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Front cover:

"The Holy Family with Attendants", *Muraqqa* (E14) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Lucknow school, mid-18th century, fragment of folio 91 a, 10.0×13.3 cm. Watercolour, gouache.

Back cover:

"The Madonna Praying before the Crusifix" (top left), "The Madonna of St.Luke" (top right) and "Ibrāhīm ibn Adham and Angels" (bottom), *Muraqqa* (E14) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, attributed to Manohar Dās, Mughāl school, *ca*. 1590—1595, folio 53 a. Sizes: 6.0×7.2 cm, 2.8×5.8 cm, 14.8×19.5 cm. Watercolour, ink and gold on paper.

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A FRAGMENT OF THE *PRĀTIMOKṢA-SŪTRA* FROM THE P. I. LAVROV COLLECTION AT THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES*

The study of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* in Russia and Europe began with the Pāli version, evidently recorded in Ceylon in the first century B.C. The Pāli *Pātimokha-sutta* belongs to the Theravāda school of the Hīnayāna, the southern branch of Buddhism. This text was first introduced into scholarly circulation by the Russian scholar I. P. Minaev in 1869 [1]; an English translation appeared in 1881 [2]. Scholars gained access to the Sanskrit text later, and its study began only in 1912—1913, when L. Finot published the text preserved in a manuscript from P. Pelliot's collection [3].

Despite the long tradition of studying the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, many questions regarding its terminology remain unclear to scholars. Moreover, the Sanskrit text of the *sūtra* recorded in the earliest known manuscripts during the first half of the first millennium A.D. has survived only in fragments discovered in the late nineteenth — early twentieth century in Eastern Turkestan. For this reason, the introduction of each new fragment of the *sūtra* into scholarly circulation fills *lacunae* in its text, confirms readings of already published fragments, and adds to our understanding.

The story of the Prātimoksa-sūtra's composition has been the subject of numerous works [4]. Scholarship is familiar with texts and fragments of the sūtra accepted by various Buddhist schools: Sarvāstivādin, Mūlasarvāstivādin, Mahāsānghika-Lokottaravādin. The earliest manuscripts preserve the texts of the Sarvāstivādins. As was noted above, they were first published by L. Finot. He published fragments of 24 folios from a manuscript from P. Pelliot's collection discovered by the latter in the oasis of Kucha (in the ruins of Duldur-Akur). When the German Turfan collection was being described, numerous fragments of the Sarvāstivādin version were also identified. Many of them were included in Valentina Rosen's book as notes beneath the line [5]. The remaining fragments, together with fragments from the English and French collections, were published by Georg von Simson [6], whose work was not completed and continues to the present day. Fragments from the collections of M. M. Berezovsky and N. N. Krotkov from Kucha, held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, were published by G. M. Bongard-Levin and M. I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya [7]. In publishing a newly discovered fragment from the P. I. Lavrov collection [8], we have tried to correlate its text with the *Prāti-mokṣa-sūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins. Despite a large number of *lacunae* and variant readings in our text, it mainly follows the version of the Sarvāstivādins; there is much, however, that binds it to the version of the Mahāsānghikas. The criterion for a final conclusion was the absence in our text of the examples which serve in the Mahāsānghika version to buttress various rules in the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*. The similarity of many grammatical forms and *sāngha* rules in our text to forms in the Mahāsānghika text suggests that the written fixation of both texts took place at the same time, probably in India, in monasteries located close to one another.

In order to confirm our thesis, we identified readings at variance both with the Sarvāstivādin version and with the Mahāsānghika version.

The Mahāsānghika version is known to scholars thanks to a single manuscript on palm leaves held in the Tibetan monastery of Salu near Shigajie [9]. It was discovered in 1934 by Rahula Sankrityyana, who made a copy and brought it to India. The writing in the manuscript was identified as close to eleventh-century *pala* writing. G. Roth refers to it as proto-maithili [10]. The text of the manuscript was published in devanāgarī by W. Pachow and R. Mishra [11]. The text was studied and translated into English by Ch. Prebish [12]. Since his edition also includes an English translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādin version from a Gilgit manuscript of the fifth - sixth centuries written in Indian Gupta on birch-bark, we were able to juxtapose our text with the Gilgit manuscripts as well. Their Sanskrit text, also in print devanāgarī, was published by A. Ch. Banerjee [13]. But a comparison showed that the Mūlasarvāstivādin version is much shorter and differs significantly from our text.

We now turn to our fragment (call number SI L9). It is written on paper, and consists of a single folio of *pothī*, 18.0×7.0 cm, with 8 lines of text on each side. The right and left edges are slightly damaged; there is a *lacuna* in the upper right section that encompasses 5 lines and widens toward the centre. There is another small *lacuna* in the left part. The text has been heavily abrased in places. The pagination has been preserved: folio No. 2. The writing is

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Indian $br\bar{a}hm\bar{i}$ of the Gupta type, probably fifth — sixth century A.D.

The fragment has preserved the $p\bar{a}r\bar{a}jika$ section, which lists 4 transgressions, and a part of the samghāvašeşa section, which lists 2. The distinguishing characteristic of this fragment is the title of the second section, which has not been attested in a single text. Until now, two variants of this title were encountered in texts: samghāvašeşa (the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin versions) and samghātišeşa or samghādišeşa (the Mahāsānghika version) Our text preserves the title samghādidešyah (verso, line 7).

At present, scholars are not of a single mind on the translation of the section titles in the $Pr\bar{a}timoksa-s\bar{u}tra$, although the content of the sections themselves is clear thanks to commentaries. The $p\bar{a}r\bar{a}jika$ section [14] lists 4 transgressions which cause a monk to be expelled from the community. The samghāvašeşa section [15], 13 transgressions

sions for which a monk is expelled from the community for a certain time, depending on the severity of his misdeed, after which he has the right to return. Scholars note that this is the only section in the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* which provides at the end the duration of the monk's expulsion [16]. In comparing the attested terms — samghāvaseṣa, samghātišeṣa — one can conclude that the second part contains a form derived from the root śeş ("to remain") with the prefixes -ava= or -ati=. The term samghādidesyah derives from a different root: $dis + \bar{a}$, which here can mean "indicate, place in view" or "expel". The form -didesyahitself can be read as the part. fut. passivi of the perfective root.

We provide below a transliteration of the fragment, an English translation, and readings at variance with the published texts of the Sarvāstivādin and Mahāsānghika versions [17].

FOL. 2 r.

TRANSLITERATION

- X anva[r]ddha[mā]sa[m] pr[ā]t[imo]kş[e]¹ [āga]ccha[n]t[i]. yaņ puna[r]-bhikşu bhikşubhiņ sārddha[m]² [śi]kşā s[ā]m[ī]c[isamā]pannaņ [śi]kşam-apratyākhy[ā]y[a]XX³
- dorbalyamanāvişkrtvā⁴ abrahmācaryam kkryyāt⁵-maithunam dharmam pratisevetanta[tah]⁶ tiryag[y]o XX tayā[m] pi sārddhamayam bhikşuh pār[ā]-
- jiko bhavatyasamvāsa XXX [bh]iksu grāmād-vāranyād-vā hyadattam stenyasamkhyāta ā XXX⁷ yathā rūpeņādattādānena XX
- 4. rāja mahāmātro vā grhye XX badhnīyād pravāhayet⁸ hambho puruşa⁹ coro si ba XXXX si stenyo sī[ti]¹⁰ X rū[pam] bhikşu X
- dattam-ādadyāt-ayam-api bhikşu [pā]r[ā]jiko bhavatya samvāX[ya]h punar-bhikşur-manuşyam¹¹ XXXXXXX jivi[ta]dvyaparo X
- yecchastramhāram vāsya paryeXta marana-varnam vāsyānusamvarnayet maranāya vainam samādapā XXX-mbho puruşa ki[m] X vānena pā X
- 7. ke X-rjivitena mrtante bho puruşa jīvitād-varam iti cittānugatam citta[m] samkalpitam-aneka parvāvena XXXXXX
- XXXXXXX vaina samā[da]payet XX te[no]pakrameņa kālam XXXX mapi bhi[kşuh] pārājiko bha XXXXXX

TRANSLATION

- 1. [four transgressions of the *pārājika dharmā* in the *Prātimokṣa*[*sūtra*] follow [below for reading every] half month. That monk [who] together [with other] monks has received instruction in the doctrine [and] practice [of it, and]
- 2. has demonstrated weakness, has violated chastity, had intercourse, even if it were only with an animal, that monk is *pārājika*,
- 3. [subject to] expulsion ... [If] a *bhiksu* has [taken] from a village or the forest [a thing] not given [to him], be longing to another, in such fashion that because of this appropriation of an ungiven [thing]
- 4. the rājā or [his] prime minister has seized [the bhikşu], may he ... be put into prison or expelled, saying at this time: "O you, person, [you are] a thief ...", [if] the bhikşu in such fashion ...
- 5. has taken that which was not given [to him], this very bhikşu is pārājika, subject to expulsion ... And also, [if] the bhikşu ... has taken the life of a man
- 6. or found a knife for him or incited him to die, describing his nature, [saying]: "O man, how is this sinful
- 7. life better than death, o man, it is better to die". [If the monk] consciously, intentionally by various means
- incites [a man to die or if] expressly because of this [the person] should die, [that] very bhikşu is pārājika, [subject to expulsion].

Variant readings

¹ We reconstructed the reading *prātimokse*, Loc. sg., on the basis of the fact that between this word and *āgacchanti* the *lacuna* seems to lack space for inserting the text of the *sūtoddeśam* as in the Sarvāstivādins (see Finot, p. 476) or Mahāsānghikas text: *sūtre prātimokse uddeśam* (Pachow, p. 5).

² In the Sarvāstivādin text: *bhikṣur bhikṣubhir sārddham* (Rosen, p. 51); in the Mahāsānghika: *bhikṣu bhikṣunā* (Pachow, p. 5).

³ The word *śiksā* is repeated in the Sarvāstivādins text after *°apratyākhyāya* (Rosen, p. 51).

⁴ Our text here follows the text of the Mahāsānghikas; the Sarvāstivādins have: daurbalyam tv anāviskrtvā (Rosen, p. 51).

⁵ The words *abrahmācaryam kkryyāt* are absent in the Sarvāstivādins, Mūlasarvāstivādins, and Mahāsānghikas texts. This is surprising, as the first *pārājika* transgression is called *abrahmācaryam* in the commentaries.

⁶ The Sarvāstivādins have the same, the Mahāsānghikas: pratiseveya antamasato (Pachow, p. 5).

⁷ The Sarvāstivādins have ādadvād (Rosen, p. 53), the Mahāsānghikas stainyasamskāramādiyeya (Pachow, p. 6).

⁸ The Sarvāstivādins have pravāsaved (Rosen, p. 53), the Mahāsānghikas pravrajem (Pachow, p. 6); cf. Finot — pra[vrajaved], p. 477.

⁹ The manuscript follows the text of the Mahāsānghikas, the Sarvāstivādins have evam vainam vadet (Rosen, p. 53).

¹⁰ The Sarvāstivādins have stevo sīty (Rosen, p. 53), the Mahāsānghikas stainyosīti (Pachow, p. 6).

¹¹ The text of the third transgression in the main follows the Sarvāstivādins version published by Rosen, pp. 53—4, but contains a number of minor variant readings. Significant *lacunae* and damage make it impossible to reconstruct it fully, but it is evident that it is shorter than Rosen's text and probably closer to the Mūlasarvāstivādins version (Pachow, p. 51—2).

FOL. 2 v

TRANSLITERATION

- 1. (The line is unreadable; only the lower parts of the aksaras have remained).
- XXXXX v[ā]samanugrāhya¹² XXXnna visuddhi preksī evam vadet ajānahvetavāvusmantah avocam jānahy XXX
- XXsyami tuccha mrşam vilāpadanyatrādhimānād-ayamapi bhikşuh pārājiko bhavatyasamvā X 4. uddi[st]āh yāvadatas ¹³-catvāra[h] X
- 4. Xjikā dharmā yeşām bhikşuranyatamānyatamam dharmam-āpanno na labhate bhikşubhih sārddham samvā[sam] yathā pūrve tath[ā] XX pārājiko bhavatya XX
- sah aham-ayuşmantam prechāmi kaścid-atra pariśuddhah dvir-api trrapi prechā[mi] XXX pariśuddhah pariśuddhah ā-
- [yu]şmanto y[a]smāntuşnīm-e[va]me[tam] [dhā]rayata¹⁴ || ime punarvadantas-trayodašah sa XXXXXanvarddhamāsam prātimoXXXX
- śam-āgacchanti. samcetya¹⁵ śukravisrşţir-anyatra¹⁶ svapnāntarātsamghādideśyah¹⁷ 1. ya[h] [punar-bhi]kşur-edirnyaviparinatena¹⁸ cittena XX
- grāmena sārddham kāya-samsargam samāpa[dy]eta. hastagrahaņam vā. veņigra[ha]ņam vānyata XX tamasya vāngajātasyā vā¹⁹ mrśaXX

TRANSLATION

1. (...)

- 2. ...or, without being asked, [that] unfortunate [bhikșu], wishing to cleanse himself, says thus: "O noble ones, not knowing about this, I said [that] I know
- 3. ...[did not see] ... [spoke] a lie, empty words out of pride. This *bhikṣu* is *pārājika*, [subject to] expulsion. 4. In sum: the following four
- 4. *pārājika-dharmā*: whichever *bhikşu* should violate one of these *dharmā*s, he does not receive [the right] to live together with other *bhikşus*, at all times (literally: "both before and after"), he is *pārājika*, [subject to
- 5. expulsion]. I ask the noble ones, who is pure in this [matter]? A second [time] also, a third [time] I also ask. Pure, pure
- are the noble ones. For this silence is maintained [by them]. Now here are given 13 sam[ghādideśyah dharmāh] which [are part of the readings] of the Prātimokşa-sūtra [for each] half of the month.
- They are given [here]. The conscious ejaculation of semen at any time other than during sleep, this is samphādideśyah.
 Again, if a bhikşu, seized by passion, his consciousness undermined,
- 8. should enter into corporal contact with a woman, take [her] by the hand or touch [her] hair, or [should touch] any other of her members in deceipt ...

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Variant readings

¹² The text of the fourth transgression, despite a line-length lacuna, is clearly different than the Sarvāstivādins version published by Rosen (p. 57) and Simson (p. 211, manuscript DCb). It appears to be shorter. Instead of the forms samanuyu*ivamāno vā asamanuvujvamāno* ("being asked or not asked"), our text probably had [samanugrāhvamāno] vāsamanugrahya[māno] as in the Mahāsānghikas text (Pachow, p. 7). The text goes on to follow the Mahāsānghikas version with a few variants: vā āpanno višuddhiprokso evamvaci, ajānannevāhamāvusmanto avaci jānāmi, avam pi pašvāmīti iti tuccham mrsāvilāpamanyatrābhimānāt. ayam pi bhiksuh pārājiko bhavatyasamvāsvo....

¹³ Finot's text has mayāyusmantaś= (p. 478), the Mahāsānghikas kho punarāyusmanto (Pachow, p. 7). Lacunae in the texts published by Rosen and Simson make it difficult to reach a final conclusion on the variant readings in our text. On the basis of various extant words one can assume that both versions — of the Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsānghika — are not significantly at variance with each other or with our text.

¹⁴ In Finot's (p. 479) and Pachow's (p. 7) texts — *dhārayāmi*.

¹⁵ In Finot (p. 479) samcintya, in Pachow (p. 8) — samcetanikā.

¹⁶ In Finot (p. 479) *śukravisargonyatra*, in Pachow (p. 8) — *śukrasya viśrstīve anvatra*.

¹⁷ Finot, Simson — samphāvašeṣaḥ, Pachow — samphatišeṣo. This is evidently the future participle of the perfect root $dis + \bar{a} - \bar{a}didesyah$ — and should mean "will be expelled" or "[he] will be placed in view". See above.

¹⁸ It seems that our text contains a slip of the pen or an error. Cf. Finot, Simson — udīrnaviparinatena; Pachow otīņņā viparinatena.

¹⁹ The text of the manuscript follows the Finot's and Simson's texts in full. The particle $v\bar{a}$ is encircled by dots, which indicates that the copyist crossed it out.

Notes

1. I. P. Minaev, Pratimoksha-sūtra. Buddižskii sluzhebnik (Prātimoksa-sūtra. Buddhist Services Book) (St. Petersburg, 1869).

2. Pātimokha, trans. and ed. by F. Max Mu/ller (Oxford, 1881), pp. 1-69. - The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 13.

3. Prātimoksasūtra des Sarvāstivādins. Texte sanskrit. Par M. Louis Finot, avec la version chinoise de Kumārajīva, traduite en francais par M. Edouard Huber, JA (novembre-décembre, 1913), pp. 465-547.

4. We note one of the early ones - W. Pachow, "A comparative study of the Prātimoksa", Sino-Indian Studies, IV/1-4, V/1 (1951—1955).

5. V. Rosen, Der Vinayavibhanga zum Bhiksuprātimoksa der Sarvāstivādins (Berlin, 1959).

6. G. von Simson, Prätimoksasütra der Sarvästivädins, Teil 1: Wiedergabe bisher nicht publizierter Handschriften in Transkription (Go/ttingen, 1986). - Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, XI.

7. Pamiatniki indiiskoi pis'mennosti iz Tsentral'noi Azii (Texts in Indian Writing from Central Asia). Fasc. 2: Publication, study, translation, and commentary by G. M. Bongard-Levin and M. I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya (Moscow, 1990), pp. 185-206.

8. On the inclusion of this part of the P. I. Lavrov collection in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, see E. Tyomkin, "Unique Sanskrit fragments of the Sūtra of Golden Light' in the manuscript collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences)", Manuscripta Orientalia, 1/1 (1995), p. 29.

9. The fate of the manuscript after the political changes that occurred in Tibet after its annexation by China is unknown.

10. G. Roth, "Bhiksunīvinaya and Bhiksu-Prātimoksa and notes on the language", Journal of the Bihar Research Society, LII/1-4 (1966), p. 30.

11. The Prātimoksasūtra of the Mahāsānghikas, trans. by W. Pachow and R. Mishra (Allahabad, 1956).

12. Ch. S. Prebish, Buddhist Monastic Discipline: The Sanskrit Prātimoksa Sūtras of the Mahāsāmghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins (New York-London, 1975).

13. Prātimoksa-sūtram (Mūlasarvāstivāda), ed. by A. Ch. Banerjee (Calcutta, 1954).

14. On various interpretations of this title, see S. Le;vi, "Sur une langue pre; canonique du Bouddhism", JA, 10ème serie, XX (novembre-de;cembre 1912), pp. 505-6. G. Roth, "Terminologisches aus dem Vinaya der Mahāsāmghika-Lokottaravādins", ZDMG, 118 (1969), pp. 341-3.

15. On this term, see Le;vi, op. cit., pp. 503-4; Roth, op. cit., pp. 343-5.

16. Prebish, op. cit., p. 12.

17. The following abbreviations are used: Finot — text of the manuscript from the P. Pelliot collection, published in 1912 by L. Finot (see n. 3); Pachow — text of the Mahāsānghikas version, published by Pachow and Mishra (see n. 11); Prebish — study and English translation of the Mahāsānghika version (see n. 12); Rosen — Sanskrit text of the Sarvāstivādin version, published by V. Rosen (see n. 5).

Illustrations

Fig. 1. A fragment of the Prātimoksa-sūtra (call number SI L9), the P. I. Lavrov collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 2r, 8.0×19.4 cm.

Fig. 2. The same fragment, fol. 2v, 8.0×19.4 cm.