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Front cover:

St. John the Evangelist and his disciple Prochorus, “The Four Gospels”, manuscript B 45
in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Shosh (Isfahan), 1623,
scribe Stepannos, artist Mesrop Hizantsi, paper, fol. 210b, 11.0×15.0 cm.

Back cover:

St. Matthew the Evangelist, the same manuscript, fol. 19b, 12.0×17.0 cm.

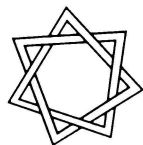
THESA PUBLISHERS
IN CO-OPERATION WITH
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 6 No. 3 September 2000



75ESA
St. Petersburg

A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI: II. AVADĀNAS AND JĀTAKAS (PART 1)

We have already described the discovery of a Buddhist manuscript on birch-bark removed from the earth not far from the city of Bairam-Ali (Merv oasis, Turkmenia). We have also published a general description of the manuscript and one of the texts which belongs to the *Vinaya* section of the Buddhist *Tripitaka* [1]. This text is a completed work and has a colophon, thanks to which we were able to establish that the manuscript contains an excerpt from the Sanskrit Canon of the Sarvāstivādins. The other part of the manuscript is a work which lacks both beginning and end. This part consists of 68 full folios and several fragments. The full folios are 19.0×5.0 cm and contain five lines of text on each side. All of the folios were copied in the same hand, which differs from the rest of the manuscript. The hand is close to calligraphic and neat; according to L. Sander's classification, it belongs to the Turkestan Gupta type, and can be dated to the fifth century A.D.

In content, the manuscript consists of a selection of *avadāna* and *jātaka* stories. In the text itself, they are sometimes termed only *avadāns*; the term *jātaka* does not occur once. The nature of the extant text suggests that it did not contain a full copy of the work at hand, but rather a part of it written in conspectual form. It is possible that the *avadānas* and *jātakas* were copied from the *Sūtras* section and the *Vinaya* Canon of the Sarvāstivādins. In our view, the conspectual nature of the exposition and the arrangement of the text in the manuscript indicate that the text was

written down for memorizing and was used as illustrative material during proselytizing. Divergences from the Buddhist tradition of the Theravādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins and the ideological affiliation of the stories selected from the Canon reveal a connection with the early teaching of Śravakāyāna. Certain *gāthās* and aphorisms may have been recorded from memory or from the words of the teacher.

Before the manuscript was shut into a pitcher, its folios were shuffled in such a way that the collection of *avadānas* and *jātakas* was distributed in various parts of the manuscript. As has already been noted, 68 pages of this work were discovered among the 150 folios of the manuscript. The bulk of them — 41 folios — were at the end of the sheaf, 25 folios in the middle, and 2 in the section with excerpts from *sūtras*. Nearly all folios have *brāhmī* numerical pagination on the left margin, running inclusively from 5 to 69. The first two folios lack pagination; judging by content, they are fols. 3 and 4.

The original pagination is faulty in two places: (i) two folios are numbered fol. 15, while the second of them should apparently have been 18; (ii) after folio 29, there is a doubly paginated folio: 28 and 30. In the remainder, the numeration is accurate.

Fragments were also preserved among folios of unrelated content. They will be published in the order in which they were discovered during restoration.

Structure of the text

The stories, gathered into a single text, are compositionally linked with the aid of *uddāna* and set off from each other graphically. The following signs were used to set stories apart: double *śad* (||) between stories; *cakra* between two double *śads* (|| Ø ||) to identify an *uddāna* from both sides; a slanted mark similar to a horizontally extended comma in place of a dot within the story or quotes for direct speech in the *gāthās*. The order numbers of the *gāthās* have been preserved only on one folio, 52a (numbers 3, 4 and 5).

The principle of ordering a text with the aid of *uddāna* was widely employed in Indian literature in general and in Buddhist literature in particular. This would appear to reflect the original function of the *uddāna* — to present the text together with the chapter-by-chapter colophon in a form convenient for memorizing and oral transmission.

In other words, this is an indication of the extensive oral tradition that surrounded Buddhist texts. Later, the *uddāna* functions as an independent organizing factor, appearing in place of headings within semantically discreet parts of the text [2].

In our text, stories are indicated doubly: with a heading before each story (only once is this omitted), and an *uddāna* before each new group of stories, which usually include some 10-12 stories. In two instances, the *uddāna* concludes a group of stories: see fol. 12b(4—5) and 33a(4—5). In the last case, before the *uddāna* we find the only instance of the term itself in the form *udāna*. In all, there are 17 *uddānas* in the text; they enumerate the titles of 190 stories (not all *uddānas* have been fully preserved because of *lacunae*). Hence, we can conclude that the extant part

of the work contains 17 sections. Two groups of stories, enumerated in the *uddānas* on fols. 51a(5)—b(1) and [2]9a(3—4), have not been preserved. The titles of several stories were omitted in some *uddānas*; for example, a number of titles on fols. 9, 10, 11. The omissions total 10 in all. A total of 163 stories have survived (not counting several fragments). We were not able to ascertain the principle of division into sections. It appears that, as in other such collections of *avadānas* and *jātakas*, the stories were gathered into groups to illustrate certain propositions of *sūtras* and rules of the *Vinaya*, the texts of which served as the source for the tales.

The headings of the stories usually coincide with their titles in the *uddānas*. There are several instances where we find Sanskrit words in the *uddāna* and the same words in prakritized form in the heading. We provide several examples: fol. 61a(1), in the *uddāna* the title of the story is *aśva* ("Horse") — before the story on fol. 62b(1) — *iśṣoti*; fol. 61a(1) — *udś[i]ṣṭa* ("He Refused") — fol. 63b(2) — *ucchiṣṭotti*. In all likelihood, the preacher knew the *uddāna* by memory in its Sanskrit form and used the conversational form when telling the story.

Conspectual nature of text

The work is clearly conspectual in nature. The plots of most stories are either not given or are presented so schematically that it would be impossible to reconstruct the contents of the story if one could not identify them as well-known *avadānas* and *jātakas* by the proper names or certain details. The author of the conspectus must have known the contents of the stories well, for he wrote down only those details that would help a preacher refresh his memory when necessary. It is likely that the preacher himself drew up the conspectus and either copied it himself or entrusted the copying to a qualified copyist. This is supported by the fact that, in addition to the folios copied in a calligraphic hand, the manuscript preserves folios in another, less skilled, hand. Some of them were recopied in a more presentable form.

One can cite the following text on fol. 5b(5—6) as an example of a conspectual annotation: *yadā bhagavatā trayāḥ kūla-putrā vinītā ajñatakondī[n]yaḥ bimbisārahśakraśca ekameka aśīti sahasra parivārah avadānam vistareṇa* ("How three youths of noble lineage — Ajñatakondīnya, Bimbisāra, and Śakra — were converted by the Bhagavān one after the other together with a retinue of eighty-thousand, [tell the] *avadāna* in detail"). It is entirely clear that this refers to the famed Benares sermon of the Buddha, but the text contains a number of errors: the number and names of the converted youths are given incorrectly (for more detail, see the commentary to fol. 5b).

On fol. [4]b(4), a note is given in place of the content of the story "About how Dhṛtarāṣṭra was a Leader of *Hamsa* Birds". There is a Pāli *jātaka* about this episode, and a Sanskrit version [3]. Clearly, this *jātaka* was extremely popular and there was no need to provide a detailed exposition of its contents in the conspectus.

Further, on fol. 20a(5), we read *ṛkṣasyāvadānam kṛtvā yathā akṛtajñeṣu* ("Tell the *avadāna* about the bear as [an *avadāna* from the series] about those who are not [fittingly] grateful"). This apparently refers to the story, widely represented in Indian literature from the time of the *Pañcatantra*, about the obliging bear who killed the sleeping son of a ruler while shooing a mosquito away from his head.

There are also a great many stories with the same title in the work, but there are only two actual repetitions. Those are *Kubjā iti* ("[Story] Entitled *Kubja*"), fol. 14b(4), a comparatively full variant of the text, a few words that clarify the content, and a *gāthā*. (The same *gāthā* is given a second time on fol. 62a(2) with the title *Kujjāni* — the same name of the heroine in Prakritized form); and *Sinho* ("Lion"), see the *uddāna* on fol. 68b(2), the title is omitted before the story on fol. 68a(4). This is a story about friendship between a lion and a bull; it is well known in Indian literature from the time of the *Pañcatantra*. The same story is repeated with minor variants on fol. 69a.

The same *gāthā* is given, with significant variants, in two different stories with different headings. They appear to be two varying redacts of the same plot: on fols. 9b(2)—10a(2) in the story under the heading *Susārtho bodhisattvaḥ* ("[Story] about the Bodhisattva Who Brings Good"); on fols. 58b(4)—59b(1) — in the story with the title *Jaḍiloma iti* ("[Story] Entitled *Jaḍiloma*"). In the second story, the *gāthā* deals with the subjugation of the *yakṣa Ātavaka*.

In place of the contents of several stories, we find only *gāthās* that is, those parts of the stories which had to be memorized accurately. For example, on fol. 6a(1—2), the entire text of the story after the heading boils down to the following: "A detailed [story] about the body with two faces. As [it is told] in the *Vinaya*, and it holds for this world, and for that world" (henceforth we omit the Sanskrit text unless it contains terms important for the interpretation of the text).

On fol. 14b(3), in place of the story about Ceti (Cedi), we find: "As [it is said] in the *Vinaya*, by cutting down seven palms, you [will not help to] explain the meaning".

Beginning with fol. 54a(1), all of the stories are told in a standard form: indication of setting, a *gāthā* before which we learn who pronounced it.

The collection abounds in authorial notes, connective words, and relative pronouns. The following relative pronouns appear especially frequently in this function: *yavā*, *yathā*, *yadā* with the meaning "as": "as this or that happened", "as he went there", etc. Further, *iti vistareṇa vācyaṃ* ("one should tell in detail") — an extended phrase found on fols. 22b(3), 31a(6), 30a(1), [2]9a(2—3), 31b(5), [33]a(2) and others. The abbreviated form (*iti vistareṇa*) is more frequently found before the heading: "[one should tell] the *avadāna* in detail" with such and such a title. This phrase is sometimes used at the end of the story, where we find the expression *iti vistaraḥ* ("detailed account"). In place of *kim tasya karma* ("what is his karma?") in the middle of the story we usually find *kim karma* or simply *karma*.

Notes are sometimes found in the text of the collection which were clearly intended for the preacher; they explain in which situations he should tell certain stories. For example, after the story entitled *Matsoti* (in place of *matsa iti*) — "The Fish" (version of the Pāli *jātaka* No. 114, *Mitacinti-jātaka*), we find a remark absent in the Pāli text: "[Tell the story about those] who think a thousand times and who a hundred times do think. Devadatta, [for example], 'he who thinks once'" (see fols. 62a(5)—62b(1)).

Some remarks on genre

Of the 163 stories in the collection, 19 are called *avadāna* in the text. In most cases, the type of story is not defined. Not one story is termed a *jātaka*, although two thirds of the stories are, in fact, *jātakas*. Both the *jātakas* and *avadānas* belong to the *Buddhavacanāni* category, that is, words of the Buddha, which make up the *Dvādaśaka-dharma-pravacanam* ("Twenty Types of Instruction as Regards the Dharma") [4]. The *avadānas* occupy the seventh place in this list, and the *jātakas* the ninth. We limit ourselves here to repeating what has already been said on the topic of these genres by our predecessors. J. S. Speyer notes that the basic function of the *avadānas* is to illustrate the action of the law of the *karma* and its inevitable force with stories that are presented as actually having happened and told by the Bhagavān himself [5]. The *avadānas* are closely linked with the *jātakas*. Both contain morally edifying tales intended to provide moral instruction, and were used as illustrations during preaching. The difference between *avadānas* and *jātakas*, as was first noted by L. Feer, is merely that in *jātakas*, the Buddha or *bodhisattva* is an obligatory character, while in *avadānas* his presence is not obligatory, although he frequently appears [6]. Hence, each *jātaka* can be called an *avadāna*, but not every *avadāna* is a *jātaka*.

All *jātakas* are constructed in like fashion: first, there is a "story about the present" which contains a reason for the Buddha's account of one of his past rebirths. This reason is often simply a monk's question; the Buddha answers with a "tale about the past". Both stories are linked in the concluding part of the *jātaka* through the identification of the characters in the story. In *avadānas*, the events described are often dissimilar and are brought together only with a tie of cause and effect: the "tale about the present" is the effect, and the "tale about the past", the cause.

These basic theoretical propositions hold for the collection in our manuscript. The *jātakas* and *avadānas* are interspersed, yet one can divide the collection into two parts on the basis of the structure of the stories:

1. On fols. [4]—53 — there is a mixture of *avadānas* and *jātakas*, among which the stories vary in the completeness of their exposition. Brief stories contain one *gāthā*, saying or aphorism, sometimes only a heading and an authorial comment. Full stories are constructed as follows: the "tale about the present" usually appears as an authorial explanation of the reason for the "tale about the past". Sometimes this is a question put to the Bhagavān by monks. It frequently begins with the word *paśya* ("Look!"). For example, fol. 6a(4—5): "Look at how Devadatta inflicted much insult on the *tathāgata*, and the Bhagavān forgave them all. They asked the Bhagavān: 'Is [this not] marvelous that the Bhagavān forgave [Devadatta]? How glorious he is!'" And further the "Tale about the Past" begins with the words *Bhagavān āha*: "What here seems miraculous [is explained by the relations] between the *rājā* of Benares and the *rājā* of Videhā in a past incarnation". After the "tale about the past", there is no identification of the characters. The absence of such an identification is one of the typical features of this collection. The "tale about the present" can also be connected to the "tale about the past" as the result

of the action of *karma*. In such cases, the question *kim karma* follows the "tale about the present", after which the actions of the hero in previous incarnations are described.

2. The 16 concluding folios of the collection, beginning with fol. 54a, present only *jātakas*; moreover, their contents are omitted. What has remained in the text can be described with the following outline, common to all *jātakas*: a) the setting is given, for example: *Rājagṛhe nidānam* ("The matter took place in Rājagṛha"). This formula is typical of other collections of *jātakas* as well; b) the person who *gāthāṃ bhāṣati* ("said the *gāthā*") is named; c) the text of the *gāthā* is given; d) the concluding formula *siyāti vistaraha* or *siyā vistaraha* ("Thus may it be. [Here is a] detailed [account]") is present. This marks the end of the *jātaka* text. An identification of the characters is absent.

The significance of the work in the Bairam-Ali manuscript is worthy of special comment. It is a collection of didactic stories. Three quarters of their plots can be identified with the aid of Pāli and Sanskrit collections of similar content such as the *Avadānaśataka* collection, which includes 100 *avadānas* of the Sarvāstivāda school; the *Divyāvadāna* — a collection which consists of 38 *avadānas* of the Sarvāstivāda school [7]; the *Apadāna* — a collection of *avadānas* in Pāli, 397 in all, of the Theravāda school [8]; the *Jātaka-Māla* ("Garland of *Jātakas*") — a collection drawn up by the Indian author Āryaśūra on the basis of Sarvāstivādin texts; and finally, the collection of 547 Pāli *jātakas* chosen from the Pāli Canon by V. Fausbøll [9].

In its division into sections and the number and arrangement of stories within sections, the work does not coincide with any of the known collections of *jātakas* and *avadānas*. Only in one instance does the *uddāna* on fol. [2]9a(3—4) approximate the *uddāna* of *varga* 5 in the *Avadānaśataka* in the titles and order of the stories enumerated; but stories with these titles are absent in the manuscript (the details are described in the notes to fol. [2]9a). In both *uddānas*, the concluding part is identical: *vargo bhavati samudditaḥ* ("gathered into a single *varga*"). This formula is attested only in this single case in the manuscript.

The titles of the stories in the manuscript usually do not coincide with the titles of *avadānas* and *jātakas* of similar content from other collections. It remains unclear whether we have here different versions and redacts of the same stories, or distortions by the compiler of this particular collection. It is possible that the collection under consideration also contains versions of didactic stories that belong only to the Sarvāstivādin school. As concerns translations of the didactic stories from Sanskrit into Chinese, the comparison with the collection published by Éd. Chavannes [10] shows that many of the plots underwent Chinese alteration and editing.

The *gāthās* in the text could not in a single instance be identified as *gāthās* from the above-mentioned collections. Comparison with similar Pāli *jātakas* showed that what is there laid out in prose is in our work presented in the form of *gāthās*; the reverse holds as well. A number of stories found among Pāli *jātakas* also exist in Tibetan translation [11]. Moreover, the stories in the collection under con-

sideration here are closer to the Tibetan translation than to the Pāli versions. All of these topics will be discussed in detail in the commentary to the translations of the stories.

The main conclusion which can be drawn from an analysis of the content of the stories in the collection is that the attention of the preacher is directed not toward the concrete actions of the characters, but toward a description of the “path and result” which should mark the lives of those who set out along the way of the Teaching. Events and actions are recorded only minimally in the stories, but their results are depicted quite clearly, and always in the same fashion: one receives instruction in the *Dharma*, and as a result — a righteous way of life; one takes vows, and enters the Buddhist community (performing the ritual of *pravrajya*), and finally, one attains a state of *arhat*. The accomplishments of he who sets forth along the path are almost always described in the same terms: “gave gifts”, “hosted the monks”, “took part in constructing the *stūpa*”, “kept the area around the *stūpa* clean, adorned it with flowers”, and so on in like spirit.

The cult of the *bodhisattva* is virtually absent in the collection, although he is mentioned in many stories. There is no description of the *bodhisattva*'s heroic efforts to save living things. Calls to lead the life of a hermit are also missing.

The stories note the way to “free oneself from rebirth” or “leave the circle of rebirth”, which is typical of the early *Śravakayāna*. This way is acceptable for ordinary people, for lay-persons. Among the terms which describe this way, there are virtually none connected with the perfection of intellectual and psychological abilities, but these terms do appear in the manuscript in the section with quotations from the *sūtras*. Comparing the way of liberation presented in the manuscript with the description of the way of other Buddhist schools — Mahiśāsaka [12] and Dharmaguptaka [13] — we conclude that the basic stages of the way are the same. It could not be otherwise, as all of these schools represent the “Little Chariot”. But there are some differences. In the *Vinaya* of the two above-mentioned schools, the Bhagavān calls for “instruction of three types”: (i) instruction for acquiring the fundamentals of supernatural abilities (Skt. *ṛddhipāda*); (ii) instruction in following the *Dharma*

(Skt. *dharmadeśanā*) (iii) training in following the instructions and rules or “instruction regarding consciousness” (Skt. *anusmṛiti*) [14]. Among the Sarvāstivādis, according to this work, the path of preparation for a state of *ahrat* consisted of two, not three, stages: 1) instruction in the *Dharma* — *dharmadeśanā*; 2) training in following the instructions and rules or instruction in the necessity of recognizing: *cittam prasāḍita* — “consciousness was enlightened”, *satyāni dṛṣṭāni* — “[the four noble] truths [were] grasped”.

The term *ṛddhipāda* is not attested for the work under consideration. Its first part — *ṛddhi* (“supernatural abilities”) — occurs only twice in the manuscript, and both times refers to the Bhagavān.

The most important element in evaluating the collection of stories lies not in identifying its content and terminology, but in the nature of the document itself. We have here a unique creation, the living tradition of transmitting the Buddhist teaching to non-initiates, a model for proselytizing. This is a conspectus of fables and stories used by a Buddhist preacher of the teaching in his interactions with others. With such materials he set out for the West, to distant lands. These were the didactic stories the preacher was to tell in order to buttress the propositions of the *Vinaya* found in the first work we published from the manuscript and to reinforce the terminology of the *Sūtras*, quotes from which are found in the third and final part of the manuscript.

The texts of the fragments on fols. [3, 4] and fol. 5 are published in the present issue of *Manuscripta Orientalia*. Two fragments have been preserved of the folio we conditionally term No. 3: the larger is 7.0×4.5 cm; the smaller — 3.5×2.5 cm. The text covers both sides, but the context does not indicate which should be considered *recto* and which *verso*. We present below the Sanskrit texts in transliteration, English translation, and facsimile. We omit a translation for the second fragment because of insufficient material. As the limitations of a journal publication do not allow us to print large sections of the text, the publication will be spread out over several issues.

TRANSLITERATION

FRAGMENT I: FOL. [3a?]

1.(illegible)
2. **gaja iti** || *paśya bhagavāṃ mātā-pi*] ...
3. [**bra**] **hmadatta iti** *paryantaḥ po*] ...
4. **ddhaviti** *yāva¹ mukto abhaya*] ...
5. [*vi*] *stareṇa ghrta-pānaṃ bhikṣavaḥ X*] ...

FOL. [3b?]

1. *sarva-duḥkhāt-pramucyitum*] || *bhaga*[*vān*] ...[*va*]-
2. *rgge agnir-muktaḥ sārtho bhāyam*] ...
3. *n-āha rāgāgnir-ddoṣāgnir-mo X*] ...
4. *hi pavaka bhikṣavo bhagava*] ...
5. *taḥ bhagavān-āha bhikṣavo X*] ...

¹ Possibly a slip of the pen in place of *yavā*.



Fig. 1

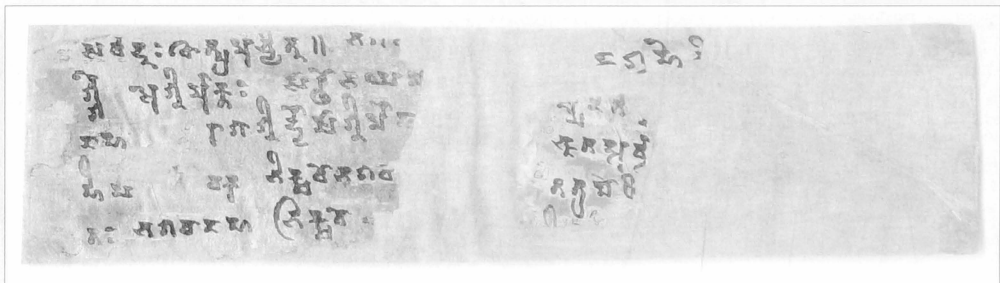


Fig. 2

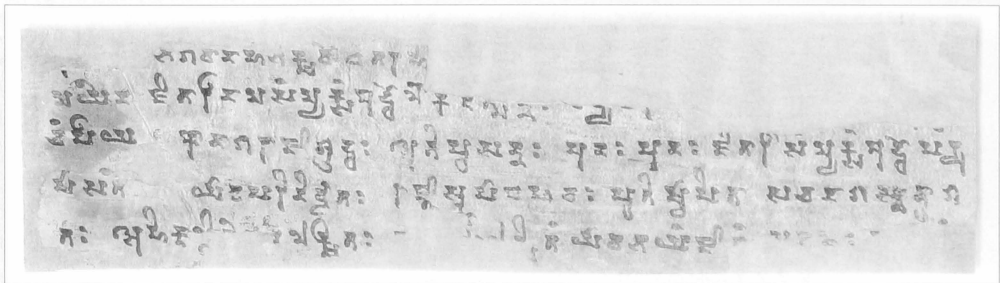


Fig. 3

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pahlavi, showing several lines of text on a fragment of parchment or paper. The text is written in a cursive style, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is rectangular and shows signs of wear and discoloration.

Fig. 4

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pahlavi, showing several lines of text on a fragment of parchment or paper. The text is written in a cursive style, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is rectangular and shows signs of wear and discoloration.

Fig. 5

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pahlavi, showing several lines of text on a fragment of parchment or paper. The text is written in a cursive style, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is rectangular and shows signs of wear and discoloration.

Fig. 6

FRAGMENT 2 [FOL. 3a?]

1. ...]ṇasya vi] ...
2. ...]svat[i] mo] ...
3. ...]yūtha vetra la] ...
4. ...]ka ma s[u?] ...

FOL.[3b?]

1. ...] X grhe X] ...
2. ...]Xman-iti] ...
3. ...] bhūta-pūrvva] ...
4. ...] tatra pā X] ...

TRANSLATION

FRAGMENT 1 [FOL. 3a?]

1. ...
2. ... [Story entitled] **Elephant**. Look! Bhagavān ... the parents ...
3. [Story] entitled **Brahmadatta**. Neighbouring ...
4. [Story] by the title ... How [he] freed himself from fear ...
5. In detail. Monks ... jug with oil ...

[FOL. 3b?]

1. to free from all misfortunes. Bhagavān ...
2. in the section "Free from fire"^[1]. Having the goal ...
3. [Bhagavān] said: "fire of rage, fire of errors ...
4. cleansing, monks". Bhagavān ...
5. [Bhagavān] said: "Monks! ...

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] Cf. the Chinese translations of the *Vinaya* of Mahiśāsaka, *Tripiṭaka Taisho*, No. 1421, p. 109b: "What is training in the instructions and rules? It consists of telling monks: 'All is aflame. What is everything that is aflame? The eyes are aflame, the forms are aflame, that which is perceived with vision is aflame, vision itself, the thought that gives rise to vision, is also aflame. Why do they burn? They were set alight by the fire of desire, they were set alight with the fire of delusion, set alight by the fire of hatred ...' etc., about all the sensory organs and forms of polluting consciousness, and as a result of this the pupil develops a disgust for everything, and he can say: 'My task has been completed, my behaviour has become pure, I will not receive a new birth'". See A. Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha*, vol. I, p. 319. The same is found in the Pāli Canon.

FOL. [4a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. X X X bhagavān-āha bhikṣavo etarahi] ... [sa]-
2. mayena jītārī-nāma saṃmyaksambuddho lok[e] utpanna X X X X X] ...
3. daṃ pīya ko nāga-rājā śraddhaḥ ati prasannaḥ punaḥ punaḥ jītārī samyaksambuddho paryu-
4. pāsate yāva parinirvṛtaḥ rājñāsu pāpa-pavaḥ pratiṣṭhāpitā sa ca nāgas-tatra-āga-
5. taḥ ahi-ku X X X X lakṣitaḥ X X X X X taṃ yāva bhayaṃ jāt[ī]aṃ X X X X X X X X

TRANSLATION

1. ... Bhagavān said: “Monks! At that very time ^[12])
2. an entirely enlightened [one] by the name of Jitārin ^[3] was born in the world
3. having drunk, the ruler of the *nāgas*, full of faith and righteous beyond measure, again and again revered the entirely enlightened Jitārin.
4. How [he] attained [thanks to this] *nirvāṇa*. A cleansing from sins was held among the rulers, and that *nāga* arrived there.
5. ^[4]

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] *etarahi* (Skt. *etarhi*) — “at that very time” — the form is attested in Buddhist texts, see *BHSD*, p. 155.

^[2] The Buddha's proper name — Jitārin — was not found in other texts.

^[3] The isolated words preserved in line 5 are left untranslated because of insufficient context. The story remains unidentified.

FOL. [4b]

TRANSLITERATION

1. X X *sa rājā* X X *dhananāmā* X X X X X X *va rājñā brāhmaṇo dhanena*] ...
2. *latīti tato moc[i]taḥ punar-brāhmaṇasya*] *pratisāro jāta iti yāva mahasamudra-gataḥ*
3. *nāga-aṣita eva brāhmaṇasya aśani-varṣam-utsrṣtam bhītena mo-cāpeya-kasyeti tena*
4. *mocitaḥ iti || dhrtarāṣtro haṁso yathā ti naye || durgād-uddharaṇam* *vistareṇa yadā bhagavatā*
5. *mahāprajāpatī nandaśca pravrajitā* X X X X X X] ...

TRANSLATION

1. ... the *brāhmaṇ* [was given] wealth by the ruler ...
2. thus it is known. Thanks to this, he received freedom [from attachments]. He was born again as a *brāhmaṇ* ^[5]. [Tell] how [he] set out [to sail] upon the ocean,
3. [he] came to the *nāgas*. How the *brāhmaṇ* survived the storm ^[6], [getting by with only] a fright, [tell] about a certain tree sap unfit for drinking; [how the *brāhmaṇ*]
4. [still managed to] survive. About how **Dhrtarāṣtra was the leader of the haṁsa birds** ^[7]. A detailed story about the prevention of an evil matter. When from the Bhagavān
5. Mahāprajāpatī and Nanda received the initiation of the *pravrajyā* ...

C o m m e n t a r y

^[5] *brāhmaṇasya pratisāra* — lit. “return back in the guise of a *brāhmaṇ*”.

^[6] *aśani-varṣa* - - lit. “thunder and rain”.

^[7] The reference is to one of the early incarnations of the Buddha, about which there is also a Pāli *jātaka* (*Nacca-jātaka*, No. 32) and a Sanskrit *jātaka* (*Haṁsajātaka*, in *Jātaka-Māla*, pp. 127—42). This plot is also known through other texts, see *BHSD*, p. 286.

The text of the *jātaka* is not given in the manuscript. After its title, there immediately follows the title of another *jātaka* — “On preventing an evil thing”. See the following folio.

FOL. [5a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. ...] *bhaga[vān-ā]ha, na bhikṣava etarahiṃ bhūtapūrvā vānara bhūtena mahatā[d]-urgād-uddhṛta*
2. ...] *rājño brahmadattasya hastayo dagdhā markāṭa-vasāyāmar-the markāṭa-yūtham-upad[ru]taṃ*

3. ...*bodhi*]*satvo vānara-bhūto mātā ca vṛddhā acakṣu-kacchāva-*
*ko*² *cāsyā bālo tayā-bhayā*³ *ākkrā-*
4. [*nta*]...[*yū*]*tha-patinā śrutaṃ tena te uttāritā-mocitā || vālāpa iti*
vistareṇa yathā vi-
5. ...] *sam* [*ji X rājagrhe dvā śreṣṭhine*⁴ *vivadite annyamanye*
*aticchin*⁵ *-ṛtaḥ tatra tehi bhagavām*

TRANSLATION

1. ... Bhagavān said: “No, monks! At precisely that time in a previous incarnation, when [the *bodhisattva*] was a monkey, an evil thing was prevented by [that] great being^[8]
2. ... The elephants of the *rājā* of Brahmadatta received burns. In order [to get] the monkey brain [to treat the burns], a group of monkeys was ambushed.
3. ... The *bodhisattva* was [at that time] a monkey, and [he had] a mother, old [and] blind [as] a turtle. And her son, fearing for her, came
4. [running] ... [and this news from him] was heard by the leader of the group. Thanks to this, those [monkeys] avoided the danger [and] were saved. [Story] by the title *Vālāpa*^[9].
5. ... in *Rājagriha*, two leaders of the merchants quarreled. One was a guest of the other. Then Bhagavān by them

Commentary

^[8] The reference is to the Sanskrit version of *jātaka* No. 404 (*Kapi-jātaka*), which tells how a monkey soiled a priest of the *rājā* and the latter decided to take vengeance on all monkeys who lived in the ruler's garden. At precisely that moment, the ruler's elephant stable caught fire because of the negligence of a servant-girl and the elephants received serious burns. The priest proscribed a treatment of monkey brains. According to the Pāli version, the leader of the monkeys began speaking with the *rājā* and explained to him that not all of the monkeys were guilty, but only one of them. In this fashion, he saved the group. The leader's old mother is not mentioned in the Pāli version. Evidently, the compiler of the collection brought together two *jātakas*. *Jātaka* No. 222 (*Cūla-nandiya-jātaka*) tells of how the *bodhisattva*-monkey sacrificed himself to save his old, blind mother.

^[9] *Vālāpa* — female proper name. We were unable to find it in other texts in the given phonetic form.

FOL. 5b

TRANSLITERATION

1. ...] *pata* X X *rājā* ... *sākṣīti* te X X X *vā sākṣī-vyapa*[*kr*]-
2. *ṣṭaḥ rājā* [*ajāta*]*śatru-Bhagavāntaṃ prcchati yāva bhagavatā*
tāva dharmodeśitaḥ tena bhāvi
3. *mukte* ... *bhayaṃ grhasya dīnnaṃ te ca tenaiva saṃdeśena*
pravrajitvā-arhatvaṃ prāptaṃ pūrva-
4. *yogaṃ evameva ṛṣi-bhūtena mocitvā pravrajitā pañca-abhi-*
jñā sākṣī kṛtā || paṃpha *ya-*
5. *dā bhagavatā trayāḥ kula-putrā vinītā ajñātakonḍi*[*n*]*vaḥ*
bimbisāraḥ śakraśca ekame-
6. [*ka*] *aśīti sahasra parivāraḥ avadānaṃ vistareṇa, pūrvavayogaṃ*
sīnha bhūtena

TRANSLATION

1. ...[Story] entitled *Ego*. After rejecting self-consciousness,
2. the *rājā* [*Ajāta*]*śatru* asked the Bhagavān [for instruction]. How he was instructed by the Bhagavān in following the *Dharma*. Thanks to this, in the future
3. [together with the *ṛṣi* he] left the circle of rebirths ... The house was given up, and thanks to [following] this instruction they received the initiation of the *pravrajyā*. A state of *arhat* was achieved [by them]. In a previous incarnation, they were thus *ṛṣī*, [and], having received liberation [from worldly attachments], they accepted the ritual of *pravrajyā* and fully realized the five knowledges beyond bounds. [Story] about **Paṃpha**^[10].

² Instead of *kacchapakā*?

³ Instead of *bhayāt*.

⁴ Instead of *śreṣṭhīni*?

⁵ Instead of *atithin*.

5. How three youths of noble lineage — Ajñātakauṇḍinya, Bimbisāra and Śakra ^[11] — were converted by the Bhagavān one after the other

6. together with a retinue of eighty-thousand, [tell] the *avadāna* in detail. In a previous incarnation, when Ajakara ^[12] was

Commentary

^[10] The proper name Paṇṇha does not occur in other texts.

^[11] The “conversion of the three youths of noble lineage” is not mentioned in the Buddhist Canon. One of those enumerated — Ajñātakauṇḍinya — is the first of the five pupils of the Buddha converted in Benares. There is reason to believe that the compiler of the collection has this episode in mind. On the conversion of the Buddha's first five pupils — Kauṇḍinya (after his conversion he received the name Ajñātakauṇḍinya), Bhadrīka, Vāṣpa, Āśvajit, Mahānāman, see Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha*, pp. 183—9. The same tradition is found in the *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 328—9. See also in the *Lalitavistara*.

^[12] Proper name, see on the following folio.

Notes

1. See *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/2 (1999), pp. 27—36; V/3 (1999), pp. 27—35; V/4 (1999), pp. 7—19; VI/1 (2000), pp. 15—8; VI/2 (2000), pp. 10—9.
2. Arīa Shura, *Girlianda Dzhatka ili Skazaniia o Podvigakh Bodhisattvy* (The Garland of *Jātakas* or Tales of the Heroic Exploits of the Bodhisattva), trans. from the Sanskrit by A. P. Barranikov and O. F. Volkova (Moscow, 1962). See Introduction by O. F. Volkova, p. 9.
3. *The Jātaka-Māla or Bodhisattvāvadāna-Māla by Ārya-śūra*, ed. H. Kern (Boston, 1891), pp. 127—42.
4. *Mahāvīyūtpatti*, ed. Sakaku, Nos. 1266—1278.
5. *Avadāna-cātaka*, ed. J. S. Speyer (Hague, 1958), Preface, p. II.
6. *Annals du Musée Guimet*, XIII (1888), p. XII.
7. *The Divyāvadāna, a Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*, ed. E. B. Cowell, R. H. Neil (Cambridge, 1886).
8. *The Apadāna of the Khuddaka Nikāya*, pts. I—II (London, 1925—1927). — Pāli Text Society, vols. 75, 77.
9. V. Fausboll, *The Jātaka Together with its Commentary Being Tales of the Anterior Births of Gotam Buddha*. Pāli text with trans. by T. W. Rhys Davids, in 6 vols. (Lodon, 1877—1897).
10. *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripitaka Chinois*, tr. par Éd. Chavannes, in 4 vols. (Paris, 1910—1912).
11. *Tibetan Tales derived from Indian Sources*, trans. from Tibetan of the Kah-gyur by Anton von Schiefner (London, 1906).
12. *Tripitaka Taisho*, No. 1421, p. 109b(1)—c(1).
13. *Ibid.*, No. 1428, p. 797a(1)—b(1).
14. A. Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha* (Paris, 1963), i, pp. 318—9.

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, fragment 1, fol. [3a?], 7.0 × 4.5 cm; fragment 2, the same folio, 3.5 × 2.5 cm.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fragment 1, fol. [3b?], fragment 2, the same folio.

Fig. 3. The same manuscript, fol. [4a], 18.0 × 4.5 cm.

Fig. 4. The same manuscript, fol. [4b].

Fig. 5. The same manuscript, fol. [5a], 16.5 × 4.5 cm.

Fig. 6. The same manuscript, fol. 5b, 18.5 × 5.0 cm.