
pravrajitaḥ || kaccha[pah] iti*

TRANSLATION

1. They both fought with each other. There was ever strife among them. How the *rājā* of Benares armed a host
2. that consisted of four types of soldiers. “Undertake a campaign with the army”, said [his] advisors. The *rājā* came. He
3. said: “This is right, let those forces set out [in a campaign]!” And the *rājā* himself took part [in the campaign] and set up his camp [by Videha]. [When] the *rājā* of Benares came [to Videha],
4. the *rājā* of Videha said: “Come, *rājā*! Here is fare, here is [the best] clothing, here are [rich] harnesses [for horses], [everything] over which
5. strife has [usually] arisen”. Then that *rājā* [of Videha] met the [*rājā* of Benares] and abandoned his realm. That very *rājā* accepted the rite of *pravrajyā*. [Story by the title of] “The tortoise”^[1].

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] In all likelihood, the reference is to a story entitled “The story of the tortoise” concerning a previous birth of Kauṇḍinya. See *Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. 2, pp. 16–8.

FOL. 7b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *vistareṇa mahāsamudre vaṅjair-hato te ca hastinā tatraiva
anaya-vyasanam-āpādītā⁷*
2. *senā iti devadattena bhagavataḥ cūrṇayogaḥ kṛtaḥ sa bhagavato
vadhāya muktaḥ tataḥ*
3. *prati vātena devadattaśarīre nipatitaḥ sa bhagavatā maitrāya
mocitaḥ anukāmpī-*
4. *taśca pūrvvayogaṃ seno amātyo babhūva rājño dṛḍha-nemī dvā
amātyā dviṭīyo senam-upa-*
5. *dravati sa dviṭīyo amātyo pūrvvaṃ rājānaṃ saṃśṛtaṃ tena tataḥ
āśviṣa⁸-karaṇḍaḥ*

TRANSLATION

1. [Tell] in detail. [A tortoise] in the ocean was killed by merchants [because of its wealth]. And those [merchants] were brought there to misfortune by an elephant for [their] injustice.
2. [Story] about Sena^[1]. The Bhagavan was transformed into a fragrant powder by Devadatta. Thanks to the demise of the Bhagavan he was saved.
3. Then, in contrast to this, because of the Bhagavan's mercy, the same powder was drawn on the body of Devadatta by the wind.
4. and [the Bhagavan] showed [him] compassion. In an earlier birth, [Bhagavan] was an advisor to [a *rājā*] by the name of Sena. The *rājā* had two reliable court advisors. The second [advisor] oppres-
5. sed Sena. The second advisor had served the *rājā* earlier. So a basket with a poisonous snake to them

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] This story seems to bring together two plots. We were unable to find the text about the transformation of the Bhagavan into fragrant powder, but in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. 2, pp. 93–4, we encounter the following story: “The sickness of the Buddha. The Buddha heals Devadatta”. Jīvaka is here the healer. This is evidently the introduction to a story composed of two *jātakas*: Nos. 546 and 401. In *jātaka* No. 546, Senaka is the wise advisor to the *rājā* of the city of Mithilā, called Videha, and he has a rival; another advisor. In *jātaka* No. 401 (*Dasaṅṅaka-jātaka*), Senaka is an advisor to a *rājā* called Maddava. The plot of this *jātaka* is only remotely similar to that found in the manuscript. Death, in the form of

⁶ Instead of *bhakta*?

⁷ Cf. *Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. 2, p. 17, line 2: “*vyasanam āpādītam*”.

⁸ Instead of *āśvīṣa*.

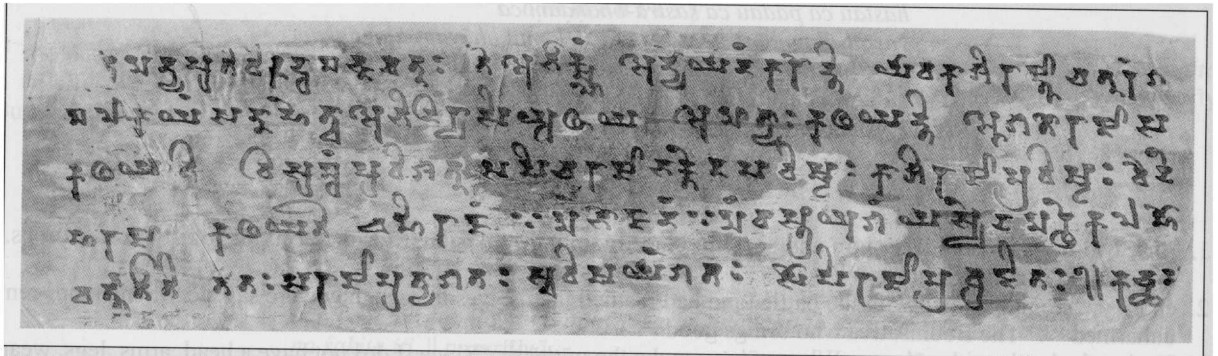


Fig. 3

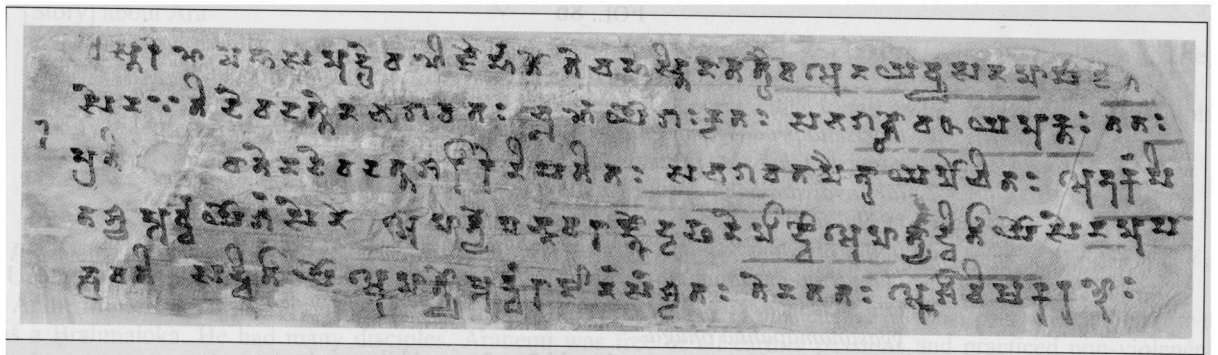


Fig. 4

a poisonous snake in a basket of food, threatens an old *brāhmaṇa* who has been sent by his cunning young wife to gather alms. Senaka spies the danger and saves the *brāhmaṇa*. The continuation of this story, found on fol. 6a, does not coincide with any of the *jātakas* indicated.

FOL. [8a]

TRANSLITERATION

1.] X X *taḥ tena caturamṅga-bala-kāya[m] prat[i]gupta sthāp[i]ta na te āśīviṣa⁹ vijñātā y[ā]-*
2. *va veta¹⁰ yudh[e]na andhīkṛtā te senena mocitā vārtī kṛtvā || susārtho bodhisattvaḥ rākṣase*
3. *na X X X yudhyate yāva rākṣaso gāthāṃ bhāṣati śīrṣaṃ hastau ca pāḍau ca śāstra-bhāṇḍaṃ ca*
4. *yāvad-ālagnaṃ¹¹ mama gātreṣu kiṃtu bhūyam-alagnakaṃ śīrṣa[m] hastau ca pāḍau ca śāstra-bhāṇḍaṃ*
5. *ca yāvadam¹² lagnaṃ gātreṣu cittaṃ mama na sajjate yāvad-avyāhataṃ¹³ vākyam mama sammya¹⁴ bhaviṣ[ya]-*

TRANSLATION

1. [that had been prepared] by him and secretly placed [among provisions] for the army of four types of troops. They did not know about the snake. Wh-
2. en they were intoxicated with the battle [and had readied themselves to eat], they were saved by Sena [and] remained unharmed^[1]. “The Bodhisattva who brings good”^[2].
3. During the battle with *rākṣas*... When *rākṣas* spoke the *gāthā*^[3]: “Since [I do] not have a head, arms, legs, weapons,
4. in my body^[4] there is no life^[5]. But [even if I had] a head, arms, legs, and weapons,
5. there is no consciousness in my body. If I have speech, [it will still] turn out well.

Commentary

[1] *vārtī kṛtvā* — lit. “having remained in sound health”, *kṛtvā* — absolute of the root *kr* “to do”.

[2] The subject of the story is not developed. We suppose there is a variant of the story: how the *yakṣa* Kumbhīra sacrifices his life saving him from a stone thrown out of a catapult called by Devadatta in order to kill the Buddha. Kumbhīra lost his life and was born again on the heaven of thirty three gods. The *gāthā* of this story is absent (see *Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, p. 168). The *gāthā* of our manuscript is repeated with slight variations in the story entitled *Jaḍiloma itī*, which tells of the conquest of *yakṣa* Ātāvaka.

[3] In the text *rākṣase*, Loc. Sg.

[4] In the text *mama gātreṣu*, Loc. Plr.

[5] *bhūya* — lit. “existence”.

FOL. 8b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *ta vasena pradāśyāma gātraṃ bhoktuṃ sacetanaṃ mahāvīra namastu te nāsti te prati-pudga-*
2. *laḥ tavaivam anubhāvena svasti na āyāntu vāñijā || pauruṣāda itī bhikṣavo*
3. *bhagavantam pṛcchanti paśya bhagavaṃ yāvacaṇaṃ yena bhāgavato drṣṭānumataṃ āpa-*
4. *nnā te svarga mokṣa-parāyaṇā ye anya-tīrthikānāṃ te anaya vyasanamāpannā bhaga-*
5. *[vānā]ha na bhikṣavo etarahiṃ bhūtapūrvaṃ bhikṣavo dvau sārthavāhau ādhvāna¹⁵ mārga-pratipannā¹⁶ ta-*
6. *traikaḥ pauruṣādena.*

⁹ See n. 8.

¹⁰ Possibly a slip of the pen (in place of *te*?).

¹¹ Instead of *alagnaṃ*.

¹² Instead of *yāvad*.

¹³ Instead of *avyāhataṃ*.

¹⁴ Instead of *samyak*.

¹⁵ Instead of *adhvānā*.

¹⁶ Instead of *pratipanna*.

TRANSLATION

1. With the ability to speak we will give the body [the possibility] of sating itself [and we will preserve] the capacity to think. Glory unto Mahāvīra! You have no equals!
2. It is thanks to your ability to penetrate [to the heart of things] that [everything turns out] well! May the merchants not come”. [Story] about what people can eat. The monks
3. asked the Bhagavan: “Look, Bhagavan! How is this possible in accordance with what the Bhagavan saw? They reached
4. heaven, [they] strive for freedom from rebirths; [at the same time] these other *tīrthikas* have encountered misfortune because [they] lack [a sense] of moderation”. The Bhaga-
5. [van] said: “No, monks, at this time, in a previous birth, monks, two merchants once set out on a journey. There [on the way]
6. one [of them], [having partaken] of that which is [entirely] edible for people,

C o m m e n t a r y

[¹¹] The occasion for the telling of the parable, and the parable itself, go back to the Pāli *jātaka* No. 255 (*Suka-jātaka*), which tells of a parrot that gorged itself on mangos and perished in the waves of the ocean over which it was flying. The Buddha told the *jātaka* to the monks after he learned of a monk who had died from overeating.

FOL. [9a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *pāñīyena pralabhayi*[*tvā*] *anayavyasanamāpāditaḥ dviṭīyo na śakita iti. || pravrajyā*
2. *iti yāva mahā-śrāvakehi pratikṣiptaḥ bhagavatā pravrajitaḥ*¹⁷ *bhikṣavaḥ pṛccha-*
3. *nti kiṃ karma yāva śākyaminisya*¹⁸ *pravacane sinha-bhaye namo-krta iti || ara-*
4. *nemi dāru vaṃkānām dāruka śāyānām evaṃ kāya vaṃśānām kāyaka śāyānāmiti ||*
5. *dharmapālasya-āpadāne*¹⁹ *ythāpi tu nāvaddhyamānasya na dūṣi-taṃ cittaṃ aranemī bodhisatvō*

TRANSLATION

1. [and] drunk [¹¹] [overmuch], fell into misfortune because [he] lacked a [sense] of moderation. The second [merchant] could not help [him]”, as is known. [Story] of the *pravrajyā* ritual of initiation.
2. How [someone] was rejected by the great *śrāvakas* [and] initiated by the Bhagavan. The monks ask-
3. ed: “What [was his] *karma*?” How he venerated the name of Śākyamuni in fear before a lion, such [is the story]. [Story] about Ara-
4. *nemi*^[2]. Everything that they have [¹³] lies on the ground by the broken trees. Likewise, if a body's [tie with life] has been severed, all parts of the body [¹⁴] fall [without support] [¹⁵], thus it is said [¹⁶].
5. [About] how the Bodhisattva Aranemī, as a defender of *dharma* and without even [interrupting] contemplation entirely [¹⁷] with [his] consciousness undimmed

C o m m e n t a r y

[¹¹] *pāñīyena*. Instr. Sg., “with a thing which is fit to be drunk”. The story that follows appears to be similar to the story about Upālīn (how he was ordained). See *Saṅgahedavastu*, pt. I, pp. 204–7.

[²] Aranemi — Aranemi in other Buddhist texts — is the name of a religious teacher of years past who taught how to be born as a Brahmaloḥa. He had many disciples. Aranemi was free of all earthly passions and practiced non-violence and compassion. As a result, he himself was reincarnated as a Brahmaloḥa and continued his preaching. See *Aṅguttaranikaya*, III, 371; IV, 135. *Jātaka* No. 169 (*Araka-jātaka*) is about him; he goes by the name bodhisattva Araka in it. The parable is lacking in the manuscript; only the *gāthā* is given. The Pāli *jātaka* lacks this *gāthā*. The story about Aranemi is also present in the Tibetan *Braiṣajyavastu*, see Jampa Losang Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāsivāda-Vinaya. Analysiert auf Grund des Tibetischen Übersetzung*, p. 49.

[¹³] *dāruka* — lit. “relating to trees”.

[¹⁴] *kāyaka* — lit. “relating to the body”.

¹⁷ Instead of *pravrajitaḥ*.

¹⁸ Instead of *śākyamuneḥ*.

¹⁹ Instead of *-āpadāne*.

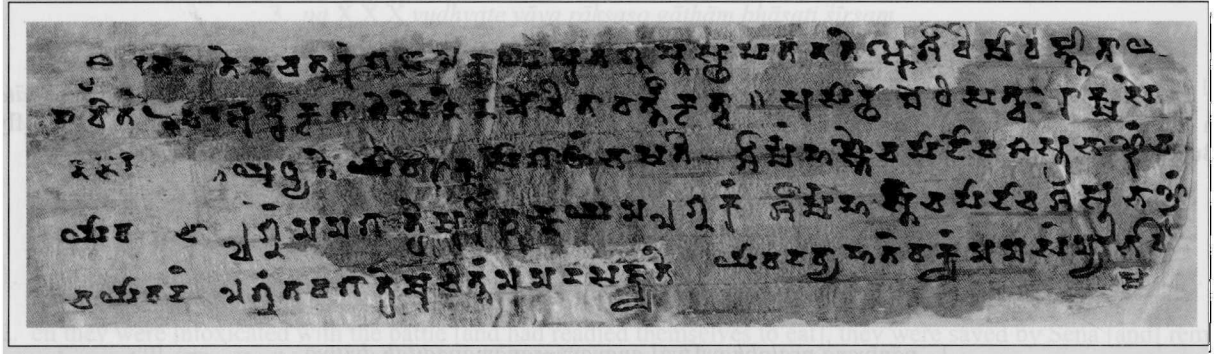


Fig. 5

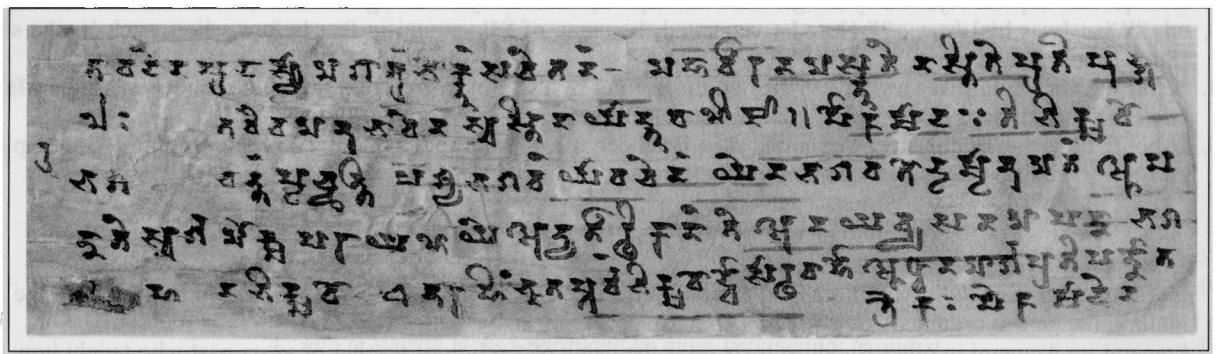


Fig. 6

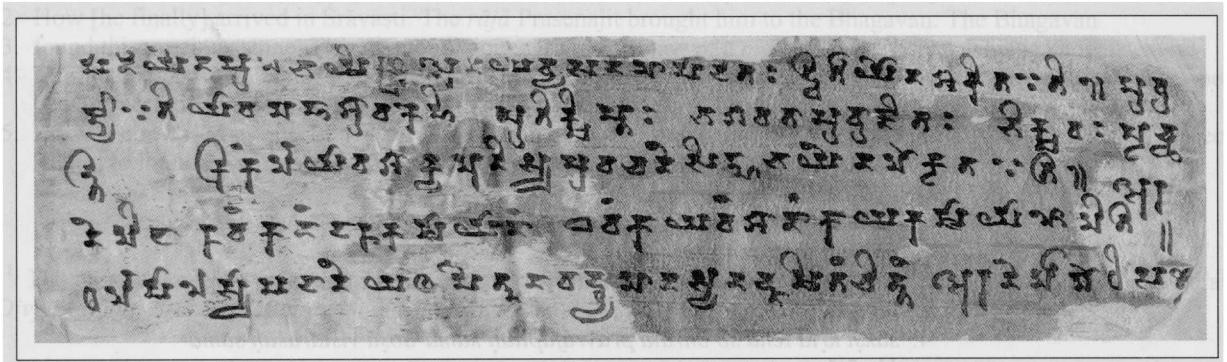


Fig. 7

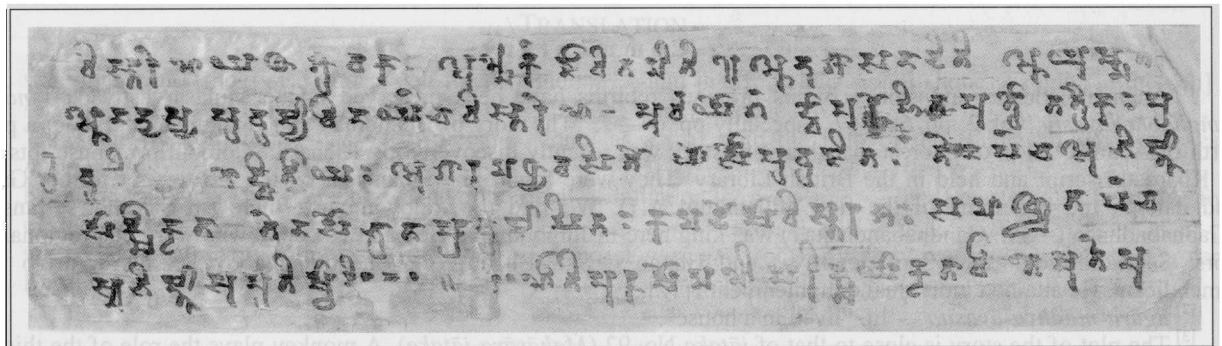


Fig. 8

^[5] *gāthā* with a parallel textual structure: *vamka* “bent, broken” and *sāya* “lying” are repeated in the first and second lines. The context of the second line does not allow for a literal translation of *sāya*.

^[6] the *gāthā* can be understood on the basis of a juxtaposition with an analogous Pāli text from *Dīghanikaya*, I, 46: “*Seyyathā pi, bhikkhave amba-piṇḍiyā vaṇtacchinnāya yāni kānīci ambāni vaṇṭūpanibandhanāni, sabbāni tāni tad-anyayāni bhavanti — evam eva kho, bhikkhave, ucchinna-nettiko tathāgatassa kāyo tiṭṭhati. Yāv’assa kāyo ṭhassati tāva naṃ dakkhinti deva-manussā*” (“In this fashion, monks, as soon as the trunk [on which] the mango branch [grows] was cut down, all of the mango fruits on this trunk went [down] with it. Likewise, monks, the body of *tathāgata* stands [before us], but [in fact] it has been cut down. His body stands only in as much as it is seen by people and gods”), that is, *tathāgata* cut the thread that tied him to rebirths, and his final body is only a visible shell that will vanish as soon as his life is at an end.

^[7] *na-avaddhyamanasya [apadana]* — lit. “not (in the position) of one who contemplates”, where *-avaddhyamana* Bud. Skt. *vadhyamana*, part. atm., *ava* + *V dhī*, “to contemplate”, see *BHSD*, p. 72. In the *Araka-jātaka*, it is explained that the bodhisattva Araka “was born in the heaven of Brahmā without breaking his mystical trance”.

FOL. 9b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *vistareṇa yathā śrāvaka alpakaṃ jīvitamiti || ānuśāsanādīti āyusmāto*
2. *ānandasya pravrajyā vinayaṃca vistareṇa pūrvavogaṃ dvā purohitaputrau tatraikah pra-*
3. *vrajito dvitīyaḥ agāra-madhya-āvasito yo so pravrajitaḥ tena paṃca abhijñā*
4. *sākṣī kṛtā tena so bhrātā pravrajāpitaḥ kāma-doṣā vistaraśaḥ samā-khyātā paṃca-*
5. *svabhijñāsu pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ || manīti puruṣo maṇi-parikṣayā kṛtā vīteṣu teṣu*

TRANSLATION

1. did not live for long as a *śrāvaka* [among people], tell in detail. [The story] entitled “According to the teaching”. About the rit-
2. ual of the *pravrajyā* initiation of Ānanda [tell] in detail [in accordance] with the *Vinaya* ^[1]. In an earlier birth, a [certain] priest had two sons. There one [of them]
3. underwent the ritual of *pravrajyā*. The second lived as the master of a house ^[2]. The one who became a monk, five forms of transcendent knowledge
4. did master in full. [The second] brother of theirs, was [also] converted by him. Passions and delusions were explained [to him] in full. In the five
5. forms of transcendent knowledge [the brothers] became strong. [Story] of the precious stone ^[3]. A [certain] person lost a precious stone. To no purpose in those

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] Ānanda's address and stories of his previous rebirths have been preserved in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, see *Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. 2, pp. 56–67, especially pp. 64–7, “The story of Bhānumān and Bhānumantaḥ: about a previous birth of Ānanda”. It is of interest that this very story was recently discovered by Richard Salomon in manuscripts written in Kharoṣṭhī script and held in the British Library. They were found in Afghanistan on the territory of former Gandhāra and date to the beginning of the first millennium A.D. We find the following text there (in Salomon's translation): “Gadhabadhaga (= Skt. Gandhabandhaka?) was king here in Jumbudvīpa. He had two sons, [who were his] regional governors: Sabrudidrido (= Skt. Samvrtendriya) and Bhano (= Skt. Bhānu) (cf. Bhānumān above!). Subrudidrido became a mendicant. He attained individual enlightenment” [12].

^[2] *agāra-madhya-āvasito* — lit. “lived in a house”.

^[3] The plot of the story is close to that of *jātaka* No. 92 (*Mahāsāra-jātaka*). A monkey plays the role of the thief in the *jātaka*, and the honour of discovering the true abductor belongs to the bodhisattva, one of the early rebirths of Ānanda. The same plot see in the “Story of a hunter and an ungrateful man”, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. 2, pp. 151–3.

FOL. [10a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *nagareṣu anvāh[i]ṇḍamāno a[yaṃ] maṇirjñāyatāmīti apaṭṭa-nam²⁰ udghoṣay[i]ṣyam[i]*

²⁰ Instead of *apattanam*.

2. *yāva śrāvastimanuprāptaḥ sa [rā]jñā prasenajitā bhagavat-sakāśaṃ nītaḥ bhagavatā*
3. *sa mañir-vijñātaḥ ayaṃ mañir-vajra sāgare magara²¹-mūrdhne prādurbhūta iti anā-*
4. *rghe²² 'yaṃ ananta-guṇaḥ tataḥ sa puruṣo vismitaḥ bhagavanītam pravrajyām yāca-*
5. *ti bhagavata²³ pravrajītaḥ²⁴ ṣaṣṣu ca abhijñāsu pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ [tataḥ] sa mañir-bhagavato*

TRANSLATION

1. cities did he wander, saying: “This treasure must be found! I will pronounce [this] city dishonourable!”^[1]
2. How [he finally] arrived in Śrāvastī. The *rājā* Prasenajit brought him to the Bhagavan. The Bhagavan
3. found this precious stone. This diamond-stone was in the maw of a *makara* in the ocean. This is known.
4. This [stone] is invaluable, your [achievement] is endless!” [this person said to the Bhagavan]. Then this person became ecstatic [and] asked the Bhagavan to initiate [him].
5. He was converted by the Bhagavan and became strong in six forms of transcendent knowledge. Later this precious [thing] to the Bhagavan

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] The phrase *pattanam-udghoṣayisyami* (“I will pronounce the city dishonourable”) is attested in the Buddhist literature, see *Divyāvadāna*, 276, 14: “*apattanam ghōṣayitva*”. Also *ibid.*, p. 276, 16; p. 277, 13.

FOL. 10b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *dattaḥ gandhakuṭih[i] sthāpitaḥ rātrau cāvabhāsate dīpa-krīyaṃ karoti pūrvayogaḥ ṛṣi[ka]*
2. *tenaiva bhagavatā eṣaiva patra parīkṣayā nigrhūtaḥ hiraṃnyāśivo nāma vrkṣaḥ*
3. *yasyaitam patramiti sa pravrajitaḥ pañca abhijñā sāksī kṛtā || vidura iti vi-*
4. *stareṇa kauśampīya²⁵ purohita ṛṣyālūna-kasyaci gr̥he praveśam deti tasya bhāryā*
5. *ayaṃ putra kaccid²⁶-dākṣiṇeya mānayasveti yāva purohito ṣaṭchāstāro vimṣati*

TRANSLATION

1. was given, and [they] also built a cell for the Buddha^[1], and that [precious stone] shone at night [in the cell] and served in place of a light. In an earlier birth [this precious stone] belonged to a *ṛṣi*.
2. The same [person] found this very [precious stone] as a leaf with the help of the Bhagavan. To a tree called *hiraṇyāśiva*^[2]
3. belonged this leaf. That [person] accepted the ritual of initiation — *pravrajyā* — [and] mastered entirely five forms of transcendent know-
4. ledge. [Story] about Vidura^[3] with details. The priest *purohita* from Kauśāmbī came to the home of a certain *Ṛṣyālūna* (?). His wife

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] *gandhakuṭa* is the name of a cell in a monastery. Originally, this term meant “the Buddha's cell”.

^[2] The name of the tree, *hiraṇyāśiva*, literally means “gold Śiva”; we could not find it in the dictionaries available to us.

^[3] The reference is apparently to Vidhūra, minister of the *rājā* Koravya, the hero of *jātaka* No. 495 (*Dasabrāhmaṇa-jātaka*) or Vidhūra-panḍita, priest and advisor to the *rājā* Dhanañjaya (*Dhūmakāri-jātaka*, No. 413). The plots in both

²¹ Instead of *makara*-.

²² Instead of *anarghe*.

²³ Instead of *bhagavatā*.

²⁴ Instead of *pravrajītaḥ*.

²⁵ Instead of *kauśāmbīya*.

²⁶ Instead of *kaścid*-.

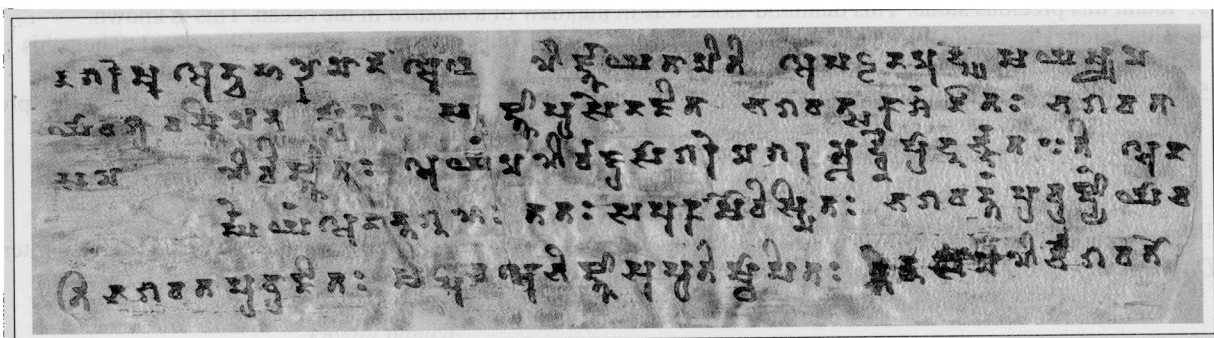


Fig. 9

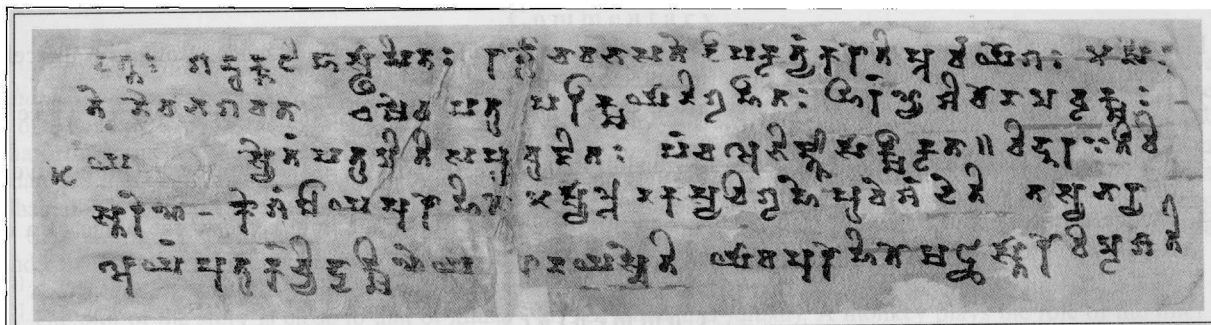


Fig. 10

jātakas are very close. Later in our manuscript, fol. 142a(3), we find: “*bodhisatvo viduro nāma amaṭyo*” (“The bodhisattva [was] a minister by the name of Vidura”). This confirms the possible identifying Vidura as the minister Vidhūra. The story in the manuscript is much more complete than the Pāli *jātakas* and describes a number of events not mentioned in the *jātakas*.

Notes

1. For the beginning, see *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VI/3 (2000), pp. 23–32.
2. A. C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature* (Calcutta, 1957); Ch. P. Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine: les traducteurs et les traductions*, in 2 vols. (Paris, 1927–1938).
3. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. Nalinaksa Dutt, vol. III: pt. 1 (s. a.); pt. 2 (1942); pt. 3 (1943); pt. 4 (1950). *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, being the 17th and Last Section of the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin*, ed. R. Gnoli, pt. 1–2 (Roma, 1977–1978). — *Serie Orientale Roma*, XLIX, 1, 2; also *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu*, ed. R. Gnoli (Roma, 1978). — *Serie Orientale Roma*, L. The Tibetan translations of the stories from the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin* see in Jampa Losang Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya. Analysiert auf Grund des Tibetischen Übersetzung* (Tokyo, 1981).
4. *Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. I. General Introduction, p. XIII.
5. *Ibid.*, p. XIX.
6. *Ibid.*, p. XXIII.
7. E. Frauwalner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginning of Buddhist Literature* (Rome, 1956), p. 25. — *Serie Orientale Roma*, VIII.
8. É. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère Śāka* (Louvain, 1958), pp. 191–2.
9. A. Barreau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule* (Saïgon, 1955), p. 154.
10. M. Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, *JRAS* (1890), p. 42.
11. See *Lost Empire of the Silk Road. Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X–XIIIth Century)*, exhibition catalogue (Milano, 1993), pp. 104–5.
12. See R. Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra* (Seattle, 1999), p. 39.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** Sanskrit manuscript SI Merv 1 on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 6a, 19.0×5.0 cm.
- Fig. 2.** The same manuscript, fol. 6b, 19.0×5.0 cm.
- Fig. 3.** The same manuscript, fol. 7a, 19.0×5.0 cm.
- Fig. 4.** The same manuscript, fol. 7b, 19.0×5.0 cm.
- Fig. 5.** The same manuscript, fol. 8a, 19.0×5.0 cm.
- Fig. 6.** The same manuscript, fol. 8b, 19.0×5.0 cm.
- Fig. 7.** The same manuscript, fol. 9a, 19.0×5.0 cm.
- Fig. 8.** The same manuscript, fol. 9b, 19.0×5.0 cm.
- Fig. 9.** The same manuscript, fol. 10a, 19.0×5.0 cm.
- Fig. 10.** The same manuscript, fol. 10b, 19.0×5.0 cm.