ACTA ASIATICA VARSOVIENSIA

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Warsaw 2024
ISSN 0860-6102
eISSN 2449-8653

Contents

The "Fearless Mountain" That (Almost) Disappeared: Looking for the History of the Abhayagiri-vihāra in Sri Lanka

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Abstract: This article traces the history of the Abhayagiri-vihāra in Sri Lanka through the available sources. It attempts to reconstruct parts of the "lost" history of the Mahāvihāra's rival monastery in the *vaṃsa* literature of the latter, but also reexamines the Chinese sources about the two main monasteries of the island and the traces of Tantric Buddhism from the Abhayagiri-vihāra in order to sketch a more multifaceted history of the monastery and its rivalry with the Mahāvihāra than has been undertaken to date with an overreliance on the Pāli sources.

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Introduction

It is well known how important the role of Sri Lankan Buddhism and its sources has been in the Western discovery of Buddhism and its study. It was the Pāli literature of the Theravādin, first in the form of the Buddhist chronicles, the *vaṃsa*s, and then the corpus of the so-called Pāli-canon, which satisfied the Western taste and appetite for historicity and authenticity, which the sources of the so-called "Northern School" written in Sanskrit and translated into "secondary" languages like Chinese and Tibetan could not provide.[1] As Buddhist Studies scholars know now very well – or, at least, should know – the resulting picture of Buddhist history on the island is partly a constructed one and was projected by scholars exclusively engaged in editing and working on the Pāli canon, like Thomas Rhys Davids, Hermann Oldenberg, and others, but also by Śrī Laṅkān national-Buddhist historians.[2]

However, the history of Buddhism on the island was much more complex than the uniformity of Theravāda and its text corpus implies. Art history and even the sources of Theravāda itself, like the already mentioned *vaṃsa*s, draw a more differentiated picture of the island's Buddhist past. While the modern Theravāda tradition goes back to a royal intervention of king Parākramabāhu I (1153–1186) – who made the Mahāvihāra the dominant Buddhist denomination on the island and thereby solidified the "orthodoxy" of the Vibhajjavāda tradition of Theravāda[3] – historically there were more than one competing monastic centres of Buddhism before that period, particularly during the so-called Anurādhapura period (377 BCE–1017 CE).[4]

The Theravāda chronicles, the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the slightly older *Dīpavaṃsa*, less consistent in terms of form and content, both report the foundation of three major monastic institutions on the island, the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanavihāra. Of the latter two which were abolished as independent monastic institutions and integrated into the Mahāvihāra tradition by the

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[1] On the early reception history of the *Mahāvaṃsa* see Walters and Colley (2006). It may be noted that this focus on the *vaṃsa* tradition also led to ignoring traces of early Tamil Buddhism (for which see Schalk and Vellupillai 2002).

[2] Walters (1999: 323) points out: "Not surprisingly, in colonial and postcolonial historiography, the entire history of Anurādhapura has been narrated as a virtual paraphrase of the extant vaṃsa texts." See also Walters (2000). This "tradition" often is rolled forward by modern scholars, as for instance in Trainor, who, although he deals with the period before the dominance of the Mahāvihāra, only briefly mentions the existence of the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana (Trainor 1997: 75–76).

[3] On Vibhajjavāda see Cousins (2001). On the reform period and its impact on the production of Pāli literature see Gornall (2020).

[4] For a discussion of the concept of Theravāda see Bretfeld (2012: 288–290).

"reform" of Parākramabāhu I,[5] it is the Abhayagirivihāra which, at times, was the most prominent and dominant monastic institution on the island. From references in Buddhist sources we know that the Abhayagirivihāra possessed its own scriptures, although there is some discussion and disagreement as to how much this literature differed from the Mahāvihāra tradition, i.e., the text corpus preserved in Pāli. There is also no agreement whether the Abhayagirivihāra is, as the Pāli sources want us to believe, in the strict sense a schismatic group of the Theravādin[6] or represents a more diverse and independent Buddhist tradition separate from the Vibhajjavāda of the Mahāvihāra (DEEG 2012: 149–150). Beyond these differences, it is *communis opinio* that the Abhayagirivihāra was more open to different "trends" and practices like Mahāyāna and esoteric Buddhism (Vajra- or Mantrayāna) that developed in the Buddhist *oikoumene* over time.

There seems to be some confusion, or at least, no final agreement as to which "sect" or school the Abhayagirivihāra belonged.[7] The majority of scholars are convinced that the monastery was – like its smaller sibling, the Jetavanavihāra – a branch of the Theravāda, following the narrative of the historiographical sources of a schismatic split from the Mahāvihāra, but there are also hints that the monastery – at least temporarily and partly – may have accepted or supported different *nikāya* or ordination branches (see below).

Linked to the problem of sectarian affiliation is the question of whether and how the Abhayagirivihāra's "canon", or rather its text corpus, was different from the Mahāvihāra. Some "candidates" have been identified as works possibly belonging to the monastery's literature,[8] but even if their Abhayagirivihāra-identity is acknowledged they only give a very restricted glimpse into the literary activities of the monastery. Since there are otherwise only indirect references to such texts in non-Abhayagiri sources, it is difficult to fully answer questions about their extent and content, but it seems very likely that the "canon"[9] of the

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[5] Much has been written about the personality and achievements of Parākramabāhu, mostly from the Mahāvihāra standpoint reflected in the *Cūḷavaṃsa*: see, for example, PATHMANATHAN (1976).

[6] Already stated by BAREAU (1955: 241), and, for instance, maintained by CHANDAWIMALA (2016: 5, and implied elsewhere).

[7] See, for example, GOMBRICH and OBEYESEKERE (1988: 302), who obviously quote a statement of the liberal Śrī Laṅkan monk Balangoda Ānanda Maitreya made in the context of the debate about the re-establishment of the nun ordination in Theravāda Buddhism: "The ordination tradition of the Abhayagiri monastery of Anuradhapura has been preserved in China after the Abhayagiri monks were expelled by the Mahāvihāra; they are Sarvāstivādin."

[8] See, for example, NORMAN (1991), SKILLING (1993a and 1993b), CROSBY (1999); for a discussion of Chinese translations of texts ascribed to the Mahāvihāra see HEIRMAN (2004).

[9] In a strict sense, the assumed openness of the Abhayagirivihāra corpus of scriptures would not qualify it as a canon if the latter is defined as a closed corpus of texts – in the sense of "nothing

Abhayagirivihāra differed from the standard Pāli canon, as known in terms of content and structure – also in the particular respect that it seemed to have been more open to inclusion of a wide variety of texts like, for instance, Mahāyāna scriptures and "esoteric" *dhāraṇī*s or *mantra*s and, maybe, even to the acceptance of different Vinaya texts.

The present article[10] is an attempt to collect and contextualise the information about the Abhayagirivihāra from different sources, the textual ones mostly written in Indic languages or Chinese,[11] and to re-contextualise – trying to read these sources against and with one another as well as possible – some of this material in a way which, although it may not answer all questions arising, hopefully instigates new research about and a revision of the history of Buddhism on the island of Śrī Laṅkā which has been, it seems, dominated and restricted either by its view through a Mahāvihāra lens or by quite unsophisticated generalisations about a post-reform Theravāda Buddhism (or both).

References to the Abhayagirivihāra in Indic Texts and Contexts

The most evident sources for references to the Abhayagirivihāra are the Śrī Laṅkān chronicles, the *Mahāvaṃsa* attributed to Mahānāma[12] (second half of the 5th cent.), and the slightly older and shorter (and also rather disorganised and, in places, inconsistent) *Dīpavaṃsa* (von HINÜBER 1996: 89–90, §184). Both sources come from a Mahāvihāra context, but overall, the *Mahāvaṃsa* has a more prominent and clearcut Mahāvihāra bias. I will discuss the relevant passages at some length since they need and deserve, in my view, a more sophisticated and structural analysis than the usual historicist approach.[13] I will restrict myself

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can be added, nothing can be taken away" (Jan Assmann) – as in the case of the so-called Pāli canon of the Mahāvihārin.

[10] A similar attempt has been undertaken by TILAKARATNE (2020), who, however, obviously lacks the competence to analyse the Chinese original sources.

[11] I have omitted a discussion of the sources presented by PETECH ([1953/54] 1988), since they do not contribute to the discussion of the Abhayagirivihāra.

[12] O. von HINÜBER (1996: 91–92, §§185–188, including the commentary), and on *Cūḷavaṃsa*: von HINÜBER (1996: 92–93, §189).

[13] See, for instance, such a rather uncritical paraphrase of the history of the split between the Abhayagirivihāra and the Mahāvihāra in GOMBRICH (2006: 157–159). An exception is COUSINS (2012) who critically assesses much of the material presented here but whose focus is on reconstructing what can be known about the doctrines of the Abhayagirivihārin and who has a tendency to emphasize the relative unity of Śrī Laṅkān Buddhism across the monastic divides. The scholarly approach to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (and the *Dīpavaṃsa*) has, for a long time, not gone beyond a Manichaean-like hermeneutical "either-or": see FRAUWALLNER (1984: 8): "Die Meinungen schwanken dabei von weitgehender Gläubigkeit bis zur schroffsten Skepsis." ("Regarding [the historical value] the opinions oscillate between far-reaching trustfulness and brusque scepticism."). On a more analytic approach see J. Walters' articles listed under References, and SCHEIBLE (2016).

here to the narrative passages dealing with the split of the Abhayagirivihāra from the Mahāvihāra,[14] but I am fully aware that a full treatment of the matter would have to include all textual (*vaṃsa*) and epigraphical references to the monastery as well.[15]

Most references to the Abhayagirivihāra naturally are found in Pāli sources of the Mahāvihāra textual corpus. The foundation narrative of the monastery in the *Mahāvaṃsa* is recorded as follows (33.78–83):

> 78. The king of great fame [Abhaya] came to Anurādhapura, killed the Ḍamila Dāṭhika and ruled himself. 79. Thereupon, the king destroyed the grove of the *nigaṇṭha* [Giri] and built a monastery at that place with twelve cells. 80. Two hundred seventeen years, ten months 81. and ten days after the foundation of the Mahāvihāra, the revered king established the Abhayagirivihāra. 82. He convened the [two] Elders who had been helpful to [him] in the past[16] and entrusted the monastery to the Elder Mahātissa. 83. Because the king Abhaya had built it in the grove of Giri, the monastery's name became Abhayagiri.[17]

The only direct reference to Abhayagirivihāra in the *Dīpavaṃsa* is a very brief and confused record of this foundation story (19.14–17):

> 14. [A monastery] was constructed at the place where the *nigaṇṭha* called Giri had resided. This is the origin of the name Abhayagiri. … 16. The ruler Abhaya, the son of Sadhātissa, killed the Ḍamila Dāṭhika, and ruled himself. 17. He constructed the Abhayagiri between the Silāthūpa and the Cetiya. The ruler reigned twelve years and five months.[18]

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[14] The "imaginary" character of the Mahāvihāra sources has already been emphasized by COLLINS (1990). For most recent discussion of this issue and the relevant text passages see FRASCH (2023: 212–215).

[15] The "classical" study one should consult in this respect still is GUNAWARDANA (1979). For Sinhalese historiographical records see, for instance, BRETFELD (2001).

[16] The monks Tissa and Mahātissa who, according to Mhv.33.67–77, had helped the king to consolidate his reign by convincing his rebellious ministers to accept the king's rule.

[17] *78. Rājā Anurādhapuraṃ āgantvāna mahāyaso, Dāṭhikaṃ Ḍamilaṃ hantvā sayaṃ rajjaṃ akārayi. 79. Tato Nigaṇṭhārāmaṃ taṃ viddhaṃsetvā mahīpati, vihāraṃ kārayī tattha dvādasapariveṇakaṃ. 80. Mahāvihārapatiṭṭhānā dvīsu vassatesu ca, sattarasasu vassesu dasamāsādhikesu ca, 81. tathā dinesu dasasu atikkantesu sādaro, Abhayagirivihāraṃ so patiṭṭhāpesi bhūpati. 82. Pakkosayitvā te there tesu pubbupakāriṇo, taṃ Mahātissatherassa vihāraṃ mānado adā. 83. Girissa yasmā ārāme rājā kāresi so 'bhayo, tasmābhayagiri tveva vihāro nāmatu ahu.* (GEIGER 1958: 275). Translation is slightly different from GEIGER (1912: 235). Note that the punctuation – particularly the *commata* after a half-stanza or *pada* – of all *vaṃsa* quotations are my insertions since the footnote format does not easily accomodate a verse-conform presentation.

[18] *14. Girināmaniganṭhassa vuṭṭhokāse tahiṃ kato, Abhayagīrīti paññatti vohāro samajāyatha. … 16. Saddhātissassāyaṃ putto Abhayo nāma khattiyo, Dāṭhikaṃ Ḍamilaṃ hantvā rajjaṃ kāresi khattiyo. 17. Abhayagiriṃ patiṭṭhāpesi silāthūpaṃ cetiyamantare, dvādasavassaṃ*

The *Dīpavaṃsa* story clearly is a corrupt version – not in the sense of chronological order or dependence – of the more detailed *Mahāvaṃsa* narrative which gives an etiology of the Abhayagiri monastery showing post-ex-facto characteristics of over-explaining: giving the name of the king – Abhaya Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (traditional reigning period 103 and c. 89–77 BCE) – would have been consistent enough for making more sense for "fearless mountain"[19], but both versions – the *Dīpavaṃsa*, in an odd way, even exclusively – link the appelativum *giri*, "mountain", to a personal name and make it a *nomen proprium*.[20]

It should be noted that the Abhayagiri monastery was, at the beginning, rather small and, following the logic of the extent *vaṃsa* narrative, still belonged to the Mahāvihāra community, the only one that existed on the island at that time.[21] The slightly negative Mahāvihāra bias evidently anticipates the later schism. The almost obsessive focus on the exact period between the foundations of the two monasteries[22] only makes sense when reflecting such a viewpoint and an attempt to establish the Mahāvihāra as the older and more original institution. In fact, the Buddhist "narrator" should have been happy about the fact that the king had acted in favour of the Buddhist *saṅgha* when he took away the property from the heretics (*nigaṇṭha*) and handed it over to the Buddhists. This attempt to render the Abhayagirivihāra as schismatic almost from the outset probably also led to the not very consistent narrative of a secession still in the ruling period of king Abhaya Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (*Mahāvaṃsa* 33.95–98):

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pañca māsāni rajjaṃ kāresi khattiyo.
Text H. OLDENBERG (1879: 101), whose translation (OLDENBERG 1879: 209) I adapt. COUSINS (2012: 72–73), on the basis of this record which he claims to be the older ("two or three centuries": COUSINS 2012: 77) and more authoritative source, tries to assign the construction of the monastery to the earlier king Abhaya Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (161–137 BCE). Taking Abhayagiri as a toponym and *sīlathūpa* as an appellativum, he offers two translations for stanza 17: "He erected the stone *stūpa* of Abhaya Hill [which is] inside the shrine." and "He erected the Abhaya Hill shrine with a stone *stūpa* inside."

19   See COUSINS (2012: 74).

20   A name Girika is well known as the name of a demon or as the name of king Aśoka's cruel guardian of the prison "Hell" in Pāṭaliputra (see STRONG 1983: 41, 211–213; PRZYLUSKI 1923: 131–132, passim), but Giri is, as far as I can see, not attested as a personal name; see also COUSINS (2012: 73). In the context of the topography of Anurādhapura which does not have a mountain, the interpretation of the word as a personal name may have seemed more plausible than taking it in its most obvious sense.

21   A similar view is expressed by KEMPER (1991: 50–51).

22   See KEMPER (1991: 50): "… a precision that suggests more than a casual interest …" One may speculate whether the number of years had been influenced by the chronology of the Theravāda: almost the same number of years passed between the *parinirvāṇa* / *parinibbāna* of the Buddha and the ascension to the throne of Aśoka/Asoka; the "message" then would have been that king Abhaya favoured Buddhism – debunking the *nigaṇṭha*s – in the same way as Aśoka had done, and he would have done this – like Aśoka at the third council of Pāṭaliputra, according to the *vaṃsa*s – by establishing the Theravāda as the "true" representative of Buddhism.

95. Because of the transgression of associating with families, the *saṅgha* ousted the Elder widely known as Mahātissa who had mingled with families. 96. His disciple, widely known as Elder Bahalamassutissa, angrily went to and dwelt in the Abhayagiri, bringing [his] faction there. 97. From then on, these monks did not come to the Mahāvihāra anymore, and thus those belonging to the Abhayagiri left the Theravāda. 98. Those monks belonging to the Dakkhiṇavihāra split from those belonging to the Abhayagiri, [and] thus the monks splitting from the Theravādin were [divided] into two [groups].[23]

The sequence of stanzas is divided into two even parts: 1. the story of a group of monks leaving the Mahāvihāra, and 2. a statement of institutional division. Both parts do not fit each other very well: the rather low-profile expulsion of a monk because of the offense against a Vinaya rule and the move of his disciple and his supporters to a newly founded monastery, the Abhayagiri, is equated with a complete split from the Theravādin[24] fold represented by the Mahāvihāra. Obviously to render the new renegades – who are not given a generic name like Theravāda – weak from the very beginning it is said to have split again immediately after its formation. The terminology used in the text may reveal such an intention: while the first step of separation consists in just not visiting (*nāgamuṃ*) the Mahāvihāra and abandoning (*niggatā*) the Theravāda, it is only after the split – the text uses *pabhinnā* which reminds, of course, of the Buddhist "Ur"-term for schism, *saṅghabheda* – of the Dakkhinavihāra from the Abhayagirivihāra that there is a split (the same term *pabhinnā* is used!) from the Mahāvihāra.

There is, however, a small detail which may reflect the position of the other side, i.e., that of the Abhayagirivihāra: some manuscripts of the *Mahāvaṃsa* insert a stanza after stanza 98 which Geiger in his edition and translation bans into the notes as "spurious"[25]. This stanza reads:

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[23] *95. Theraṃ kulehi saṃsaṭṭhaṃ Mahātisso ti vissutaṃ, kulasaṃsaggadosena saṃgho taṃ nīharī ito. 96. Tassa sisso Bahalamassutissathero ti vissuto, kuddho 'bhayagiriṃ gantvā vasi pakkhaṃ vahaṃ tahiṃ. 97. Tato pabhuti te bhikkhū Mahāvihāraṃ nāgamuṃ, evaṃ te 'bhayagirikā niggatā theravādato. 98. Pabhinnābhayagirikehi Dakkhinavihārakā yatī; evaṃ te theravādīhi pabhinnā bhikkavo dvidhā.* (Geiger 1958: 276–277). Translation is slightly different from Geiger (1912: 236–237).

[24] I translate *theravāda* and *theravādin* in a denominational way which reflects the position of the Mahāvihāra, i.e., the conviction that this monastery represents the continuation of the lineage of the orthodox and orthopractic group which claimed to preserve the true teaching of the Buddha after the first split of the *saṅgha* at the so-called council of Vaiśālī into Sthavira and Mahāsāṅghikas. Both terms also could be translated as "teaching of the Elder" and "adherents of the teaching of the Elders". On a possible influence of the story of the council of Vaiśālī of the schism-narrative of the Mahāvihāra (Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda vs. Abhayagiri-Dhammarucika) see Silk (2012: 134–146).

[25] I guess that the original German was "unecht". Geiger's editorial approach has been criticized by Cousins (2012: 81) who calls this stanza "badly constructed or a later addition".

> To further the monks of the Great Abhaya[giri] living on the island, the
> ruler of the land Vaṭṭagāmaṇi gave [them] profit[26].[27]

The pro-Abhayagiri tenor of this stanza, highlighting the king's support for the monastery, easily explains why some manuscripts, the commentary – and finally also Geiger – did not want to include it in the text. I would even go so far to claim that 98a and the following stanza 99 originally belonged together:

> [The king] erected cells of the monastery as a bond of the group pondering:
> "Thus there will be a restoration."[28]

The reasoning behind my conclusion is that without 98b, stanza 99 would start quite abruptly after 98 and would be without a clear grammatical subject; but if it is read as a continuation of 98b the syntax becomes quite natural and the actions of the king in favour of the monastery – which in this case would be the Abhayagirivihāra – would just be continued from 98b. Further, if we take out these two stanzas, the whole story would end quite naturally like a full-fledged Buddhist council (conventionally called *saṅgīti*) of the Mahāvihārins with the codification / writing down of the Tripiṭaka (*piṭakattayapāli*) and its commentary (*aṭṭhakathā* sic!) which underlines once more the monastery's claim for orthodoxy after what its community considered a schism of the other part.

I therefore suggest that 98b and 99 were inserted into the *Mahāvaṃsa* from an Abhayagiri-related source – maybe the **Abhayagiri(mahā)vaṃsa* (see below) – which, of course, would focus on the strong support of the Abhayagiri-vihāra through the king; a redactor of the *Mahāvaṃsa* may have wanted to use them to boost the support of king Abhaya for the Mahāvihāra instead, but unfortunately – and fortunately for us – forgot to change the name Abhayagiri into the name of his own monastery, the Mahāvihāra.

According to the 37th chapter, the last one in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the real split[29] – including the correct interpretation of the Vinaya, taking over the property of

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[26] Geiger translates *nāma* as "so-called", but at the same time and correctly states that "*patti* simply means 'revenue'" (Geiger 1958: 237 fn. 1). I think that *nāma* here is to be taken as the emphasising indeclinable particle.

[27] *Mahā'abhayabhikkhū te vaḍḍetuṃ dīpavāsino, Vaṭṭagāmaṇibhūmindo Pattiṃ nāma adāsi so*. (Geiger 1958: 277, critical apparatus, 98b). My translation differs slightly from Geiger (1912: 237, note 1).

[28] *99. Vihārapariveṇāni ghaṭābandhe akārayi, "paṭisaṃkharaṇaṃ evaṃ hessatī"ti vicintiya* (Geiger 1958: 277).

[29] This is also the view of the *Cūḷavaṃsa* (see below) while the difference in the process of separation is not really distinguished even by an authority like R.A.L.H. Gunawardana, who states (Gunawardana 1979: 7): "The schisms which led to the emergence of the three *nikāya*s had taken place many centuries earlier [than the eleventh century, M.D.]; in fact, the first schism in Sinhalese Buddhism was in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (…). But for a long time, the *nikāya*s represented little more than rival factions of monks within the capital."

the adversary, and shifting monastic boundaries (*sīmā*) – happens later under the reign of king Mahāsena (274–301 CE) which for the Mahāvihāravāsin community was obviously very traumatic, because of the temporary suppression and destruction of their own monastery.[30] In this narrative, the tone clearly has a stronger anti-Abhayagirivihāra rhetoric (37.1–16):

1. After [king] Jeṭṭhatissa's death his younger brother Mahāsena ruled for twenty-seven years. 2. To perform the royal consecration, the Elder Saṃghamitta, knowing that [his] time had come,[31] came there [to Anurādhapura] from the opposite shore.[32] 3. After [Saṃghamitta] had performed the consecration of the [king] and several other services, he, without constraint, was eager to bring about the destruction of the Mahāvihāra [saying:] 4. "These residents of the Mahāvihāra are not teaching the [true] Vinaya, we are [the ones] teaching the [true] Vinaya.", [he] won the king over. 5. [He] had the king establish a penalty: "Who gives food to a monk residing in the Mahāvihāra, should be punished with [a fine of] a hundred [pieces of coin]." 6. Oppressed by these [measures], the monks residing in the Mahāvihāra abandoned the Mahāvihāra and went to Malaya or Rohaṇa. 7. Hence, this Mahāvihāra was abandoned for nine years and was deplete of monks residing in the Mahāvihāra. 8. The ill-willed Elder informed the ill-willed king: "Ownerless property belongs to the king." 9. Having secured the permission from the king to destroy the Mahāvihāra, the wicked urged people to do so. 10. A supporter of the Elder Saṅghamitta and favourite of the king, the cruel minister Soṇa and shameless monks 11. tore down the excellent seven-storied Lohapāsāda and carried [the material of] all kinds of different buildings from there to the Abhayagiri, 12. [so that] through the many mansions (*pāsāda*) brought away from the Mahāvihāra the Abhayagirivihāra became rich of mansions. 13. Because of the evil friend, Elder Saṃghamitta, and [his] supporter Soṇa, the king, committed much evil. 14. The king took away the big stone image from the Pācīnatissapabbata and set it up at the Abhayagiri. 15. He erected a building for the image, a building for the bodhi [tree], a beautiful hall for the relic, a four-sided hall [and] reconstructed the

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[30] On a critical reading of the *vaṃsa* accounts of that period see WALTERS (1999). For the reigning period of Mahāsena a public controversy between the two monasteries about the correct Vinaya is documented in the *Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā* and in the commentary to the Theravāda-vinaya *Samantapāsādikā*: see O. von HINÜBER (1997).

[31] Geiger translates *kālaṃ ñatvā* as "when he heard the time (of Jeṭṭhatissa's death)".

[32] *paratīrato* probably means that Saṃghamitta came from India. The Mahāvihāra view of things wants to depict, as in other instances, the influence of Saṃghamitta on the king as a corrupt foreign interference; this also implies that the consecration of king Abhaya was, at least from the standpoint of the monastic community of the Mahāvihāra, not fully valid as it was performed by an intruder.

Kukkuṭa[-shrine]. 16. Then the Abhayagirivihāra became fair to behold by the evildoer Elder Saṅghamitta.[33]

The temporary non-existence of the Mahāvihāra and the explicit reference to the Vinaya[34] by Saṅghamitta as the reason for suppressing the Mahāvihāra reveal that this was the real schismatic move of the Abhayagirivihāra forming a new *nikāya* in terms of ordination lineage rather than the move of a group of monks to a newly founded monastery during the time of king Abhaya Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. A fragmentary inscription, probably from the time of Mahāsena, however, supports the view that the king supported the Abhayagirivihārin (and the Jetavanavihārin) and their Mahāyāna (*vetulla*) teaching and tried to force the *saṅgha* of the "five abodes" (*paca-maha-avasa*, Skt. *pañcamahāvāsa*), very likely referring to the Mahāvihāra community, to accept these teachings.[35]

King Mahāsena is, in a way, rehabilitated[36] when he later, prompted by his

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[33] *1. Jeṭṭhatissaccaye tassa Mahāseno kaniṭṭhako, sattavīsati vassāni rājā rajjaṃ akārayi. 2. Tassa rājābhisekaṃ taṃ kāretuṃ paratīrato, so Saṃghamittathero tu kālaṃ ñatvā idhāgato. 3. Tassa abhisekaṃ kāretvā aññaṃ kiccaṃ c' anekadhā, Mahāvihāraviddhaṃsaṃ kātukāmo asaṃyato: 4. "avinayavādino ete Mahāvihāravāsino, vinayavādī mayaṃ raja" iti gāhiya bhūpatiṃ. 5. "Mahāvihāravāsissa āhāraṃ deti bhikkhuno, yo, so sataṃ daṇḍiyo" ti rañño daṇḍaṃ ṭhapāpayi. 6. Upaddutā tehi bhikkū Mahāvihāravāsino, Mahāvihāraṃ chaḍḍetvā Malayaṃ Rohaṇaṃ aguṃ. 7. Tena Mahāvihāro 'yaṃ nava vassāni chaḍḍito, Mahāvihāravāsīhi bhikkhūhi āsi suññato. 8. "Hoti assāmikaṃ vatthu pathavīsāmino" iti, rājānaṃ saṃñapetvā so thero dummati dummatiṃ. 9. Mahāvihāraṃ nāsetuṃ laddhānumati rājato, tathā katuṃ manusse so yojesi duṭṭhamānaso. 10. Saṃghamittassa therassa sevako rājavallabho, Soṇāmacco dāruṇo ca bhikkhavo ca alajjino. 11. bhinditvā Lohapāsādaṃ sattabhūmikaṃ uttamaṃ, ghare nānappakāre ca ito 'bhayagiriṃ nayuṃ, 12. Mahāvihārānītehi pāsādehi bahūhi ca, Abhayagirivihāro so bahupāsādako ahu. 13. Saṃghamittaṃ pāpamittaṃ theraṃ Soṇaṃ ca sevakaṃ, āgamma subahuṃ pāpaṃ akāsi so mahīpati. 14. Mahāsīlapaṭimaṃ so Pācīnatissapabbatā, ānetvābhayagirimhi patiṭṭhāpesi bhūpati. 15. Paṭimāgharaṃ bodhigharaṃ dhātusālaṃ manoramaṃ, catusālaṃ ca kāresi, saṃkhari Kukkuṭavhayaṃ. 16. Saṃghamittena therena tena dāruṇakammunā, vihāro so 'bhayagiri dassaneyyo ahū tadā.* (Geiger 1958: 319–320). Translation is slightly different and adopted from Geiger (1912: 267–268).

[34] Although the Vinaya of the Abhayagirivihāra is not extant anymore, there is enough evidence that this Vinaya did indeed differ from the one preserved in Pāli from the Mahāvihāra: see O. von Hinüber (1996: 22, §43).

[35] Paranavitana (1943); this inscription is also used by J. Walters in his deconstructive analysis of the Mahāsena narrative in the extant *vaṃsa*s (see next note).

[36] Walters (1997) portrays the *Mahāvaṃsa*'s depiction of Mahāsena's activities with its "happy ending" of the king's full support of the Mahāvihāra as the culmination points of the *vaṃsa*. The *Dīpavaṃsa* (22.66–76; Oldenberg 1879: 113 and 220–221), while not telling the full story, keeps the ambiguity of the king's actions: *75. asādhusaṃgamen' eva yāvajīvaṃ subhāsubhaṃ, katvā gato yathākammaṃ so Mahāsenabhūpati.* ("King Mahāsena, after having beneficial and non-beneficial [deeds] during his lifetime by interaction with the unwise (Dummitta/Saṅghamitta and Pāpasoṇa/Soṇa: see stanza 70–71) went [to an existence after death] according to his actions." My translation differs from Oldenberg's). Walters (1997: 112) explains this difference: "The eyewitnesses [i.e., of the time of the compilation of the

minister Meghavaṇṇābhaya agrees to have Mahāvihāra reestablished and repopulated (Mhv.37.17–25). The satisfaction of the Mahāvihāra community must have been great when Saṅghamitta and his accomplice Soṇa were killed (37.26–28).

Unfortunately, a historical record of the Abhayagirivihāra is not extant, so that we do not know what the Abhayagirivihāra's version of the events was. However, we have enough evidence from Pāli (i.e., Mahāvihāra) sources that such a *vaṃsa* of the monastery did indeed exist: the *Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā* occasionally refers to a *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā*[37] which presupposes that its compiler, probably towards the end of the first millennium, had access to a commentary of a Abhayagirivihāra (Uttaravihāra) chronicle. The loss of the Abhayagirivihāra corpus and particularly the *vaṃsa* is particularly annoying in the case of the *vaṃsa* of the monastery which would certainly have provided a corrective to the presentation of the history of Buddhism in Śrī Laṅkā. That such a *vaṃsa* existed has long been recognised (FRAUWALLNER 1984: 20–21) through the references to a commentary, the *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā*, the "Explanation of Meaning [in the Vaṃsa] of the Uttaravihāra (i.e., the Abhayagirivihāra)", to this lost text referred to in the commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Vaṃsatthapakāsinī*,[38] written sometimes between the 8th and the 12th century.[39] The *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary even mentions an *Uttaravihāramahāvaṃsa,* which seems to be the lost chronicle of the Abhayagirivihāra.[40] The problem with these references is that they only occur – understandably from the standpoint of the Mahāvihārin who obviously rather chose to suppress[41] than to mention the different views of their rivals about the history of and after the division – in the *Vaṃsatthapakāsinī* before the split between the two monasteries[42] – the last mention of the commentary is in chapter 10 (sic!) – and therefore do not extend into the period where the Abhayagirivāsin certainly would have presented their own views of the historical developments. Here, the Chinese records may give – I hope, at

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Dīpavaṃsa shortly after the king's death] to Mahāsena's reign were too angry and threatened to simply tell us what actually happened."

[37] O. von HINÜBER (1996: 92, §188).

[38] Edited by G. P. MALALASEKERA (1935). I am grateful to Dr. Petra Kieffer-Pülz who made available to me an electronic copy of Malalasekera's edition.

[39] O. von HINÜBER (1996: 92, §188); while Malalasekera tried to make plausible an earlier date, there is no direct evidence for this.

[40] See COUSINS (2012: 90–91). I do not know why MALALASEKERA (1935: vol. 1, lxv) identifies this *Mahāvaṃsa* with its own commentary: "Mention is also made of an Uttaravihāra-Mahāvaṃsa, which, from the context, is undoubtedly identical with the U(ttara)V(ihāra) A(ttha)katha …" (additions in brackets are mine).

[41] See O. von HINÜBER (1996: 92, §188).

[42] MALALASEKERA 1935: vol. 1, 187, line 5; 247, line 15; 249, line 11; 289, line 20; 290, line 17 (*Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā*); 134, line 14–15: *Uttaravihāravāsīnaṃ pana Mahāvaṃse: ...* ("in the *Mahāvaṃsa* of the Uttaravihārin: …").

least, to make this plausible – glimpses into the other side of the (hi)story (see below), that is the view of the Abhayagirivihāra: the brief record of Xuanzang about the division and Faxian's report (see below) give a taste of a view of the monastic-institutional history of the island which was – as to be expected – quite different from the *vaṃsa* tradition of the Mahāvihāra for which the most likely source is indeed such a *Abhayagirivaṃsa.

Written in an almost triumphal tone then is the *Mahāvaṃsa*'s continuation (*Cūḷavaṃsa*) account of Parākamabāhu's forced unification of the monastic institutions under the umbrella of the Mahāvihāra (78.1–27). Obviously, most of the monks of the communities of the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanavihāra had to be coerced to join the united *saṅgha* under the control of the Mahāvihāra through reordination, i.e., becoming novices (*sāmaṇera*) again in the ordination lineage promoted by the king (78.20–27):

20–23. After having purified the Mahāvihāra with great energy, [the king] set out to unify the monks residing in the Abhayagiri[vihāra], followed by [the monks residing] in the Jetavanavihāra, who had seceded [from the Mahāvihāra] since the time of king Abhaya and had split off since the time of king Mahāsena, explaining the Vetullapiṭaka[43] and other [scriptures] as the speech of the Buddha, etc., [although they] are not the word of the Buddha, with those [monks] residing in the Mahāvihāra like glass jewels [mixing] with jewels of all excellent qualities. 24. Void of the essence of the precepts and other [principles] they did not even pleasure in the teaching of the Buddha by the power of the great *saṅgha* and the king. 25. The righteous king examining [them] with those who knew the right conduct did not [even] find one ordained[44] [who] was not corrupted. 26. Thereupon he imposed [once more] the status of a novice on many monks, and gave to those who were of corrupt conduct, after having made them leave the order, positions inside [of his administration].[45] 27. When thus having soon accomplished with great energy purity and unity, he made the *saṅgha* again into what it was at the time of the Buddha[46].[47]

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[43]   Vetullapiṭaka here obviously refers to a collection of Mahāyāna scriptures, maybe including Vajrayāna texts (see below). For a discussion of the term *vetulla* (Skt. *vaitulya*, *vaipulya*) and its wider context in Śrī Laṅkān Buddhist history see Holt (1991: 64–65).

[44]   Geiger translates *upasaṃpanna* as "member of the Order", i.e., someone who has previously received full ordination (*upasaṃpadā*).

[45]   I do not completely understand the meaning of *antara* in *mahāṭhānantare* – Geiger translates "lucrative positions" – but I assume that it means that the king still used the skills which the well-trained, literate ex-monks had. One of the anonymous reviewers pointed out that the term means "office" or "office title".

[46]   I.e., reverted the schism.

[47]   *20. evaṃ Mahāvihāraṃ va mahussāyena sodhiya, paṭṭhāyābhayarājassa kālato vaggataṃ gate 21. Abhayagirivāsī ca bhikkhū Jetavanānuge, Mahāsenanarindassa bhinne*

The last stanza narratively brings to a close a period of division of and domination through the Mahāvihāra's big and, at times, more successful rival – which, at the same time, restores the glorious unity of the *saṅgha* at the time of the Buddha under the leadership of the Mahāvihāra.[48]

Apart from the narratives in the Mahāvihāra chronicles – and I have only focused here on the sequence of substories telling the schism and the reunification and have not discussed the few other instances where the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Cūḷavaṃsa*) mentions the Abhayagirivihāra and its "destiny" under the rule of various kings[49] – there is archaeological evidence of the monastery in precincts of the ancient capital of Anurādhapura. The site identified with the Abhayagirivihāra, north of the citadel and the other two monasteries, the Mahāvihāra and the Jetavanavihāra, has a monumental *stūpa* (Bandaranayake 1974; Coningham 1999: 2), and the art displays the influence from the Indian subcontinent, particularly from Āndhra.[50] Its size is much larger than that of the Mahāvihāra.[51] Archaeological findings at the Abhayagiri site also seem to confirm the connection with the outer world that characterizes the monastery according to the Chinese sources (Davis 2013: *204*–205, 257–258).

Unfortunately, the period which is assumed to be influenced by the Mahāyāna (Vetullavāda in the Pāli sources) is not very well documented in and through textual sources, but there is enough evidence for the existence of Mahāyāna ideas, concepts, material culture and practices which are connected with or ascribed to the Abhayagirivihāra (see, e.g., *Mahāvaṃsa* 36.111: *vetullavādino bhikkhū Abhayagirinivāsino*).[52]

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paṭṭhāya kālato 22. *abuddhavacanaṃ yeva Vetullapiṭakādikaṃ, dīpente "buddhavācā"ti paṭipattiparaṃmukhe* 23. *Mahāvihāravāsīhi samaggayituṃ ārabhi, asesaguṇasālīhi kācamhe ratanehi va.* 24. *Sīlādisārasuññā te mahāsaṃghassa tejasā, rājino ca tadā buddhasāsane nājjhaguṃ ratiṃ.* 25. *Tathāpi dhammiko rājā vicārento nayaññuhi, upasampannam ekaṃ pi pakatattaṃ alattha no.* 26. *Kāresi sāmaṇerattaṃ bahunnaṃ yatinaṃ tadā, dussīle vibbhamāpetvā mahāṭhānantare adā.* 27. *Evaṃ suddhiṃ ca sāmaggiṃ sampādetvā 'cirena ca, mahussāhena so saṃghaṃ buddhakāle va vattayi.* (Geiger 1927: 425–426). Translation differs slightly from Geiger (1930: 103–104).

[48]   This is another example of what S. Kemper (1991) has called "The Presence of the Past" in Siṃhala Buddhist culture.

[49]   For an overview see Holt (1991: 63–65). Particularly highlighted should be the disruption of the dominance of the then Vajrayāna-oriented Abhayagiri institution in the 9th century discussed by Sundberg (2014).

[50]   See Bopearachchi (2020: 11, et passim; examples 23–37; 77–84). It is my pleasure to thank Professor Osmund Bopearachchi for having sent me an electronic copy of his book and for having given me valuable advice on archaeological and art-historical matters.

[51]   Stressed and confirmed in conversations (May 2023) by Osmund Bopearachchi.

[52]   See the "classical" study of Mudiyanse (1974). Further (as a selection): Bechert (1977), Holt (1991: 66–71), Deegalle (1999).

Inscriptions from the Abhayagiri *stūpa* and other sites show the presence and existence of ideas and concepts – and hence quite certainly also of practices – related to what is called Tantric (Esoteric) Buddhism (Mantra- or Vajrayāna). The importance of the island for the practice of Tantric Buddhism is supported by the Chinese sources (see below). In 1984 Gregory Schopen identified inscriptions from northern *stūpa* of Abhayagiri as *dhāraṇī*s from a text only preserved in Tibetan, the **Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānahṛdaya* (SCHOPEN [1982] 2005), and the concrete epigraphical and textual evidence has been the object of recent studies.[53]

It is also from the esoteric "period" that other pieces of evidence for the long-distance network of the monastery come. One is the link with esoteric masters like Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra in China (see below). Other close connections of the Abhayagiri with such a distant place like Java, documented by an inscription from Ratu Baka Plateau from the year 856, have been studied recently *ad extenso* and with a focus on the religio-political situation and developments in the wider Asian sphere (Śrī Laṅkā, South-East Asia, East Asia) in the 8th / 9th centuries by Jeffrey SUNDBERG (2014, 2016a) pointing at a flourishing period of Vajrayāna activities in the Abhayagiri institution under the kings of the Second Lambakaṇṇa dynasty between the late 7th century and the first half of the 9th century.

Chinese Sources on and References to the Abhayagirivihāra

Chinese sources which mention the Abhayagirivihāra are mostly of a histo-riographical or bio-hagiographical nature. The most extensive Chinese source about the Abhayagirivihāra is found in Faxian's travelogue, which I will discuss in a separate section. In this section, I will first introduce and discuss the Chinese direct or – in my opinion – indirect references to the monastery which, in most cases, corroborate with the Indic material presented in the previous chapter.

I will start with a text that unfortunately no longer exists, but which must have contained some information about all three monasteries in Śrī Laṅkā around the time of Faxian's visit. The dictionary *Fan-fanyu* 翻梵語, "Translating Sanskrit"[54], which is dated to the year 517 and the compilation of which is attributed to the well-known monk Baochang 寶唱 (466–518), quotes the names of all three monasteries in transliteration and translation from the fourth fascicle of a source called *Liguo-zhuan* 歷國傳, "Record of Travelling through [Foreign] Kingdoms" (T.2130.141c.6–8):

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[53] CHANDAWIMALA (2017); POWELL (2018), which includes discussion of the treatise on architecture and sculpting from Śrī Laṅkā, the *Mañjuśrībhāṣitavāstuvidyāśāstra*. My thanks go to Osmund Bopearachchi for bringing this valuable University of California M.A. thesis to my attention.

[54] For this understudied early Chinese Buddhist dictionary see VIRA (1943), and C. CHEN (2004).

Apoqili-si:[55] translated as[56] "Monastery Fearless". Mohebihe-si: should be Mohepiheluo, translated as "Great Monastery"[57]. Qi'nabiheluo: should be called Ponapiheluo, translated as "Monastery Excellent Forest"[58].[59]

The *Liguo-zhuan* is quoted several times in the *Fan-fanyu* and, according to the information given in the dictionary, must have been a work consisting of four fascicles. The Tang monk Dajue's 大覺 (fl. beginning of the 8th cent.) sub-commentary to the *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* or *Sifen-lü*, the *Sifen-lü-chaopi* 四分律鈔批, ascribes this work to Shi Fameng 釋法猛 (X.736.1028b.10–11):

> The "Record" is means "Record of Travelling through [Foreign] Kingdoms". The "Memoirs of Travels through Foreign Kingdoms" of Shi Fameng of the Jin dynasty is called "Record".[60]

Nothing is known about a monk Fameng earlier than this bit of information from Dajue's commentary. In the *Gaoseng-zhuan* (519), however, a travelogue of four fascicles is ascribed to the monk Fasheng 法盛 from Turfan / Gaochang (T.2059.337b.1–3):[61]

> At that time, there was another *śramaṇa* from Gaochang, Fasheng [who] also travelled through foreign kingdoms [and] compiled a record [of his journey which] comprised four fascicles.[62]

Fasheng is known from other sources as a monk who travelled to the Western Regions while the name Fameng is only attested in the sources mentioned

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[55] 阿婆耆梨 / *ʔa-ba-gji-li: it is obvious that on syllable / character is missing (*ye* 耶 / *jia*?) after the first two syllables / characters: the transliteration Apoye 阿婆耶 / *ʔa-ba-jia, for Abhaya is well attested in the *Shanjian-lü-piposha*, allegedly a translation of the Pāli Vinaya commentary *Samantapāsādikā* (T.1462.684c.8, et passim; on this text see PINTE 2011–2012, and on its affiliation with the Abhayagirivihāra HEIRMAN 2004). For similar mistakes or shortcomings in the *Fan-fanyu* see the following notes and PINTE 2012. (The Early Middle Chinese reconstructed forms in this article, marked by *, follow PULLEYBLANK 1991).

[56] Following the usual pattern of the text, *zhuan yue* 傳曰 should be read as *yi yue* 譯曰, "translated as …".

[57] 摩呵比呵 / *ma-xa-bji-xa, corrected to 摩訶毘訶羅 / *ma-xa-bji-xa-la, and translated as Dasi 大寺.

[58] 祇那比呵羅 / *gji-na'-bji-xa-la, "corrected" to Ponapiheluo 婆那毘呵羅 / *ba-na'-bji-xa-la, translated correctly as Shenglin 勝林, with *sheng* 勝, "victorious", obviously rendering Jeta. The "full" transliteration may be reconstructed as *Qituoponapiheluo 祇陀婆那毘呵羅: both Qituo 祇陀 for Jeta (Jetṛ) and *pona* 婆那 for *vana* are attested in Buddhist texts, including the *Fan-fanyu*.

[59] 阿婆耆梨寺，傳曰：無畏寺也。摩呵比呵寺，應云摩訶毘訶羅；譯曰：大寺。祇那比呵羅，應云是名婆那毘呵羅；譯曰：勝林寺也。

[60] 傳謂歷國傳也；晉朝釋法猛遊外國記云傳也。

[61] This seems to be identical with the work with the same title attributed to Shi Fasheng 釋法盛 in *Suishu* 隋書 33, an information repeated in *Xin-Tangshu* 舊唐書 58, although according to these historiographical sources the travelogue had only two fascicles.

[62] 時，高昌復有沙門法盛，亦經往外國，立傳，凡有四卷。

above. It is very likely that (Fa)meng 猛 was, at some point, misread for (Fa) sheng 盛 and the wrong name was then perpetuated in some texts like Dajue's. The confusion may have been furthered by the name of another monk, Zhimeng 智猛,[63] who had already gone to the Western Regions before Fasheng, had also composed a travelogue and knew Fasheng (see below).

According to the catalogue *Lidai-sanbao-ji* 歷代三寶紀, compiled by Fei Changfang 費長房 (second half of 6th century), Zhimeng went from Liangzhou 涼州 (in the modern province of Gansu) to Yangdu 楊都, i.e., Jiankang 建康 (modern Nanjing 南京), and there he met Faxian (T.2034.85a.7–11):

> Parinirvāṇasūtra in twenty fascicles; the text above has twenty fascicles altogether. During the reign of emperor Wen of the [Liu-]Song [dynasty] (424–453), a *śramaṇa* from Yongzhou, Shi Zhimeng travelled through the Western Regions to look for special *sūtra*s. [He] brought back Sanskrit books from India. [His] way led [him] through the Jade Gate (Yumen 玉門), [and he] translated [texts] in Liangzhou. In the fourteenth year of [the era] Yuanjia (438), [he] went to and arrived in Yangdu [where he] stayed with Faxian.[64]

Zhimeng's biography in the *Gaoseng-zhuan* (T.2059.343b.1–c.10)[65] does not record a visit by Fasheng to Śrī Laṅkā, but he obviously had close contact with Faxian who, according to the *Mingseng-zhuan* / *Meisō-den-chō*, had prompted Fasheng to travel to India when he met him after Zhimeng's return from India (see below).

Fasheng was very close to the well-known Indian translator-monk Dharmakṣema / Tanwuchen 曇無讖 (aka Tanmochen or Damochen; 385–433)[66] – who happened to have collaborated with the already mentioned Zhimeng who had received in Pāṭaliputra (Huashi 華氏, Skt. Kusumapura, the alternative name of the city) a copy of the *(Mahāyāna-)Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* which was then translated by Dharmakṣema, and a copy of the *Mahāsāṅghikavinaya*.

The *Meisō-den-chō* 名僧傳抄, "Summary of Biographies of Illustrious Monks", a Medieval Japanese summary of Baochang's lost *Mingseng-zhuan* 名僧傳,[67] only contains a short biographical sketch of Fasheng which, in its original and full-

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[63] On Zhimeng see the detailed study by J. CHEN (2004).

[64] 般泥洹經二十卷；右一部合二十卷。宋文帝世雍州沙門釋智猛遊歷西域，尋訪異經。從天竺國齎梵本來。道經玉門，於涼州譯。元嘉十四年流至楊都，與法顯同。

[65] Unfortunately, Zhimeng's original biography in the 26th fascicle of the *Mingseng-zhuan* (X.1523.350a.18) is not extent and the *Mingseng-zhuan*-chao does not contain a paraphrase of it.

[66] See J. CHEN (2004).

[67] See the recent, detailed study of the *Meisō-den-chō* and *Mingseng-zhuan* and the latter's relation to the *Gaoseng-zhuan* by LEE (2020).

fledged form may have given more details about his travels, particularly because Baochang, the compiler of the collection, is also attributed the compilation of the *Fan-fanyu* and therefore certainly had access to Fasheng's original travelogue. The selection of a section of Fasheng's travels on the Northwest of India, Gandhāra, about the famous gigantic wooden Maitreya statue on the upper course of the Indus[68] may be explained by the monk's particular interest in this region, also reflected in the only translation which is preserved, the famous story of the *bodhisattva*'s self-sacrifice to the hungry tigress in one of his previous existence (T.172: *Pusa-toushen-siehu-qita-yinyuan-jing* 菩薩投身飼餓虎起塔因緣經, "Avadāna of the Erection of the Stūpa of the Bodhisattva Feeding the Hungry Tiger").[69] He went to India together with a group of other monks (X.1523.358c.16–20):

> [His] original surname was Li, [and he] was from Longxi[70]. Resided in Gaochang. With nine years [he] left the household, diligently read and recited [the *sūtra*s] and always said: "My three fixed [roots] are not yet planted, the five *skandha*s arise and perish, the meeting [with Maitreya] is still far away – and [all of this] through [my] stupid desire. If [I] have not cut of the three poisons, how [can I] strive for liberation?" At the age of nineteen, [he] met the *śramaṇa* Zhimeng [who] had returned from the foreign kingdoms and told [him] about the sacred traces [of the Buddha]. From this [Fasheng] took the aspiration [to see] them, took leave from his parents and followed [the example] of [his] teacher-friend [Zhimeng]. Together with twenty-nine [other monks he] went far to India, travelled through all the kingdoms, looked for the left spirit [of the Buddha], experienced all the auspicious signs, paid veneration and made offerings to [karmically] enhance [his] three deeds (action, speech, thoughts).[71]

Unfortunately, the *Meisō-den-chō* does only give the beginning of the original biography so that we do not get details about the rest of Fasheng's journey, but it may be assumed that he went, as had his predecessors Faxian and Zhimeng, to Magadha (Pāṭaliputra) and then followed Faxian's route to Śrī Laṅkā, where he then very likely would have resided in the Abhayagirivihāra like Faxian before him – the prominent position of the monastery in the list in the *Fan-fanyu* makes this even more probable.

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[68] On this gigantic Maitreya statue see Deeg (2005: 112–117), and in the wider context of the Maitreya cult Deeg (1999).

[69] On the localization of this narrative in Gandhāra and the references to it in the Chinese Buddhist travelogues see Deeg (2022).

[70] = 隴西, a region in south-east of the modern province of Gansu.

[71] 本姓李，隴西人。寓于高昌。九歲出家，勤精讀誦，每曰："吾三堅未樹。五眾生滅。合會有離。皆由癡愛。若不斷三毒。何求勉脫？"年造十九，遇沙門智猛從外國還，述諸神迹。因有志焉，辭二親，率師友。與二十九人遠詣天竺，經歷諸國，尋覓遺靈，及諸應瑞，禮拜供養，以申三業。

Such an itinerary becomes quite likely when we look at the list of eight monasteries (in a list of twenty-two in total) of the *Liguo-zhuan*, where the last three are the Śrī Laṅkān ones, probably as the monasteries of the last country visited during Fasheng's journey. Of the other five of the *Liguo-zhuan*, only one is identifiable: Liyue-si 離越寺[72] the name of which can be reconstructed in Sanskrit as *Revatavihāra (or *Raivatavihāra).[73] A monastery of that name is mentioned in the extreme northwest of the subcontinent and was obviously linked to the story of the ṛṣi of the same name subdued by the Buddha during his visit in the region,[74] but in the context of the *Fan-fanyu*'s list and of what we know about the destinations in India of Chinese Buddhist travelers at the beginning of the 5th century, I suggest that this name here refers to the (Mahāyāna-)monastery of the famous lay-master Raivata in Pāṭaliputra, also visited and mentioned by Faxian and Zhimeng.[75]

It can be concluded from these pieces of information and evidence that there existed, at the beginning of the 5th century, a veritable network of monks, some Indian but mostly Chinese, who went to India, and obviously some also went on to Śrī Laṅkā. It seems that Fasheng's travelogue contained information about the three monasteries in Śrī Laṅkā, and the order of the names of these monasteries with Abhayagirivihāra listed first may confirm the importance or even predominance of the monastery around the late 4th or early 5th century.

This timeframe leads us to another potential and well-known piece of evidence for the activities of the Abhayagirivihāra, the story of the ordination of Chinese nuns in the first half of the 5th century, by a small community of nuns brought from the island by the ship owner Nanti 難提 / Skt. Nandi(n) and the monk Saṅghavarman / Sengjiabamo 僧伽跋摩 (Heirman 2001: 295 and 2007: 181–184; Deeg 2005: 177–178).

The story is related at some length in the biography of the Chinese nun Sengguo 僧果 in Baochang's *Biqiuni-zhuan* 比丘尼傳 (T.2063.939c.13–24):

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[72] T.2130.41c.3: 離越寺：應云離婆多；譯曰星名。 ("Liyue-si: [the name] should be Lipo-duo; translated as 'name of a constellation'.")

[73] 離越 / *li-wuat*, "corrected" in the *Fan-fanyu* into Lipoduo 離婆多 / *li-ba-ta*.

[74] Da-zhidu-lun 大智度論, T.1509.126c.2–5; for more details see Lamotte (1944: 548, and 550–551, note 1 ["IVᵉ étape"]).

[75] Faxian calls him Luowosipomi 羅沃私婆迷 / *la-ʔawk-si-ba-mɛj*, *Raivatasvāmi(n) / *Rāvatasvāmi(n) – *svāmi(n)* possibly being a title (abridged for *vihārasvāmin*?) rather than part of the name – who was also called Mañjuśrī, master of the Mahāyānasaṅghārāma in Pāṭaliputra. The name form used by Zhimeng is Luoyue 羅閲 / *la-jwiat*, *Raivata. For a detailed discussion of the name(s) and their reconstruction and the texts see Deeg (2005: 388–392).

In the sixth year of [the era] Yuanjia, the foreign ship owner[76] Nandi(n) brought *bhikṣuṇī*s from the kingdom of Siṃhala[77] [who] arrived in the Jingfu-si in the capital of the Song. Not long afterwards, [they] asked [Seng]guo: "Have there already been nuns from foreign kingdoms to this kingdom before?" [She] answered: "None so far." [They] also asked: "[When] the nuns first received the precepts, did [they] receive [them] then from the two *saṅgha*s [of monks and nuns]?"[78] [She] answered: "[They] only received [them] from the great *saṅgha* [of monks]. Doing it the original way was just the beginning of receiving the precepts, [and this] is only a means to raise perseverance in the mind of people. Therefore, [our case] is like the eminent example of Mahāprajāpati having [accepted] the eight [special points of] veneration,[79] having received the precepts and having become the teacher (*ācārya*) of five hundred daughters of the Śākyas." Although [Seng]guo answered in that way, [she] had doubts and consulted about all this with the Tripiṭaka[-master Guṇavarman]. The Tripiṭaka[-master] gave the same explanation. [But] again [she] inquired: "Should [we] receive [ordination] once more?" [Guṇavarman] answered: "The levels of [keeping] the precepts, contemplation and wisdom [develop] from being minute to becoming perceivable, it is beneficial and good to receive [the precepts] once more." After ten years, the ship owner

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[76] *bozhu* 舶主: In Guṇavarman's biography in the *Gaoseng-zhuan* (T.2059.340c.7), Nandin is called "merchant"; hence, he is rather the owner of the ship than the captain which does, of course, not exclude the possibility that he had navigational skills. Early Tang sources even attribute the translation of a *dhāraṇī* (collection?), the *Qing-Guanshiyin-pusa-xiaofu-duhai-tuoluoni(-zhou)-jing* 請觀世音菩薩消伏毒害陀羅尼(呪)經, "Dhāraṇī of Requestion the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara to Remove Poison", to Nandin (Fayuan-zhulin, T.2122.736c.22f.; *Zhongjing-mulu*, T.2146.116c.5; etc.); the not very reliable *Lidai-sanbao-ji* attributes two more translations to the foreign Indian layman (*waiguo-jushi* Zhu 外國居士竺) Nandin (T.2034.71c.25–72a.4).

[77] Shizi(-guo) 師子(國), literally: "son of a lion", the Chinese name for Siṃhala which Faxian seems to relate to the eponymic hero of the same name of the Sinhalese foundation myth: see Deeg (2005: 193–194).

[78] I do not understand Tsai's translation "… how did the Chinese women who became nuns receive the monastic obligations …" (in relation to the Chinese text) and her interpretation of *shoujie* 受戒 as referring to the eight obligation mentioned later (Tsai 1994: 54 and 133, note 92). R. Li's translation is more truthfully rendering the original Chinese.

[79] I.e., the eight *gurudharma*s (Pāli *garudhamma*) which nuns have to follow: 1. a nun always have to be respectful towards a monk, even if she is much older in terms of ordination age and the monk is younger; 2. a nun is not allowed to spend the rainy season at a place where there is no monk; 3. nuns have to ask for the date of *uposatha* and for exhortation fortnightly; 4. after the rainy season, a nun has to report before both communities (i.e., of monks and of nuns) what was seen, heard and suspected (confess); 5. a nun who has committed an offense has to undergo penance through both communities for half a month; 6. when a woman has exercised the six rules for two years, she should ask both communities for higher ordination; 7. a nun should never abuse a monk; 8. a nun should never exhort a monk.

Nandi(n) once more brought a nun [called] Tiesaluo[80] from the kingdom of Siṃhala and ten others.[81] The nuns who had arrived first had already mastered the language of Song (i.e., Chinese) and asked Saṅghavarman [to establish] the borders of an ordination platform[82] in the Nanlin-si[83], [and] gradually more than three hundred [nuns] received [the precepts] a second time.[84]

The Tripiṭaka-master (*sanzang*) in this narrative can be identified clearly as Guṇavarman / Qiunabamo 求那跋摩 / *guw-na'-bat-ma* (367–431), who, according to his biography, hailed from the northwest of the subcontinent (Jibin

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[80] 鐵薩羅 / *tʰɛt-sat-la* (later alternative name form Tiesuoluo 鐵索羅, e.g. in Daoxuan's commentary to the *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya,* T.1804.51.c20f.), Pāli *Tessalā? Tsai (1994: 54) reconstructs Tessara; or on p. 134, note 94: Dewasara, obviously following the reconstruction by Li (2002: 104) as Devasārā which is impossible because *tie* 鐵 / *tʰɛt* cannot transcribe *deva*; closest to my reconstruction is Shih (1968: 138, in Saṅghavarman's biography): Tissalā. In the Pāli sources, only Tissā is attested (Malalasekera 1974: vol. I, 1019, s.vv. 2. and 6.) as the name of a Śākyan nun and a Śrī Laṅkān nun skilled in the Vinaya (*Dīpavaṃsa* 18.30). Tessalā, as a diminutive form of Tissā – with the suffix *-lā* and vowel graduation (ablaut) *e < i* – would therefore be an appropriate name for a nun who would follow the example of such predecessors. The *Dīpavaṃsa*, despite its general shortcomings as a consistent and "reliable" source, is interesting insofar as the nun Tissā is part of a long list of nuns who are lauded because of their knowledge of the Vinaya under the Abhaya (Oldenberg 1879: 98 and 206). Although the *Dīpavaṃsa* is a Mahāvihāra source, this list may well contain nuns who were rather belonging to the Abhayagiri and therefore may represent "material … ascribed to the Uttaravihāra, which is identical with the Abhayagirivihāra (…) has been suppressed in M[a]h[ā]v[aṃsa]" (O. von Hinüber 1996: 90, see also 92).

[81] Other sources like the biography of Guṇavarman in the *Gaoseng-zhuan* refer to eight nuns who arrived as the first batch (T.2059.341a.29f.), and Tiesaluo coming with three other nuns (Daoxuan's Vinaya commentary, T.1048.51c.21). This makes more sense since it would explain why the full ordination had to be postponed until the full quorum of ten or more nuns prescribed for a proper ordination was achieved. In the *Biqiuni-zhuan*, Baochang does not give a concrete number for the first group but then seems to conflate both numbers (8 + 3 = 11).

[82] *tanjie* 壇界: the term reflects the connection between the original Indian concept of a "border" (*sīmā, jie* 界) for specific monastic actions (*karma*) and the ordination platforms (*jietan* 戒壇, which originally seems to correspond to Pāli *upasaṃpadā(sīmā)maṇḍala*) in China of which the present example is one of the oldest textual pieces of evidence. See Newhall (2022: particularly 81–82) on the Guṇavarman-Saṅghavarman episode.

[83] In modern Nanjing.

[84] 及元嘉六年，有外國舶主難提，從師子國載比丘尼來，至宋都住景福寺。後少時，問果曰：「此國先來已曾有外國尼未？」答曰：「未有。」又問：「先諸尼受戒，那得二僧？」答：「但從大僧受。」得本事者乃是發起受戒。人心令生殷重是方便耳。故如大愛道八敬得戒，五百釋女以愛道為和上。此其高例。」果雖答然，心有疑，具諮三藏。三藏同其解也。又諮曰：「重受得不？」答曰：「戒定慧品從微至著，更受益佳。」到十年，舶主難提復將師子國鐵薩羅等十一尼。至先達諸尼已通宋語，請僧伽跋摩於南林寺壇界，次第重受三百餘人。 See also Li (2002: 103–104); Tsai (1994: 53–54).

罽賓).[85] Guṇavarman had strong Śrī Laṅkān connections,[86] but he also had converted the queen-mother and the king of Shepo 闍婆 / *dzia-ba (probably modern Java) before coming to China after having been invited by emperor Wen 文 (aka Taizu 太祖; r. 424–453) of the Liu-Song 劉宋 dynasty (420–479). As a Northwesterner, he probably was ordained in the Dharmaguptaka lineage, and one of the translations dealing with monastic rules but also *bodhisattva*-precepts attributed to him is indeed related to the rules for nuns of this *nikāya*, the *Sifen-ni-jiemo* 四分尼羯磨 (*Sifen-biqiuni-jiemo-fa* 四分比丘尼羯磨法 / *Dharmaguptaka-bhikṣuṇīkarma(dharma)*, T.1434).

Since Guṇavarman died before the re-ordination of the Chinese nuns, it was the Indian monk Saṅghavarman / Sengjiabamo 僧伽跋摩 / *səŋ-gia-bat-ma*, who organised and performed the ceremonies. Saṅghavarman's biography[87] clearly states that he travelled to China via the land route,[88] but it is an interesting detail that he returned to India by a merchant's ship,[89] and it is quite likely that he did so via Śrī Laṅkā. Among the translations attributed to Saṅghavarman is a *Vinayamātṛka* of the Sarvāstivādin, the *Sapoduo-bu-pini-modelejia* 薩婆多部毘尼摩得勒伽 (T.1441). He also collaborated with Faxian's traveler-companion and translator Baoyun 寶雲[90] for the translation of Dharmatrāta's

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[85]   *Gaoseng-zhuan*, T.2059.340a.15–342b.10; for complete French translations see CHAVANNES (1904), without the death poem at the end, and SHIH (1968: 125–137).

[86]   T.2059.340b.5–6: 後到師子國，觀風弘教，識真之眾咸謂已得初果，儀形感物，見者發心。 ("Later, [Guṇavarman] arrived in the kingdom of Siṃhala [where he] observed the customs to spread the teaching; the whole *saṅgha* who knew the truth called [him] '[one who] had already attained the first fruit'; [his] demeanour and appearance had a [strong] impact on people, [and] those who saw him developed faith [in the *dharma*].") I am tempted – and have given into this temptation in my translation – to read into the term *shizhen-zhi-zhong* 識真之眾 a reference to the *saṅgha*, in which case this may more specifically refer to the part of the island's monastic community with the true interpretation of the *dharma*. The only other detail about Guṇavarman's stay in Śrī Laṅkā is provided in Guṇavarman's own death poem (*yiwen* 遺文) where he states that in Siṃhala he resided at a place called Jieboli 劫波利 / *kap-pa-liʰ*, which can be reconstructed as *Kapāli(n) according to later Chinese glosses as in the Silla monk Uŏnhyo's / Yuanxiao's 元曉 (617–686) (T.1773.303a.16): 劫波利：此云捉髑髏鬼。 ("Jieboli: this means 'Skull-Grasping Ghost'.") Such a place name is, as far as I know, not attested in sources on Śrī Laṅkā, but is known from Maitreya-related texts to be the birthplace of the *bodhisattva* Maitreya near Vārāṇasī.

[87]   *Gaoseng-zhuan*, T.2059.342b.11–c7; French translation by SHIH (1968: 138–140).

[88]   T.2059.342b.12–13: 以宋元嘉十年，出自流沙，至于京邑。 ("In the tenth year of [the era] Yuanjia of the [Liu-]Song (443) [Saṅghavarman] left [his home country] and arrived in the capital via the 'Flowing Sands' (i.e., the Tarim basin).")

[89]   T.2059.342c.6–7: 元嘉十九年，隨西域賈人舶還外國。不詳其終。 ("In the nineteenth year of [the era] Yuanjia (442) [Saṅghavarman] returned to the foreign kingdoms on the boat of a merchant from the Western Regions. No details [are known] about the end of his [life].")

[90]   According to Faxian's record, Baoyun returned to China after having reached Puruṣapura (Peshawar). As has been noticed (DEEG 2005: 524, note 2352; LETTERE 2020: 262) this does not fit well with the description in the biography according to which he must have stayed

Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya-śāstra / *Za-apitan-xin-lun* 雜阿毘曇心論 (T.1552), a connection which again highlights the already mentioned network of Chinese and Indian monks involved in travelling and translating in the first half of the 5th century.[91]

As I have already noted elsewhere (Deeg 2009), from a modern scholarly standpoint it is somewhat surprising that, although the whole narrative is about the correct transmission of the ordination lineage for nuns from Śrī Laṅkā to China, the Vinaya lineage (*nikāya*) to which the Śrī Laṅkān nuns belonged is not mentioned at all. Yet, we may ask ourselves whether this kind of question is not rather of modern scholarship while for the Chinese the most important part was a correct ordination and establishment of a continuous transmission lineage for the *bhikṣuṇīsaṅgha* in China through both the *saṅgha* of monks and the *saṅgha* of nuns. Although the monastic provenance of Guṇavarman, Saṅghavarman and particularly of the group of Śrī Laṅkān nuns (did the latter belong to the ordination lineage of the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagirivihāra or the Jetavanavihāra?) is not mentioned directly in the sources, the relative prominence of the Abhayagirivihāra in Chinese sources of the early 5th century may allow the conclusion that this group of Śrī Laṅkan monastics really hailed from this monastery. From this, the answer arises to an, at least, theoretical question, which may shed some light of the Vinaya-understanding of the Abhayagirivihāra at that time: how did the ordination work when the nuns may have been accepting, for the time being, the usual assumption about the Vinaya-tradition of the Abhayagiri – were Sthaviravāda / Theravāda and the presiding monk (originally Guṇavarman, but in reality Saṅghavarma) very likely belonged to a different *nikāya*, for instance, the Dharmaguptaka?[92] From a (Mahāvihāra-)

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longer and maybe travelled more extensively (T.1059.339c.25–27): 雲在外域遍學梵書、天竺諸國音字，詁訓悉皆備解，後還長安。 ("In the foreign regions, [Bao]yun widely studied Sanskrit scriptures and the writing systems of all kingdoms in India [so that he could] fully master [their] interpretation; then [he] returned to Chang'an."; slightly differently translated by Shih 1968: 123–124). Unfortunately, Baoyun's travelogue – T.2059.340a.13f. 其遊履外國，別有記傳。 ("There is a special record about his travels through the foreign kingdom."; see also Shih 1968: 125) – is not extant (Chavannes 1903: 431). For a study of Baoyun's biography with due emphasis on Baoyun's multiple connections and collaboration projects see Lettere (2020); on his translation work with Saṅghavarman see Lettere (2020: 265).

[91] Zhongjing-mulu, T.2146.146b.22, et passim. On the text and its importance for Chinese Abhidharma reception see Dessein (2010). The subsequent translations of the text by Faxian and Buddhabhadra (c. 418), Īśvara and Guṇavarman (426) and Saṅghavarman and Baoyun (434) (see Dessein 2010: 57–58) seems to be another indicator for the "network" of Indian and Chinese monks mentioned.

[92] Paradoxically, this is a problem which also arises in modern attempts to re-establish the extinct *bhikṣuṇī-saṅgha* in the Theravāda tradition (and in Tibetan Buddhism) where the ordination lineage of the Chinese nuns assisting the ordination would be Dharmaguptaka while the ordained nun(s) will be Theravāda. Although the episode discussed here is very much used in

Theravāda standpoint, at least, the matter is less trivial than one may think, as the aggressive-polemic portrayal of the origin of the Abhayagiri-nikāya in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (see above) and the fact that during Parakkamabāhu's reform the Abhayagiri monks had to disrobe and be re-ordained clearly show. One conclusion could be that the Abhayagiri-nikāya had a more open approach to different Vinaya-traditions, allowing the participation of monastics from other traditions and the application of non-Theravāda Vinaya rules and regulations. The latter point seems to be supported by the fact that Faxian got hold of a *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya* in the Abhayagirivihāra (see below).

The story of the nuns' ordination in China through Śrī Laṅkān nuns and an Indian master and the biographical details of the monks involved, Guṇavarman and Saṅghavarman, fit well into the already mentioned network of travelers between China and South Asia: they all share an interest in Vinaya matters and had connections with Śrī Laṅkā. It is very likely that they resided, like Faxian and probably Fasheng, in the Abhayagirivihāra, and that the nuns travelling from the island to China hailed from this monastic community as well.

Faxian's record of the Abhayagirivihāra

As is well known, the famous Chinese traveler-monk Faxian stayed for the last two years in South Asia in Śrī Laṅkā before he returned via the sea route to China, passing through maritime Southeast Asia. The king ruling the island at the time of Faxian's visit was, with all likelihood, Upatissa I (370–412).[93] The Chinese monk resided at Abhayagiri(vihāra) (Faxian: Wuwei-shan 無畏山) and gives a relatively detailed account of the history of the island which differs in some important points from the narrative of the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Dīpavaṃsa* (and the *Cūḷavaṃsa*). In most cases, I tend to see these differences reflecting the narratives of the Abhayagirivihāra's own chronicle or *vaṃsa*[94].

In this article, I will not discuss the full account of Śrī Laṅkā in Faxian's record but will restrict myself to the discussion of the parts of the account which are directly related to the Abhayagirivihāra:[95]

> [Before], the Buddha came to this kingdom to convert an evil *nāga*. Through his supernatural power to appear at a [different] place, he started off with one foot in the north of the royal capital and arrived with the

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the argumentation in favour of such a re-establishing, the possible "mixed" lineage has, as far as I am aware, not been focused on in the discourse around the whole issue.

[93] See DEEG (2005: 157–158).

[94] This approach hopefully will relativise the negative bias regarding the source value of Faxian as, for instance, expressed by SKILLING (1997: 93: "the redoubtable pilgrim Fa-hien").

[95] For a discussion of the whole account of the Lion Island (Faxian: Shizi-guo 師子國), see DEEG (2005: 156–179, and [German translation]).

other foot on the peak of the mountain. The distance between both traces [of the footsteps] is fifteen *yojana*[96]. A king had a large *stūpa* erected on top of the footstep in the north of the city, forty *zhang*[97] high, adorned with gold and silver, and studded with many precious stones. Also, next to the *stūpa* a monastery (*saṅghārāma*) was erected which was called "Without-Fear-Mountain" (*Wuwei-shan* 無畏山: *Abhayagiri*) where five thousand monks reside. A Buddha-hall was constructed [there], equipped with gold and silver inlays and with all kinds of [other] jewels. Inside is standing a statue [made] of green jade[98], three *zhang* high. The seven precious items radiate light from its body [which] lets appear [the statue] so gravely and solemnly that words cannot describe it. In [its] right hand it is holding an invaluable pearl.[99]

The "peak of the mountain" (*shanding* 山頂) clearly refers to the Sri Pada or Adam's peak. There may have been a pilgrimage trail between the two footprints (*buddhapāda*), as indicated by the biography of Vajrabodhi (see below) who went from Anurādhapura to the Sri Pada via a *stūpa* of the Buddha's eye.

The visit of the Buddha to which Faxian refers at the beginning, is the third recorded in the Mahāvihāra *vaṃsa*s. According to these sources, the Buddha follows an invitation of the *nāga* king Maṇiakkhika after having mediated in a conflict between two other *nāga* kings on his previous visit.[100] The extant *vaṃsa*s only mention one footprint, i.e., the one on the mountain. This is not very surprising since the other footprint would have been underneath the main *stūpa* of the great rival monastery of the Mahāvihāra. A comparison between the size of the Abhayagiri *stūpa* and the measure – a height of over 90 m – given by Faxian shows that the monk's description indeed refers to this *stūpa*. It is quite probable that the narrative tradition of the Abhayagiri-monastery's foundation contained a story according to which the Buddha left another footprint at the place where the great *stūpa* was erected later. This would also explain another discrepancy between Faxian's record and the extant *vaṃsa*: according to the latter, the Buddha had landed in Kalyāṇī (modern Kelaniya) and taken his famous step to Sri Pada (Samantasumanakūṭa) from there, while Faxian's

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96   The length of an Indian *yojana* in Faxian (and other Chinese travelogues) is notoriously resisting a clear definition. If one assumes 240 km as the distance between Anuradhapura and Srī Pada, the length of a *yojana* would be 16 km.

97   One *zhang* 丈 measures c. 2.3 m.

98   *qingyu* 青玉 may mean "made of turquoise". Jade may refer to a semi-transparent material or stone.

99   T.2085.864c.21–27: 佛至其國，欲化惡龍。以神足力，一足躡王城北，一足躡山頂，兩跡相去十五由延。於王城北跡上起大塔，高四十丈，金銀莊校，眾寶合成。塔邊復起一僧伽藍，名無畏山，有五千僧。起一佛殿，金銀刻鏤，悉以眾寶。中有一青玉像，高三丈許，通身七寶焰光，威相嚴顯，非言所載。右掌中有一無價寶珠。

100   *Dīpavaṃsa* 2, *Mahāvaṃsa* 1.44.

footprint would have been in Anurādhapura. That the Mahāvihāra chronicles do not refer to the foundation legend of their rivals is understandable.

The *vaṃsa*s contain references to the Buddha statue and the precious pearl although, again, they do not specify that these were located in the precincts of the Abhayagiri-vihāra.

Faxian's record continues with a description of the arrival of a sapling of the *bodhi*-tree but does not give the name of the king and, more strangely, does not link this episode with Aśoka:

> An earlier king of this kingdom had sent [a mission] to Central India to fetch a sapling of the *aśvattha* tree.[101] He planted it next to the Buddha-hall, and the tree [grew] twenty *zhang* high, slanting in southeastern [direction]. [Another] king was afraid that [the tree] could collapse, and therefore he supported the tree all around with eight [or] nine pillars. Where pillars and tree met, the tree sprouted down to the ground and stroke roots. [The tree] measures four arm spans. Although the pillars split in the middle, [they] embraced the tree on the outside, and people did not remove them. A monastery was built underneath the tree,[102] and inside is a seated [Buddha-]statue[103] which is continuously venerated by monastics and laypeople.[104]

The episode is the famous bringing of a branch of the *bodhi*-tree to Śrī Laṅkā as described in detail in the *vaṃsa*s (*Dīpavaṃsa* chapter 16.1; *Mahāvaṃsa* chapter 18: Mahābodhigahaṇo, "The Receiving of the Mahābodhi" & chapter 19: Bodhi'āgamano, "The Arrival of the Bodhi[-tree]")[105] where this is part of establishing links between Aśoka and the island's king Devānaṃpiyatissa and of the story of the introduction of Buddhism on the island. According to Faxian, the original tree growing from the branch/sapling would be located in the Abhayagirivihāra.

In the *Dīpavaṃsa*, king Devānaṃpiyatissa's messenger Ariṭṭha only asks Aśoka/ Asoka to send his daughter, the nun Saṅghamittā, to the island to instigate the

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[101] *beiduo-shu-zi* 貝多樹子: *beiduo* / **pajʰ-ta* is an older transliteration, reduced to a binom by dropping the initial syllable (*as-*), from a Northwest Prakrit (Gāndhārī **aspatha*) for Skt. *aśvattha*. I take *shuzi* 樹子 in the sense of offspring / sapling.

[102] Maybe rather a temple (*Dīpavaṃsa* 22.56: *mahābodhighara*).

[103] This statue may be reflected by the throne of stone (*silāpallaṅka*: *Dīpavaṃsa* 22.56f.) erected by king Abhaya Meghavaṇṇa.

[104] T.2085.865a.2–7: 其國前王遣使中國，取貝多樹子，於佛殿傍種之。高可二十丈，其樹東南傾，王恐倒，故以八九圍柱拄樹。樹當柱處，心生，遂穿柱而下，入地成根。大可四圍許，柱雖中裂，猶裹其外，人亦不去。樹下起精舍，中有坐像，道俗敬仰無倦。

[105] I am not taking into account here the relatively late (10th cent.?) *Mahābodhivaṃsa*; on this text see O. von HINÜBER (1996: 93–94, §191).

first nun ordinations, and it is Aśoka who sends a branch of the original tree.[106] The *Mahāvaṃsa*, however, agrees with Faxian's report that it was the Śrī Laṅkān king who asked for a branch of the tree:

> One day during the rainy season when he was sitting next to the Elder in his own city, the great lord remembered the words spoken by the Elder to send for the Mahābodhi and for the Elder [Saṅghamittā]; and he took counsel with his ministers to urge his own sister-son and minister called Ariṭṭha [to undertake] this task; having thought [about it] and taken advise, he addressed him with the words: "Oh dear, can you go to Dhammāsoka to bring the Mahābodhi and the Elder Saṅghamittā here?" …[107]

Overall, it is interesting to see that the two Mahāvihāra *vaṃsa*s do not claim the tree for the Mahāvihāra but seem to follow a strategy of "vagueness" concerning the place where the branch took root. The *Dīpavaṃsa* (16.30–32) stays unspecific about this site. The *Mahāvaṃsa* presents a rather complex "journey" of the branch when it arrives on the island and then states that it took root in the Mahāmeghavana, an area so broad and unspecific that it can hardly claim to designate the later Mahāvihāra, although the text states that the branch left the city through the southern gate of Anurādhapura before reaching its final place and thereby indirectly claims the original tree for the Mahāvihāra. Interestingly, the tree passes through several places before it arrives at its final destination, first coming from the coast to the area of the future "Eastern Monastery" (aka Pācīnārāma[108]),[109] then passing the village of the *brāhmaṇa* Tivakka (?),[110]

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[106] 16.1. *Caturaṅgiṇiṃ mahāsenaṃ sannayhitvāna khattiyo, tathāgatassa sambodhiṃ ādāya pakkamī tadā.* ("The warrior (Asoka) arrayed the fourfold great army and proceeded taking the *sambodhi*[-tree] of the Tathāgata with him.")

[107] *Mahāvaṃsa* 18.*1. Mahābodhiṃ ca theriṃ ca ānāpetuṃ mahīpati, therena vuttavacanaṃ saramāno sake pure 2. antovassekadivasaṃ nisinno therasantike, sahāmaccehi mantetvā bhāgineyyaṃ sakaṃ sayaṃ 3. Ariṭṭhanāmakāmaccaṃ tasmiṃ kamme niyojanaṃ, mantvā āmantayitvā taṃ idaṃ vacanam abravi: 4. "tāta sakkhisi gantvā tvaṃ Dhammāsokassa santikaṃ, mahābodhiṃ Saṃghamittaṃ theriṃ ānayituṃ idha?" [...]* (Geiger 1958: 140).

[108] See Malalasekera (1974: vol. II, 177, s.v.).

[109] *Mahāvaṃsa* 19.*33. Mahābodhiṃ dasamiyaṃ āropetvā rathe subhe, ānayanto manussindo dumindaṃ taṃ ṭhapāpayi 34. pācīnassa vihārassa ṭhāne ṭhānavicakkhano, pātarāsaṃ pavattesi sasaṃghassa janassa so.* (Geiger 1958: 151). "On the tenth [day, the king] mounted the Mahābodhi[-tree] on a beautiful wagon, and the ruler of men, [able] to discern the [right] places, led this ruler of trees to the place of the [future] eastern monastery and provided a morning meal for the people and the *saṅgha*." This stop was considered quite important as Mahinda himself gave a lecture to the king and the community.

[110] *Mahāvaṃsa* 19.*36. Therassa sutvā kāretvā saṃñāṇāni tahiṃ tahiṃ, paribhuttesu ṭhānesu nisajjādīhi satthunā, 37. Tivakkassa brāhmaṇassa gāmadvāre ca bhūpati, ṭhapāpetvā mahābodhiṃ ṭhānesu tesu tesu ca …* (Geiger 1958: 152). "When [the king] had heard [the instruction] of the Elder, [he] had buildings made here and there at places which were frequented by the teacher (i.e., the Buddha) for sitting down and other [activities], and the master of the earth put down the Mahābodhi at the gate of the village of the *brāhmaṇa*

through the northern gate into the city, and from the southern gate to its final place.[111] It is not clear why such a route with a clear deviation to the north of the city was taken in the first place – the *Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā* interestingly has not much to say about this route and the individual places[112] – and one gets the impression that the branch first went from the "Eastern Monastery" to the site where the Abhayagirivihāra and that the *Mahāvaṃsa* tries to cover this up by not dropping the name of the rival monastery and instead to insert an "unsuspicious" place, the village of the *brāhmaṇa* Tivakka.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* also reports that offshoots of the *bodhi*-tree were planted along the way of the branch and at other places across the island:

> Each one of the eight offshoots of the *bodhi*-[tree] was installed respectively at the port Jambukole at the place where the Mahābodhi had stood [right] after having disembarked the ship, in the village of the *brāhmaṇa* Tivakka, and also in the Thūpārāma, in the Issarasamaṇārāma, in the court around the first Cetiyapabbata, in the village of Kājara, and in the village of Candana. The other thirty-two offsprings of the *bodhi*[-tree] from four [of its] ripe fruits [were planted] everywhere, here and there, in monasteries at places [one] *yojana* [from each other].[113]

In the light of the fact that the *Mahāvaṃsa* admits at least forty trees of the first and second generation on the island – and it is even likely – that the Abhayagirivihāra had a tree of its own[114] which it would then claim, of course, to be the original one growing from the branch brought from India. Faxian's hesitance to drop the name of Aśoka, the Indian king who sent the sapling to

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Tivakka, and at this and that place …"

[111] *Mahāvaṃsa* 19.*39. Mahābodhiṃ pūjayanto rattiṃdivaṃ atandito, ānayitvā cuddasiyaṃ Anurādhapurantikaṃ, 40. vaḍḍhamānakachāyāya puraṃ sādhu vibhūsitaṃ, uttarena duvārena pūjayanto pavesiya 41. dakkhiṇena duvārena nikkhamitvā pavesiya, Mahāmeghavanārāmaṃ catubuddhanivesitaṃ …* (GEIGER 1958: 152). "Venerating the Mahābodhi unrestingly day and night, [the king], on the fourteenth [day] when the shadow was increasing, led [it] near Anurādhapura, the city well adorned with, entering through the northern gate and leaving [the city again] through the southern gate, and entered the Mahāmeghavana park which had been arranged for the four Buddhas [of the past] …".

[112] MALALASEKERA (1935: vol. 2, 404–405).

[113] *Mahāvaṃsa* 19.*60. Patiṭṭhāpesuṃ aṭṭhannaṃ Jambukolamhi paṭṭane, mahābodhiṭṭhitaṭhāne nāvāyorohaṇe tadā, 61. Tivakkabrāhmaṇaggāme, Thūpārāme tatheva ca, Issarasamaṇārāme, Paṭhame cetiyaṅgaṇe, 62. Cetiyapabbatārāme, tathā Kājaragāmake, Candanagāmake cāpi ekekaṃ bodhilaṭṭhikaṃ, 63. sesā catupakkajātā dvattiṃsabodhilaṭṭhiyo, samantā yojanaṭṭhāne vihāresu tahiṃ tahiṃ.* (GEIGER 1958: 154–155).

[114] This is, in fact, supported by *Cūḷavaṃsa* 37.91, where king Sirimeghavaṇṇa (see below) is said "to have built a stone terrace and a handsome wall beside the Bodhi tree Tissavasabha in the Abhaya-vihāra" (see translation by GEIGER 1929: 7). GEIGER 1929 (7, note 3) opines that Tissavasabha refers to the man who planted the tree, but I think that "Bull of Tissa" as the name for the tree makes perfect sense if one assumes that this name is linked to the original planting of the tree through king Devānaṃpiyatissa.

Śrī Laṅkā according to the Mahāvihāra *vaṃsa*s, may have been caused by his awareness that there were two trees in the two main monasteries claiming the same authenticity of being a sapling from the original *bodhi*-tree which was brought from India to Śrī Laṅkā when Buddhism first took hold on the island.

Faxian continues with an account of what must have been the most important Buddhist event in the capital, the procession of the tooth relic:

Always mid-March, the tooth of the Buddha is taken out [of the relic shrine]. Ten days before, the king has an elephant decorated, and has an eloquent man put on royal garb, ride on an elephant, beat the drums and recite:

"For three *asaṃkhyeya[-kalpas]*[115] the *bodhisattva* has, without consideration for his [own] body and life, has caused [himself] suffering by abandoning kingdom, spouse and children, by tearing out and giving to others [his] eyes, by cutting off his flesh to exchange [it for the life] of a dove, by ripping off and distributing his head, by throwing his body in front of a tigress, and by not being stingy with his brain and marrow. Because of such various painful deeds he achieved Buddhahood, explained and taught the *dharma* in the world for forty-five years, converted living beings, brought peace to the restless ones and converted the ones who were not converted yet, and when his karmic connection (*yuan* 緣) with the living beings was exhausted, he entered *parinirvāṇa*. Since the *nirvāṇa*, [since] the Eye of the World[116] was extinguished, one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven years have passed, and the living beings constantly experience suffering. [Now,] ten days after I will have retreated, the tooth of the Buddha should be brought out and be carried to the Abhayagiri monastery. Monastics and laypeople in the kingdom and those who want to increase their merit[117] should prepare the streets, solemnly decorate the alleys and lanes, and arrange for everything needed for offerings [such as] flowers and incense."

After [the man] has announced this, the king gives the instruction to position five hundred statues of the different reincarnations of the *bodhisattva* along both sides of the street, such as Sudāna[118], [his] reincarnation as Śyāma[119], as the king of the elephants, as a deer, or as a horse. All these figures are painted with different colours and decorated so that they look like [real] living beings.

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[115] *asengzhijie* 阿僧祇劫: "immeasurable (Skt. *asaṃkhyeya*) *kalpa*s".

[116] *shiyan* 世眼: Skt. *lokacakṣus*, is an epithet of the Buddha.

[117] *yuzhi-fu-zhe* 欲殖福者.

[118] Xudana 須大拏 / *suə-da'-nɛ*.

[119] Shan 睒 / *ɕiam'*.

After that, the tooth of the Buddha is brought out and is toured around in the middle of the street. Along the street, donations are made [to the relic] until it reaches the Buddha-hall of the Abhaya[giri] monastery. Crowds of monastics and laypeople are gathering, burn incense and kindle lamps. There are continuous *dharma*-services[120] the [whole] day and night. After ninety days, [the tooth relic] returns to the monastery in the city. On each fasting day,[121] the doors and gates of the city monastery are opened, and [the relic] is offered and venerated according to the *dharma*.[122]

The *Cūḷavaṃsa* records that a festival in honour of the tooth relic was established after its arrival from India under king Sirimeghavaṇṇa (traditionally first half but corrected to the second half of 4th cent.):[123]

> In the ninth year of this [King] a Brahman woman brought hither (to Anurādhapura) from the Kaliṅga country the Tooth Relic of the Great Sage (Buddha). In the manner set forth in the Chronicle of the Tooth Relic the Ruler received it with reverence, paid it the highest honours, laid it in an urn of pure crystal, and brought it to the building called Dhammacakka built by Devānaṃpiyatissa on the royal territory. Henceforth this building was the temple of the Tooth Relic. The King his heart swelling with joy, spent 900000 (kahāpanas) and arranged therewith a great festival for the Tooth Relic. He decreed that it should be brought every year to the Abhayuttaravihāra, and that the same sacrificial ceremonial should be observed.[124]
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> (Geiger 1929: 7–8)

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[120] *fashi* 法事: Skt. *saṅghakaraṇīya*.

[121] One of the anonymous reviewers suggested that Chinese "fasting day" in the Śrī Laṅkan context refers to the full-moon day.

[122] T.2085.865a.–20b.8：佛齒常以三月中出之。未出十日，王莊校大象，使一辯說人，著王衣服，騎象上，擊鼓唱言：「菩薩從三阿僧祇劫，苦行，不惜身命，以國、妻、子及挑眼與人，割肉貿鴿，截頭布施，投身餓虎，不悋髓腦，如是種種苦行，為眾生故。成佛在世四十五年，說法教化，令不安者安，不度者度，眾生緣盡，乃般泥洹。泥洹已來一千四百九十七年，世間眼滅，眾生長悲。却後十日，佛齒當出至無畏山精舍，國內道俗欲殖福者；各各平治道路，嚴飾巷陌，辨眾華香，供養之具！」如是唱已，王便夾道兩邊，作菩薩五百身已來種種變現：或作須大拏，或作睒變，或作象王，或作鹿馬，如是形像，皆彩畫莊校，狀若生人。然後佛齒乃出，中道而行，隨路供養，到無畏精舍佛堂上。道俗雲集，燒香，然燈，種種法事，晝夜不息。滿九十日，乃還城內精舍。城內精舍至齋日，則開門戶。禮敬如法。

[123] See Deeg (2005: 165–166). On the relic and its history see also Jayawardena (1975).

[124] *Cūḷavaṃsa 37.92. navame tassa vassamhi dāṭhādhātuṃ mahesino, brāhmaṇī kāci ādāya Kāliṃgamhā idh' ānayi. 93. Dāṭhādhātussa vaṃsamhi vuttena vidhinā sa taṃ, gahetvā bahumānena katvā sammānam uttamaṃ, 94. pakkhippitvā karaṇḍamhi visuddhaphaḷikhubbhave, Devānaṃpiyatissena rājavatthumhi kārite 95. Dhammacakkavhaye gehe vaḍḍhayitvā mahīpati; tato paṭṭhāya taṃ gehaṃ Dāṭhādhātugharaṃ ahu. 96. Rājā satasahassānaṃ navakaṃ puṇṇamānaso, vissajjetvā tato 'kāsi dhāṭhādhātumahāmahaṃ. 97. Anusaṃvaccharaṃ netvā vihāraṃ Abhayuttaraṃ, tassa pūjāvidhiṃ kātuṃ evarūpaṃ niyojayi.* (Geiger 1925: 6–7).

In contrast to this rather brief note, the slightly earlier Dhāṭhāvaṃsa, mentioned in the quoted passage of the *Cūḷavaṃsa*, describes the primordial festival of displaying the tooth relic by king Sirimeghavaṇṇa (Kittisirimegha) in a way which is quite similar to the grandeur depicted in Faxian's record:

> The king then went to his palace and, quickly illuminating the movements of the lotus-like faces of the people who were hoping to greet the relic gave order to prepare the city and the road [leading to] the monastery.[125] The driveway was swept, the dust being settled by sprinkling of water, made pleasant by strewing out of sand, [and] erected and the vaults were prepared, decorated with gold, etc., and studded with the forms of tigers, etc. The heat of the [sun]rays was held back by the shadow [of canopies], the rows of banners moved by the wind displayed [their] dance, the streets had achieved the colour like the lines [of trees] in spring forests through rows of well-grown plantain trees. Hundreds of freshly filled jars showed that the expected bliss of heaven and final release [from *saṃsāra*] will be fulfilled, and an inauspicious day became an auspicious day through aromatic smoke produced by essence of camphor, *tagara* and *āgaru*. … The lord of Laṅkā placed the relic of the ornament of the Three Worlds[126] on the best of chariots yoked to stallions as pale as the moon and made bright by the shining of jewels and, after having prostrated [in front of it], spoke the words: "…" Then the king, skilled in suitable conduct, sent off the splendid driverless chariot [and] went himself with a big crowd performing an incomparable special [act of] adoration. With the multitude of shouting of the big crowd of people, the widespread roaring neighing of the horses, the great thunder of the drums, the trumpeting of the elephants the city appeared like a stormy ocean. The ladies of the households [who] had gone to both [sides] of the street were joyful, threw golden ornaments[127] through the windows, let rain [down] showers of flowers which were beneficial for all and whirled around [their] garments over their own heads. When the chariot, like a ship sailing on the surface of the sea, had arrived near the eastern gate of the city, the assembly of monks and all men there were satisfied and venerated [the relic] in different ways. After having performed a circumambulation of the city, the best of chariots went outside [of the city] through the northern gate and, like a merchant ship at a landing place, stopped at the place where

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[125] It is difficult to decide whether in the compound *vihāra-* is to be taken as singular or plural. I translate as singular since the only monastery mentioned in the text is the Abhayagirivihāra (Abhayuttara- vihāra- in stanza 67).

[126] *tilokatilaka* obviously is a poetic construction (*tiloka* + *tilaka*) in which *tilaka*, usually "spot, mark", has a metaphorical meaning in the translated sense (see Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–1875: vol. 3, 337b, s.v. 4, "die Zierde von Etwas").

[127] *kanakābhataṇe* to be emended to *kanakābharaṇe*.

the sage Mahinda had delivered a speech about the *dhamma*. At this place, the lord of Laṅkā took the most excellent tooth relic of the victor out of the jewel-studded relic box like the moon [emerging from] the evening cloud and showed [it] to the people in the provinces, the settlements and the cities. … The lord of Laṅkā, after having venerated the priceless relic of the omniscient, enlarged the residence of the tooth relic by spending nine *lakh*, and daily paid honour [to it] in the royal quarters. The king called Kittisiramegha brought the relic to the Abhuttara-monastery (i.e., the Abhayagirivihāra), and truthfully inscribed an edict [establishing] the custom to provide for an adoration [of the relic] in this way every year.[128]

As pointed out by Tilman Frasch (2010, 2017: 67–70, 2023: 215), the relic had played a quite important role in the "triangle of power" of the king and the two competing monasteries in the fourth and probably also early fifth centuries when Faxian had stayed on the island. The festival of the relic was still a relatively recent event. It may well be, as Frasch suggests, that king Sirimeghavaṇṇa chose the Abhayagirivihāra as the hosting monastery for the newly arrived tooth relic because the Mahāvihārins were "initially rather hostile against towards the tooth relic and its veneration" (Frasch 2010: 650). Since both texts, the *Cūḷavaṃsa* and the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*,[129] were composed or compiled at a time when the

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[128] *Dāṭhāvaṃsa 5.47. Rājā tato bhavanaṃ eva sakkaṃ upecca, dhātuppaṇāmaṃ abhipatthayataṃ janānaṃ, khippaṃ mukhambujavanāni vikāsayanto, sajjetuṃ āha nagarañ ca vihāramaggaṃ 48. Sammajitā salilasecanasantadhūlī, racchā tadā 'si pulinattharaṇābhirāmā, ussāpitāni kanakādivicittitāni, vyagghādirūpakhacitāni ca toraṇāni 49. Chāyānivāritavirocanaraṃsitāpā, naccaṃ va dassayati vātadhutā dhajālī, vīthī vasantavanarājisamānavaṇṇā, jātā sujātakadalītarumālikāhi 50. Saṃsūcayanti ca sataṃ navapuṇṇakumbhā, saggāpavaggasukham icchitam ijjhatīti, kappūrasāratagarāgarusambhavehi, dhūpehi duddinam atho sudinaṃ ahosi [...] 53. Laṅkissaro 'tha sasipaṇḍaravājiyutte, ujjotite rathavare ratanappabhāhi, dhātuṃ tilokatilakassa patiṭṭhāpetvā, etaṃ avoca vacanaṃ paṇipātapubbaṃ [...] 55. Rājā tato samucitācāraṇesu dakkho, vissajji phussarathaṃ aṭṭhitasārathiṃ taṃ, pacchā sayaṃ mahatiyā parisāya saddhiṃ, pūjāvisesam asamaṃ agamā karonto 56. Ukkuṭṭhinādavisarena mahājanassa, hesāravena visaṭena turaṅgamānaṃ, bherīravena mahatā karigajjitena, uddāmasāgarasamaṃ nagaraṃ ahosi 57. Āmoditā ubhayavīthigatā kulitthī, vātāyanehi kanakābhataṇe khipiṃsu, sabbatthakaṃ kusumavassam avassayiṃsu, celāni c'eva bhamayiṃsu nijuttamaṅge 58. Pācīnagopurasamīpam upāgatamhi, tasmiṃ rathe jaladhipiṭṭhigate 'va pote, tuṭṭhā tahiṃ yatigaṇamanujā ca sabbe, sampūjayiṃsu vividhehi upāyehi 59. Katvā padakkhiṇam atho puram uttarena, dvārena so rathavaro bahi nikkhamitvā, ṭhāne Mahindamunidhammakathāpavitte, aṭṭhāsi titthagamitā iva bhaṇḍanāvā 60. Ṭhane tahiṃ dasanadhātuvaraṃ jinassa, Laṅkissaro ratanacittā karaṇḍagabbhā, sañjāghanā iva vidhuṃ bahi nīharitvā, dassesi jānapadanegamanāgarānaṃ [...] 66. Laṅkissaro pi navalakkhaparibbayena, sabbaññudhātum atulaṃ abhipūjayitvā, taṃ dantadhātubhavanaṃ puna vaḍḍhayitvā, antopuramhi paṭivāsaram accayittha 67. Dhātuṃ vihāram Abhayuttaram eva netvā, pūjaṃ vidhātum anuvaccharam evarūpaṃ, rājā 'tha Kittisiramegha samavhayo so, cārittalekkham abhilekhayi saccasandho;* quoted after Rhys Davids' edition (Rhys Davids 1884: 148–150); see also the translations by Coomara Swamy (1874: 75–79), and Law (1925: 48–51).

[129] The author of the text is a monk called Dhammakitti who, according to O. von Hinüber (1996: 94–95, §193) can be dated to the 13th century. The *Cūḷavaṃsa*'s, the early part of

Mahāvihāra had secured supremacy, the Abhayagirivihāra had been reintegrated in its fold, and the tooth relic was under the Mahāvihāra's control and in the new political centre in Polonaruva, Mahāvihāra authors do not seem to have a problem recognising the fact that in the past, it had been the Abhayagirivihāra which had been given the right to receive – and, according to Faxian – house the relic, although the *Cūḷavaṃsa* seems to be reluctant to describe the grandeur of the festival.

Faxian's description of the Mahāvihāra[130] is quite neutral and does not reflect any rivalry or competition with his "own" monastery and, with 2000 monks more than its competitor, the predominance of the Abhayagirivihāra. The most important "feature" of this monastery is the cremation of an (anonymous) *arhat*:

> Seven *li* to the south of the city is a monastery called Mahāvihāra with a population of three thousand monks. [Once] there was a monk of high virtue who kept the monastic rules in such a pure and correct way that all people in this kingdom assumed that he was an *arhat*. When he was dying, the king came to visit him. He convened the monks according to the *dharma* and asked [them]: "Has [this] *bhikṣu* reached enlightenment?" Thereupon, [the monks] answered truthfully: "He is an *arhat*." After he had died, the king arranged a funeral for him according to the rules of the Vinaya related to *arhat*s. Four or five *li* to the east of the monastery, he erected a massive funeral pyre, three *zhang* broad and wide and of about the same height. Sandalwood, *agaru*[-wood][131] and all [the other] fragrant timber was put on top of it. Staircases were constructed at all four sides. Pure and perfectly white felt[132] was put on top of it, and [everything] around was covered with strings of leaves and grass[133]; a palanquin[134] was made which looked like a local[135] hearse[136], but without

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which was compiled by another monk called Dhammakitti, dated to the second half of the 12th century by O. von Hinüber (1996: 88, §182), reference to this text suggests that either the author of the *Cūḷavaṃsa* is later, or the author of the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* is earlier.

[130] Mohebikeluo 摩訶毗可羅 / *ma-xa-bji-kʰa'-la*: *bikeluo* for *vihāra* is a *hapax legomenon* in the Buddhist canon. If Faxian's transliteration here does not reflect a local idiosyncretic pronunciation (*Mahāvikāra), this seems to be a mistake for *biheluo* 毗訶羅.

[131] *chensui* 沈水: Skt. *agaru* or *aguru*; *Amyris agalocha*, or similar plants. Cp. the description of Rāvaṇa's funeral in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Caland 1896: 168), or in the same text of Daśaratha's funeral (Caland 1896: 169) where sandalwood and flowers are also mentioned.

[132] In the ancient Indian funearl ritual the corpse is covered with an unused white garment (Caland 1896: 16) or a linen cloth (funeral of Rāvaṇa, Caland 1896: 168).

[133] *mengyi* 蒙藉: this may correspond to the scattering of grass and flowers around the pyre in the Vedic ritual: Caland (1896: 37).

[134] *yu* 轝: originally, a wheel-less palanquin or sedan chair.

[135] *cijian* 此間: "local" here refers to China.

[136] *shuanju* 輴車: according to the Vedic ritual, this should be a chariot (Caland 1896: 20), but the accounts of Mahinda's funeral in the *vaṃsa*s (see below) rather support a wheel-less

[the embellishments] of dragons and fish.

When the time for the cremation[137] had come, everybody, the king, the people, and the fourfold community, came together and made offerings of flowers and incense. [Along the way] of the hearse to the funerary place, the king had donated [additional] flowers and incense. After the offerings were finished, the palanquin and the flowers were sprinkled with ghee[138] and [finally] set on fire. While the fire was burning, all people venerated [the pyre] full of devotion[139], everybody took off their outer garment[140] and threw [it together with their] feather fans and umbrellas[141] into the fire to feed the pyre. After the pyre had burnt down, the bones were collected[142] and a *stūpa* was erected [for the relic]. Unfortunately, when Faxian arrived, he did not find [the *arhat*] alive but only his tomb.[143]

It is the last sentence which, in my opinion, prevented a positive identification of the *arhat* in Faxian's record.[144] The description is detailed enough to only refer

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palanquin or bier (*kūṭāgāra*: "a temporary or moveable pavilion, a canopied litter", CONE 2001: 723b).

[137] 闍維 *duwei*: see Pāli *jhāpita*, "pyre".

[138] *suyou* 酥油: Skt. *ghṛta*. For the pouring of fat and scattering grass and fragrant substances on the pyre see CALAND (1896: 48).

[139] This may correspond to the *anuśaṃsana* in the ancient Indian ritual according to the Taittirīya school (CALAND 1896: 66).

[140] Here, Faxian may have interpreted an old purification ritual – the burning of the upper garment which becomes impure through contact with the corpse – in a rationalist way; the cremation of an *arhat* would hardly have caused impurity although the old cleansing procedures were still maintained – as expressed in Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra*: see SCHOPEN (1994: 65). It has to be admitted that the general problem with a direct comparison of Faxian's account with the older Indian sources is that the ancient ritual texts deal with the cremation itself only very briefly (CALAND 1896: 63), but instead focus on the cleaning process after the cremation during which the upper garment is not worn (CALAND 1896: 76–77).

[141] *yuyi-sangai* 羽儀傘蓋: the explicit mentioning of fans may be linked with the old custom of fanning the corpse which CALAND (1896: 171), explains as a means "to shake of the soul" ("die seele abzuschütteln"); in a ritualized form, fanning is also practiced in case of the bones and ashes after the cremation (CALAND 1896: 135, 139, 149) and is also found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (CALAND 1896: 170).

[142] The collection of the bones was already part of the ancient Indian funeral practice: see CALAND 1896: 99–105.

[143] T.2085.865b.12–26: 城南七里，有一精舍，名摩訶毘可羅，有三千僧住。有一高德沙門，戒行清潔；國人咸疑是羅漢。臨終之時，王來省視，依法集僧而問："比丘得道耶？"其便以實答言："是羅漢。"既終，王即案經律，以羅漢法葬之。於精舍東四，五里，積好大薪，縱廣可三丈餘，高亦爾，近上著栴檀，沉水諸香木，四邊作階上，持淨好白㲲周匝蒙積。作大轝床，似此間輀車，但無龍魚耳。當闍維時，王及國人，四眾咸集，以華香供養。從輿至墓所，王自華香供養。供養訖，轝著積上，酥油遍灌，然後燒之。火然之時，人人敬心，各脫上服，及羽儀，傘蓋，遙擲火中，以助闍維。闍維已，收檢取骨，即以起塔。法顯至，不及其生存，唯見葬。

[144] For a detailed discussion of this problem see DEEG (2005: 168–171).

to a very eminent individual in the history of the island – and the only *arhat* whose funeral is described in detail is Mahinda, the famous "missionary" of Śrī Laṅkā and son of Aśoka, according to the *vaṃsa*s, son of Aśoka. A cremation of an *arhat* just before Faxian's stay on the island is rather unlikely; although there are narratives about *arhat*s in later periods,[145] an *arhat* of the status as described by Faxian would have belonged to *illo tempore* of a time when the *dharma* was still fully intact, was a *saddharma* – and it certainly was not in the view of a Chinese Buddhist who thought to be living, at best, in the period of the *prātirūpakadharma*.

In the *vaṃsa*s, the *parinirvāṇa* of Mahinda and his cremation are described in detail. There, the *parinirvāna* happens on the Cetiyapabbata (*Mahāvaṃsa* 20.32) and the body is then transferred to the Mahāvihāra, ordered by king Uttiya, and finally is cremated at a place east of the monastery (*Mahāvaṃsa* 20.34–47):

> When king Uttiya heard this he went thither, stricken by the dart of sorrow, and when he had paid homage to the *thera* and oft and greatly had lamented (over him) he caused the dead body of the *thera* to be laid forthwith in a golden chest sprinkled with fragrant oil, and the well closed chest to be laid upon a golden, adorned bier; and when he had caused it then to be lifted upon the bier, commanding solemn ceremonies, he caused it to be escorted by a great multitude of people, that had come together from this place and that, and by a great levy of troops; commanding due offerings (he caused it to be escorted) on the adorned street to the variously adorned capital and brought through the city in procession by the royal highway to the Mahāvihāra. When the monarch had caused the bier to be placed here for a week in the Pañhambamālaka – with triumphal arches, pennons, and flowers, and with vases filled with perfumes the *vihāra* was adorned and a circle of three *yojana*s around, by the king's decree, but the whole island was adorned in like manner by the decree of the *deva*s – and when the monarch had commanded divers offerings throughout the week he built up, turned toward the east in the Therānaṃbandhamālaka, a funeral pyre of sweet smelling wood, leaving the (place of the later) Great *thūpa* on the right, and when he had brought the beautiful bier thither and caused it to be set upon the pyre he carried out the rites of the dead. And here did he build a *cetiya* when he had caused the relics to be gathered. Taking the half of the relics the monarch caused *thūpa*s to be build the the Cetiya-mountain and in all the *vihāra*s. The place where the burial of this sage's body had taken place is called, to do him honour, Isibhūmaṅgaṇa. From that time onwards they used to bring the dead bodies of holy men from three *yojana*s around to this spot and there to burn them.[146]

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[145] The stories discussed by Walpola RAHULA ([1956] 1993: 219–229) are often about the weaknesses and deficiencies of these *arhat*s.

[146] *34. Taṃ sutvā Uttīyo rājā sokasallasamappito, gantvā theraṃ ca vanditvā kanditvā bahudhā*

The major differences in comparison with Faxian's report are that in the *vaṃsa* no doubt is expressed about Mahinda's status of an *arhat* and, of course, that the name of the *arhat* is given. While in the report of the *vaṃsa* the body is moved around, Faxian does not give any concrete name where the individual events happen, although it seems to be clear that they are to be located in the sphere of the Mahāvihāra. It seems as if the source of the information about the affiliation of the famous *arhat* which Faxian received, was not as straightforward as far as the importance of the arhat was concerned, and this may well have originated from an Abhayagiri point of view who could hardly negate the role of the *arhat* for the introduction of Buddhism in Śrī Laṅkā but also could not claim this *arhat* for themselves.

Despite the similarities – both accounts locate the pyre to the east of the Mahā-vihāra, a feature which corresponds astonishingly well with the Brahminical rules for funerals[147] – Faxian is more detailed about the details of the ritual elements of the cremation. This could be due to a stronger emphasis on rit-ualistic which were reflected in the source of information about the fu-neral of the *arhat* which were available to Faxian (Abhayagirivaṃsa). One would, in the first instance, think that the instructions given by the Buddha about how to deal with his body after his death and the account of his cre-mation in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*[148] may have had an impact on the de-scription, but apart from some common places (erection of the pyre, kin-dling of the pyre) and the general parallels with the Vedic funerary practices which have already been highlighted by WALDSCHMIDT (1948: 263–264), the

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bahuṃ. 35. *āsittagandhatelāya lahuṃ sovaṇṇadoṇiyā, theradehaṃ khīpāpetvā taṃ doṇiṃ sādhu phussitaṃ 36. Sovaṇṇakūṭāgāramhi ṭhapāpetvā alaṅkate, kūṭāgāre ropayitvā kārento sādhukīḷanaṃ 37. mahatā ca janoghena āgatena tato tato, mahatā ca baloghena kārento pūjāvidhiṃ 38. alaṅkatena maggena bahudhālaṅkataṃ puraṃ, ānayitvāna nagare cārevā rājavīthiyā 39. Mahāvihāraṃ ānetvā ettha Pañhambamālake, kūṭāgāraṃ ṭhapāpetvā sattāhaṃ so mahīpati 40. – Toraṇaddhajapupphehi gandhapuṇṇaghaṭehi ca, vihāraṃ ca samantā ca maṇḍitaṃ yojanattayaṃ 41. ahu rājānubhāvena, dīpaṃ tu sakalaṃ pana, ānubhāvena devānaṃ tathevālaṅkataṃ ahu – 42. nānāpūjā kārayitvā taṃ sattāhaṃ so mahīpati, puratthimadisābhāge Therānaṃbandhamālake 43. kāretvā gandhacitakaṃ Mahāthūpaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ, karonto tattha netvā taṃ kūṭāgāraṃ manoramaṃ. 44. citakamhi ṭhapāpetvā sakkāraṃ antimaṃ akā, cetiyaṃ cettha kāresi gāhāpetvāna dhātuyo. 45. Upaḍḍhadhātuṃ gāhetvā Cetiyapabbate pi ca, sabbesu ca vihāresu thūpe kāresi khattiyo. 46. Isino dehanikkhepakataṭṭhānaṃ hi tassa taṃ, vuccate bahumānena Isibhumaṅganaṃ iti. 47. Tato pabhuti ariyānaṃ samantā yojanattaye, sarīraṃ āharitvāna tamhi desamhi ḍayhati.* (GEIGER 1958: 161–163). The same events are described in *Dīpavaṃsa* 17.95–109.

[147] According to the *śāstra*s, the corpse is to be carried through the eastern (alternatively the western) city gate to the cremation place: see CALAND 1896: 23). The direction east may have been influenced by the fact that the word for "east" in Skt., *pūrva*, also has the meaning "front, ahead", and that the regulation stipulates that nobody in the procession is supposed to look back – originally probably to avoid a return of the dead.

[148] For an analysis of the different versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* with respect to the instructions and the funeral / cremation see WALDSCHMIDT (1948: 210–216, 263–265).

funeral of the Buddha (e.g., the use of coffins, the washing of the body, mi-
raculous events) is too extraordinary to have been the direct model for a fu-
neral even of an eminent *arhat* like Mahinda. Some of the details given for
the funeral, however, correspond astonishingly well with the regulations of
a funeral in the Brahminical ritual *śāstra*s (see the notes to the translation
above), although Faxian claims that they are drawn from Vinaya-rules about
*arhat*s (which do not, as far as I know, exist in any of the monastic codes[149]).

Faxian then continues with what is obviously part of the foundation story
of the Mahāvihāra – although the parallel story in the *Mahāvaṃsa* does not
mention the name of the monastery, but only describes the establishment of the
vast monastic boundary (*sīmā*) of the terrain on which the Mahāvihāra will be
erected (see below):

> The king at that time was very pious and dedicated to the Buddhist
> *dharma*. He wanted to erect a new monastery for the *saṅgha*. First, he
> convened a large assembly and fed [the monks]. After having made his
> offerings, he selected a pair of excellent cattle, adorned their horns with
> gold, silver and [other] precious items and made a golden plough. [Then],
> the king himself plowed [some] *qing*[150] of land an all four sides [of the
> land]. After that, he distributed [it to the *saṅgha*], donated families, fields,
> and houses and documented this [donation] on iron plates.[151] From these
> times, these [plates] were passed on from generation to generation, and
> no[body] dared to abandon or to change them[152].[153]

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[149] For a discussion of funeral arrangements for (ordinary) monks in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-
vinaya* see SCHOPEN (1994). The focus in these sources is clearly on the treatment of the body
(*śarīrapūjā*) and of the relics and the erection of funeral *stūpa*s or *caitya*s.

[150] 1 *qing* 頃 = 100 *mu* 畝, c. 11.39 English acres, about 4,000 square meters. The text does not
specify how many *qing* 頃 were marked by the king, but since, according to the *Dīpavaṃsa*,
the *sīmā* was supposed to have encompassed the area of the *saṅgha* of *Anurādhapura*, it must
have been a respectable area.

[151] Most royal inscriptions on metal in India are on copper or bronze plates, iron being used
extremely rarely: see SALOMON (1998: 129–130). On royal donation inscriptions on metal
plates in early and medieval South Asia – but not from such an early period (Maurya,
3rd century BCE) as assumed in Faxian's record – see SALOMON (1998: 113–115), and
SCHMIEDCHEN (1993). Faxian's remark that nobody dared to change the regulation of the
king may reflect the part of the inscriptions protecting the donation from being reversed: see
SCHMIEDCHEN (2011: 154).

[152] This remark indicates that, in principle, the king could reverse or change the conditions of the
donation. In concrete terms, king Mahāsena who favoured the Abhayagirivihāra did indeed
try to change *sīmā* of the Mahāvihāra in favour of the other monastery.

[153] T.2085.865b.26–c1:   時王篤信佛法，欲為眾僧作新精舍。先設大會，飯食供養已，乃
選好上牛一雙，金銀寶物莊校角上。作好金犁，王自耕頃四邊，然後割給民戶，田，
宅，書以鐵券。自是已後，代代相承，無敢廢易。"

The odd point here is that the foundation of the Mahāvihāra by establishing the boundary of the territory (*sīmā*) happens after the cremation of the *arhat* but still during the rule of the same king who by now has turned into a fervent follower of Buddhism, while according to the *vaṃsa*s this all happens before the death of Mahinda under the rule of king Uttiya's older brother and famous predecessor, king Devānaṃpiyatissa (*Mahāvaṃsa* 15.180–194).

Again, it seems as if Faxian's source wants to reduce the importance of the Mahāvihāra by ascribing its foundation after the passing away of Mahinda and thus weakening the direct link between the monk and the monastery: while in the *vaṃsa*s the king donates the monastery directly to Mahinda and thereby gives the new monastery its status and authority, this connection between the king, the *arhat*, and the monastery is absent in Faxian's record; there, the king not only has initial doubts about the status of the monk but also donates the terrain for the Mahāvihāra to an anonymous *saṅgha*. All of this would make sense in a version of the events in an *Abhayagiri-vaṃsa*: the existence and importance of the famous Buddhist monk and Aśoka's son could not be denied, but his link with the king and with the competing monastery was, let us day, neutralised.

An interesting test case for the credibility of Faxian and the formation of different versions of certain events in different *vaṃsa* traditions is the next sub-episode in Faxian's record describing the demarcation of the area which is donated to the *saṅgha* and on which the new monastery is to be built. In the standard version of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (as edited and translated by Geiger) there is only one verse (v.190) according to which the king is ploughing the boundary in a circle (-*vaṭṭi*), and then Mahinda in a kind of final act marks the boundary, probably to give the action more authority as indicated by the earthquake occurring at that time:

> He (i.e., the king) thus approached the Elders and paid his respects to these to whom respect was due; he then [ploughed] a circular furrow, making it [start] on the opposite bank of the Kadamba-river[154], and letting it end when the river was reached again. When the king had declared the marks by the simple[155] furrow for thirty-two *mālaka*s[156], and and for the Thūpārāma; when the marks had been announced, the loft-minded great Elder (Mahinda) declared the inner marks of the *sīmā* according to the rules, then fixed the inner boundary-marks[157] likewise according

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[154] I.e., east of Anurādhapura.

[155] *dīna*, "mean, inferior, etc.", not translated by Geiger, here obviously refers to the fact that the king's boundary was an outer and secondary one which had to be confirmed by Mahinda.

[156] The *mālaka(sīmā)*, aka *khaṇḍasīmā*, is also called "being located lower" (*nīcavatthuka*) and is a way to divide the "great boundary" (*mahāsīmā*) into smaller, more manageable areas: see KIEFFER-PÜLZ (1992: 192–194). It is also interesting that the number of *mālaka*s is thirty-two, the same number as that of the main marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of a Buddha.

[157] The space between two *sīmā*s, in this case obviously between the outer one marked by the

to the custom; and thus the powerful one (i.e., the king) established the *sīmā*s on the same day, [and] the great earth shook when the fixing of the boundaries was completed.[158]

However, in some manuscripts, the event is elaborated in more verses. There, the king is ploughing the wide area with a golden plough:

Going to the other shore of the river with the Elders, [the king] went [on] ploughhing with a golden plough; the two auspicious elephant Mahāpaduma and Kuñjara were yoked to the golden plough, and the great warlord of the four parts of the army, the warrior, the tamer of foes first made visible with the plough the furrow at the *mālaka* of Kunta, [with] adorned filled pitchers, beautiful flags of different colours, vessels with ground sandalwood, golden and silver staffs, mirrors heavily [adorned] with flowers, baskets precious through blossoms, umbrellas [made] of arch[-like] banana[-leaves],[159] etc., encompassed by selected women, sounding various musical instruments, encompassed by those who had plenty of power, filling the four quarters with auspicious songs of praise, and together with hundreds of people waiving their clothes to express their praise the king went ploughing in festive devotion and performed a circumvention of the city and the monastery until [he], going and stopping [on the way], reached the river again and accomplished the *sīmā*.[160]

I only give the first eight stanzas of a total of twenty which Geiger considers them an early insertion into the *Mahāvaṃsa*;[161] these verses correspond almost

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king and the inner one established by Mahinda. On this space (*sīmantarikā*) see Kieffer-Pülz (1992: 91–96 and 249–252).

[158] *Mahāvaṃsa* 15.190. … *Tattha there upāgantvā vanditvā vandanārahe 191. paṭititthakaṃ kārayanto Kadambanadiyā va so, sītavaṭṭiṃ kurumāno nadiṃ patvā samāpayi. 192. Raññā dināya sītāya nimitte parikittiya, dvattiṃsamālakatthaṃ ca Thūpārāmatthaṃ eva ca 193. nimitte kittayitvāna mahāthero mahāmati, sīmantaranimitte ca kittayitvā yathāvidhi 194. abandhi sabbasīmāyo tasmiṃ yeva dine vasī, mahāmahī akampittha sīmābandhe samāpite.* (Geiger 1958: 127). Translation adopted from Geiger (1912: 111).

[159] I take the accusatives starting with *samalaṃkaṭaṃ* and ending with *toraṇakadalichattādiṃ* as quasi-adverbial.

[160] *1. Saha therehi gantvāna nadiyoparititthakaṃ, tato kasanto agamāsi hemanaṅgalam ādiya. 2. Mahāpadumo Kuñjaro ca ubho nāgā sumaṅgalā, suvaṇṇanaṅgale yuttā; paṭhame Kuntamālake 3. caturaṅginīmahāseno saha therehi khattiyo, gahetvā naṅgalaṃ sītaṃ dassayitvā arindamo 4. samalaṃkaṭaṃ puṇṇaghaṭaṃ nānārāgaṃ dhajaṃ subhaṃ, pātiṃ candanacuṇṇaṃ ca soṇṇarajatadaṇḍakam 5. ādāsaṃ pupphabharitaṃ samuggaṃ kusumagghiyaṃ, toraṇakadalichattādiṃ gahititthiparivārito 6. nānāturiyasaṃghuṭṭho baloghaparivārito, thutimaṅgalagītehi pūrayanto catuddisaṃ 7. sādhukāraninādehi celukkhapasatehi ca, mahatā chaṇapūjāya kasanto bhūmipo agā 8. vihāraṃ ca puraṃ ceva kurumāno padakkhiṇaṃ, sīmāya gamanaṭṭhānaṃ nadiṃ patvā samāpayi.* (Geiger 1958: 331–332, Appendix B).

[161] See his discussion in Geiger (1958: xxxvi–xxxvii).

verbatim to *Dīpavaṃsa* 14.28–34[162] which shows that they are older than stanza 190 in Geiger's edited text. The other twelve verses are mostly dedicated to the namedropping of the thirty-two *mālaka*s. The description of the king's action in this version is quite close to Faxian's report (golden plough, emphasis on the size of the marked area). One possibility to explain the "downsizing" of the king's action to stanza 190 – the *Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā* only comments on this[163] – and the parallels between Faxian and the longer part in both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the alternative *Mahāvaṃsa*-reading may be that these originally were part of the *Abhayagirivaṃsa* version of the story which could, in the end, not be accepted by the Mahāvihārins.

Faxian's report ends with a list of the manuscripts which he obtained during his stay on the island:

> Faxian stayed in this kingdom for two years, searched for [texts and finally] obtained a *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Mahīśāsaka[164], [and also] obtained a *Dīrghāgama*, a *Saṃyuktāgama* and also a "Sundered Collection"; all these [texts] were not yet available in the land of the Han.[165]

The texts which Faxian brought back from Śrī Laṅkā were almost certainly acquired in the Abhayagirivihāra.[166] Among them were a *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya* which may be taken as an indicator that the Abhayagirivihāra had a more liberal attitude towards the *nikāya* affiliation of canonical texts.[167] As for the language, it can be assumed that they were in Sanskrit rather than in Pāli.[168] Of the other two texts, the *Dīrghāgama* (*Chang-ahan* 長阿含) was not translated because another version (T.1) had already reached China and had been translated by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in 413, but the *Saṃyuktāgama* (*Za-ahan* 雜阿含) brought back by Faxian was translated later (T.99) by Guṇabhadra (fl. 435–443).[169]

An interesting case is the *Zazang* 雜藏 the title of which, in Sanskrit, could be **Saṃyuktapiṭaka* or **Kṣudrakapiṭaka*, the last reconstruction being the

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[162] OLDENBERG (1879: 75 [edition] and 181–182 [translation]).

[163] See GEIGER (1958: xxxvi).

[164] *Mishasai* 彌沙塞: T.1421, alias *Wufen-lü* 五分律, translated by Buddhajīva / Fotuoshi 佛陀什 (fl. 423–24) and Zhu Daosheng 竺道生 (fl. 397–434).

[165] T.2085.865c.24–26: 法顯住此國二年，更求得彌沙塞律藏本，得長阿含雜阿含，復得一部雜藏；此悉漢土所無者。

[166] For a discussion of these texts see DE JONG (1981).

[167] DE JONG (1981) seems to avoid the question of the provenience of these texts, although he discusses the *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya* at some length.

[168] On a different opinion – that the literature of the Abhayagirivihāra was mainly written in Pāli, Prakrit or some kind of hybrid Sanskrit – see COUSINS (2012: 85).

[169] On the identification of T.99 with the manuscript brought back by Faxian see GLASS (2010).

preferable one. It is normally assumed that this is the relatively short text called *Zazang-jing* 雜藏經 (T.745) which Faxian translated, but this identification is more than doubtful because of several reasons: The numeral classificatory *bu* 部 is normally not used for a single *sūtra* but for a set of texts.[170] The title of is *Zazang-jing* is not identical with *Zazang* but could just mean "(a) *sūtra* from the *Zazang*". A *Zazang*, on the other hand, is well attested in the Chinese canon: it is usually considered a "basket" (*piṭaka*, *zang*) outside of the standard Tripiṭaka (see below[171]). The famous Kumārajīva (344–413), for instance, is said to have learnt the (or a) *Zazang* in Kaśmīr at the very young age of eight.[172]

What this *Kṣudrakapiṭaka / Zazang*[173] was said or thought to really have comprised may be concluded from contextualising minor pieces of information found in the Chinese canon, although it seemed to have been quite an open repository for all kinds of texts. The "Foreword" of the *Ekottarikāgama / Zengyi-ahan-jing* 增壹阿含經, translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva (fl. 383–398), for example, has the following stanza about the Buddhist canon:

> The *sūtra*s [as] the first basket (*piṭaka*), the Vinaya [as] the second basket, and the *sūtra*s of the Abhidharma[174] make up the Three Baskets (*tripiṭaka*); the profundity of the meaning of the Vaipulya-Mahāyāna[175] and the [other] *sūtra*s form the "Basket of Miscellaneous" (*Zazang*).[176]

An even longer and more varied list of texts or text genres included in the *Zazang* is given in the report of the council of Rājagṛha of the *Dharmaguptaka-*

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[170] For instance, Sengzhao 僧肇 (c. 374–414), in his foreword to the *Chang-ahan-jing*, states this *Āgama* of thirty *sūtra*s is one *bu* (T.1.1a.13).

[171] This is also the position in other texts like the *Fenbie-gongde-lun* 分別功德論 (T.1507) and the *Xuanji-sanzang-ji-zazang-zhuan* 撰集三藏及雜藏傳 (T.2026): PALUMBO (2013: 214 and 221).

[172] T.2059.330b.11–12: 什至即崇以師禮，從受雜藏，中、長二含，凡四百萬言。 ("When [Kumārajīva] arrived [in Kaśmīr, he] paid the veneration as a teacher [to Bandhudatta] and received from [him] the *Zazang* and both the *Madhyama-* and *Dīrghāgama*, altogether in four million words.") PALUMBO (2013: 105) suggests that *Zazang* may be a mistake for *Za-ahan* = *Saṃyuktāgama*, but the text of the *Gaoseng-zhuan* explicitly states that Kumārajīva received two *āgama*s (*erhan*) from Bandhudatta.

[173] *Zazang* has been discussed by PALUMBO (2013: 105–108).

[174] *Apitan-jing* 阿毘曇經: *jing* here just means "text" and is not to be taken literally in the sense of *sūtra*.

[175] *Fangdeng-dasheng* 方等大乘: this refers to the *Mahāyāna-sūtra*s in general as being extensive and vaste (*vaipulya / fangdeng*): see, for example, the *(Mahāyāna-)Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra / Da-banniepan-jing* 大般涅槃經 translated by Dharmakṣema / Tanwuchen 曇無讖 (385–433) (T.374.405b.5–6): 何等名為祕密之藏？所謂方等大乘經典。 ("Which [texts] are called the secret basket? These are the *Vaipulya-mahāyāna-sūtra*s.").

[176] T.125.550c.9–10: 契經一藏，律二藏， 阿毘曇經為三藏；方等大乘義玄邃， 及諸契經為雜藏。 See also the discussion by PALUMBO (2013: 222–223), who translates this differently.

vinaya / *Sifen-lü* 四分律, translated by Buddhayaśas / Fotuoyeshe 佛陀耶舍 (fl. 408–412), Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (fl. 365–?), and others, where the *Zazang* obviously belongs to the *Sūtrapiṭaka* (T.1428.968b.23–26):[177]

> Such [texts] as the *Jātaka*s[178], the "Sūtra of Origin"[179], the "Sūtra of Good Causes"[180], the *Vaipulyasūtra*s, the "Sūtra of What Has Not Yet Been"[181], the "Sūtra of Similes"[182], the *Upadeśa*[183], the "Sūtra of the Meaning of Phrases", the "Sūtra of Dharma-Phrases"[184], the *Pārāyaṇasūtra*[185], the "Sūtra of Various Difficulties"[186], the "Sūtra of the Verses of the Saints"[187] – these [texts] were collected [by Ānanda] as the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*.[188]

The **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* / *Da-zhidu-lun*, "translated" by Kumārajīva and commenting on the "gift of the *dharma*" (*fashi* 法施), gives a similar list without specifying the *Zazang*'s content but without mentioning the concept of the Tripiṭaka so that here the *Zazang* seems to be treated as equal[189] (T.1509.143c.23–25):

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177 Similar but not identical lists of twelve texts, without referring to the *Zazang*, can be found in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* and the *Prāsādikasūtra* of the *Dīrghāgama* (T.1.16c.15–17 and 74b.20–23), the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (Dharmarakṣa's translation: T.222.197a.28–b2; Xuanzang's translation: T.223.220b.25), Kumārajīva's translation of the *Mahāratnakūṭa* (T.310.436a.14–16), etc.

178 *Sheng-jing* 生經. While in this case it is certain that this refers to a *jātaka*-collection, it is more difficult to reconstruct the titles of some of the other texts; in some cases – as for instance with the *Vaipulya* or the *Avadāna*s –, the question also arises whether the title is referring to just one *sūtra* or several.

179 *Ben-jing* 本經: through its position – being listed after the *jātaka*s – it is almost certain that this is an abbreviation for a title (or rather genre) like *Benqi-jing* or *Benyuan-jing* 本緣經 and refers to a biography or biographies of the Buddha.

180 *Shanyinyuan-jing* 善因緣經: **Sunidānasūtra?*

181 *Weicengyou-jing* 未曾有經: **Adbhutasūtra?* A *sūtra* with a similar title, *Si-weicengyoufa-jing* 四未曾有法經, has been translated by Dharmarakṣa / Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (233–310), but the relation – if there was any at all – between these two texts has to remain unclear.

182 *Piyu-jing* 譬喻經: *Avadāna(-sūtra(s))*.

183 *Youpotishe-jing* 優婆提舍經 / **Ɂuw-ba-dɛj-ɕia°*, also called *Lunyi* 論議.

184 *Juyi-jing* 句義經 and *Faju-jing* 法句經: *Padārtha(-sūtra)* and *Dharmapada(-sūtra)*.

185 *Boluoyan-jing* 波羅延經 / **pa-la-jian-°*, *Pārāyaṇa-sūtra*.

186 *Za'nan-jing* 雜難經: ?; whether there is a connection to the extant and early *Weiri-za'nan-jing* 惟日雜難經 (T.760), attributed to Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 222–252) but not included in the list of authentic translations or works by NATTIER (2008: 121–145), is unclear.

187 *Shengjie-jing* 聖偈經: **Sthaviragātā(-sūtra)*, maybe the *Anavataptagāthā*.

188 如是生經、本經、善因緣經、方等經、未曾有經、譬喻經、優婆提舍經、句義經、法句經、波羅延經、雜難經、聖偈經，如是集為雜藏。; see also PRZYLUSKI (1926: 194–195). A similar but shorter list is found in the **Vinayamātṛka* / *Pini-mu-jing* 毘尼母經 (T.1463.818a.25b1).

189 Similarly in T.212.610c.11–12 et passim.

Furthermore, there are people saying: "Humans are instructed through four baskets: 1. *Sūtrapiṭaka*; 2. *Vinayapiṭaka*; 3. *Abhidharmapiṭaka*; 4. *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* (*Zazang*) – these are the 'gift of the *dharma*'."[190]

In a later passage about the third of the three categories – the Buddhist scriptures – connotating the term *dharma* (*fa* 法) the *Mahāyānasūtra*s appear grouped together with the *Zazang* and, at least, belong to the same group of texts (T.1509.412a.8–9):

> The four baskets, namely the *Āgama*, the *Abhidharma*, the *Vinaya,* [and] the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* [and] the *Mahāyānasūtra*s like the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā,* etc.[191]

It seems very probable that the *Zazang* brought back from Śrī Laṅkā to China by Faxian was a "Miscellenea" which contained a mixture of different *sūtra*s including Mahāyāna and other texts (biographies and other narratives[192]), which were not part of the standard *āgama*-collections. Such a collection most likely came from the Abhayagiri-vihāra with its inclusivist tendencies.

Xuanzang's account of Śrī Laṅkā

For a slightly later period, one may expect to learn more about the Abhayagirivihāra in the most used and most detailed Chinese travel record of Xuanzang 玄奘 (600/602–664), the *Datang-Xiyu-ji* 大唐西域記 ("Record of the Western Regions of the Great Tang"), commissioned by the second Tang emperor Taizong 太宗 (598–649; r. 626–649) after Xuanzang's return to China in 645 and submitted to the throne in 646. Although according to his biography, he did not visit the island because he was told that it was in turmoil (see below), his account of Śrī Laṅkā is quite extensive, particularly about the eponymic foundation story of the island which he calls Siṃhala (Sengjialuo 僧伽羅 / *səŋ-gia-la*).[193]

As far as the Abhayagirivihāra is concerned, Xuanzang's account is certainly the first one to ascribe to the monastery, in concrete terms, a more "liberal" attitude than the conservative Hīnayāna-based Mahāvihāra (T.2087.934a.14–19):

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[190] 復次，有人言：以四種法藏教人：一、修妬路藏，二、毘尼藏，三、阿毘曇藏，四、雜藏，是為法施。 See also Lamotte (1949: 692–693).

[191] 四藏：所謂阿含、阿毘曇、毘尼、雜藏，摩訶般若波羅蜜等諸摩訶衍經。

[192] In a note to the title of the early partial biography of the Buddha, the *Xingqi-xing-jing* 興起行經, translated by Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳 (fl. 194–210), it is said that this text was part of the / a *Zazang* (T.197.164a.2). Four other examples of stories from the *Zazang* are given in Baochang's *Jinglü-yixiang* 經律異相 (T.2121.9c.15–22; 70a.29–b12; 161a.10–c7; 241b.10–23).

[193] For an analysis of this etiological story explaining the name Siṃhala see Deeg (2005: 193–194).

[There were] several hundred monasteries and more than twenty-thousand monks [who] followed the *dharma* of the Sthavira-Mahāyāna. More than two hundred years after the arrival of the teaching of the Buddha split into two sections: one is called the section of the Mahāvihāra-dwellers[194] [who] reject the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna) and study the Small Teaching (Hīnayāna). The second is called the section of the Abhayagiri-dwellers[195] [who] learn both vehicles (*yāna*) and propagate the Tripiṭaka [more] broadly.[196] The practice of the precepts (*śīla*) of the monks is austere, [their] contemplation (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) are solid and clear, [their] demeanor is exemplary – many [of the monks] are like this.[197]

Xuanzang agrees fairly with the *vaṃsa* tradition that there was a split about two hundred years after Buddhism was brought to Śrī Laṅkā by Mahinda / Mahendra – according to Xuanzang the younger brother of king Aśoka –, but his account diverges from the *vaṃsa* version insofar as the Abhayagiri community is not described as a schismatic group but that the two communities parted from each other in a "natural" way; Xuanzang does not give a concrete reason for this division. Interestingly, this pattern (or "mode") of describing the division of the *saṅgha* into two branches (*bu* 部), namely the Sthavira (Shangzuo-bu 上座部) and the Mahāsāṅghika (Dazhong-bu 大眾部), and not as a schism of one group splitting from an original (orthodox) group but as an almost normal development is found and in Xuanzang's account of the first council at Rājagṛha and then repeated in Huaihai's 懷海 (749–814) *Baizhang-conglin-qinggui-zhengyi-ji* 百丈叢林清規證義記 (Deeg 2012: 146–147).

For Xuanzang, the Abhayagiri community obviously represents Buddhist orthodoxy and orthopraxy, comprising both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.[198] The praise of the monks at the end of the paragraph, particularly with the emphasis on contemplation (*ding* 定) and wisdom (*zhi* 慧) and the extended canon, refers to such a community.

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[194] Mohepiheluo(-zhu-bu) 摩訶毘訶羅(住部) / *ma-xa-bji-xa-la-˚; *-zhu* 住 obviously translates the Skt. ending *-vāsin* (Mahāvihāravāsin).

[195] Abayeqili(-zhu-bu) 阿跋耶祇釐(住部) / *ʔa-bat-jia-gji-li-˚.

[196] *hongyan sanzang* 弘演三藏: *hongyan* normally means "to spread, propagate (a teaching)", but the meaning here seems to be more specific and to indicate an extended or more inclusive (*hong* 弘) Tripiṭaka or canon which included the Mahāyāna scriptures – the Pāli *Vetulla-piṭaka* – and possibly Abhidharma treatises like the *Mahāvibhāṣā* translated by Xuanzang.

[197] 伽藍數百所，僧徒二萬餘人，遵行大乘上座部法。佛教至後二百年，各擅專門，分成二部：一曰摩訶毘訶羅住部，斥大乘，習小教。二曰阿跋耶祇釐住部，學兼二乘，弘演三藏。僧徒乃戒行貞潔，定慧凝明，儀範可師，濟濟如也。 The translation above differs in a few details from my previous one in Deeg (2012: 152).

[198] On the Chinese distinction between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna see Deeg (2007).

Xuanzang statement that the monks of the island practice the Mahāyāna-Sthaviravādin, Dasheng-shangzuo-bu 大乘上座部[199], first seems a bit puzzling since Xuanzang gives this description right after the conversion of the island through Mahendra and before mentioning the division of the island's *saṅgha* into two fractions instead of, as usual, at the very beginning of this general description of the status or situation of Buddhism on the island. Scholars have not much thought about and addressed these details, but for the potentially correct and cohesive interpretation of the passage in the Record I suggest that one should follow the narrative sequence and assume that the Buddhism which the island had before the division was that of the Mahāyāna-Sthavira. In the framework of the overall ductus of Xuanzang's account, which clearly favours the Abhayagirivāsin and portraits the Mahāvihāravāsin as deviant, this makes sense: the split into two groups means that it was the Mahāvihāra that fell off the right doctrine of the Mahāyāna-Sthaviravāda and degraded themselves to Hīnayāna-followers. The claim in Xuanzang's brief historiographical sketch then would be that the Buddhism of the island had been Mahāyāna-oriented and Sthaviravāda in terms of monastic lineage from the very beginning, and that it was the Abhayagirivihāra tradition which preserved this original state. This would be the version of the Abhayagirivihāra tradition – probably "inscribed" in its lost *vaṃsa* – and it would indeed support Jonathan Walters' innovative and provocative reading and critical interpretation of the Śrī Lāṅkan sources that the Mahāvihāra was a radical Theravāda newcomer with the claim of its own institutional and dogmatic purity and an opposition to the inclusivism of the Abhayagirivihāra, which then, in the *vaṃsa*s of this "new" monastery, created its own continuous lineage and distinct identity against the other monastic institution(s) on the island (Walters 1997).

As already mentioned, Xuanzang did not visit Śrī Laṅkā since, according to the Biography, the *Datang-Daciensi-sanzang-fashi-zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 compiled by Xuanzang's disciple Huili 慧立, he met a larger group of monks from the island who warned him not to go there:

> The city of Kāñcī[pura][200] is India's port on the Southern Ocean, and going to the kingdom of Siṃhala by sea is a three-day journey. Before [Xuanzang] left [for Siṃhala], the king there had died and there was upheaval through famine in that kingdom. There were over three hundred monks like the *bhadanta* Bodhimegheśvara ("Ruling the Cloud of Enlightenment")[201] [and] Abhayadaṃṣṭra ("Fearless Tooth")[202] who had

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[199] I have discussed this term at some length in Deeg (2012: 150–156).

[200] The full name is given earlier (T.2053.241c.13): Jianzhibuluo 建志補羅 / *kian^h-tɕi^h-pɔ-la.

[201] Putimiqi(...)shifaluo 菩提迷祇濕伐羅 / *bɔ-dɛj-mɛj-gji-ɕip-buat-la (the *fanqie* 抑鷄反 after *qi* suggests *ʔji instead of the standard *gji), translated as Zizi-jue-yun 自在覺雲.

[202] Abayedengsezhaluo 阿跋耶鄧瑟咤羅 / *ʔa-bat-jia-dəŋ^h-ʂit-tɕiat-la, translated as Wuwei-ya 無畏牙.

fled to India and arrived in the city of Kāñcī[pura]. After the *dharma*-master had met them, [he] asked the monks: "[I] assumed that the *bhadanta*s of that kingdom [could] explain the Tripiṭaka of the Sthaviranikāya and the Yogā[cārabhūmi-]śastra [to me] and wanted to go and learn to study [there] – [but] why did the masters come [here instead]?" [They] told [him]: "The king of our kingdom has died, and the people are experiencing a famine [so that we] could no longer rely on [their support]. [We] heard that Jambudvīpa is rich, happy and safe; this is the place where the Buddha was born, and [where] all the sacred traces are – that is why [we] came [here]. Among those who know the *dharma*, we are unsurpassed, [so] if the elder monk [Xuanzang] has doubts, [he] may feel free to ask." The *dharma*-master quoted [some] principal matters from the core text of the Yoga[cārabhūmiśāstra] and asked them [about their meaning], but [they] were not able to give an interpretation exceeding [the one given] by Śīlabhadra.[203]

The account is – or, at least, tries to be – authentic as the names of individual monks of the large group indicate. Already in Tāmralipti, Xuanzang had heard that the monastic communities on the island were Sthaviravādin and that there was a tradition of studying and interpreting the Yogācārabhūmiśāstra, and the Biography gives this as the main reason for Xuanzang to travel to the coast opposite of the island for an easier and safer journey.[204] There probably was enough other opportunity to learn about the island in the Śrī Laṅkān monastery at Bodhgayā (see above), possibly at Nālandā, and from monks Xuanzang met on his way.[205]

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[203] T.2053.241c.25–242a.6: 建志城即印度南海之口，向僧伽羅國水路三日行到。未去之間而彼王死，國內飢亂。有大德名菩提迷祇(抑雞反)濕伐羅(此云自在覺雲)，阿跋耶鄧瑟哳羅(此云無畏牙)，如是等三百餘僧，來投印度，到建志城。法師與相見訖，問彼僧曰：“承彼國大德等解上坐部三藏及《瑜伽論》，今欲往彼參學，師等何因而來？”報曰：“我國王死，人庶飢荒，無可依仗。聞贍部洲豐樂安隱，是佛生處，多諸聖跡，是故來耳。又知法之輩無越我曹，長老有疑，隨意相問。”法師引《瑜伽》要文大節徵之，亦不能出戒賢之解。

[204] T.2053.241a.3–10: 是時，聞海中有僧伽羅國(此云執師子也)，有明上座部三藏及解《瑜伽論》者。涉海路七百由旬，方可達彼。未去間，逢南印度僧相勸云：“往師子國者不須水路，海中多有惡風、藥叉、濤波之難，可從南印度東南角，水路三日行即到。雖復跋履山川，然用為安穩，并得觀烏茶等諸國聖跡。” ("At that time, there were monks from the kingdom of Siṃhala (this means 'Grasping the Lion') who understood the Tripiṭaka of the Sthaviranikāya and [could] explain the Yogā[cārabhūmi-]śastra. [But] only after navigating seven hundred *yojana* via the maritime route that [kingdom] could be reached. Before [Xuanzang] went, he met monks from South India [who] gave [him] the [following] advice: 'To go to the Lion Kingdom (Siṃhala), there is no need to go by sea [as] on the ocean there is the danger of adverse winds, *yakṣa*s and high waves; [you] can get there via the sea route in three days from the southeastern corner of South India. Although [you will have] to travel over mountains and across rivers, this route is safe and smooth, and [you] also can look at the sacred traces of kingdoms like Uḍra, etc.'").

[205] Directly after abandoning his plan to visit the island, Xuanzang travelled with about seventy

It is more than likely that these two monks and their group belonged to one specific monastic tradition of the island. If they were the major source of information for Xuanzang, and because of the content of his account they seem to have been Abhayagiri monks. The two monks, Bodhimegheśvara and Abhayadaṃṣṭra, are not known from other sources, but the names look authentic. Their names are clearly given in the Sanskrit[206] which may be another indication that they were Abhayagirivihāra monks.[207]

When looking at the account of the events in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* at the time of Xuanzang's attempt to visit the island, probably around 637, then this time can be identified with the rule of king Aggabodhi III Sirimeghavaṇṇa in the *Cūḷavaṃsa*.[208] For this period, the *vaṃsa* does not reflect the upheaval which caused the monks to flee the island, and it would be interesting to see what the Abhayagiri tradition itself would have had to say about the reigning period of this king. As for now, the only observation that can be made is that it cannot be excluded that Xuanzang's biography is referring to an event or a series of events – a famine combined with (or caused by?) the death of a king[209] – which are, for whatever reason, not documented in the existing sources.

Esoteric connections

The fact, already discussed earlier, that the Abhayagirivihāra in the second half of the first millennium – called "[t]he 'first wave' of esoteric Buddhism" by ACRI (2016: 13)[210] – had adopted esoteric Buddhist practices, is confirmed by Chinese sources[211], particularly in the extant biographical material on the two

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Śrī Laṅkān monks (Shizi-guo-seng 師子國僧), probably of the same group, from Draviḍa in the South in northwestern direction to Koṅkanapura: T.2053.242c.23–25.

[206] Bodhimegheśvara would be *Bodhimeghissara, Abhayadaṃṣṭra *Abhayadāṭha in Pāli; see also TILAKARATNE (2020: 270).

[207] Although TILAKARATNE (2020) is willing to take this as a proof that the monks were from the Abhayagiri, one has to be careful here as we do not know whether Śrī Laṅkān monks – including those from the Mahāvihāra – generally did not use the Sanskrit forms of their names when going to India. For Sanskrit in Śrī Laṅkān Buddhism see BECHERT (2005).

[208] According to DE SILVA (1981: 567), following the University of Ceylon's *History of Ceylon*, Aggabodhi III ruled from 628–639 (two reigning periods).

[209] There is, of course, a possibility that Xuanzang met the monks after the death of Aggabodhi III. In this case, either the date of the meeting must have been later (639), or the dates of the king, whose regnal period was quite troubled by interregna and upheavals of rival noblemen, have to be adjusted / rectified.

[210] The 14th century Śrī Laṅkan Nikāyasaṅgraha refers to the introduction of Tantric Buddhism to the island to monks from a place called Vajraparvata and also mentions a number of Esoteric texts followed by monks from Vajraparvata; see ACRI (2016: 9). On Esoteric Buddhism in Śrī Laṅkā see COUSINS (1997).

[211] I add this part for the sake of completeness, but for a more detailed and excellent discussion of the material, I have to refer the reader to the research of Jeffrey Sundberg and Rolf Giebel

Tang esoteric masters Vajrabodhi / Jin'gangzhi 金剛智 (671–741)[212] and Amoghavajra / Bukong(jin'gang) 不空(金剛) (705–773) who paid visits and both had close links with the island's esoteric community in the Abhaya-girivihāra.

The clearest reference to the monastery is found in Vajrabodhi's biography by his lay-disciple and scholar Lü Xiang 呂向 (fl. first half of the 8th cent.), preserved in Yuanzhao's 圓照 (fl. 778) catalogue *Zhenyuan-xinding-shijiao-mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄. According to this biography which, as Sundberg and Giebel (2011: 133–148) have well demonstrated, differs from other and later vitae in Zanning's 贊寧 (919–1001) *Song-gaoseng-zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (T.2061.711b.5–712a.18) particularly in the early part concerning India and Śrī Laṅkā,[213] Vajrabodhi, who received the precepts and ordination at Nālandā and travelled all over India and received the highest esoteric initiations, is finally told by the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara to go to Śrī Laṅkā:

> [Vajrabodhi] received the consecration of the five sections,[214] and there was no [text] in the treasury of the secret [teachings] of the Buddha [that he] had not mastered fully. Finally, [he] took leave from [his] master Nāgabodhi[215] and returned to Central India [where he] visited and venerated the numinous *stūpa*s of the eight marks.[216] Later, there

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(particularly in Sundberg and Giebel 2011, but also in other publications by Sundberg) and, from a slightly different, East-Asian angle, Baba (2017).

[212] I am not convinced of the reconstruction of the name as Vajrabuddhi as proposed by Sinclair (2016), and accepted by J. Sundberg. Sinclair's argument, that *zhi* 智 does not translate Skt. *bodhi*, is incorrect: there are instances where this equation is made: see, e.g., in the early dictionary *Fan-fanyu* (see above): T.2130.983a5.f. glosses *anouduoluosanmiaosanputi* 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提, Skt. *anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*, as *wubu-zhizhi* 無不知智 or *wubu-zhidao* 無不知道; see also 993b.9 (*puti* 菩提 = *dao* 道 = *zhi* 知), and similarly 1047b.12. Moreover, most sources transliterate the name as Bariluoputi 跋日羅菩提 / **bat-ɲit-la-bɔ-dɛj*, the earliest occurrence of the transliteration being found in Zhisheng's 智昇 (fl. 669–740) catalogue *Kaiyuan-shijiao-lu* 開元釋教錄 (T.2154.553a.20; echoed by Yuanzhao: T.2157.852b.21).

[213] Translated by Chou (1945: 274–275).

[214] According to Sundberg and Giebel (2011: 181, note 31), the five "families" or *kula* (usually more literally translated as *zu* 族): *tathāgata-kula*, *vajra-kula*, *ratna-kula*, *padma-kula*, and *karma-kula*.

[215] Longzhi 龍智: the reconstruction of the name of Vajrabodhi's teacher has caused some discussion, focusing on the element *zhi* 智, whether it stands for -*bodhi*, -*buddhi*, or, as Sundberg and Giebel (2011: 179–180, note 27) suggest, -*jñā* / -*jñāna*. Since I keep the "old" name form Vajrabodhi (see above), I consequently reconstruct Nāgabodhi for Longzhi.

[216] *baxiang-lingta* 八相靈塔: this is a *hapax legomenon* in the Buddhist canon, but it is clear that what is meant are the eight *stūpa*s at the eight *mahāsthāna*s of the Buddha's life (Lumbinī, Kapilavastu, Bodhgayā, Sārnāth, Rājagṛha, Sāṃkāśya, Śrāvastī, Kuśinagara), all situated in the central region (*madhyadeśa*) of Northeast India. Sundberg and Giebel (2011: 135) translate "the holy *stūpa*s commemorating eight events [in the life] of the Tathāgata [i.e., Śākyamuni]".

was a three year[-long] drought in South India. The king of this [region], Narasiṃhapotavarma[n],[217] sent envoys to invite the *ācārya*[218]. In his own palace, [he] built a consecrational *bodhimaṇḍa*[219] to ask for rain. At that time, sweet timely rain was falling, and the king and [his] officials were happy and thereupon built a monastery for the *ācārya* to stay [in which he] resided for three years. To the south of the kingdom, next to the ocean, there was a monastery [dedicated to] the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara. At the side of the gate, there was a *nyagrodha*-tree, already withered and frail for some time. The *ācārya* fasted and practiced the Way for seven days, and the tree grew vigorously again. As a response [to this], the *bodhisattva* appeared and said the following: "What you have learned is now fully accomplished, [and you] should go to the Lion Kingdom (Siṃhala) to visit and venerate the tooth [relic] of the Buddha, to climb Mount Laṅkā[220] and venerate the traces of [the footprint of] the Buddha. On [your] way back, [you] should go to the Middle Kingdom (i.e., China) and pay respect to the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī. That kingdom has a karmic connection with you, and [you] have to go [there] and transmit the teaching and save the living beings." Hearing these words, [he] was overwhelmed with joy and consolation. When all the monks [and his] followers heard these words, the *saṅgha* of the monastery said: "When the *bodhisattva* arrives, the branches and leaves of the *nyagrodha*-tree flourish, [when he] leaves, [they] wither and become frail – take this as a sign." After three weeks, [he] returned and took leave from the king of this kingdom, led eight [of his] disciples, [both] laypeople and monastics, to the Lion Kingdom, [and they finally] reached the city of Laṅkā[221]. The king [and his] official and the four[fold] community of [monks, nuns, male and female laypeople] welcomed and paid respect to the *ācārya* with incense and flowers, and [when they all] arrived next to the palace, [the visitors] went to the monastery of king "Without Fear"[222] and venerated the tooth

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[217] Naluosengjiabuduomoma 捺羅僧伽補多靺摩 / *najʰ-la-səŋ-gia-pɔ'-ta-mat-ma*, identified with the Pallava-king Narasiṃhavarman II Rājasiṃha (r. 690–728?): see Sundberg and Giebel (2011: 181, note 32).

[218] *heshang* 和上.

[219] *guanding-daochang* 灌頂道場; Sundberg and Giebel (2011: 135) translate "*abhiṣeka* site".

[220] I.e., Śrī Pada or Adam's Peak.

[221] I.e., the capital Anurādhapura.

[222] Wuwei-wang-si 無畏王寺: it is not necessary to emend *wang* 王 to *shan* 山 to achieve a match with Abhayagiri as suggested by Sundberg and Giebel (2011: 181, note 36); the name would reflect the memory of the monastery having been founded by king Abhaya (see above). It cannot be excluded that a name *Abhayarājavihāra was in use – which, in a way, would have been a "rationalization" of the name Abhayagiri (see above on the origin of the element -*giri* in the name). The choice of this name may also be influenced, as Sundberg and Giebel notice as well, by the intention to highlight the royal patronage which the monastery received.

[relic] of the Buddha; [they] took incense and flowers and offered [them] with all sincerity, and as a reaction [to this veneration], the tooth [relic] of the Buddha emitted a radiant light which appeared [like] an umbrella in the sky [covering] a wide space. The whole great community saw this auspicious sign. Then, [they] resided in this monastery for half a year and made offerings [to the relic], and eventually went in southeastern [direction] to Mount Laṅkā. On their way, [they] venerated the *stūpa* of the Buddha's eyes[223]. …[224]

The text then goes on to describe in detail Vajrabodhi's conversion of the king of the southern kingdom of Rohaṇa (Luhe'na 嚕呵那 / *lɔ-xa-na'*)[225] from Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna and the climbing of and the activities on Mount Laṅkā (Śrī Pada), including the veneration of "trace of the Buddha" (*foji* 佛跡), i.e., the footprint (*buddhapāda*). Vajrabodhi stayed in Śrī Laṅkā for one year before

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[223] *foyan-ta* 佛眼塔. I do not necessarily think that this has anything to do with an eye-relic of the Buddha – the only one which is attested in the sources being the eyeball-relic only mentioned by Xuanzang in Western Gandhāra (Haḍḍa). It may have been a *stūpa* which had Buddha-eyes painted on the *harmikā*-like part above the dome (*aṇḍa*) of the *stūpa* – as in the case of the Nepalese *caitya*s, the best known being Svayambhūnāth and Boudhnāth in Kathmandu. The Buddha eyes do, of course, express the Buddha's ability to view and see everything in the world / cosmos. Information about this *stūpa* of the Buddha-eye seems to have been brought to China either by Vajrabodhi or Amoghavajra: the famous Japanese monk and traveler to Tang China Ennin's 圓仁 (794–864) inventory of the texts and other items acquired in the major Buddhist places in Tang China, the Nittō-shingu-shōgyō-mokuroku 入唐新求聖教目錄 (cp. Kominami 2016 and 2017), contains an entry about a Foyan-ta-yang bing ji, yijuan 佛眼塔樣并記，一卷 "model of and note on the *stūpa* of Buddha's eye, one fascicle" (T.2167.1084c.11), preceded by an entry on the (painting of the?) Buddha footprint and note (*foji bing ji*佛跡并記; probably the one in Śrī Laṅkā) immediately followed by entries on the paintings of the portraits (*zhenying* 真影) of the three patriarchs of Esoteric Buddhism in China, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, and Śubhakarasiṃha (1084c.12佛眼塔樣并記 14). Anzen's 安然 (841–) later catalogue Sho-ajari-shingon-mikkyō-burui-sōroku 諸阿闍梨真言密教部類總錄 (T.2176.1132a.16) confirms this under the category *takan* 塔龕, "*stūpa*s and shrines".

[224] T.2157.875b.12–c2: 受五部灌頂，諸佛祕要之藏無不通達。遂辭師龍智，却還中天，尋禮如來八相靈塔。其後南天三年亢旱。其王捺羅僧伽補多靺摩遣使迎請和上。於自宮中建灌頂道場請雨。其時，甘澤流澍，王臣欣慶，遂為和上造寺安置，經餘三載。國南近海有觀自在菩薩寺。門側有尼枸陀樹，先已枯頓。和上七日斷食行道，樹再滋茂。菩薩應現而作是言：「汝之所學今已成就。可往師子國，瞻禮佛牙，登楞伽山，禮拜佛跡。迴來可往中國，禮謁文殊師利菩薩。彼國於汝有緣，宜往傳教，濟度群生。」聞是語已，不勝忻慰。僧徒咸聞其語，寺眾乃曰：「若菩薩降臨，尼拘陀樹枝葉滋榮，去即枯頓。以此為侯。」經三七日，却迴辭其國王，將領弟子道俗八人往師子國，至楞伽城。王臣四眾以諸香花迎禮和上，至其宮側，復往無畏王寺，頂禮佛牙，持諸香花，精誠供養，遂感佛牙放光空中，成蓋普現。大眾咸覩斯瑞。便住其寺半年，供養，遂詣東南往楞伽山。逕中路禮佛眼塔。 See also the translation by Giebel in Sundberg and Giebel (2011: 135–136); for a full discussion of this biography see ibid. I only reproduce the brief relevant passage because I think that some more contextualization with the Abhayagiri institution can be extracted from this part of the biography.

[225] See Sundberg and Giebel (2011: 182, note 38).

he returned to South Indian from where he then traveled to China via Śrī Laṅkā and Śrī Vijaya.

In the light of this text and other evidence, Sundberg and Giebel already have discussed and emphasised the importance of Śrī Laṅkā as the transmission "hub" of Buddhist esoteric teaching and practice. What is, in my opinion, interesting in Vajrabodhi's early Indian "career" as told by Lü Xiang is the fact that after having received the esoteric initiation rites, he visits the places linked to either the major episodes of life of the Buddha Śākyamuni (the eight *mahāsthāna*s), eminent *stūpa*s (*stūpa* of the eye of the Buddha), or the Buddha's relics.[226] This includes Śrī Laṅka as a region sanctified by the well-known visits of the Buddha Śākyamuni to the island (Adam's Peak) and by the relics (tooth-relic in the Abhayagirivihāra), both recommended by the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara. Lü Xiang's quite detailed reference to Vajrabodhi's visit to and veneration of the tooth relic enables us to establish – after Faxian's and Xuanzang's reports – another historical point of reference to the destiny of this relic against the silence of the Pāli sources caused by their Mahāvihāra bias.[227]

When Vajrabodhi's disciple Amoghavajra[228] travelled to Śrī Laṅkā (probably 742, returned to China 746), he is received and hosted by king Śīlamegha / Shiluomijia 尸羅迷伽 / *ɕi-la-mɛj-gɨa (Aggabodhi VI, r. 741–781).[229] The *Cūḷavaṃsa* ascribes to this king the erection of a building in the Abhayagirivihāra (Abhayuttaravihāra).[230] Amoghavajra's biography describes a meeting with and esoteric instruction through a master called Samantabhadra / Puxian 普賢[231] who most certainly resided in the Abhayagirivihāra. This seems to be confirmed by the biography of Amoghavajra in Yuanzhao's catalogue according to which the king had Amoghavajra stay in the monastery of the Buddha's tooth [relic] (*foya-si* 佛牙寺), i.e., the Abhayagirivihāra[232] – while the other sources are

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[226] On the importance of space in Buddhist narratives see DEEG (2023). On the role and function of *stūpa*s and relics in East-Asian esoteric Buddhism see ORZECH and SØRENSEN (2010: 149–152); ibid. on Amoghavajra's translations of texts related to *stūpa*s and relics.

[227] On this "dearth of references" see STRONG (2004: 194).

[228] On Amoghavajra's life and biographies see CHOU (1945), ORLANDO (1981), GOBLE (2019), YANG (2018).

[229] The Chinese transliteration of the king's name is mentioned later in the biographies when Amoghavajra hands over the king's message (*biao* 表) to the Chinese emperor (T.2056.293a.16–17, T.2061.712c.10–11).

[230] *Cūḷavaṃsa* 48.64. Translation: GEIGER (1929: 116). The name of the building is Sabhattudesabhoga, and it is not clear what its structure or function was.

[231] E.g., T.2061.712c.1–4 (*Song-gaoseng-zhuang*).

[232] T.2157.881b.1; see YANG 2018: 253–254. Another indirect piece of evidence of the connection of the emerging Chinese esoteric community with Śrī Laṅkā may be added to these accounts. The Sino-Korean traveler-monk Hyecho / Huichao 慧超 (var. 惠超) may have accompanied Amoghavajra on this trip: see DEEG (2010: 206–209).

silent about the concrete place of residence and only record that Amoghavajra was hosted by the king in the palace for seven days (T.2061.712b.27–28).

Conclusion

The Chinese sources confirm what can be concluded from the material of and scant and partly distorted textual sources about the Abhayagirivihāra from the island: for long periods in history, it was this monastery which enjoyed the support of rulers and wealth, and it probably was successful in doing so by being able to absorb and integrate new developments and tendencies in the history of Buddhism, and thereby it stayed connected and exerted, at times, considerable influence on other Asian regions.

One could read the present collection of sources, material and evidence as an extension of Jonathan Walters provocative statement that "the Mahāvihārin accounts of history were fiercely debated and countered by chroniclers and commentators of the rival Abhayagiri and Jetavana *vihāra*s" (WALTERS 1997: 102). Although this "fierce debate" is, in a way, hidden under the surface of the historical dominance of the Mahāvihāra and is only graspable in the aggressiveness and polemics of the Mahāvihāra emic discourse, the reading together of more material and textual evidence is enabling us to gain glimpses into the historical reality of intra-Buddhist competition and conflict in the history of Śrī Laṅkā in the first millennium CE, which the Pāli sources with their Mahāvihāra bias alone do not intend to and cannot provide.[233]

Author's note

This article is a revised and largely extended English version of my original contribution "Abhayagirivihāra – Geschichte und »Geschichte« eines ceylonesischen Klosters" to the Festschrift for my late Leipzig colleague Heinz Mürmel (1944–2019), a scholar of the Theravāda tradition (among some other remarkable expertise). Colleagues have been asking me to produce such a version for a while now, and I am very grateful to the editors of the reinstituted prestigious journal and feel honored to be given the opportunity to publish it in the present form. While my interpretation of Faxian's record has remained, more or less, the same – although considerably extended by presenting and analyzing the Indic sources – as in the original German version, the rest of the paper contains material not discussed in the original paper. Most of the material used in the original German article has been rearranged, revised, and bits and

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[233] Of course, the one-sidedness of the Śrī Laṅkan Mahāvihāra sources have been noticed by many scholars before, but it is only in more recent scholarship that due note has been given to non-Śrī Laṅkan sources to find a more balanced view of the island's history in a wider geographical and historical context: see, e.g., SUNDBERG (2014).

pieces referred to in the footnotes in the previous publication could be elaborated in a way which the spatial restriction in the original publication did not allow for. I would like to thank Andrea Acri (Paris) and the two anonymous reviewers for their corrections and suggestions. All remaining errors and mistakes are, of course, my own.

Abbreviations

Mhv.   *Mahāvaṃsa.* Ed.: Geiger (1958).

Skt.   Sanskrit.

T.   *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō.* Ed.: Takakusu and Watanabe (1924–1934).

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Nāgārjuna's No-Thesis Statement (*Vigraha-vyāvartanī* 29) as an Absurd Consequence Revisited

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Abstract: Made in *Vigraha-vyāvartanī* verse 29, Nāgārjuna's claim that he does not have any thesis has long perplexed scholars as to both its meaning and the very reasonableness of its employment. In this paper I offer an alternative to the scholarly interpretations which assume that this claim can be abstracted from the context of the fictitious debate presented in the treatise. Rather than taking it to signal an actual standpoint of Nāgārjuna, I propose to read the no-thesis statement as an absurd consequence, part of an elaborate exchange which showcases the irrationality of a realist-antirealist debate.

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Recently, in his modestly titled paper "Reading notes on the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*", Eli Franco has brought much novelty to the study of Nāgārjuna's (ca. 150–250 CE) *Vigraha-vyāvartanī* (henceforth VV, with VVV used specifically to the prose *svavṛtti*[1]). Most crucially, Franco (2022: 125–128) has made a case for the exclusion of the Naiyāyikas from among the suspected opponents of the Mādhyamika in the VV, and argued for the possibility of assigning the second objection (verses 5–6) – concerned with epistemology and formulated from the position of one who appears to embrace four *pramāṇa*s – to a Buddhist (of an obscure affiliation). In the modern research of the VV, it has been generally assumed that the objections against the *śūnyatā-vāda*, which comprise the opening twenty-verse part of the text, are levelled by at least two adversaries, namely, an Ābhidharmika and a Naiyāyika.[2] In my previous publications concerned with this text, I considered Nāgārjuna to be dealing with a generalised opponent, specifically with an Ābhidharmika and – indeed – a Naiyāyika (and perhaps some other adversary of the Madhyamaka school, too) conflated into a single realist.[3] Before Franco, the Naiyāyika-*qua*-opponent was rejected by Christian Lindtner (who posited that Nāgārjuna engages with a single, Ābhidharmika opponent), albeit on rather weak grounds, i.e., that in the second objection, the opponent refers to the *pramāṇa* of reliable testimony with the term *āgama*, rather than with the Naiyāyika-used *śabda*.[4] Positing a single opponent (of a specific, although unknown, affiliation, and not a result

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[1]   The Sanskrit text is quoted after the edition by E.H. Johnston and A. Kunst printed in Bhattacharya (1998). Also consulted were Y. Yonezawa's transliteration of the Zha lu ms. and edition of the Tibetan translation (Yonezawa 2008).

[2]   See, e.g., Westerhoff (2010: 8 *et passim*).

[3]   Kania (2014: 17–18), Kania (2015: 137–138). This conflation would, per this interpretation, serve to highlight the effectiveness of Nāgārjuna's dialectical method to deconstruct every realist attempt to establish an ontology.

[4]   This observation serves as one of Lindtner's five "main" arguments for the identification of the Ābhidharmika as the sole opponent. For these arguments, see Lindtner (1982: 71). I shall not reproduce Lindtner's arguments here, but in passing, I shall propose an additional one, namely, that not only does the manner in which the exchange is presented in the text never suggest that the Mādhyamika is rebutting criticism from multiple parties, one at a time, but also the wording of selected objections and answers, and of the references to the opponent is such that it lends to the impression that the *uttara-pakṣin* debates the same *pūrva-pakṣin* throughout the whole text. Cf. first and foremost the consistent use of unqualified *bhavat* by the *uttara-pakṣin* when addressing the *pūrva-pakṣin*; also cf., e.g., VVV 55,1 ad VV 21: *atrôcyate | yat tāvad bhavatôktam*, which immediately follows the *ninth* objection (thus closing the *pūrva-pakṣa*) and introduces the answer to the *first* objection (thus opening the *uttara-pakṣa*), or the conjunctive use of *tāvat* introducing the second objection in verse 5 (VV 5ab: *pratyakṣeṇa hi tāvad yady upalabhya vinivartayasi bhāvān |* – "Now, if you reject [something] having apprehended [it] through perception [...]"), or the similar use of *ca* in verses 9 and 18 conjoining different objections. Moreover, in VV 59, which belongs to the reply to the fifth objection (VV 9), the proponent states that emptiness has been explained earlier – this has been done in VV 22, which belongs to the reply to the first objection (VV 1–4).

of a conflation of various adversaries) in the VV certainly makes the structure of the text appear much less curious. Per the multiple opponents interpretation, Nāgārjuna proceeds to counter the objections only having collected them into an uninterrupted list (despite their varying provenance), which appears, at least *prima facie*, to needlessly disrupt the flow of the debate, making it more complicated to follow the exchange, as the Mādhyamika proponent engages in a disputative simultaneous exhibition of a sort. With the number of opponents reduced to one, the *pūrva-pakṣa*, however long and complex content-wise, transforms into a single utterance, thus following, together with the *uttara-pakṣa*, an easily understandable dialectical narrative not uncommon in Indian philosophical literature. Also, and perhaps more importantly (especially hermeneutically), the number of *dialogues* in which Nāgārjuna is engaged is reduced to one, thereby making the objections much more interconnected. The same holds true with regard to the answers, as – to put it briefly – even though these are (obviously) put forth by a single proponent, a point made in response to one of the objections is a point made to the author of *all* of the objections.

On another note, Franco hypothesises that the VV is inspired by an actual debate. He notes that he cannot prove this, but he does offer certain remarks to account for this impression. One of these is that the misunderstanding of emptiness manifested in the *pūrva-pakṣa* is likely a genuine misunderstanding by a real adversary of the Mādhyamika, and not one merely ascribed by Nāgārjuna to an imagined opponent (Franco 2022: 123). My own previous impression, in turn, had been that the VV constitutes a record of a fictitious debate, and that the realist-antirealist exchange (an idealised one, what with the multitude of suppositions made for the sake of the dispute) serves as a vehicle for demonstrating the futility of rational dispute (marred with the problem of incommensurability of philosophical theories) and the indefensibility of propositions assertoric of reality (as displayed by the destructive force of *prasaṅga* argumentation), guiding the Mahāyānist practitioner towards the experience of the ineffability of *paramârtha-satya*. The positing of a single opponent (and of a Buddhist one), reduces, I admit, the degree of idealisation. Nāgārjuna may have both recorded actual criticism levelled against the *śūnyatā-vāda* within the Buddhist monastic circles, and anticipated other objections (or at least designed some for the sake of argument), so that his treatise serves both to defend the *śūnyatā-vāda* and to further elaborate on what has been taught in the *Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikā*. Whether one of these aims is subordinate to the other I could not say.

The paper by Franco has sparked anew my own interest in the VV, in particular in that it has necessitated a reconsideration of some of my assumptions and arguments. In this essay, I specifically wish to revisit my reading of the famous verse 29. The verse in translation is as follows:

VV 29. If I had some thesis (*pratijñā*), then this fault (*doṣa*) would be mine. But I do not have a thesis, thus there is no fault of mine.[5]

The third *pāda* contains the so-called no-thesis statement, or no-thesis view, which has perplexed Mādhyamika commentators[6] and modern scholars as to its meaning and – perhaps more profoundly – the questionable reasonableness of its employment (a sledgehammer used to crack a nut, as Jan Westerhoff [2009: 27] sees it). Franco (2022: 124) refers to it as "one of the most productive statements in modern hermeneutics of Madhyamaka". Indeed, for decades, verse 29 has attracted significant attention and at times spurred scholarly exchanges spanning years. However, even though much has been said on verse 29 (and even more on that which has been said on verse 29), the interpretations put forward have not been all that multifarious. In fact, generally, they can be put into two baskets: either Nāgārjuna declares he does not have a thesis *of a certain sort* (i.e., one that would posit the real existence of entities;[7] I shall refer to this as the no-such-thesis interpretation), or he declares the thesis to be ultimately non-existent (on the *paramârtha* level;[8] henceforth no-real-thesis interpretation). The no-thesis statement has been largely understood against the backdrop of the Madhyamaka philosophical enterprise, with less attention being paid to (the possibility of restricting) the context of the statement to the VV alone. To support the no-such-thesis interpretation, Candrakīrti's (ca. 600–650) differentiation between different sorts of *pratijñā*s in the *Prasanna-padā*[9] has often been cited, while the no-real-thesis interpretation is, obviously, rooted in the *dve satye* theory, the backbone of the *śūnyatā-vāda*.[10]

In a 2014-published concise essay concerned with VV 29, I argued that Nāgārjuna does not actually make a claim (one that could or should be abstracted from the context of the debate) that he puts forward no thesis, rather, he merely presents to his opponent an absurd consequence which follows from the acknowledging of the opponent's interpretation of the thesis of universal emptiness. In that essay, I highlighted the problem of the irrationality of a debate between an antirealist and a realist who employ mutually incommensurable linguistic frameworks

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5   VV 29: *yadi kācana pratijñā syān me tata eṣa me bhaved doṣaḥ | nâsti ca mama pratijñā tasmān naîvâsti me doṣaḥ ||*

6   For selected Tibetan interpretations see Ruegg (1983) and Lopez (1994). See also Westerhoff (2009: 26–33).

7   See, e.g., Ruegg (1986).

8   See, e.g., Oetke (1991).

9   Ruegg (1983: 213–214), Ruegg (1986: 232–233), Westerhoff (2009: 35–36). Westerhoff argues also for a connection between the no-thesis statement and the equation of *śūnyatā* in the *Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikā* with rejection of *dṛṣṭi*s, views.

10   Not falling under the two categories is the arguably obsolete reading by T.R.V. Murti, who understood Nāgārjuna's denial of having a thesis quite literally, on the *saṃvṛti* level, viz., that Nāgārjuna has no proposition to make, and no arguments to put forth (Murti 1955: 131–132).

(as the definition of "to be" – to be applied in every other notion – remains an unresolved issue for the two). My argument, however, relied partly on my assessment of the peculiar structuring of the text as being a *conditio sine qua non* for the carrying out of the entire debate, with the alternative (a sequence of objection – answer – objection, etc.) assumed to be inevitably leading the exchange to a dead end following Nāgārjuna's reply to the first objection (Kania 2014: 20–21). While the structure remains the same and can thus act as *a condition* for the debate, the loss of its peculiarity weakens the argument from structure. I do maintain that, to borrow from the title of my previous essay, Nāgārjuna does not really mean it when he says he does not have a thesis, and below I offer a revision of my proposition to read the verse in this way. In doing so, I follow or take into account some remarks and analyses by Franco, but in the end, my interpretation of verse 29 considerably differs from the no-real-thesis interpretation endorsed by Franco. I do not, however, enter into polemics with Franco with regard to the no-thesis statement, nor with other scholars. I do not seek to weigh in much on the validity of the no-such-thesis or the no-real-thesis interpretations, as I take a significantly divergent approach to the issue. And even though I have a major problem with both of them, I do not consider this problem to render them indefensible.

To explain, my problem with the no-such-thesis and the no-real-thesis interpretations is that both of them entail that the *uttara-pakṣin* fails to offer an *effective* response to the objection by the *pūrva-pakṣin*. To analyse verse 29 from the perspective of the whole of the Madhyamaka project is to deprive it of the dialectical narrative in which it is embedded. Namely, to whatever extent the VV may be a vehicle for a *śūnyatā-vāda* exposition hidden under the façade of a philosophical dispute (and however idealised this dispute may be), the text remains a record of a dispute. This dispute is held on the *saṃvṛti* level, and on this level Nāgārjuna comes to be accused of contradicting his own words. The crux of verse 29 is not the no-thesis statement, but its consequent, i.e., the statement of not being guilty of committing a fault (*doṣa*), or, shall we say, the no-fault statement. Nāgārjuna's denial of having a thesis (whether one of a specific kind, or a really existent one) compares, in my opinion, not to the use of a sledgehammer, but rather to the drawing of a wild card – technically, it works, but it is hardly impressive. The weakness of denying having a thesis of a specific kind is that this argument is not immediately understandable to the opponent and audience. The VV is not only a record of an exchange in which Nāgārjuna is supposed to dispel criticism (dispel, not dodge it), as the title of the treatise says, it is also a text *elaborated upon* by Nāgārjuna in an auto-commentary which serves to clarify the import of the verses (and which often does so by means of tedious paraphrasing as if for the sake of putting forward any commentary at all). Here, for some reason, the auto-commentary offers no hint whatsoever regarding the special use of the term *pratijñā*.

It is certainly curious that one of the most puzzling passages by Nāgārjuna to have come down to us, if not the most puzzling, is found in a text which is accompanied by a *svavṛtti*. In the debate presented in the VV, the opponent is not given the chance to raise the obvious questions: "What do you mean?" and "How does this lift the accusation of said fault?" In an actual debate, those questions would have been raised. Next, as per the no-real-thesis interpretation, Nāgārjuna catapults himself to the *paramârtha* level (in truth, he seems to be free to do so almost anytime during the debate), which, again, would not work in an actual confrontation. The denial of having a thesis on the *paramârtha* level after having been accused of committing a fault on the *saṃvṛti* level, the level of the debate, is similar to not acknowledging one's own defeat in a debate and declaring that debates are not really existent, hence none really took place. I cannot, however, reject the no-such-thesis and the no-real-thesis interpretations on this basis, as I cannot assume that Nāgārjuna could not have simply put forth a flimsy argument. I therefore mostly abstain from making further remarks on these interpretations, not to mention undertaking a detailed investigation of their specific formulations. Below, I set forth my revised, and enlarged, commentary on *nâsti ca mama pratijñā*, offering, first, some initial observations and discussions, and then tracing the debate's winding path leading to the no-thesis (and the no-fault) statement(s). I provide the Sanskrit text and accompany it with my English translation only when I deem it necessary and/or relevant[11] (the reason I pay relatively more attention to the beginning of the text is that it is in those first verses and *svavṛtti* that the stage is set for Nāgārjuna's puzzling claims).

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In the VV, the Mādhyamika proponent defends the *śūnyatā-vāda* against criticism put forward in the *pūrva-pakṣa* by an opponent who, as FRANCO (2022: 123) has observed, engages in the destructive, *vitaṇḍā* mode of debate, that is, they seek to dismantle the proponent's position without making a case for an alternative one. Indeed, not only is the opponent not identified by Nāgārjuna, but also their position (assuming they have one) can hardly be reconstructed from the objections alone. Among the bits that we do learn of the opponent is that they rely on a realist conceptual framework to *interpret* the implications of the *śūnyatā-vāda*. For the opponent, to be devoid of own-being (*svabhāva*) is to be devoid of real existence; an empty thing is not different from an unreal, imagined thing.

The very first objection (VV 1–4) is at its outset directed against *stating* that all things are empty of own-being. The opening verse of the VV says:

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[11]   Omitted, among other things, is the six-pointed controversy from VVV *ad* VV 2, as even though it glaringly showcases the disputants' reliance on suppositions and anticipatory strategy, it does not introduce any new context for the analysis of VV 29.

VV 1. If the own-being of all entities is nowhere to be found, [then] your statement is devoid of own-being [and] is unable to refute own-being.[12]

The content of the statement is supplied in the *svavṛtti*: "All entities are empty."[13] The word for "statement" used in VV(V) 1 is *vacana*. Although this word is used throughout the whole of the VV,[14] its referent is not exclusively denoted by it. The Sanskrit *vākya* and *vacas* are also employed a few times to refer to the statement,[15] and since these two are found not only in the verses, but also in the *svavṛtti*, the interchangeable use of *vacana*, *vākya* and *vacas* is hardly *metri causa*. These are not special terms; they simply denote speech, the *act* of it, and not specifically its *content*.[16] This is made all too clear in the *svavṛtti* on VV 1, wherein the opponent identifies the operation of the chest, the throat, the mouth, the tongue and so on among the entities to be posited as conditions for the arising of the statement. Needless to say, the *idea* that is expressed in the words of the statement is not the product of one's chest etc. And what is expressed in the statement is a *thesis*, specifically, the proposition that all entities are empty. The statement and the thesis are substantially different. This is explicitly conveyed in the text itself. The core of the first objection is the ostensibly hopeless dilemma the proponent has to face. Either the statement itself is empty (VV 1), or it is not (VV 2, see below). If the first, then there is no statement at all (it is empty of own-being, which equals being non-existent). If the second, then the *thesis* put forth is not true insofar as not all things are empty (the statement remains a real entity, the abstract thesis it communicates becomes invalidated):

VV 2ab. Suppose that this statement is possessed of own-being. [In this case,] the aforesaid thesis (*pratijñā*) of yours is abandoned (*hata*).[17]

Specifically, in this case, the thesis is to be charged with the fault of inconsistency (*vaiṣamikatva*), as is explained in the *svavṛtti*:

You may even think: "Let there not be this fault (*doṣa*)!",[18] [and say:] "This statement is possessed of own-being, and is thus not empty, from which it follows that it [is able to] negate the own-being of all entities." To this we say: If it is so, then the aforesaid thesis of yours that all entities are empty is abandoned. What is more, your statement is included in all

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[12]　VV 1: *sarveṣāṃ bhāvānāṃ sarvatra na vidyate svabhāvaś cet | tvad-vacanam asvabhāvaṃ na nivartayituṃ svabhāvam alam ||*

[13]　VVV 42,15 *ad* VV 1: *[ś]ūnyāḥ sarva-bhāvā[ḥ].*

[14]　In VVV 2.

[15]　The former in VV 4 and VVV thereon, the latter in VV 21 and VVV thereon.

[16]　Bʜᴀᴛᴛᴀᴄʜᴀʀʏᴀ (1998: 95 *et passim*) rightly renders the three words with "statement". Wᴇsᴛᴇʀʜᴏғғ (2010: 19 *et passim*) renders them with semantically charged "assertion".

[17]　VV 2ab: *atha sasvabhāvam etad vākyaṃ pūrvā hatā pratijñā te |*

[18]　See the first horn of the dilemma (VV 1).

entities. When all entities are empty, why would your statement be not empty, so that, due to not being empty it could negate the own-being of all entities? [...][19]

The term *pratijñā* makes here its first appearance in the VV. It is clearly differentiated from the statement (which is the vehicle for the thesis). As mentioned earlier, much has been said on the meaning behind this term, however, the authors of modern interpretations (myself included, I must confess) have not paid enough attention to the use of the terms *pakṣa* and *vāda* in the VV, and their relation with *pratijñā*. I shall return to this issue later on.

A line of defence is next suggested to the proponent in verse 3:

> VV 3. You may think that [the statement] is similar to "[Do] not [make] a sound!"[20], but this is not tenable, because in this case, an existing (or present, *sat*) sound would prevent a future [one].[21]

The *svavṛtti* elaborates:

> You may think that by saying: "Do not make a sound!", someone would themselves produce a sound, and by means of that sound would prevent [a different] sound [from being produced, and that] in the same way the empty statement: "All entities are empty" would prevent own-being of all entities. To this we say: This, too, is untenable. Why? Because in this case, an existing sound would prevent a future sound. [And] here, it is not that an existing statement of yours negates own-being of all entities. Because, on your view (*tava matena*), the statement is non-existent, and own-being of all entities is non-existent, too. Therefore, [to say that] this [statement] is like "[Do] not [make] a sound!" is a defective proposition.[22]

The opponent advances a ready-made reply to an anticipated objection by the proponent. This reply cannot work, as the opponent's supposition is grounded

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[19] VVV 43,11–17 *ad* VV 2: *athâpi manyase mā bhūd eṣa doṣa iti sasvabhāvam etad vākyaṃ sasvabhāvatvāc câśūnyaṃ tasmād anena sarva-bhāva-svabhāvaḥ pratiṣiddha ity atra brūmaḥ | yady evaṃ yā te pūrvā pratijñā śūnyāḥ sarva-bhāvā iti hatā sā | kiṃ cânyat | sarva-bhāvântar-gataṃ ca tvad-vacanam | kasmāc chūnyeṣu sarva-bhāveṣu tvad-vacanam aśūnyaṃ yenâśūnyatvāt sarva-bhāva-svabhāvaḥ pratiṣiddhaḥ | [...].*

[20] See Franco (2022: 122) for the identification of the likely source of this example.

[21] VV 3: *mā śabda-vad ity etat syāt te buddhir na caîtad upapannam | śabdena hy atra satā bhaviṣyato vāraṇam tasya ||*

[22] VVV 45,3–9 *ad* VV 3: *syāt te buddhiḥ yathā nāma kaścid brūyān mā śabdaṃ kārṣīr iti svayam eva śabdaṃ kuryāt tena ca śabdena tasya śabdasya vyāvartanaṃ kriyetaîvam eva śūnyāḥ sarva-bhāvā iti śūnyena vacanena sarva-bhāva-svabhāvasya vyāvartanaṃ kriyata iti | atra vayaṃ brūmaḥ | etad apy anupapannam | kiṃ kāraṇam | satā hy atra śabdena bhaviṣyataḥ śabdasya pratiṣedhaḥ kriyate | na punar iha bhavataḥ satā vacanena sarva-bhāva-svabhāva-pratiṣedhaḥ kriyate | tava hi matena vacanam apy asat sarva-bhāva-svabhāvo 'py asat* (read after Yonezawa 2008: 224. Ed.: *asan*) *| tasmād ayaṃ mā śabda-vad iti viṣamôpanyāsaḥ |*

in an erroneous notion of the opposite party's position. Emptiness entails non-existence on the view of the *opponent*, not of the proponent. Still, this passage makes even clearer the distinction between the statement and the thesis. To explain, the statement "Do not make a sound!" is an utterance – a physical object in the shape of a sequence of *sounds* – with the meaning of prohibition which can be understood by those hearing it, thereby preventing them from making a sound. According to the opponent, the proponent may see the statement "All entities are empty" as an utterance that is also performative, i.e., one that carries out the negation of own-being. This comparison would, thus, serve to eliminate the fault of inconsistency, because there is nothing logically inconsistent in making a sound in order to establish silence. The problem is that, per the doctrine of emptiness *as the opponent understands it*, the statement is empty and thus non-existent – hence it performs nothing. If there was nothing at all, then the thesis that there is nothing at all would be true – but there would be no one to put it forth in a statement.

And lastly, verse 4 brings the first objection to a close with what would come to be directly countered with the no-thesis and no-fault statements:

> VV 4. One could think: "A negation of a negation is also [rejected] this way". This is not true. It is your thesis (*pratijñā*) which is thus criticised on account of a special characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*), not mine.[23]

The *svavṛtti* elaborates:

> You may think: "In the same manner, a negation of a negation is also untenable, [and] in that case it is untenable that you negate the statement negating the own-being of all entities". To this we say: That is also not true. Why? Because the special characteristic of a thesis is obtained for you, not for me. You say: "All entities are empty", not I. The aforesaid position (*pakṣa*) is not mine. In that case, what you said is not [tenable], viz., that this being so, a negation of a negation is also untenable.[24]

The conclusion to the first objection has led to some very different readings, which is perhaps partly owing to the text of the *svavṛtti* as provided in Johnston and Kunst's edition being rather problematic; the edition reads: *tava hi pratijñā-lakṣaṇa-prāptaṃ na mama*.[25] Per this reading, the compound does not actually

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[23] *pratiṣedha-pratiṣedho 'py evam iti mataṃ bhavet tad asad eva* | *evaṃ tava pratijñā lakṣaṇato dūṣyate na mama* ||

[24] VVV 45,14–46,3 *ad* VV 4: *syāt te buddhiḥ pratiṣedha-pratiṣedho 'py anenaiva kalpenânupapannas tatra yad bhavān sarva-bhāva-svabhāva-pratiṣedha-vacanaṃ pratiṣedhayati tad anupapannam iti* | *atra vayaṃ brūmaḥ* | *etad apy asad eva* | *kasmāt* | *tava hi pratijñā-lakṣaṇam prāptaṃ* (read after FRANCO 2002: 122; ed.: *pratijñā-lakṣaṇa-prāptaṃ*) *na mama* | *bhavān bravīti śūnyāḥ sarva-bhāvā iti nâham* | *pūrvakaḥ pakṣo na mama* | *tatra yad uktaṃ pratiṣedha-pratiṣedho 'py evaṃ saty anupapanna iti tan na* |

[25] BHATTACHARYA (1998: 98) offers the following translation of this *lectio*: "Because the

qualify anything within the sentence, and the context of earlier sentences does not immediately suggest a qualificand. The textual situation is further complicated by the *lectiones* of the Zha lu ms. consulted by Yonezawa, and of the Tibetan version edited by Yonezawa. The Zha lu ms. reads: *tava hi pratijñā-lakṣaṇa-prāptam etan na mama* (YONEZAWA 2008: 226). Here, the pronoun is clearly the qualificand, but the sentence does not allow for a sensible translation. The Tibetan translation has an equivalent for *etan*, as it reads: *dam bcas pa'i mtshan nyid kyis 'di 'thob* [*kyi...*], but it does not make good sense either.[26] I follow FRANCO's (2022: 122) emendation to *pratijñā-lakṣaṇaṃ prāptam*. I also follow Franco's proposition to read *lakṣaṇa* as referring here to the special characteristic (Franco: "characteristic mark") of a "formal thesis in a debate" (FRANCO 2022: 122–123; although, as said earlier, in the end I offer a different interpretation of the problem discussed here).

The objection here is two-layered. First, the proponent's thesis, expressed in the statement "All entities are empty", is defective when considered in terms of a formal thesis to be advanced in a proof. Having been reduced by the opponent to: "Everything is non-existent", it is considered to be formally defective in that it implies its own invalidity, because, as part of "everything", the statement "All entities are empty" is non-existent, and a non-existent statement cannot negate anything. Second, anticipating an objection by the proponent, the opponent observes that the objection is built upon the implications of the doctrine of emptiness, and not on the philosophical stance of the opponent (if they have one). The proponent cannot turn this argument against the opponent – and claim that if the proponent's statement is rendered ineffective due to being non-existent as everything is non-existent, then its negation is ineffective as well, since it, too, belongs to the non-existent "everything" – because the opponent does not hold all entities to be non-existent. The opponent, as they see it, merely showcases the absurdity of such a proposition (I say more on this below).

The reply to the first objection[27] is fairly straightforward up to verse 29[28] and shall be discussed in less detail.

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objection applies [only] to the specific character of your proposition, not to that of mine", while WESTERHOFF (2010: 21) renders the sentence as: "Since the specific characteristic of the thesis applies to your thesis, not to mine".

[26] YONEZAWA (2008: 227). Per the apparatus, the pronoun *'di* is found in the Derge, Narthang, and Cone versions, but is missing in the Peking version (and has been omitted in the 1929-published edition of the Tibetan translation by Giuseppe Tucci).

[27] Direct replies to specific verses are distributed as follows: in VV 21–23 to VV 1, in VV 24 to VV 2, in VV 25–28 to VV 3, and in VV 29 to VV 4.

[28] Even though some of the passages might demand a closer investigation (the *nirmitaka* and *māyā-puruṣa* metaphors in VV[V] 23, in particular), the gist of the argument put forward in verse 21–28 is easily comprehensible.

To the objection that the thesis of emptiness implies its own invalidity because the statement "All entities are empty", belonging to all entities, is empty and thus non-existent (V 1), the proponent replies (VV 21) that the statement is indeed empty, but this does not entail its non-existence (the meaning of emptiness is then elaborated on in VV[V] 22). A non-existent fire cannot burn anything real (VVV 1), to be sure, but the negation of own-being of entities should rather be compared to, e.g., an illusory entity acting on a different illusory entity, both of them being empty (VV 23).

The above reply accordingly serves to reject the second horn of the dilemma (V 2). By admitting that the statement "All entities are empty" is itself empty, the proponent counters the accusation of inconsistency. "All" means "all", the statement is, too, devoid of own-being. Verse 24, which rejects this accusation, contains a most valuable remark:

> Therefore, there is no abandoning of position (*vāda*) on my part.[29]

This verse is a direct reply to VV 2 wherein the opponent states that should the statement "All entities are empty" be declared autonomously existent, the thesis it contains would be abandoned (VV 2b: *pūrvā hatā pratijñā te*). The term *vāda* appears in the VV almost as frequently as the term *pratijñā*. It is used twice in the standard meaning of a controversy,[30] but elsewhere it seems to me to be used interchangeably with *pratijñā*. If the above reference does not immediately point to this interchangeable use, then three other passages certainly do so, beginning with the *svavṛtti* on the above quoted passage. In VVV 58,15–16 *ad* VV 24 we find the following paraphrase of VV 2b with *pratijñā* replaced by *vāda*: *yad bhavatôktaṃ vāda-hānis te* [...] *iti tan na*. Next, in VV 58cd, the proponent says: *yadi hi sato yady asato dvidhâpi te hīyate vādaḥ*, which is paraphrased in VVV 77,9–10 as: *yadi hi satas tan-nāma yady asata ubhayathâpi pratijñā hīyate*. And similarly, in VV 62 the proponent asks: *pratiṣedhaḥ sata iti te nanv eṣa vihīyate vādaḥ*, while in the commentary (VVV 77,13–14) we read: *yā tarhi te pratijñā sataḥ pratiṣedho bhavati nâsata iti sā hīnā.* The (non-)abandoning of a *vāda*/*pratijñā* is not the only context wherein the term *vāda* is used in this meaning. Cf. VV 38ab: *utpadyamāna eva prakāśayaty agnir ity asad-vādaḥ*.[31] Also used synonymously with *pratijñā* and *vāda*, albeit only once, is the term *pakṣa*, as evidenced by the earlier quoted *svavṛtti* on VV 4 (*pūrvakaḥ pakṣo na mama*, said in reference to the thesis of emptiness of all entities). From all this it follows that, first, *pratijñā*, outside of the context of it obtaining (or not) the special characteristic of a formal thesis, is used in reference to a philosophical proposition or stance, whether embraced by one's own party, or ascribed to the opposite party,

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[29]   VV 24b: *tasmān na vāda-hānir me.*

[30]   In VVV *ad* VV 2, and VVV *ad* VV 23.

[31]   See also VV 33 and the *svavṛtti* thereon.

even if only provisionally; and second, that rejecting the accusation of committing the fault of inconsistency, the Mādhyamika proponent acknowledges having a thesis. The no-thesis statement cannot be thus understood to refer to the rejection of a thesis on the *saṃvṛti* level.[32] I opine, moreover, that the no-such-thesis and no-real-thesis interpretations are slightly weakened by this observation, as now the opponent might raise the question of the consistency of the proponent's statements (also, the lack of proper exposition of the proponent's standpoint does not help evade such an attack and is thus doubly perplexing).

Moving to VV 3, the proponent rejects the example suggested by the opponent as to-be-employed in defence of the thesis of emptiness of all entities. As Franco (2022: 129) observes, the proponent especially disagrees with the illustration of the act of preventing (Franco: "obstruction").[33] A sound might prevent another sound from arising, whereas the statement "All entities are empty" does not *prevent* autonomous existence of beings – it may, however, destroy another person's notion (*grāha*) of the autonomous existence of beings (VV 27).

We arrive now at the no-thesis and no-fault statements. Nāgārjuna provides the following commentary on verse 29 (quoted above):

> And if I had some thesis, then the aforesaid fault as mentioned by you would be mine, because for me, [the thesis] would obtain the special characteristic of a thesis. [But] I do not have a thesis. Therefore, when all entities are empty, completely extinguished (*atyantôpaśānta*), and devoid of [intrinsic] nature (*prakṛti-vivikta*), whence [would] a thesis [come]?, whence [would] the obtainment of the special characteristic of a thesis [come]?, whence [would] the fault related to the obtainment of the special characteristic of a thesis [come]? In this case, what you have said, [namely]: "Since for you, [the thesis] obtains the special characteristic of a thesis, there is a fault of yours", is not tenable.[34]

This is a curious elaboration insofar as instead of clarifying the import of the verse, it only further complicates its interpretation. Most of the commentary merely rephrases the verse, except for the middle part, which *prima facie* indicates the sudden transference of the analysis to the *paramârtha* level. The way I understand it, however, is that the proponent *invites* the opponent to trace and verify the reasoning, as if the almost rhetorical questions asked here were

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[32] The interpretation by Murti (mentioned in fn. 14) is thus discarded.

[33] See also Franco's most valuable remarks on verse 28 (pp. 128–129), which need not be reproduced here.

[34] VVV 61,16–22: *yadi ca kācin mama pratijñā syāt tato mama pratijñā-lakṣaṇa-prāptavāt pūrvako doṣo yathā tvayôktas tathā mama syāt | na mama kācid asti pratijñā | tasmāt sarva-bhāveṣu śūnyeṣv atyantôpaśānteṣu prakṛti-vivikteṣu kutaḥ pratijñā | kutaḥ pratijñā-lakṣaṇa-prāptiḥ | kutaḥ pratijñā-lakṣaṇa-prāpti-kṛto doṣaḥ | tatra yad bhavatôktaṃ tava pratijñā-lakṣaṇa-prāptavāt tavaîva doṣa iti tan na |*

rooted in the opponent's stance ("this being so, whence would a thesis come, correct?"). I claim there is a certain overtone of absurdity about this passage, especially evident when we follow the implication backwards. To explain, there is no fault related to the obtainment of the *lakṣaṇa* of a *pratijñā*, because there is no obtainment of the *lakṣaṇa* of a *pratijñā*, and that is, in turn, because there is no *pratijñā* – and this is because, well, ultimately nothing is really existent. The no-thesis statement thus elaborated seems almost provocative, as – unless we read it as having the said overtone – it appears to attempt to reject the accusation of inconsistency by declaring that there are no inconsistencies in what we say, as we do not say anything at all (apart, obviously, from what we *have* said thus far in the debate, before we have been accused of said fault).

I propose to read the no-thesis statement as merely presenting an absurd consequence of the opponent's interpretation of the doctrine of emptiness (the interpretation upon which the objections are invariably and inevitably built). The use of such a presentation as a dialectical tool would not be an isolated case, even in the scope of the first objection/reply alone. The recorded exchange makes constant use of the provisional incorporation of elements of the opposite party's conceptual system into one's own system, which results either with absurdities, or with easily-countered suppositions, but which is necessary in order to *interpret* the words of the opposite party.

Early in the *uttara-pakṣa*, the proponent accuses the opponent of having misunderstood the doctrine of emptiness (VVV 56,1 *ad* VV 22: *śūnyatârthaṃ ca bhavān bhāvānām anavasāya* [...]) as implying the non-existence of everything, when what is in fact meant by emptiness is the dependent existence (*pratītya-bhāva*) of things, i.e. the dependence of the manifestation of a thing on the manifestation of its causes and conditions.[35] To the proponent, own-being entails autonomous existence, and a thing is never truly autonomous, hence it is not possessed of own-being. To the opponent, on the other hand, a thing either is an autonomous existent possessed of own-being, or it does not exist at all. This is hardly a case of mere misunderstanding. To accuse the *śūnyatā-vāda* of postulating ontological nihilism does not imply that the adversary has carried out a perfunctory or failed investigation into this doctrine. Should the opponent have the chance to respond to the accusation of misunderstanding the *śūnyatā-vāda*, they would likely respond with: "This is what it *means to me*" – just as the proponent responds to the example suggested in VV 3 with "This is not our example", and "To us, this is a non-example."[36]

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[35] VVV 56,6–7 *ad* VV 22: *yadi hi svabhāvato bhāvā bhaveyuḥ pratyākhyāyâpi hetu-pratyayaṃ ca bhaveyuḥ | na caîvaṃ bhavanti |* – "For if entities would exist based on [their] own-being, they could exist even having removed [their] causes and conditions. And they do not exist this way."

[36] VVV 59,1 *ad* VV 25: *nâpy ayam asmākaṃ dṛṣṭāntaḥ*, VV 59,19 *ad* VV 26: *adṛṣṭānta evâyam*.

In the very opening of the text, the opponent states that if it follows from the denial that *svabhāva* exists in its causes and conditions or separately from them that entities are empty,[37] then the same holds true for the statement: "All entities are empty", namely, it does not exist in its causes and conditions or separately from them either, and is thus empty.[38] For the opponent, this serves as the basis of a valid objection that the statement cannot negate *svabhāva*, as it is simply not there. This objection, however, is necessarily put forward in the form of a demonstration of an absurd consequence, as the opponent cannot propose that the proponent's statement is unable to negate anything *because it is non-existent* – since from the opponent's perspective it *does* exist. This can be illustrated as follows. The opponent posits that (A) entities really exist based on own-being. The proponent posits that (B) own-being does not exist either in its causes and conditions, or separately from them. The opponent provisionally accepts B into their own conceptual system, and the result of this is, first, that (C) the proponent's statement is not found to exist in its causes and conditions or separately from them; and second, that from C it follows that (D) the proponent's statement is non-existent.

In the *uttara-pakṣa*, the proponent responds by saying that if C is true, then it follows that (E) emptiness is established.[39] The problem is that C is not a position of the opponent. For the opponent, both C and D are absurd as they are true in the opponent's conceptual system if and only if B is provisionally accepted in it, and the provisional acceptance of B has all-pervading repercussions in this system, namely, it follows from it that there are no entities existent anywhere whatsoever.

The dilemma presented in the first objection (either your statement is non-existent, or your thesis is false) is part of an objection which is certainly valid in the conceptual system of the opponent. It is, however, not valid for the proponent, because for the proponent emptiness does not entail non-existence. The example introduced by the opponent in VV 3 as part of an anticipated reply by the proponent does not make good sense in the proponent's system either. Nonetheless, even though the proponent does not need to resort to the employment of such examples, as the dilemma is no dilemma at all, a "correct" example is still put forward (empty negates empty), and it is one that could not possibly work in the opponent's conceptual system.

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[37] VVV 42,5–7 *ad* VV 1: *yadi sarveṣāṃ bhāvānāṃ hetau pratyayeṣu ca hetu-pratyaya-sāmagryāṃ ca pṛthak ca sarvatra svabhāvo na vidyata iti kṛtvā śūnyāḥ sarva-bhāvā iti |*

[38] VVV 42,14–17: *yady evaṃ tavâpi vacanaṃ yad etac chūnyāḥ sarva-bhāvā iti tad api śūnyam | kiṃ kāraṇam | tad api hetau nâsti mahā-bhūteṣu saṃprayukteṣu viprayukteṣu vā pratyayeṣu nâsti [...].*

[39] VV 21: *hetu-pratyaya-sāmagryāṃ ca pṛthak câpi mad-vaco na yadi | nanu śūnyatvaṃ siddhaṃ bhāvānām asvabhāvatvāt ||*

Now, the opponent's objection in VV 4 is a perfect example of the employment of the method in question. The opponent explicitly states that their objection is built upon the absurd result of a provisional acceptance of the proponent's thesis. To explain, from the provisional acceptance of (A) all entities are empty, it follows in the opponent's system that (B) nothing exists. The opponent then states that (C) a non-existent negation is ineffective. If both B and C are true, then (D) the statement "All entities are empty" is ineffective (because it is non-existent, and because it is a negation). The opponent now supposes that the proponent might use this argument against them, and say that from C it follows that (E) the negation of D is ineffective. This is where the exchange becomes more complex than the one illustrated just above. Indeed, C is always true in the conceptual system of the opponent – if there is no statement of negation, then there is no negation. But for E to be true, it needs to follow from B *and* C, and B is accepted by the opponent only provisionally, as it is not held by the opponent that nothing exists. Things do exist – based on their own-being – including the statement: "All entities are empty". When the opponent says that the thesis of emptiness is not theirs, they wish to emphasise that they are merely presenting an absurd consequence of the provisional acceptance of this thesis.

The proponent's reply in VV(V) 29 may be seen as employing the same method. The opponent accuses the proponent of putting forward a thesis that implies its own contradiction. As a formal thesis, it is defective. The proponent does not need to resort to the transference of the subject to the *paramârtha* level. The proponent does not even need to respond to this objection, as it has been already shown earlier in the *uttara-pakṣa* that there is no contradiction, and the ascribing of the fault stems from the misunderstanding of the *śūnyatā-vāda* (this point, however,[40] obviously cannot be reiterated over and over again). To my understanding, the proponent eventually decides to play the opponent's game. If it follows from (A) all entities being empty that (B) nothing exists, then from B not only follows that (C) the statement "All entities are empty" is non-existent, but also that (D) the thesis of emptiness is non-existent. A chain of consequents is then presented in the *svavṛtti*: all entities are empty, completely extinguished and devoid of intrinsic nature → there is no thesis → there is no obtainment of the special characteristic of a thesis → there is no fault related to the obtainment of the special characteristic of a thesis. Nāgārjuna considers the ascribing of said fault as absurd, and he responds accordingly by demonstrating an absurd consequence.[41]

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[40] I.e., that the realist opponent does not comprehend what the antirealist actually wishes to convey.

[41] For a reply made in an exactly the same tone, see VV 63, wherein Nāgārjuna (in response to VV 12) denies that he denies anything. This is too an absurd consequence of the provisional acceptance of emptiness of all entities understood as implying that nothing exists.

If we read the first part of the text (VV 1–20) as constituting a single utterance by a single *pūrva-pakṣin*, then, as said earlier, the replies to the specific objections become more interconnected, as they now, too, belong to a single utterance. Verse 29 is followed by a statement which serves as an introduction to a twenty-two-verse-long direct reply to the second objection (VV 5–6) concerned with the theory of knowledge and the realness of *pramāṇa*s (which, after all, are said to be empty just like everything else). In the initial verse of the reply to the second objection, the proponent elects to follow the path of the earlier verses of the *uttara-pakṣa*, and offers the following reply to the objection that he cannot reject an object having apprehended it through perception, since perception – being empty – is not real (VV 5[42]):

> VV 30. If I apprehended something by means of perception or other [*pramāṇa*], then I would affirm [it] or reject [it]. But because it (i.e., perception) is non-existent, this is a non-objection to me.[43]

The overtone of absurdity carries over to verse 30. Beginning with verse 31, however, Nāgārjuna builds a complex criticism of the different attempts to establish *pramāṇa*s, thus leaving verse 30 as an isolated argument, designed merely to demonstrate the absurdities of a realist-antirealist debate.

Indeed, much of the debate consists in the two parties declaring that they do not claim what the opposite party assumes they claim. Should the debate be a purely fictitious one, Nāgārjuna could be understood as implicitly indicating the irrationality of such a debate. And should it go back to an actual debate, then in the VV, Nāgārjuna would be giving testimony of said irrationality.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

VV[V]   Nāgārjuna: *Vigraha-vyāvartanī[-vṛtti]*. Sanskrit edition by Elgin H. Johnston and Arnold Kunst in: Bhattacharya (1998: 33–86).

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[42] VV 5: *pratyakṣeṇa hi tāvad yady upalabhya vinivartayasi bhāvān | tan nâsti pratyakṣaṃ bhāvā yenôpalabhyante ||*

[43] VV 30: *yadi kiṃcid upalabheyaṃ pravartayeyaṃ nivartayeyaṃ vā | pratyakṣâdibhir arthais tad-abhāvān me 'nupālambhaḥ ||*

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Exploring Gandhāran Relic Rituals and Veneration I: Visualising Relics

Ashwini Lakshminarayanan

Abstract: Gandhāran reliefs and pedestal images repeatedly show figures venerating the relics of the Buddha. While efforts have been made to study this group of images, the next logical step of analysis would be to conduct a more systematic and contextual analysis of the visual and religious content in order to understand how images communicated normative rituals. By giving primacy to images and its associated evidence, such as Gāndhārī inscriptions and Chinese travelogues, this paper, the first of a series, is a modest attempt to shed light on how images depicting relic veneration and dating from the second century onwards are part of a visual rhetoric of Gandhāran rituals. By doing so, this paper lays special emphasis on how seeing the relics was an important part of Buddhist rituals not only in Gandhāra, but in the wider Kuṣāṇa visual culture.

Keywords: Relics, Rituals, Buddhism, Seeing, Visual Culture, Gandhāra, Pedestal, Xuanzang

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1. Introduction

Within Gandhāra, broadly in present-day northwestern Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan, the centrality of relic veneration is attested by both the epigraphic and visual corpora (**Fig. 1**). The epigraphic corpus, i.e., texts consisting mainly of donative inscriptions, have had a significant impact on Gandhāran studies in particular, and Buddhism in general, in the last few decades.[1] The vast majority of inscriptions in local Gāndhārī (Middle Indo-Aryan language) and written on reliquaries,[2] mention the date of the donations, the names of the donors, the object of donation as well as the location in which the donations were made. Since the reliquaries were largely recovered from antiquities market and private collections, the location mentioned in the inscriptions cannot always be correlated to excavated Buddhist sites in the region. However, the information provided by the inscriptions can more broadly be associated with two local polities, the Apracas and the Oḍis, ruling the Bajaur and Swāt Valleys, respectively, who played a key role in maintaining Buddhist institutions (*saṅgha*) through relic donation and veneration.

A complementary and equally important source, the visual corpus, was well-known and documented as early as the nineteenth century when colonial officers dug up sites and collected images as antiquities. The visual corpus mainly preserves statues and bas-reliefs associated with the biography of the Buddha Śākyamuni, ritual praxis and decorative motifs. In the early period of their discovery by western scholars, the monumental images of the standing Buddha and bodhisattva were considered as the perfect amalgamation between western artistic aesthetics and Indic philosophy. They were mainly studied within Eurocentric and colonial perspectives that were focussed on understanding the origin of motifs in Gandhāran art rather than their socio-religious functions within Buddhist sites. However, in recent decades, the potential of the visual material to shed light on contemporary praxis has slowly begun to be fully exploited.[3] As a result, studies on rituals, portraits, and royal ideology, among other things, have paved the way for studying Gandhāran art within its historical context.[4]

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[1]   The other source of texts are birch bark manuscripts with written texts, which are not relevant to the present discussion. For an overview of this evidence, see Salomon (1999).

[2]   On some of the reliquaries such as pots, stone slabs and steatite containers, the inscriptions were directly written or inscribed on the surface. However, some relic inscriptions were also written on metal sheets and placed within reliquaries. For a detailed survey of Gandhāran reliquaries, including their form and inscriptions, see Jongeward et al. (2012).

[3]   This was further accelerated by excavations in Swāt (Faccenna 1956–1962, 1962–1964; Callieri 1989), which has provided not only a basis for the chronological understanding of Gandhāran art but also shed light on the regional religious and political dynamics in the Oḍi kingdom (Lakshminarayanan 2023a, 2023b).

[4]   Amongst them, the images associated with contemporary rituals have received sporadic

Starting from an interdisciplinary perspective using both inscriptions and images in which relics are donated and venerated by devotees, this paper will explore two aspects associated with relic veneration – displaying and seeing. As such, it is part of a series of forthcoming works that disseminate the results of my UK Research and Innovation Horizon Europe Guarantee Marie Skłodowska-Curie Postdoctoral Fellowship project titled Gandhāran Relic Rituals and Veneration Explored (GRAVE) at Cardiff University. The main objective of GRAVE is to establish an interdisciplinary methodology that combines art historical, epigraphic and textual sources to shed light on the ritual and veneration activities surrounding Buddhist relics in Gandhāra between the first and the fourth centuries CE.

The first section of the paper illustrates the variety of evidence available to delineate a corpus that is currently being studied within the scope of project GRAVE. Before examining the main object of this paper, displaying and seeing relics as part of ritual acts, it is important to establish what exactly is ritual in the realm of Gandhāran studies. While it has often been used in secondary literature when analysing textual evidence, mainly inscriptions and manuscripts, scholars have yet to systematically study how rituals can be understood based on visual culture.[5] As a modest attempt to bridge this gap, the second and third sections will outline how images, when studied using other sources such as texts, can shed light on the way rituals were visually conceptualised. Thus, in the subsequent section, the paper introduces some aspects related to relic veneration, such as displaying and seeing the relics, with hopes this may trigger further conversations regarding the socio-religious dimensions of Gandhāran visual culture.

Before discussing the images depicting relic veneration, it is important to establish what exactly do we mean by this term.[6] Relics in secondary literature are used to refer to three categories: a) corporeal relics (*dhātu* or *śarīra*) such as the teeth, bones, and the ashes of Buddha and his disciples; b) contact relics (*pāribhogika*) comprising objects that were in contact with the Buddha, such as his alms bowl, turban, footprint; and c) objects of commemoration or representation imbued with special significance such as images (*uddeśika*). We will see how devotees, in art and in turn, reality, venerated Buddhist relics and cultivated religious merit.[7]

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attention, particularly if they are presumed to have a "non-Buddhist" affiliation. For example, see FALK (2010a) and FILIGENZI (2019).

[5] Publications on relic rituals based on the visual culture have certainly widened our knowledge, and some notable ones are VERARDI (1994), BEHRENDT (2003, 2006) and RHI (2005).

[6] For the distinction between different relics, see SHARF (1999: 80–81), who makes an argument for not conflating them. Since this paper is a general introduction to the approach to relics on images, I have chosen to combine the groups together.

[7] Several publications have dealt with the relationship between merit making and relic veneration, for example see STRONG (2004), STARGARDT and WILLIS (2018).

Fig. 1. Map of Gandhāra with key Buddhist Sites © Author. The CC BY-NC 4.0 licence does not
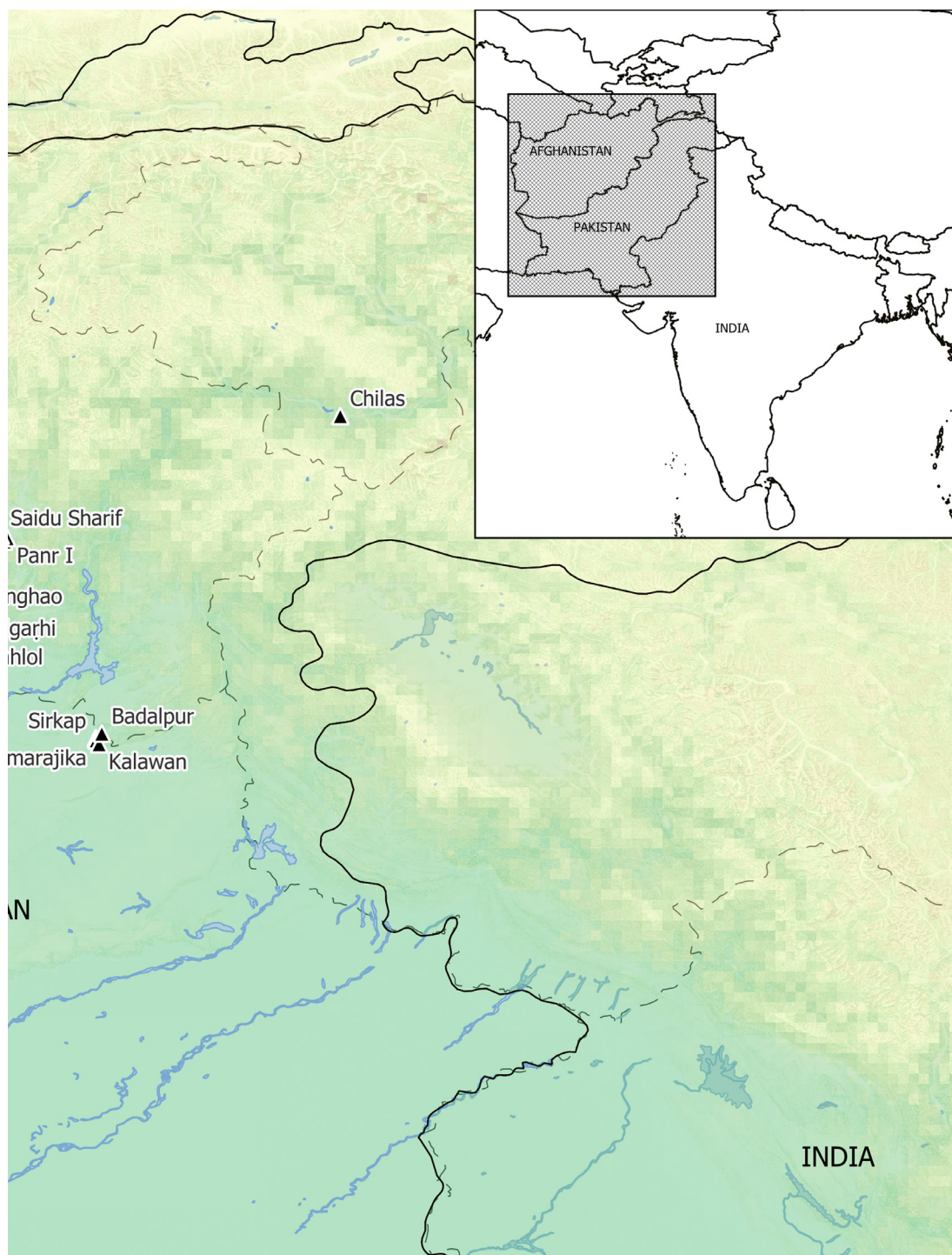
apply to this picture.

2. Seeing and Displaying Relics in Images

This paper examines the ritual of viewing relics as represented in Gandhāran art. Chronologically and geographically, the term "Gandhāran art" encompasses a vast corpus of material, exhibiting considerable stylistic diversity. Consequently, there are notable differences in how relics are depicted, venerated, and framed in visual representations dating from the first to the fourth centuries CE. In the earliest phase of Gandhāran art, particularly in the Swāt Valley during the first century CE, relics are primarily shown being carried by donor and devotee figures.[8] As Gandhāran visual culture developed, scenes of relic veneration were increasingly incorporated into the decorative frames of large statues and narrative reliefs illustrating the life of the Buddha.

Among the earliest Buddhist representations from the Swāt Valley dating to the early first century CE are a number of images depicting male and female figures, sometimes bearing reliquaries. For instance, a statue from Butkara I (**Fig. 2**) portrays a male donor figure clad in Indic garments, holding a large cylindrical container. This container closely resembles some schist reliquaries also found within the region (**Fig. 3**), and visually evokes the presence of the relics within them.[9]

By the second century CE, new focal points for relic veneration in images emerged, particularly for contact relics – objects directly associated with the Buddha's life. During this period, in addition to reliquaries, representations of cremation mounds containing the Buddha's corporeal relics began to appear on separate registers on narrative reliefs. The mounds strongly resemble the cremation mound that is depicted in the life of the Buddha, between episodes of his *mahāparinirvāṇa* and the division of the relics.[10] One such relief, for example, depicts a mound venerated by devotees who are framed within arches and separated by Gandhāran-Persepolitan columns. The mound, a raised tumulus draped with cloth, is placed on an elevated platform (**Fig. 4**). Although the lower register of this relief, which likely depicted a scene from the Buddha's life, is not preserved, the composition on the upper register emphasises the veneration of the *stūpa* mound, recalling the Buddha's *mahāparinirvāṇa* cycle.

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[8] Simultaneously, the images from the early phase continued to be reused on *stūpa* monuments as part of the iconographic programme. Taddei convincingly argues, based on the apparent lack of overarching pattern in the way in which the images were reused, that the piety accorded to sacred material was "perhaps an easy way to decorate a votive *stūpa* without being compelled to spend much money on having new images made" (TADDEI 2006: 47–48).

[9] Reliquaries, whether they were schist, terracotta, metal or another material contained a number of objects that were associated with the relics. The Piprahwa relic caskets comprised objects such as precious and semi-precious beads, lapis lazuli, shell, coral, embossed and granulated gold as well as bones and ashes (FALK 2013). Similarly, the Ajidaseṇa relic container comprised a large number of pearls, precious stones and gold and silver flowers, fabric and an inscribed gold sheet (FUSSMAN 1986).

[10] For instance, see BEHRENDT (2003: 78, Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Statue of a donor figure carrying a reliquary, from Butkara I, height = 65.5 cm. Swāt Museum, Pakistan © A. Martin. The CC BY-NC 4.0 licence does not apply to this picture.

Fig. 3. Buddhist reliquary in the form of a pyxis with various decorations, height = 4.7 cm, © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin. CC BY-SA 4.0

Fig. 4. Relief fragment depicting the stūpa mound, unknown provenance, height = 13.2 cm, National Museum of Pakistan, Pakistan © A. Martin. The CC BY-NC 4.0 licence does not apply to this picture.

Relics such as the Buddha's turban and bowl also feature prominently in reliefs as objects of veneration. The turban relic, a symbol of the Buddha's renunciation, represents the moment when Siddhārtha cut his hair crest and, literally, abandoned his princely status.[11] In reliefs depicting its veneration, the turban is typically shown on an elevated podium, often exaggerated in size to highlight its importance (**Fig. 5**). On the same relief, the upper register preserves the bowl relic placed on a pedestal, venerated by a series of figures.

Fig. 5. Relief depicting the veneration of the Buddha, turban and the bowl, unspecified provenance, Dir Museum, Pakistan © Digitization of Gandhāran Artefacts. CC0 1.0 Public Domain.

Footprints, or *buddhapāda*, are also framed in a similar manner in reliefs, with devotees often shown flanking them in *añjalimudrā*.[12] In **Fig. 6**, two figures

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[11]   In Saidu Sharif I, a relief depicts the cutting of the hair episode from the Buddha's life in drawing style and likely dates to the early first century CE (AMATO 2019). For the veneration of the turban, see ZIN (2019).

[12]   Quagliotti has catalogued several isolated footprints in the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia (QUAGLIOTTI 1998). Huntington, when arguing against the aniconic theory, which suggested that the representations of trees, *stūpa*s and footprints, amongst others, persuasively demonstrated that the *buddhapāda*s are "distinct from a figurative representation of the Buddha" (HUNTINGTON 2020: 428). She argues that in most cases, they are to be understood as imprints left by the Buddha, similar to the relics, rather than a symbolic substitute for the Buddha himself.

are positioned beside an intricately decorated footprint. It is likely that similar rituals took place around monumental footprints, such as the one shown in **Fig. 7**. These depictions demonstrate the expanding scope of relic veneration beyond corporeal remains to objects and symbols as vestiges not only associated with the Buddha's life but were also vestiges that triggered veneration activities.[13]

Fig. 6. Relief depicting the veneration of the footprint, probably from Dir, height = unknown. National Museum of Pakistan, Pakistan © Z. Zhong. The CC BY-NC 4.0 licence does not apply to this picture.

In addition to serving as supporting elements, relic veneration scenes also appear on the pedestals of Buddha and bodhisattva statues. These statues, likely intended for placement in shrines and niches within Buddhist sites, typically

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[13] While they may refer to the Buddha indexically, they were objects that were venerated on pilgrimage or was visualised using prayer. In some traditions, Strong has identified that the footprints did not resemble human feet but were no more than depressions on rocks which pilgrims visited and covered with gold leaf (STRONG 2004: 88–90).

Fig. 7. Relief depicting the footprint of the Buddha, from Sikrai, height = 99 cm, Chandigarh Government Museum and Art Gallery, India © Chandigarh Government Museum and Art Gallery, A. Lakshminarayanan. The CC BY-NC 4.0 licence does not apply to this picture.

range from 80 to 100 centimetres in height, while the pedestals themselves are approximately 20 centimetres. However, most of these pedestals originate from unknown or poorly documented excavations, limiting the potential for a detailed contextual analysis here.[14] Nevertheless, a preliminary analysis of around 326 pedestals revealed that around 253 images depict ritual veneration scenes.[15]

Fig. 8. Pedestal relief depicting the veneration of the bowl, unknown provenance, height = 42.8 cm, Musée national des Arts asiatiques – Guimet, France © Musée national des Arts asiatiques, A. Lakshminarayanan. The CC BY-NC 4.0 licence does not apply to this picture.

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[14] Some pedestals bear inscriptions, which allow for dating based on the textual content and palaeographic characteristics. For example, a pedestal of a now lost statue with an inscription is the subject of a detailed study by FUSSMAN (1985). For now, it is important to note that the inscriptions on the pedestal cannot be directly correlated to the image on the pedestal.

[15] A complete presentation of the data is beyond the scope of this article. This data is part of a forthcoming paper in which I also deal with other objects appearing in the pedestals such as lamps and fire altars. Some examples of the latter are TC-80 (Tokyo National Museum); S 113 B, OS-120 (Östasiatiska Museet); 1886,0618.1 (British Museum); I 540, I 514, I 444, I 284, I 4916 (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin); Acc. no. 848, 568, 41 (Government Museum and Art Gallery Chandigarh) G-66-0 (Lahore Museum) amongst others.

Fig. 9. Pedestal relief depicting figures performing rituals, unknown provenance, total height = 126 cm. National Museum, India © National Museum (Delhi), A. Lakshminarayanan. The CC BY-NC 4.0 licence does not apply to this picture.

Overall, the pedestals preserve compact vignettes that follow the same structure: the relics and ritual paraphernalia, and in a handful of cases reliquaries, are centrally placed on a throne or platform, and flanked by several devotees, who are often symmetrically arranged (**Figs 8** and **9**). The larger proportion of the former further emphasises their importance within the visual structure. The back of the enthroned relic is often covered by a large, pleated cloth that suggests they are being frontally viewed. The devotees who venerate them, comprise both male and female lay and monastic figures, are symmetrically arranged on either side of the central object. In some cases, male and female figures are grouped together regardless of their status. In this manner, monastic figures sometimes stand next to other lay male and female figures. In some cases, no object is depicted on the pedestal, the devotees are oriented toward the statue itself (**Fig. 10**). These representations can be tentatively interpreted as illustrating devotees venerating an image as an *uddeśika* relic. Moreover, the positioning of the figures toward the relics serves to direct the attention of external viewers to the central object of veneration.

Fig. 10. Statue of a standing Buddha image with the pedestal, from Chatpat, total
height = 51 cm, Dir Museum, Pakistan © Digitization of Gandhāran Artefacts.
CC0 1.0 Public Domain.

3. Relics Rituals and Art: Engaging with the "Visual Turn"

What exactly are these rituals? In other words, how can we define the act of devotees visually engaging with relics in our images as a ritual and distinct from simply "seeing"? To answer this question, let us turn to the definition of the term "ritual", usually made based on its external characteristics and its varied contexts.[16] The range of definitions has led some scholars to observe that "few terms in the study of religion have been explained and applied in more confusing ways" (ZUESSE 2005: 7833) and that ritual "means very little because it means so much" (SCHECHNER 1993: 228).[17] Despite the limitations on defining ritual, it remains a key conceptual and analytical tool in the study of ancient religions, and has often been used to describe formal, repetitive, and stereotyped behaviours performed as social acts.[18] In this paper, the following definition applies: ritual is an intensive form of communication, structured by specific personnel, times, places, speech, gestures, costumes, and artefacts, and are based on the familiarity of the participants and some authoritative consensus.[19]

To engage with the visual representations of rituals in Gandhāran art, Catherine Bell's *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* offers a valuable starting point. BELL (1992: 88–93) shifts focus from defining ritual to exploring "ritualisation" a process which essentially differentiates and privileges some actions from more common, quotidian activities. Ritual agents internalise behaviours in structured environments, creating distinctions from mundane acts. Bell's examples show how the same actions – such as eating or giving gifts – can acquire distinct meanings during the process of ritualisation. Within this process, rituals despite resisting change, are not entirely static and unchangeable.[20] As rituals are

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[16]   The most well-known theories in the debates are VAN GENNEP (1960), BELL (1997), TURNER (1969), RAPPAPORT (1999). Some scholars have actively moved away from this term, instead opting for others such as "public events" which comprise characteristics such as formality, tendency to be replicated, intentionality, function, symbolism and connection to the wider world (HANDELMAN 1998: 10–11).

[17]   See also GOODY (1975).

[18]   KOTTAK ([1974] 2008: 228). Similarly, for the features of formality, fixity and repetition, see BELL (1992: 92).

[19]   BLOCH (1987: 296–297) emphasises the importance of familiarity. This paper does not aim to redefine ritual for Gandhāra, but to demonstrate how ritual theory can be explicitly applied to images. This does not mean that previous studies have ignored the dimension of ritual within Gandhāran art and indeed, the works cited in this article demonstrate that scholars have consistently been implicitly aware of how Gandhāran art is also a major part of social and anthropological phenomena (such as religion and gender amongst others) in the region. While some may find it cumbersome to frame the material within theoretical frameworks, making the relationship between Gandhāran art and its socio-religious contexts explicit in our discussions encourages questions that move beyond iconography and aesthetics, reflecting the current trends within the field.

[20]   BELL (1992: 210) suggests that the "part of the dilemma of ritual change lies in the simple

performed by ritual agents, the latter interprets the elements of the rituals to communicate them. Over time, the ritual agents "know what to do" as their ritual behaviour becomes internalised. At the same time, through the repetitive performances,[21] change can become part of the dynamic process when meanings are either left behind or layered or when actions acquire new nuances.[22]

It is indeed Bell's theory that influences Kevin Trainor's *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism*. TRAINOR (1997: 137) identifies two key characteristics of rituals: they are somatic and formal.[23] Trainor suggests that there is an overemphasis on an assumed early Buddhist scepticism about rituals. However, certain ritual actions, such as venerating the Buddha through gestures, were seen as conducive to achieving Buddhist ideals. Gestures like the *añjalimudrā* (salutation), prostration, kneeling, amongst others became normative for Buddhist practitioners. Trainor's analysis of relic veneration, where physical actions express devotion to the Buddha, is particularly useful for studying Gandhāran visual culture. Archaeological evidence provides only a glimpse of the rituals performed at Buddhist sites, as much of the material is fragmentary and lacks detailed context. While human actions may leave traces, this evidence is often incomplete and difficult to interpret. A more reliable source for inferring rituals is the visual corpus. Early Buddhist visual culture offers valuable insights into how rituals were conceptualised.[24] Although these images are not direct representations of rituals, they provide snapshots of the ritual process, through which meanings were communicated.

In light of this discussion on rituals, how can we interpret these images of relic veneration that we came across in the first section of this paper? In the case

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fact that rituals tend to present themselves as the unchanging, time-honoured customs of an enduring community".

[21] KAPFERER (1983). SCHECHNER (2003) frames rituals as performances in order to study their aesthetic and dramatic nature.

[22] This provides a possibility that rituals, were not unchanging, but had successive phases during which they acquired new meanings. Such changes in the ancient context are difficult to identify based on material remains and so are not tackled in this paper.

[23] Trainor states that the ritual, as it is performed by one's body and the use of senses and hence it is somatic. They are also not spontaneous acts but are "action performed in accordance with some authoritative or traditional pattern".

[24] Huntington's works dealing with these questions are particularly relevant, such as *Lay Ritual in the Early Buddhist Art of India* which used visual evidence from central Indian *stūpa* sites to suggest that the bas-reliefs decorating monuments can be associated with lay ritual practices. The reliefs, depicting lay practitioners performing various veneration activities, or showing devotion, to use the author's term, "reify the very lay practices associated with the reliquary monuments they adorn" (HUNTINGTON 2012: 8). However, some differences between the corpus analysed by Huntington and this paper, most notably, the representation of monks and nuns alongside lay devotees venerating relics in Gandhāran art suggest that Huntington's conclusions cannot be transposed to the Gandhāran corpus.

of Gandhāran art, the use of ritual theory can enhance our understanding of how Buddhism was practiced in the region. Rituals played a key role in social dynamics, and combined with our Gandhāran textual sources, we can ask nuanced questions about how rituals shaped mutual experiences. Thus, studying images can offer insights into the everyday experiences of Buddhism. The figures in these images, engaged in rites, are depicted with distinctive gestures, postures, and garb, suggesting normative rather than realistic representations. While the repertoire is limited and most images lack narrative content, their focus on veneration suggest a ritualised visual engagement with relics. Needless to say, if we consider them simply as decorations of reliefs and statues, they provide little original information. Their composition is highly repetitive and the actions of the figures, when in contact with the relics, are stereotypical and limited. Their compositions, along with the stereotypical and constrained actions of the figures in contact with the relics, suggest a lack of individuality or intentional variation. However, one can argue that this standardisation indicates a systematic approach to the representation of ritual acts and offers valuable insights into the normative practices surrounding ritual veneration. The predominance of these images, especially on the pedestals of nearly life-sized statues, implies that they functioned as typologies. As visual types, these representations likely aimed to reinforce and amplify the rituals, thereby formalising the practices familiar to Buddhist devotees.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the specific aspects of seeing and displaying the relics that these images illuminate, it is essential to consult other contemporary sources, particularly texts that explicitly document such practices. As previously noted, the most significant textual corpus from Gandhāra comprises primarily donative inscriptions. The trends observed in these inscriptions can be further expanded by studying Buddhist texts from India and China, thus enriching our understanding of the ritual context. The following section will focus on the relevant Gāndhārī inscriptions and their parallels within Chinese textual accounts, providing a nuanced framework for interpreting the ritual acts depicted in Gandhāran art.

4. Viewing Relics in Texts

The invisibility of the Buddha's corporeal relics, in the vast majority of cases, is generally accepted. According to the various versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, the most important text that deals with relic veneration, the Buddha's cremated remains were divided amongst several polities and interred within *stūpa*s.[25] The text makes no mention of special reliquaries. Rather, the remains

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[25] For a comparative analysis of the texts in Chinese, Pali and Sanskrit, see WALDSCHMIDT (1948). For an overview of the reliefs depicting the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* cycle, see JONGEWARD et al. (2012: 9–38).

were simply collected and measured in urns and distributed amongst various kings. The kings took their share of the relics and immediately raised mounds or *stūpa*s over them for veneration. The text does not mention any display practices such as parades and processions associated with the relics, and the *stūpa*s themselves seems to represent the relic within them. The relics likely remained invisible until, according to the *Aśokāvadāna*, the Mauryan king Aśoka opened the seven (or eight) original relic *stūpa*s and redistributed the relics within 84000 *stūpa*s across his kingdom.[26]

In so far as Gandhāra is concerned, the relic tradition in the region can be associated with the narrative of Aśoka distributing the relics, as well as localising narratives.[27] We have limited evidence for the intermediary periods, but by the mid-first century BCE inscriptions reveal that relic donations were made by wealthy donors, including the local ruling elite. The relics in these donations were mainly kept within stone and metal reliquaries that were likely interred within a *stūpa* and never to be seen again.[28] The large number of reliquaries, an estimated 500 containers, suggests that relics were widely distributed within the region.[29] Amongst them, stone and terracotta reliquaries greatly outnumber those made in silver and gold. They are devoid of any overarching iconographic programme; only floral and geometric motifs decorate the surface alongside the inscription (**Fig. 11**). Admittedly, the stone reliquaries were likely the outer covering within

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[26] For an examination of the Indian and Chinese versions of the text, see Przyluski (1923). A Gāndhārī *avadāna* associated with King Aśoka and his harem of women was analysed in Lenz (2014: 56–57).

[27] It is also important to note that other narratives for the region's claim to the relics exist. One such claim was made by Utaraseṇa in Uḍḍiyāna in the Swāt Valley. After the Buddha subjugated the *nāga* Apalāla, he visited Utaraseṇa's mother in the palace at Dhānyapura, the capital of Uḍḍiyāna. In the narrative, the Buddha is said to have explicitly stated that the kingdom had a share in the relics as Utaraseṇa was his kin. Thus, when the Buddha attained *nirvana*, Utaraseṇa requested a share but was denied as he was from the border regions. Eventually, the eight rulers dividing the relics are compelled to give him a share. When Utaraseṇa returned to Uḍḍiyāna with the relic on a white elephant, the elephant died and becomes petrified. So, Utaraseṇa decided to establish a relic *stūpa* at this spot (T.2087.884a19–25 translated in Deeg 2011: 194–197). Faccenna also notes that a relief from Saidu Sharif I might be a possible representation of Utaraseṇa recovering his share of the relics and bringing them back to the Swāt Valley (Faccenna 2001: 227–229, Inv. no. S241). Such an event would be ideally placed in Saidu Sharif I, located in the Swāt Valley, and have evoked the regional claim to the Buddha's relics on this *stūpa*.

[28] In some cases, the objects used as reliquaries may have been reused in this context. For example, the silver reliquary of Indravarman were goblets that were reused as relic containers (Salomon 1996).

[29] Such a large number of reliquaries, presumably of the Buddha and his disciples, reflects some evidence of commodification of relics, which needs further investigation. A theoretical model that might be useful in understanding the sudden explosion of relics in the early first centuries is presented in Kopytoff (2013). For a chronological arrangement of inscribed reliquaries see Baums (2018).

which more elaborate containers may have been placed. In this case, the smaller containers made out of precious materials may not have survived because of their value. When these containers were preserved, we can note that their forms and decorations were more developed. For example, the well-known gold Bimaran reliquary casket from a *stūpa* in Jalalabad, Afghanistan in the form of a pyxis is decorated by a series of deities venerating the Buddha under arched niches.[30] It was protected within a steatite container inscribed with the name of the donor as Śivarakṣita and, presumably, this container was interred within a *stūpa*.[31] The decorations on the gold reliquary casket reflect wider patterns of Gandhāran art and are similar to what we find on other objects such as stone reliefs. When compared to **Fig. 12**, the scenes on the casket find a striking echo. Although **Fig. 12** only uses the bust of the figures, the architectural frame with niches supported by pilasters suggests, unsurprisingly, that the same motifs were deployed by artists in different mediums.

Fig. 11. Schist reliquary with geometric motifs and its contents, unknown provenance, height = 7 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, USA © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. CC0 1.0 Public Domain.

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[30]   The gold reliquary and schist casket are currently housed in the British Museum (Inv. no. 1900,0209.1). The gold reliquary measures around 6.7 cm in height and 6.6 cm in diameter.

[31]   CKI 50. The object as well the relics within the steatite container were extensively analysed by Cribb (2018). CKI refers to the Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions based on the Gandhari.org database created by Stefan Baums and Andrew Glass. Translations of some of the inscriptions are available in Baums (2012).

Fig. 12. Relief depicting a series of figures venerating the Buddha, from Jabagai, height = unknown, Dir Museum, Chakdara © Digitization of Gandhāran Artefacts. CC0 1.0 Public Domain.

Not all the reliquaries were inscribed, but the ones which were inscribed allude to their contents. Amongst them, several inscriptions explicitly mention that the bodily relics belonged to Śākyamuni.[32] For instance, one of the earliest Gāndhārī inscriptions dating to the middle of the first century BCE, the donative inscription of the *meridarch* Theodotus states that the donor established the relics of the Śākyamuni for the benefit of all beings.[33] Another inscription of the Apraca prince Iṃdravarma I dating around 6 CE states that the donor established a relic donation along with his family members.[34] It mentions that the relics belonged to the Śākyamuni and that they were originally part of a Mauryan period *stūpa*.[35] This donative inscription illustrates a specific case during which relics were removed from a *stūpa* and reinterred somewhere safe.[36] While the Iṃdravarma I inscription does not state why the relics were removed from the Mauryan *stūpa*, we will see other inscriptions which allude to the circumstances leading to the removal of the relics.

When the *stūpa* was damaged due to natural causes or human neglect, relics were removed and moved to another monument. Such a case is described in

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[32]   CKI 464 (Relic Inscription of Gomitra); 242 (Relic Inscription of Iṃdravarma); 334 (Relic Inscription of Ajidasena); 46 (Relic Inscription of Patika); 257 (Relic Inscription of Śatruleka); 266 (Relic Inscriptions of Dhaṃmila, Kumuka and Dasadija, and of Kopśakasa); 401 (Relic Inscription of Ayadata); 564 (Relic Inscription of Helaguta); 153 (Relic Inscription of Śveḍavaṃma); 159 (Relic Inscription of Vagamarega); 509 (Relic Inscription of the Daughter of Vagamarega); 457 (Relic Inscription of Teyamitra).

[33]   CKI 32 (Relic Inscription of Theodotos). The office of the *meridarch*, a title coming from the Hellenistic West, was likely related to the administration of the local kingdoms. A complete examination of the Greek office titles in Gāndhārī inscriptions can be found in FALK (2010b).

[34]   CKI 242 (Relic Inscription of Iṃdravarma).

[35]   According to Salomon, the site in which this and another Dharmarājikā *stūpa* was located was Tramana, the capital of the Apracarājas (SALOMON 2007: 272–273).

[36]   Removing relics from the *stūpa* may have also been a means by which political entities reinforced their power through rededications. A brief analysis of relic rededications conducted by Albery suggests that kings either renovated destroyed *stūpa*s, which were either neglected or destroyed by calamity, or destroyed them deliberately to make rededications (ALBERY 2020: 112).

the Oḍirāja Seṇavarma's donative inscription, which states that the Ekauda *stūpa* established by the king's ancestors was enlarged after it was destroyed by lightening (CKI 249). As one of the longest Gāndhārī donative texts, this unique inscription, dating around the first century BCE, provides information on the actions of the king as well as his motivations for establishing the inscription. The inscription reads much like a public proclamation and can be imagined as part of an elaborate *stūpa* inauguration. We will examine this detail later on. But, for now, it is important to note that the damage also exposed the older donative inscription of his ancestor, King Vasuseṇa, according to the text. We may infer that the donative inscription of King Vasuseṇa, likely inscribed on a reliquary, was interred within the *stūpa*. Without the destruction of the *stūpa*, the Vasuseṇa inscription was completely hidden from view and was only revealed during Seṇavarma's rebuilding project.

Similarly, the inscription recording the relic donation of the Apraca king Vijayamitra II includes the previous donative inscription made by Vijayamitra I around 150 BCE.[37] It states that Vijayamitra II, sometime around 8 CE, restored the relics of the Śākyamuni, including the broken reliquary in which it was held as it was destroyed due to neglect. By restoring the relics, he added his donative inscription on the outer surface of the reliquary and included the inscription of Vijayamitra I on the inner surface. While the inscription does not explicitly state a process of exhuming the relics, based on the Seṇavarma inscription, the Vijayamitra I relics were likely reinterred during an elaborate ceremony organised by Vijayamitra II.

The handful of cases from our epigraphic corpus in which the bodily relics of the Buddha were interred within the *stūpa* and later removed under specific circumstances suggest that these relics were not always meant to be seen. When the relics were indeed moved to more secure monuments by building new or renovating damaged ones, we may imagine that an elaborate public ceremony was performed by the kings in front of important members of their polities. In the Seṇavarma inscription, the king directly addressed the assembled groups consisting of ascetics, noble folk, and the two-fold community (monks and nuns). We can imagine that the king conducted a highly organised official ceremony by inviting important members of the community. He or his representatives may have made a public proclamation on the ritual day regarding his rebuilding activities and his aspirations. On such a day, the relics themselves may have been put on display for devotees to venerate them. While the Vijayamitra II inscription does not explicitly contain a proclamation, the royal status of the donor suggests that such a public ceremony may have been instituted.

Such public ceremonies were meant to honour both the donor and the recipient

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[37]   CKI 176 (Relic Inscriptions of Menandros and Vijayamitra).

and render the donated object, in this case a *stūpa*, more accessible to devotees. I have previously argued that Gandhāran kings may have even been approached by representatives of the *saṅgha* to induce them to care for the donations established by their ancestors (Lakshminarayanan 2023a). According to some *vinaya* rules, monastics were encouraged to appeal to the donors when their donation fell into disuse. When the donors themselves were not alive to maintain the donation, their offsprings could be persuaded to make more donations.[38] When the successors of the donors rebuilt and renovated previously established donations, new opportunities to affirm the inter-relationship between political powers and the Buddhist *saṅgha* were created. During these opportunities, the kings could publicise their efforts through *stūpa* inauguration festivals, processions and ritual ceremonies.

These elaborate ceremonies are not preserved in Gandhāran texts but can be deduced from Buddhist texts developing elsewhere in the subcontinent. Oskar von Hinüber has persuasively argued that the Seṇavarma inscription can be read in parallel with the *Mahāvaṃsa* story of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya (161–137 BCE) establishing a *stūpa*.[39] The *stūpa* inauguration festival organised by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī begins with a public proclamation, a generous donation of food and clothes at the city gates, a procession of the empty reliquary on elephants and a parade with the king and horses carrying the relics. Following these events, the relics were installed in the relic chamber and devotees worshipped the relics for seven days. After these ceremonies, the relic chamber was closed and the *stūpa*, now imbued with the power of the relics, was venerated. In the *Mahāvaṃsa* account, the reliquary and the relics are festively paraded before they are completely hidden from view. During these events, the devotees not only saw and venerated the relics, but were also provided with generous gifts from the king. If our Gāndhārī inscriptions allude to a similar scenario, the relics or at least reliquaries, must have been viewed by the assembled crowds before they were interred within the *stūpa*s.

Some Gandhāran images provide a foundation for identifying such elaborate events during which the reliquaries may have been put on display. A relief from Butkara I may depict a relic procession (**Fig. 13**).[40] This relief, coming from the Oḍirājas kingdom and dating to the early first century is contemporary to our

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[38] Schopen has demonstrated based on some *vinaya* texts that when *vihāra*s or other donated properties fell into disrepair, the donors should be encouraged to make repairs. This is justified by stating that when the donated object ceases to be used, the donors also cease to accrue merit resulting from use (Schopen 2004: 238–239).

[39] *Mahāvaṃsa* XXXI in Hinüber (2015: 187–188).

[40] A parallel can be found on the relief adorning the south gate of Stūpa 1 in Sanchi. It depicts an elaborate scene interpreted as the war over the relics alongside a relic procession by a royal figure on an elephant. For the image, which is also widely available on the internet, see also Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Acc. No. 56280. Cf. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Acc. No. IM.83-1939.

Fig. 13. Relief depicting a possible parade of relics with an elephant, four horses, soldiers and musicians, from Butkara I, height = 35 cm, Swāt Museum, Pakistan © Swāt Museum. The CC BY-NC 4.0 licence does not apply to this picture.

Seṇavarma inscription. While it is heavily damaged,[41] some elements can be definitively identified. Motifs such as a decorated elephant led by foot soldiers, cavalry, and musicians playing drums and flutes as flying figures hover over them can be discerned as part of the scene. In light of the description from the *Mahāvaṃsa*, an elaborate procession of a reliquary carried by a royal figure remains a possible interpretation for this relief. Similar fragmented reliefs, awaiting interpretation, could also be hypothetically associated with the same theme (**Figs 14** and **15**). To this group of images, we may also add several statues from Swāt Valley depicting donors and devotees carrying reliquaries in their hands and rendering them visible. These images may refer to donors processing reliquaries prior to their installation within the *stūpa*. Once interred in the *stūpa*, the decorative programme of the buildings with donors carrying the relics may recall to the worshippers not only of the presence of the relic within the *stūpa*, but also the elaborate ritual structure that imbued the *stūpa* with the power of the relics.[42]

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[41] A better-preserved illustration of the relief can be found in Faccenna (1962–1964: Pl CDLXXI [Inv. no. 683]).

[42] This may also explain why, by the second century CE, the images were reused on subsidiary *stūpa*s in Butkara I. Since the donor images did not refer to individual donors, but to the pious activities associated with them, they may have been used as part of a wider communication strategy.

Fig. 14. Relief depicting figures on an elaborately decorated elephant, unknown provenance, height = unknown, Musée national des Arts asiatiques – Guimet, France © Musée national des Arts asiatiques, A. Lakshminarayanan. The CC BY-NC 4.0 licence does not apply to this picture.

Fig. 15. Relief depicting figures carrying reliquaries, unknown provenance, height = unknown, Musée national des Arts asiatiques – Guimet, France © Musée national des Arts asiatiques, A. Lakshminarayanan. The CC BY-NC 4.0 licence does not apply to this picture.

Even though our Gāndhārī epigraphic corpus only preserves mentions of relics that were most likely hidden from view, not all relics were contained within reliquaries.[43] We know of the existence of several contact relics of the Buddha that were widely distributed within the subcontinent and viewed by devotees. The textual descriptions of how and when these relics were viewed highlight

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[43] Within this backdrop, we may also analyse the tooth relic festival and processions described by Faxian in Sri Lanka in the fifth century during which it was exhibited on the main road (STRONG 2004: 52). The relic, preciously celebrated, was not entirely confined to a building but seems to have been publicly paraded in a theatrical manner.

that sight was an important aspect of relic veneration and created contact between the devotee and the relics, the latter sometimes reacting with the viewer due to its magical powers. The aspect of seeing during relic veneration, albeit not explicitly stated in our inscriptions, are nevertheless echoed by Gandhāran images.

The act of seeing the Buddha, his relics and *stūpa* frequently appears in the *Divyāvadāna* or Divine narratives, a Sanskrit anthology belonging to the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*. The Mūlasarvāstivādins were a branch of Buddhists who flourished in the first half of the first millennium in Northwest India and so, their texts, including the *Divyāvadāna*, may have circulated within Gandhāra. The anthology offers interesting insight into the practices of *darśana* or seeing using complex narratives. Typically, characters in the *avadāna*s saw the Buddha or objects associated with him (*darśana*), which resulted in the awakening of an intense feeling of faith in their minds (*prasāda*), which in turn motivated them to make offerings (*dāna*) to the *saṅgha*. Such scenarios occur repeatedly in the *Divyāvadāna*, creating a nexus between three ritual acts, the *darśana*, *prasāda* and *dāna*.

Some narratives even go as far as to frame the act of seeing the Buddha as a "sight that one never tires of" (*asecanakadarśana*) which invoked *prasāda* in the minds of the devotees.[44] For example, the text observes that the image of the Buddha in the *Rudrāyaṇāvadāna* as a "sight one never tires of seeing" and captures the way in which Buddhist vision was thought to be an act of active engagement. Through the ritual practice of sight, viewers are affected by the image which creates spiritual merit. In this *avadāna*, a group of painters painted the Buddha at King Bimbisāra's palace, and they stared at the image without satisfaction and were unable to grasp the Buddha's appearance. Here, we are contending with something beyond simply "seeing the image" but seeing it in a manner that invokes a response from the viewer.[45] Besides the Buddha and his image, *stūpa*s also invoked *prasāda* as they too "were sights that one never tires of seeing". In the *Koṭikarṇāvadāna*, a caravan leader is said to have seen a newly renovated but previously depilated *stūpa* dedicated to the Buddha Kāśyapa and was moved by the sight of it to give even more wealth to it as donations.[46] In a previous life, the caravan leader is said to have donated his earring to fix the cracked surface of the same *stūpa*. When the money from the sale of the earring allowed the *stūpa* to be restored to its original glory, it became

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[44]　ROTMAN (2008: 72) glosses it as also "somehow compulsively watchable".

[45]　*Rudrāyaṇāvadāna* (466.06.16): *asecanakadarśanā buddhā bhagavantaḥ.*

[46]　ROTMAN (2008: 73). Similarly, in the *Māndhātāvadāna*, a guild master sees a perfectly awakened Sarvābhibhū as a sight one never tires of seeing and gave flowers made of four kinds of jewels that he received from his daughter-in-law's dowry (ROTMAN 2008: 337–371). In the *Dharmarucyavadāna*, Sumati "saw" the Buddha and was filled with faith (SILK 2008).

"a sight one never tires of seeing. And at the sight of it, his *prasāda* became even greater…Filled with *prasāda*, he gave the wealth the remained [from the sale of his earring] and a little more."[47] Here, the vision of the *stūpa,* seen with utmost sincerity, affects the viewer and moves him to another ritual act, *dāna*.

According to Rotman, the Buddha, *stūpa*s and other objects that compelled the viewer to react in this way can be understood as "agents of *prasāda*".[48] These agents operate in the visual realm, and when they are seen, could induce a certain effect. While the feeling of faith propelled the viewer to make *dāna* to the *saṅgha*, the act of seeing remains the first catalyst in several narratives. The trope of seeing, feeling and donating is repeatedly embedded in the *Divyāvadāna* narratives in which visual engagements are highly effective in motivating devotees. The site of important Buddhist objects affects the individuals immediately, they are captivated by it and feel compelled to react. Such a reaction to a visual prompt is not *automatic*, as ROTMAN (2003: 560) argues, it is "socially and culturally inscribed". We may go as far as to say that the viewer performs an act of viewing, mundane as it may seem, which is ritualised through a process during which the act is distinguished. The process of ritualisation enables the act to carry a deeper meaning within the Buddhist context during which the viewer affects and is affected by their religious merit. One way to inscribe such ritual processes within the community may have been through images. If we consider the power and agency of objects to visually affect their viewer in these textual narratives, Gandhāran images of viewing relics may be associated with normative practices that the *saṅgha* sought to reiterate amongst their devotees.

The long process through which these rites were culturally inscribed within the ritual landscape is also suggested by the travelogues of Chinese monks in Gandhāra. Owing to Gandhāra's growing importance as both a Buddhist and mercantile centre, Chinese travellers observed and recorded Gandhāran ritual practices to be brought back to their land. Their accounts, dating as early as from the fifth century CE onwards are not contemporary to the Kuṣāṇa period (c. the first until the third century CE) during which the majority of Gandhāran

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[47] ROTMAN (2008: 73). Interestingly, the analysis of this narrative has led Becker to suggest that the *stūpa*, in its dilapidated form was not as effective as the *stūpa* that was a "sight one never tires of seeing". Its position as an "agent of faith must be cultivated and maintained" (BECKER 2015: 68).

[48] Rotman compares the response to the agent to a "libidinal response" – similar to the response of looking at pornography – which arises through "enunciative spectacle", emphasising implicitly the visual nature of the objects (ROTMAN 2008: 140). In these narratives, the responsibility of maintaining an object related to the Buddha, such as images and *stūpa* as "a sight that one never tires of seeing", is on the makers of the object and the patrons who continue to maintain them through donations. The caravan leader's reaction to the depilated *stūpa* and the renovated *stūpa* is distinct and further supports this argument (BECKER 2015: 68).

inscriptions and reliefs were produced. Despite the chronological gap between the Gandhāran art and Chinese texts, the lack of first-hand accounts from Gandhāra renders the Chinese perceptions of Gandhāran Buddhism extremely fruitful in locating Buddhist sanctuaries and raising questions regarding the continuity of rituals in the region. The travel accounts are not ethnographic, partly due to the motivations of the authors and partly due to healthy scepticism surrounding whether they had visited the region, but they nevertheless provide observations on practices related to relic veneration that may been broadly embedded within Buddhism.

In the fifth century CE, Faxian reports that the bowl was once in Puruṣapura and a Yeuzhi king summoned his army to attack the kingdom and take away the bowl.[49] However, when the king tried to carry the bowl away, it was impossible to move despite having elephants and chariots pulling them. After realising that his karmic link with the bowl had not been established, the king built a *stūpa* and a monastery to commemorate the bowl relic. Faxian states that seven hundred monks stayed in the monastery and, every day, the *saṅgha* brought out the bowl and the monks made offerings to it. Viewing the relic was an important moment of veneration at this *stūpa* and is similarly taken up several Chinese monks who deliberately came to see the Buddha's bowl during their visit to the Indic subcontinent.

Similar sentiments on seeing relics also find a resonance in the travelogues of the Chinese Xuanzang, who visited parts of India to gather information on Buddhist practices. In his travelogues, Xuanzang mentions several relics such as the shadow, the footprint, and skull of the Buddha which were physically inscribed into the landscape of the Indic Northwest.[50] In his report, seeing the traces of these relics is not regarded as a passive action, but as a means through which the devotee visually engages with the seen object, the relic, and interprets a response. Such a manner of seeing the relics can be understood, for instance when Xuanzang describes the location of the famous shadow image. According

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[49]   T.2085.858b.11ff also provides a description of the bowl and its capacity, adding further dimension to visualising it. Besides the bowl, other relics such as the shadow of the Buddha, the tooth of the Buddha and the *uṣṇīṣa* were also venerated by Chinese travellers in Nagarahāra. Some relics, typically the bowl, tend to move or multiply. After the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, the bowl is said to have moved through different kingdoms and finally, at the time of Faxian's visit, he reports that it was in the kingdom of Persia (879c.5). Moreover, Deeg has noted that the bowl was not solely linked to Gandhāra, and it was also attested by others elsewhere such as Sri Lanka (DEEG 2005: 494). In each instance, the relic was connected to the location to which it belonged through narratives.

[50]   According to T.2087.879a18–23, these relics were in the same area, i.e. around the Shadow Cave in which the footprint, hair, nail clippings and the rock where the Buddha washed his clothes. Such vivid descriptions have led Michel de Certeau to describe the text as a genre in which "the very itinerary of writing leads to the vision of the place: to read is to go and see" (CERTEAU 1984: 281).

to the narrative, the Buddha is said to have left behind the shadow image in a cave after subjugating a powerful *nāga*.[51] After the subjugation, the *nāga* requested the Buddha to stay so that he may continue to be his ardent disciple. The Buddha, knowing his *nirvāṇa* was soon, told the *nāga* that if the *nāga* ever were to become enraged, he should look at the Buddha's shadow, which would placate any evil arising in him. Within this narrative, we already see the emergence of the idea that seeing the relic of the Buddha influences the mind of the viewer. Such a relationship based on seeing is, moreover, directly put in the Buddha's own words. Much later, during Xuanzang's visit, the shadow is said to have been not visible for all, or even in its entirety, but when contemplating the Buddha sincerely, some could see a faint response of the shadow for a short time (T.2087.878c.24).

In the same narrative, the Buddha is also said to have left his footprints on a rock with the marks of the wheel of *dharma*.[52] The quest for seeing the footsteps also seems to be acquisitive in the same way that the shadow was regarded. Despite the footprints being dimly visible but still sometimes emitting a light, we are told that when people of sufficient merit looked upon them, the trace of the relics became long or short in response to their virtue (Selig Brown 2000: 44). The relics were so popular that devotees came to these relic sites from near and far to make offerings of flower and incense and to see the relics' response. Similarly, the parietal bone of the Buddha in Kapiśā also interacted with its viewers. When one wanted to know auspicious or evil omens, they applied incense power and mud to it and the resulting shining pattern was used to divine the fate of the devotee (T.2087.0879a26). In the Xuanzang's description of the skull relic, some striking parallels with the visual imagery can be made. The relic is said to have been placed in a bejewelled case and covered by a net. The bejewelled

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[51] The *nāga*s (feminine form *nāginī*) or serpent deities who are often connected to land, water and rainfall (Vogel 1926: 281, Deeg 2009: 53–54). For the general importance of *nāga*s, see Cozad (2004). The etymology is also synthesised in Deeg (2021: 54). They are creatures of capricious nature, who sometimes have a human form and a snake hood, and it is assumed that were worshipped locally in the Indian subcontinent for their supernatural and terrific powers (DeCaroli 2011). They are commonly understood as part of "local" religious cults across the subcontinent and believed to have played an integral role in the legitimisation of the Buddhist institution, the *saṅgha*'s presence in new areas, and control over water resources (Cohen 1998, cf. Shaw 2004). Faxian similarly refers to the shadow of the Buddha and states that the shadow had all the hallmarks of the Buddha and despite attempts, it could not be captured accurately in paintings (T.2085.859a.3 in Deeg 2005: 258). Nearby the cave in which the shadow image relic was housed, there were other important relics such as the parietal bone, the cranial bone (*uṣṇīṣa*), of an eyeball, the *kāṣāya* and *saṅghāṭī*, and the mendicant staff of the Buddha, which were all meant to be visited by devotees.

[52] The pair of footprints in Tirāt with a Kharoṣṭhī inscription along the Swāt river may have echoed such narratives (Quagliotti 1998: 50–51, & Fig. 24). Tucci (1958: 302) remarked: "… thus everybody could be satisfied that his merits were not despicable, since the prints were so big as to appear to everyone much larger than the normal footprints of common men".

case likely refers to the reliquary protecting the bone and the net, according to Deeg, is reminiscent of the large, pleated fabric that often covers the back of the enthroned relics on our Gandhāran images.[53]

The interaction between relics and devotees is also framed similarly in Xuanzang's hagiographies, which go as far as to state that the Chinese traveller's full devotion made the relics perform miraculous feats (T.2053.230a.1). In one latter account, when Xuanzang recited the *sūtra*s and praised the Buddha, the shadow image responded and appeared even more brightly than before. In all these accounts dating as early as the fifth century CE, seeing the relics and venerating them plays an important role. Making *darśana* of the relics not only elicited a response from the devotee, but based on their actions, the relic also engaged with the viewer.

If we consider our Gandhāran images, in which relics are displayed to be venerated by a variety of means including that of sight, as not just as a visual representation of what one *does* in the presence of relics but what as one *must do* in their presence, we can say something about the way in which relic veneration was conceptualised. Visual engagement with particular objects, according to texts, allowed devotees to cultivate a certain state of mind that led them to perform right actions. Viewed within the framework of *prasāda*-inducing objects, our Gandhāran images also seem to affirm the ritual efficacy of seeing. Our images, thus underline the practice of visually engaging with the Buddha and his relics side by side with other ritual practices.

Such an interpretation of these images is only possible if we analyse them within the wider context of Buddhist ritual practices. The broad application of ritual theory to ancient Gandhāra can allow us to study visual culture explicitly as a way in which negotiations, strategic actions and social interactions were communicated. The visual depictions of rituals certainly were a backdrop for spaces within which Buddhist ritual activities took place. The images were likely shaped by and informed participants' experiences. Because of their context and content, it is important to study Gandhāran images as not just representations and illustrations of rituals but as reflecting and shaping religious practices (ELSNER 2007: 29–30, 48).

Similar to the textual descriptions of figures showing respect and devotion, Gandhāran images repeatedly depict figures performing a limited set of gestures in front of the Buddha and his relics. If we accept that these images capture

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[53] T.2087.879a27–b20 in DEEG (unpublished manuscript). In this description too, a violent king is said to have tried to remove the relics of the Buddha contained in this site, such as the bone, the staff and his robes (*saṅghāṭi* and *kāṣāya*). However, the relics moved back to their original place on their own will and would not stay in the king's palace. The explanation given was that the relics were so powerful that they could not be forcibly retained against their will.

snapshots of contemporary rituals, we can say that they are visual mediums through which the *saṅgha* and the Buddhist devotees negotiated and mediated communication. Being two-dimensional, images do not record movements of figures and progressive stages of performance. However, sensory elements such as smell and sound can be visually suggested by the presence of incense, flowers and musical instruments which are also depicted on images. The paraphernalia associated with certain rituals, stereotypical gestures and postures, the arrangement of figures, in some cases, even the presence of monastics at the same level as lay devotees, seem to be encoded within the visual frame. By extrapolating different types of information depicted on the reliefs, we can move towards understanding how normative models of certain rituals were visually communicated and reinforced through Buddhist art.[54]

5. Summary Conclusions and Future Directions of GRAVE

In the two decades since Trainor's *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism*, attempts to materialise early Buddhist ritual practices are more common than ever before. The early "protestant" approaches to studying Buddhism outside its material context, mainly by dismissing the centrality of images and relics, have almost entirely disappeared. Today, due to the availability of new materials as well as the consolidation of data, it is possible to use the available sources such as texts, archaeological remains, and visual culture to shed light on contemporary socio-religious praxis.

By using images to identify ritual practices, it is interesting to question whether the relics were made visible to the devotees or if some individuals were allowed to look at the reliquaries. Amongst our Gandhāran evidence, metal and stone reliquaries do not allow us to see inside them in the same way that Christian relics from the High Middle Ages were made visible. Many Gandhāran reliquaries were likely hidden away, concealed within the *stūpa* superstructure and were only revealed by the efforts of ancient devotees or modern excavations. Even the reliquaries made of precious metals were presumably not meant to be seen and were likely commissioned to be permanently interred. This does not mean that relics and reliquaries were never seen by the devotees at all. Indeed, images and texts make allusions to how contact relics and reliquaries were either paraded or put on display during specific circumstances.

At the risk of oversimplifying a complex relationship between viewer and religious imagery, the visual discourse based on our evidence suggests that seeing the relics, alongside other practices, was an important aspect of veneration. This

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[54] The relationship between art and ritual practice is much better established outside the field of Gandhāran Buddhism and some examples are Wessels-Mevissen (2011), Bautze-Picron (2015) and Kim (2016). Moreover, the efficacy of vision based on Bodhgayā imagery is the core of Leoshko (2021).

is reflected in the accounts of Chinese travellers to the Indic Northwest, who not only came to collect important information of how Buddhism was practiced in India but also fulfilled their quest to see relics for their spiritual merit. In light of the textual evidence, if we consider our Gandhāran images as ritual vignette rather than decorative elements, we can ask wider questions on the efficacy of images. Some of them form the objects of project GRAVE and notable ones are: Did the presence of relics evoke the wider narratives regarding them? Did they reinforce regional claims made to relics outside of the Buddha's biographical regions? By repeatedly emphasising *darśana*, did the *saṅgha* seek to remind devotees of *dāna*? When devotees circumambulated *stūpa*s, stopped in front of niches or venerated the buddha in halls, they would have been surrounded by images of relics, some of the latter would have largely remained visually inaccessible. By rendering their presence in images, devotees could not only make visual contact with the Buddha and his relics, but could also be reminded of their own normative reaction to them.

Author's note

Abbreviations

CKI   Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, see *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts*, by Stefan Baums and Andrew Glass at https://gandhari.org/catalog (accessed 6 February 2025).

GRAVE   Gandhāran Relic Rituals and Veneration Explored (UK Research and Innovation Horizon Europe Guarantee Project, Cardiff University, Reference: EP/Y031008/1).

T.   *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*. Ed.: Takakusu and Watanabe (1924–1934).

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Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's Edition of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*

Marek MEJOR

Abstract: Paṇḍita Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's (1893–1963) contribution to Buddhist studies is well-known, substantial and everlasting, thanks to his sensational discoveries of Sanskrit manuscripts in the monasteries of Tibet during his four expeditions in search of manuscripts in 1929–1930, 1934, 1936, and 1938. He collected only Tibetan books and thangka paintings during the first trip. It was during his 1934 and 1936 expeditions that he discovered in Ngor monastery the Sanskrit manuscript of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* and *Bhāṣya*. However, in 1931, long before his discovery, Rāhul Jī had published his edition of the *Abhidharmakośa* in Sanskrit, which he based on the French translation of the text from the Chinese made by Louis de La Vallée Poussin (Paris 1923–1931). Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana relying on de La Vallée Poussin's annotated translation reconstructed all the *kārikā*s and provided them with a lucid running Sanskrit commentary, which he called *Nālandikā-ṭīkā* (or *vivṛti*). Besides, the edition was provided with an introduction (*bhūmikā*) in which the learned Pandit offered a sketch of the development of Buddhism (sects, Buddhist canon, Abhidharma, etc.). At the end of the book, he attached many appendices (index of *kārikā*s, index of *kārikā*s reconstructed by him, word-index). In addition to these, he appended also numerous folded pages which contain various useful lists of terms, schemes, tables, drawings, etc. painstakingly prepared by the author. The present paper offers an overview of the pioneer work of Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana.

Keywords: Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Buddhist Sanskrit literature, Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet, Abhidharma, *Abhidharmakośa*

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Introductory remarks

The life and works of Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana (Rahul Sankrityayan) (9 April 1893–14 April 1963) have long been the subject of many studies and research on his great and manifold achievements is by no means exhausted.[1] The International Conference on Rahul Sankrityayan "Mahapandit in the Land of Snow", held in Delhi from 14th to 16th March, 2018, organised by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, clearly showed that the figure of the outstanding scholar, explorer, and writer attracts the attention of researchers for his enormous contribution to human culture.[2]

This paper consists of two parts. In the first, we attempt to trace the circumstances which led Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana to undertake the task of rendering into Sanskrit Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* on the basis of the French translation by Louis de La Vallée Poussin. Next, we look at his efforts at publishing his work. Finally, we shall follow Rāhul Jī to Tibet in his search of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts, which was so successful. The discovery of the Sanskrit original of the *Abhidharmakośa* overshadowed Rāhul Jī's own edition of Vasubandhu's work.

In the second part we offer a detailed survey of the contents of Rāhul Jī's edition of the *Abhidharmakośa*.[3] Our investigation will be focused also on the relevant fragments of Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's autobiography and other sources.

I. In search of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts

I.1. Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's Buddhist studies in Śrī Laṅkā

One of the greatest achievements the world of science owes to Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana (henceforth RS) is his sensational discovery in Tibet (the "Land of Snow") of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the most important Buddhist works, which had been regarded as lost for ever. Among these was the *Abhidharmakośa*, or the "Treasury of Higher Doctrine", the famous treatise of Vasubandhu (5th c. CE), which had been existent so far only in the Chinese and Tibetan translations.[4]

However, a few years before that epoch-making discovery, RS compiled in Sanskrit Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (1931) from the French translation

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[1]   See e.g. MACHWE (1978), MULE (1998), CHUDAL (2016); cf. BANDURSKI (1994: 27, fn. 78).

[2]   See Conference 2018; Exhibition 2018. Cf. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hDBnewz IZIE (Dr. Sacchidanand Joshi, International Conference on Rahul Sankrityayan).

[3]   I have used the original printed edition of the *Abhidharmakośa*; an electronic version is available at https://archive.org/details/bMdu_abhidharma-kosha-of-acharya-vasubandhu -sanskrit-with-nalandikabidhaya-commentary/page/n359/mode/2up, but it lacks the additional folding pages with tables and diagrams; the quality of the scans is not good enough.

[4]   See his reports from 1935, 1937, 1938.

made by the eminent Belgian scholar Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1869–1938).[5]

From his autobiography, *Merī jīvan-yātrā*, we learn that, driven by a desire to study the history and teachings of Buddhism in depth, RS went to Śrī Laṅkā on the recommendation and with the help of the Mahābodhi Society.[6] He stayed for nineteen months from 16 May 1927 to 1 December 1928 at the Vidyālaṃkāra Pariveṇa in Peliyagoda (now a suburb of Colombo).[7] At that time he was known under the name of Rāmodar Sādhu. The Vihāra monks regarded him as a learned Brahmin (*brāhmaṇa paṇḍita*) from India.

The principal (*pradhān*) of Vidyālaṃkāra at that time was Ven. Dharmānanda Mahāsthavira, an expert in Pali grammar (*pāli-vyākaraṇa*) and a disciple of Ven. Dharmārāma Mahāsthavira, an authority on Pali and Sanskrit. There RS received great help from Mahāsthavira Śrī Dharmānanda, with whom he could converse in Sanskrit.[8] Ācārya Prajñāsāra, ācārya Devānanda, and ācārya Prajñāloka also assisted him with their knowledge. In addition to studying the Pāli canon, RS also taught Sanskrit at the Vihāra. The library of Vidyālaṃkāra was supplied with many Pāli and other books. Thanks to D.B. Jayatilaka's (1868–1941) help Rāhul Jī was able to use the library of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Colombo. He also himself ordered books from India and Europe.[9] RS studied the texts of the Pāli canon in the Pāli Text Society edition, read issues of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society published in London and also in the Ceylon, Bengal and Bombay branches. During his imprisonment at Hazārībāg jail (1923–1925), he acquainted himself with the Brahmi script by reading volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica*, became familiar with the Avesta and learnt the rudiments of French.[10] In Vidyālaṃkāra he continued to study French with the help of Julius de Lanerolle (Juliyas ḍi-Lānral).[11] From Marburg arrived Prof. Rudolf Otto with whom RS had interesting discussions.[12]

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[5]   De La Vallée Poussin (1923–1931). Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana could not consult the last volume containing the fragment of the *kārikā*s (AK I.1–IV.8, with lacunae) edited by LVP on the basis of an incomplete palm leaf Nepalese manuscript given to him by Sylvain Lévi. I was able to identify this manuscript in the collection of the National Archives, Kathmandu.

[6]   *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, pp. 17–18. See also Mule (1998: 36–39) (*Śrīlaṅkā meṁ adhyayan-adhyāpan*). Transcription of Hindi words according to the McGregor dictionary system (McGregor 1993); I consulted also Bahri's *Hindi-English Dictionary* (Bahri 2011).

[7]   Founded 1 November 1875 by Ven. Ratmalane Sri Dharmāloka Thera (1828–1885) as a centre for learning of Buddhist monks; from 1978 it became the University of Kelaniya, a state university of Śrī Laṅkā (https://www.kln.ac.lk/). See *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, chapter 2: *Laṅkā meṁ unnīs mās* (*16 maī 1927 ī. se 1 disambar 1928 ī.*), pp. 18–26.

[8]   *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 20.

[9]   *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 23.

[10] *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.1, p. 282; cf. Chudal (2016: 119).

[11] *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 23. On Julius de Lanerolle (1896–1964), lexicographer, see de Silva (1968: 15, fn. 74).

[12] Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), theologian, philosopher, comparative religionist. See *Merī jīvan-*

After leaving Śrī Laṅkā, RS published Hindi translations of large parts of the Pāli canon.[13] Drawing on his extensive study of the Buddhist scriptures, he wrote the life of the Buddha, *Buddha-caryā*, in Hindi, which he published in 1931 along with his Sanskrit rendering of the *Abhidharmakośa* from the French translation by La Vallée Poussin. Apparently Rāhul Jī's studies made him realise the special importance of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, however, in his autobiography one cannot find any explicit mention of undertaking the task of translating it.

From the literature cited in the footnotes of the Introduction (*bhūmikā*) in his *Abhidharmakośa*, it can be surmised that J. Takakusu's articles on Vasubandhu's life (TAKAKUSU 1904; TAKAKUSU 1905) and on the Abhidharma literature of the Sarvāstivādin school in particular (TAKAKUSU 1904–1905) may have influenced RS's decision to prepare the Sanskrit version of the *Abhidharmakośa* treatise. He also realised that many Buddhist texts were to be found in Tibet, so he wanted to travel to the Land of Snow in search of Sanskrit manuscripts.

I.2. Return to India

On 1 December 1928, Rāmodar Sādhu *alias* Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana left the Vidyālaṃkāra for India, saddening the Nāyakapāda Śrī Dharmānanda Mahāsthavira. After having left Śrī Laṅkā with a big load of books, he went to Madurā (Madurai) and Śrīraṅgam, from where he reached Pūnā.[14] It is only now that in his autobiography Rāhul Jī mentions for the first time his Sanskrit translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* provided with his own *ṭīkā*, which he made later from the French translation of La Vallée Poussin. In his Foreword (*saṃjñāpanam*) to the *Abhidharmakośa* he mentioned that he compiled the book in two and a half months.[15]

While in Pūnā he tried to find a publisher of his book, in hope of earning some money that would enable him to travel to Tibet, however without success.[16]

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yātrā I.2, p. 19. On Rāhul Jī's contacts with Otto, H. Lüders and other foreign scholars, see CHUDAL (2016: 160–161).

[13] In the Mahābodhi-grantha-mālā series he published successively *Dhammapadam* (1933), *Majjhima Nikāya* (1933), *Vinaya Piṭaka* (1935), *Dīgha Nikāya* (jointly with Jagdiś Kaśyap, 1936).

[14] See *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, chapter 3: *Laṅkā se prasthān*, pp. 26–31.

[15] Rāhul Jī worked remarkably fast. In the introduction to his translation of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, he writes with some pride that it took him 68 days to write the *Buddhacaryā*, 38 days to translate the *Majjhima Nikāya*, and only 27 days to translate the *Vinaya*.

[16] *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 27: *Abhidharmakoṣ ke khaṇḍit aṃśoṁ ko phreṁc anuvād se pūrā karke us par maiṁ ne ek saṃskṛt ṭīkā likhī thī | Tibbat jāne ke lie kuch rupayoṁ kī zarūrat thī, samajhā thā Pūnā ke kisī prakāśak se is pustak ke lie kuch rupaye mil jāyeṁge | lekin saṃskṛt pustakoṁ ke prakāśak lekhakoṁ ko rupayā denā kam pasand karte haiṁ* | Cf. MULE (1998: 38).

Rāhul Jī travelled across India, visiting places connected with the Buddhist past, from Pūnā (Puṇe), Kārle, Elora-Ajāntā, Sañcī, through Saṃkāsya, Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī, arriving finally in Sārnāth-Banāras.[17] Again he set his hope on finding here a publisher of his Sanskrit book. He met Ācārya Narendra Deva there.

Narendra Deva (1889–1956) played a significant role in the Indian socialist movement and was one of the co-founders of the Kāśī Vidyāpīṭh in 1921. Kāśī Vidyāpīṭh was a Hindu educational institution established independently from the existing British-controlled system of education, following Mahatma Gandhi's call for a Non-Cooperation movement.[18] From 1926 to 1936, Narendra Deva performed the duties of a principal. With the help of Narendra Deva, the Kāśī Vidyāpīṭh agreed to print the *Abhidharmakośa,* with small financial support.[19] However, the printing was delayed due to some problems with proofreading and Rāhul Jī had to come again to Banāras.[20] The Foreword (*saṃjñāpanam*) by Rāhul Jī bears the date *pauṣa-śuklaikādaśyāṃ 1985 vikramābde*, which is equivalent to 21 January 1929, Monday. The date on the title page is 1988, i.e. 1931 CE.[21]

I.3. The first trip to Tibet in search of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts

During his studies in Śrī Laṅkā, RS became deeply acquainted with the Pāli canonical scriptures of the Tipiṭaka (which earned him the title of tipiṭakācārya). At the same time, he became aware of the existence of extensive canonical Buddhist literature in Tibetan and Chinese translations. It was then that he conceived the idea of travelling to Tibet in search of manuscripts of Sanskrit Buddhist texts lost in India.[22] RS decided to travel first to Nepal as a Hindu pilgrim and then make his way to Tibet.

At the end of February 1929, Rāhul Jī left India for Nepal and Tibet.[23] In March 1929, he attended the great religious festival of Śivarātri at the Paśupatināth

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[17] *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, pp. 27–30; cf. Mule (1998: 39).

[18] In 1974 it acquired the status of a regular university under the name Mahātmā Gāndhī Kāśi Vidyāpīṭh.

[19] *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 30: *Sārnāth gayā aur Banāras to khās karke Abhidharmakoṣ ke prakāśan aur ho sake to kuch rupayā prāpt karne ke khyāl se gayā | ek prakāśak ne, pahile to yah jānanā cāhā ki yah kisī kām kī pustak hai bhī yā nahīṃ, lekin jab mālūm ho gayā ki mahattvapūrṇ pustak hai, to chapne ke bād 10, 15 kāpī dene kī bāt kahī | kah rahe the – maiṃ to isī tarah pustakeṃ chāpā kartā hūṃ | khair, Vidyāpīṭh meṃ ācārya Narendradev se bāt huī | Vidyāpīṭh ne use chāpnā svīkār kiyā aur mujhe kuch rupaye bhī mile | śāyad is prabandh ke lie mujhe dūsrī bār Banāras ānā paṛa thā |*

[20] *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 79.

[21] Vikrama saṃvat 1988 commenced from April 1931.

[22] Cf. Chudal (2016: 148 et seq.).

[23] Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana described his first travel to Tibet in *Tibbat meṃ savā varṣ*, included in his *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, chapter 5, pp. 40–76. See Mule (1998); Chudal (2016: 159 et seq.).

temple. While in Kāṭhmāṇḍu, he had the occasion to meet at the Mahābodhā temple a Tibetan senior lama, Dukpa Lama (Ḍukpālāmā, 'Brug pa bla ma). Rāhul Jī had a letter of recommendation from Hemis Lama of Ladakh,[24] in which he declared that during his stay in Śrī Laṅkā he had studied the Pāli Tipiṭaka, but that since many Buddhist texts had not been available there he would like to come to Tibet for study and afterwards to promulgate the Buddhadharma in India. Dukpa Lama agreed to RS's request to join him and a group of his disciples, thereby facilitating his entry into Tibet (CHUDAL 2016: 149–150). The group slowly made its way across Nepal. RS decided to enlist the help of Nepalese merchants, with whom he was able to reach the vicinity of the Tibetan border (CHUDAL 2016: 150–151). He had the good fortune to meet a Mongolian Lama, Blo bzang shes rab (Sumatiprajña), whom he had met years before in Bodhgaya.[25] With his help he obtained permission to cross the border and they travelled together to Tibet. Rāhul Jī reached Lhasa on 19 July. During his stay in Tibet, he visited the most important monasteries, such as Tashilhunpo, Narthang, Shigatse, Drepung, Sera, Zhalu, Samye. Thanks to the donations of Narendra Deva of Kāśī Vidyāpīṭh and Ānanda Kausalyāyana of Śrī Laṅkā, RS was able to obtain the Tibetan canon, Kanjur and Tanjur, as well as hundreds of Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs and many thangka paintings; he acquired only a single Sanskrit palm leaf manuscript of the *Vajraḍākatantra*.

In his article "Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet" he wrote:

> During my last journey to Tibet in 1929–30, I was able to collect a mass of Tibetan works, either originally translated from Sanskrit or Indian Vernaculars, or original works composed by Tibetan scholars themselves. Though I had heard numerous rumours about the existence of Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS, but after search I found them unfounded. After several trials I drew the conclusion, that there was hardly much of a possibility of getting Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet. But on my return, while studying the materials thus collected there for my little monograph in Hindi entitled "A Short History of Buddhism in Tibet" (तिब्बतमें बौद्धधर्म), I felt convinced about the existence of them, at least a hundred in number.
>
> (SĀṂKṚTYĀYANA 1935a: 21)

The materials brought back from Tibet were given by RS to the Bihar Research Society in Patna. The first preliminary catalogue was compiled by Dge 'dun chos 'phel, a friend and companion of RS on subsequent expeditions to Tibet.[26]

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[24] *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 31.

[25] *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 44.

[26] See JACKSON (1989).

After his return from Tibet, in February 1930 the assembly of paṇḍits of the Kāśī Vidyāpīṭha conferred to Rāmodar Sāṃkṛtyāyana the title (*padvī*) *mahāpaṇḍita*. In June, he went again to Śrī Laṅkā where he received *pravrajyā* from Mahāsthavira Śrī Dharmānanda at Vidyālaṃkāra Pariveṇa on 22 June 1930.

I.4. Publication of the *Abhidharmakośa*

While back in India, he went to Banāras to see that the printing of the *Buddha-caryā*, a story of the life of the Buddha in Hindi, and of the *Abhidharmakośa* would soon be completed in December-January 1931. However, due to various problems (also financial) the printing was still not finished and it took another few months of efforts, including help by Narendra Deva and others, to bring the book to completion.[27] By the end of the rainy season (*barsāt*) 1931 – probably in September – the printing process of the two books, *Buddha-caryā* and *Abhidharmakośa*, was finished.[28]

RS remained in close contact with the Mahābodhi Society. He published an article in the Mahābodhi Journal on the rise and fall of Buddhism in India (SĀṂKṚTYĀYANA 1932–1933). His Hindi translation of the *Majjhima Nikāya* appeared in 1933 as volume 2 of the Mahābodhi-granthamālā series.

I.5. In Paris

At the beginning of July 1932, Rāhul Jī, together with Ānanda Kausalyāyana[29] and two monks, left from Colombo harbour for Europe. On 16 November 1932, while in Paris Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana paid a visit to Prof. Sylvain Lévi. He recalls a four-hour long conversation with the professor, during which he handed him a copy of his book, the *Abhidharmakośa*.[30] In the aftermath of his visit to Paris, R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana's two articles under the joint title "Recherches bouddhiques" were published in the *Journal Asiatique*.[31]

It is likely that the visit to Prof. S. Lévi inspired RS to take on another challenge, namely to render into Sanskrit Xuanzang's translation of the Chinese commentary *Cheng weishi lun* (成唯識論, **Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi*, Taishō 1585; Nanjio 1197), as indicated by the reference to the volume published by Sylvain

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[27] *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 84.

[28] *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 85.

[29] Bhadanta Ānanda Kausalyāyana (5.01.1905–22.06.1988), Buddhist monk, scholar, and activist, close associate and friend of Rāhul Jī, whom he met in the Vidyālaṃkāra in Śrī Laṅkā (at that time his name was Brahmacārī Viśvanāth).

[30] *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 107; SĀṂKṚTYĀYANA (1935b: 130, 131, 133). Furthermore, he presented Th. Stcherbatsky with a copy of his book in 1932; see CHUDAL (2016: 156–158) on Sāṃkṛtyāyana's close contacts with Stcherbatsky.

[31] SĀṂKṚTYĀYANA (1934). See *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 107. Cf. CHUDAL (2016: 153 and nn. 30, 31).

Levi in 1932.[32] His Sanskrit restoration of Xuanzang's translation was prepared "with the help of Mr. Wong Mow Lam, Editor, 'The Chinese Buddhist'", and was published in two parts in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (SĀMKṚTYĀYANA 1933–1934).

However, not before long his pioneer work on the rendering of the Sanskrit text of the *Abhidharmakośa* was to become superseded by his sensational and crucial discoveries of the original Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts in the monasteries of Tibet.

I.6. Back in Tibet in search of the manuscripts

RS made four expeditions to Tibet.[33] On the first, in 1929–1930, he collected many Tibetan books, including the Buddhist canon, as well as a large collection of paintings (thangka) and objects of worship.

Three other expeditions followed in 1934, 1936 and 1938. Their aim was to find manuscripts of Buddhist Sanskrit texts that had been preserved in Tibetan monasteries and lost in India. The scientific results of his expeditions in search of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts were published in three articles in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.[34] He described his second and third expeditions in a series of articles entitled "On the Way to Tibet" published in the *Mahā-Bodhi Journal* (SĀMKṚTYĀYANA 1936–1937).

On the expeditions to Tibet in 1934 and 1938, he was accompanied by Gendun Chopel (Dge 'dun chos 'phel, 1903–1951), a Tibetan monk who had received an extensive scholastic education at Drepung Monastery (MENGELE 1999, LOPEZ 2018, TSENYI 2019). However, Gendun Chopel did not take the final examination for the *geshe* degree, but joined Rāhul Jī, who had just arrived in Lhasa (1934). Gendun Chopel accompanied Rāhul Jī during his two expeditions. A concise description of the monasteries they visited and the manuscripts they found he gave in his book *Grains of Gold*.[35]

A. A. Chudal characterised RS's expeditions to Tibet in search of manuscripts as follows:

> Now that he had met many European scholars, Sankrityayan's interest in collecting manuscripts and working on them increased. He became aware

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[32]   Sāmkṛtyāyana's reference to p. 15 appears to be incorrect, as the text he rendered into Sanskrit refers to Lévi's French translation of the beginning of the *Trimśikā*, LÉVI (1932: 61).

[33]   Cf. KELLNER (2010).

[34]   SĀMKṚTYĀYANA (1935a, 1937, 1938). Cf. BANDURSKI (1994: 28–29).

[35]   GENDUN CHOPEL (2014). Original Tibetan title: *Rgyal khams rig pas bskor ba'i gtam rgyud gser gyi thang ma*. See DUTTA (2016).

that European scholars were also working on them, and that they were keen, in particular, on finding manuscripts of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*. During his second visit to Tibet, then, he tried to locate a copy of it. He had heard that Hemraj Sharma[36] had an old copy of it in Kathmandu, and so he returned via Kathmandu to meet him to see if he could borrow it. [...] Sankrityayan learned there that the Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci had already taken the manuscript of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. Still, although the original was not available, he was able to obtain a photographic copy of it, of which ten pages were missing [...]. Sankrityayan's third visit to Tibet in 1936 was aimed specifically at finding a complete Sanskrit manuscript of the *Pramāṇavārttika*, which he succeeded in doing.

<div style="text-align: right">(Chudal 2016: 154–155)</div>

During his second expedition to Tibet in 1934, Śrī Rāhul Jī reached Ngor monastery. There, on 4 October, he saw 27 pothi books and among them he identified the *Abhidharmakośa-mūla*, i.e. the *kārikā*-portion of Vasubandhu's work, however incomplete (*apūrṇa*).[37]

He was able to visit Ngor monastery again, on his third expedition to Tibet in 1936. On 18 September, Rāhul Jī saw in the monastery library the complete (*sampūrṇa*) palm-leaf manuscript of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya,* which he photographed.[38]

A few years later, the Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984) visited Ngor Monastery during his five-month Tibet expedition in April–September 1939, where he was able to examine the same manuscript of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* and take photographs.[39]

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[36]   See Chudal (2016, Appendix 1: 270–276): "Rājguru Pandit Hemraj Sharma (1935–2010 VS [=1878–1953])".

[37]   *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 176: *agle din (4 aktūbar) ko bākī 27 pothiyoṁ ko dekhā | unmeṁ sabse adhik mahatvapūrṇ thī – (1) Vādanyāya-ṭīkā, (2) Abhidharmakoṣa-mūla, (3) Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa (Bhīmajñāna Soma), (4) Amarakoṣa-ṭīkā (Kāmadhenu), (5) Nyāyabindu-pañjikā-ṭīkā (Dharmottara + Durvekamiśra), (6) Hetubindu-anuṭīkā (Dharmākaradatta + Arcaṭa + Durvekamiśra), (7) Prāpti-mokṣasūtra (Lokottaravāda), (8) Madhyāntavibhaṅga-bhāṣya | īndhan kī taklīf bahut thī, mol lene par bhī nahīṁ miltā thā | sardī baṛhatī jā rahī thī, abhī hameṁ Sākyā bhī jānā thā [...] |*

[38]   *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 252: *[...] 18 sitambar ham phir Ṅor pahuṁc gaye | usī din muhar toṛī gaī aur pustakālay kī tālapothiyoṁ ko dekhā gayā | Vasubandhu kā 'Abhidharmakoṣabhāṣya 'sampūrṇ mil gayā | [...] | maiṁ ne pustakoṁ ke bahut se phoṭo khīñce |*

[39]   Sferra (2008: 43, No. 13). The photographs are deposited at the Library of the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Rome.

I.7. Aftermath

The discovery of the fundamental texts of Vasubandhu and Dharmakīrti has been instrumental in the development of the study of the history of Buddhist thought.

Interestingly, it was during his studies at Vidyālaṃkāra in Śrī Laṅkā that RS became interested in the *Abhidharmakośa* treatise. It was then that he undertook to compile its Sanskrit version from the French translation of La Vallée Poussin.

After a decade there appeared the edition of the *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* prepared by V.V. Gokhale (GOKHALE 1946),[40] and only in 1967 Prahlad Pradhan published his critical edition of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (PRADHAN 1967; 1975 2nd ed.). These publications are the landmarks in the study of Buddhism and the history of Indian philosophy.

A detailed description of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Abhidharmakośa*, provided with copious references and exhaustive bibliography, was given by F. Bandurski in his descriptive catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts discovered by Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana in Tibet (BANDURSKI 1994: 52–55, No. 22).

While Rāhul Jī did not continue to work on the *Abhidharmakośa* after the discovery of the original manuscripts, Dharmakīrti's treatise as well as other works on logic became the focus of his attention.[41] In 1943, RS published an edition of the *svārthānumana-pariccheda* chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. He dedicated the work to Th. Stcherbatsky (1866–1942),[42] "the greatest orientalist of his time". In his preface, he writes that after his return from his first journey to Central Tibet in 1929–1930 he began the reconstruction of the *Pramāṇavārttika* from Tibetan into Sanskrit.[43] But his hopes of recovering the original were rekindled when he learned that an incomplete manuscript of the text had been located in Nepal.[44] So he stopped working on the retranslation. Fortunately,

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[40]   It is astonishing that N. N. Law, the editor of the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, the commentary of Yaśomitra, though mentioning RS's publication of the *Abhidharmakośa* (LAW 1949: i), was unaware of his discovery of the Sanskrit manuscripts or even of Gokhale's editing of *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* in 1946.

[41]   For a complete list of RS's publications on the *Pramāṇavārt(t)ika* etc., see SFERRA (2008: 36).

[42]   RS incorrectly: 1870–1942.

[43]   SĀMKṚTYĀYANA (1943: 9, Preface).

[44]   GENDUN CHOPEL (2014: 55):
       We met with the chief priest of the king of Nepal, the great Hindu paṇḍita Hemarāja or "gold king." He is said to be a scholar learned in the ocean-like treatises, both Hindu and Buddhist, and is famous in both India and Nepal. He is the person chiefly responsible also for maintaining the vitality of Hinduism in Nepal and ensuring that what little Buddhism is left remains outshone. He also conducts the great Vedic rituals as well. [...]

during his next two expeditions to Tibet (in 1936 and 1938), he was able to find a large number of Buddhist texts, including many of the basic texts on logic (*pramāṇa*).

The manuscripts from the Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's Collection pertaining to the Buddhist epistemological school (*pramāṇa*) have been described by M.T. Much (Muсн 1988).

II. Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's edition of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*

Louis de La Vallée Poussin translated Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* from the Chinese translation by Xuanzang and a Tibetan translation, and also used the Japanese edition of *Kusharon* by Sаеки Kiokuga (Kyoto 1887). La Vallée Poussin provided the Sanskrit text of the *kārikā*s in the footnotes to his translation, taken from Yaśomitra's commentary (*Sphuṭārtha Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*), the only surviving Sanskrit commentary, or reconstructed the text of the *kārikā*s from the Tibetan translation or other sources. His translation is densely saturated with Sanskrit terms.

II.1. Title page

The full title of Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's work as given on the title page is:

> *Abhidharmakośaḥ ācārya-Vasubaṃdhu-praṇītaḥ |*
> *"Mahāpaṃḍita"-"Tripiṭakācārya"-śrīRāhula-Sāṃkṛtyāyana-viracitayā*
> *Nālandikābhidhayā ṭīkayā pariśiṣṭādinā ca sahitaḥ |*
> *Vārāṇasyāṃ Kāśī-vidyāpīṭhena prakāśitaḥ |* 1988.

> The *Abhidharmakośa* ["Treasury of Higher Doctrine"] composed by Vasubandhu, with the commentary called *Nālandikā* and appendices etc. compiled by Mahāpaṇḍita, Tripiṭakācārya śrī Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana, published in Vārāṇasī, in Kāśī-vidyāpīṭha, in 1988 [1931 ᴄᴇ].

II.2. Dedication

On the back of the title page the author put the following stanza in praise of the great scholar Louis de La Vallée Poussin (*Pūṣiṇ):

> *pramathya cīna-podbhāṣām ayaṃ kṣīra-mahāvarṇavam* |*
> *yenoddhṛtaṃ kośa-ratnaṃ tasmai śrīPūṣiṇe 'rpaye ||*
> *recte: *-mahārṇavam*

This paṇḍita had found a fragmented edition of the *Pramāṇavārttika.* I read the Tibetan version and they [he and Rāhula] translated [what I read] into Sanskrit and correlated it [with the Sanskrit fragments].

I offer [this book of mine] to Śrī Pūṣiṇ [La Vallée Poussin] who having churned Chinese and Tibetan languages, this great ocean of milk, pulled out the *Kośa*-jewel.

II.3. Notification (*saṃjñāpanam*)

In his Notification (Foreword) (*saṃjñāpanam*) RS briefly explained that the present work is based on the French translation of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (with *bhāṣya*), which was made by the Belgian scholar Louis de La Vallée Poussin from the Chinese translation by Xuanzang and published by the Belgian Society of Oriental Studies. More than five hundred *kārikā*s in the original Sanskrit, which were placed in the footnotes, have been extracted from the manuscript of Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* commentary or restored into Sanskrit with the help of the Chinese and Tibetan translations.[45]

In the following Rāhul Jī explained his editorial principles regarding the Sanskrit text of the *kārikā*s:

- round brackets (*cāpa-bandhin*) = restored by Rāhul Jī,
- square brackets [*catuṣkoṇa-bandhin*] = restored by La Vallée Poussin,
- round brackets (*cāpa-bandhin*) = *kārikā*s extracted from Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārtha* commentary.

He emphasised that the depth (*gāmbhīrya*) of Vasubandhu's treatise is well known – the gist of the Tripiṭaka was condensed into six hundred minus one stanzas (*kārikā*). To make their dense content easier to understand, RS provided them with a light running commentary, which he called *Nālandikā*.

Rāhul Jī generally copied the Sanskrit text of the *kārikā*s set down by La Vallée Poussin faithfully, trying to retain the square brackets used by him. He bound the *kārikā*s together with a concise summary of the text of Vasubandhu's commentary (*Bhāṣya*) and omitting any discussion or polemic. Generally, he presents the content of a stanza by following LVP's translation. Occasionally he also gives cross-references to other stanzas of the *Abhidharmakośa*. At the end of the book is a detailed index of technical terms. In addition to these there are appended numerous folded pages which contain various useful lists of terms, schemes, tables, drawings, etc. painstakingly prepared by the author.

The work was completed in a very short time of two and a half months, just before RS's return from Śrī Laṅkā to India. After coming back to India he hastily set off to Tibet, therefore was unable to bring to completion some details.

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[45]   Of great help was the Japanese edition of *Kusharon* by Saeki Kyokuga (1887).

Finally, the author acknowledged with gratitude the help of ācārya Narendra Deva, the principal of the Kāśī-vidyāpīṭha, for publishing his work.[46] Also words of thanks were directed to [bhadanta] Ānanda Kausalyāyana of Śrī Laṅkā, and last but not least to the publisher, the Kāśī-vidyāpīṭha. The Foreword is dated to *pauṣa-śuklaikādaśyāṃ 1985 vikramābde*, which corresponds to 21 January 1929, Monday. The date of the publication as given on the title page is 1988, which corresponds to 1931 (see above).

II.4. Table of contents (*viṣaya-sūcī*)

After the Foreword there follows the Table of contents (*viṣaya-sūcī*). In the square brackets I added the titles of the chapters according to the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* (ed. GOKHALE 1946):

1. *saṃjñāpanam* = Notification (Foreword),
2. *viṣaya-sūcī* = Table of contents,
3. *bhūmikā* = Introduction (pp. 1–24),
4. *dhātu-nirdeśaḥ* [I] (pp. 1–20),
5. *indriya-nirdeśaḥ* [II] (pp. 21–48),
6. *lokadhātu-nirdeśaḥ* [III] (pp. 49–84) [Ms. *loka-nirdeśaḥ*],
7. *karma-nirdeśaḥ* [IV] (pp. 85–129),
8. *anuśaya-nirdeśaḥ* [V] (pp. 130–158),
9. *ārya-pudgala-nirdeśaḥ* [VI] (pp. 159–192) [Ms. *mārga-prahāṇa-nirdeśaḥ*],
10. *jñāna-nirdeśaḥ* [VII] (pp. 193–220),
11. *dhyāna-nirdeśaḥ* [VIII] (pp. 221–236) [Ms. *samāpatti-nirdeśaḥ*],
12. *kārikānukramaṇikā* (pp. 237–247) = Index of *kārikā*s,
13. *matpūrita-kārikāṃśānāṃ sūcī* (pp. 248–249) = Index of parts of *kārikā*s restored by me [=RS],
14. *śabdānukramaṇikā* (pp. 250–320) = Word index,
15. *śuddhāśuddha-patram* (pp. 321–327) = Corrigenda.

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[46] Narendra Deva (1889–1956) prepared his own translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* into Hindi. In 1942 ācārya Narendra Deva was under detention in Ahmadnagar, during the *rāṣṭrīya āndolan*. At that time he translated Vasubandhu's work from the French translation of La Vallée Poussin in full, and the three chapters (Bhāg 1: *Kośasthāna* I–III) were published posthumously in 1958. The remaining chapters have been published later: Bhāg 2 (IV–V): 1973, Bhāg 3 (VI): 1984, Bhāg 4 (VII–IX): 1986 (NARENDRA DEVA 1958–1986). In 2008, the Hindustani Academy (Allahabad) published the complete translation in 4 volumes. Narendra Deva presented Vasubandhu and his works in his other book, *Bauddha-dharma-darśan* (NARENDRA DEVA 1956). He did not mention anything about the Sanskrit edition of the *Abhidharmakośa* by Rāhul Jī who was mentioned only once, on p. 169, that he brought photos of the main Sanskrit text found in Tibet (*Tibbat se mūl saṃskṛt-granth kā phoṭo lāye the*).

The list of the folded pages attached at the end of the book containing the tables, schemata, drawings, etc., was not given. The following is a list of contents compiled by me:

1. ad p. 1 (ka) – *75 *dharmāḥ*
2. ad p. 1 (kha) – *18 *dhātavaḥ*
3. ad p. 21 – *saṃskṛta-dharmāḥ*
4. ad p. 21 – *22 *indriyāṇi*
5. no page number – *(kāṃcana) bhūmaṇḍalam*
6. ad p. 49 – *lokadhātuḥ*
7. no page number – *dvādaśāṃga-pratītya-samutpādaḥ | bhava-cakram*
8. ad p. 85 (ka) – *karma
9. ad p. 85 (kha) – *karma-patha | karma-samutthāna | karma-vedanīyatā | vikṣiptatā | prahāṇabhāgīya | āvaraṇa | pāramitā | yogapravartita karma*
10. ad p. 131 (ka) – *anuśaya*
11. ad p. 131 (kha) – *kleśa*
12. ad p. 159 (ka) – *bhāvanā*
13. ad p. 159 (kha) – *ārya-pudgala*
14. ad p. 159 (ga) – *mārga | bodhipakṣika-dharma*
15. ad p. 193 – *prajñā – jñāna – dṛṣṭi | buddhāveṇika-dharma | prāntakoṭika | vidyā | jñāna*
16. ad p. 221 – *dhyāna*
17. no page number – *dhyāna

II.5. Introduction (*bhūmikā*)

The Introduction, or *bhūmikā*, contains the following main topics, not specified as such, which may be grouped under the following headings (below I offer a general overview of the content):

A. Section on the Buddha and the development of religion (pp. 1–6)

- Brief account of the life of the Buddha. According to R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana's calculation, the Buddha was born in 505 and passed away in year 423 of the ancient Vikrama era (*Vikrama-pūrva-vatsare*);
- First council (*prathamā saṃgīti*);
- Second council (*dvitīyā saṃgīti*);
- 18 schools or sects (*nikāya*) of Buddhism according to the chronicle *Dīpavaṃsa* and Vasumitra's treatise;
- Aśoka's reign and the third council (*tṛtīyā saṃgīti*);

- Mission to Śrī Laṅkā and implementation of the Dharma on the island (year 190 Vikrama-pūrvābde);

B. Section on the *Abhidharmakośa* (pp. 6–21)

1. Historical development of the Abhidharma

- Definition of the appellation Kāśmīra Vaibhāṣika (ad AK VIII.40);
- School of the Sarvāstivāda on the historical background;
- Succession of masters (*sthavira-paramparā*) according to the *Aśokā-vadāna* and the Vinaya-piṭaka;
- Classifications of the Tripiṭaka according to the traditions of the Sthaviravāda and the Sarvāstivāda:
  - Sūtra-piṭaka
  - Vinaya-piṭaka
  - Abhidharma-piṭaka;
- Content of the *Jñānaprasthāna*, the first treatise of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma-piṭaka, following the article of J. Takakusu[47] in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society (Takakusu 1904–1905);
- *Mahāvibhāṣā*, or the Great Commentary on the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma;

2. Vasubandhu and the *Abhidharmakośa*

- *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu in Chinese translations by Paramārtha and Xuanzang;
- Problem of the date of Vasubandhu;
- Account of the life and works of Vasubandhu;
- List of Vasubandhu's works according to the Chinese and Tibetan catalogues of the Tripiṭaka;
- Structure of the *Abhidharmakośa*; number of *kārikā*s: according to the author – 597 ½, according to Takakusu – 602;
- Popularity of the *Abhidharmakośa* in India – testimony of a passage in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* VIII;
- In Śrī Laṅkā a certain Rāhulasaṅgharāja composed a treatise *Moggallāna-pañcikā-pradīpa*;
- List of commentaries on the *Abhidharmakośa* preserved in the Tibetan Tanjur;
- List of the Abhidharma treatises preceding the compilation of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*;

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47   The name of the Japanese scholar J. Takakusu was "Sanskritised" by Rāhul Jī into *(ācārya-) Tarka-kuśala.

C. Discussion on the origin of the Mahāyāna and its difference from the Śrāvakayāna (pp. 21–24)

- The so-called Nine Jewels (*nava-ratna*) or the Mahāyāna *sūtra*s which are highly esteemed in Nepal;
- Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's list of four differences between Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna according to the work of Th. Stcherbatsky[48], *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa* (STCHERBATSKY 1927);
- Quotations of passages referring to the Buddhist schools from Śaṅkara's *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya* II.2 conclude the Introduction.

II.5.1. List of references in the *bhūmikā*

In the footnotes to the *bhūmikā*, RS gives bibliographical references in abbreviated form (here we give them in full). References indicate the sources from which RS drew his knowledge of Buddhist history, Abhidharma literature, Vasubandhu and his *Abhidharmakośa*, etc.

Page / footnote number

5/1: Beal, Samuel. "The Eighteen Schools of Buddhism". *Indian Antiquary* Dec. 1880: 299–302.

5/2: *Dīpavaṃsa*.

6/5 and 7/1, 2, 4: Przyluski, Jean. *La légende de l'empereur Açoka.* Paris 1923.

7/3: Lüders, H. "A list of Brahmi inscriptions from the earliest times to about A.D. 400 with the exeception of those of Aśoka". *Appendix to Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 10, 1912. [Probably the work in question; reference given by RS uncertain: *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. X, p. 113.]

8/1: *Vinaya-piṭaka Parivāra*, *Aṭṭhapārājikā*.

9/1: Konow, S. "The Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of a Kuṣāṇa King". *Epigraphia Indica* 14, 1917–1918: 284–295. [From the context it follows that it is most likely Konow's article; the reference to *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IX, App., p. 25 seems to be wrong.]

9/2: D.B. Spooner. "The Kaniṣka Casket Inscriptions". *Annual Report of the Archeological Survey of India*, 1909–1910: 135–141.

12/1: Takakusu, J. "On the Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins". *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 1904–1905: 67–146. [RS wrongly: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1905, p. 161.]

12/2, 3: Takakusu, J. "Abhidharma Literature...", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 1904–1905.

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[48] The name of the Russian Buddhologist Th. Stcherbatsky (Ščerbatskoy) was "Sanskritised" by Rāhul Jī into *(ācārya-)Cira-vāsuki.

13/1: Takakusu, J. "The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha (A.D. 499–569)". *T'oung Pao* V, 1904: 269–296.

14/1: Takakusu, J. "A Study of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu and the Date of Vasubandhu". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1905: 33–53.

14/2: Bhattacharyya, B. Foreword to the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (ed. E. Krishnama-charya, Baroda 1926. GOS 30–31), pp. LXVI–LXX: "Vasubandhu".

14/3: Rangaswami Saraswati, A. "Vasubandhu or Subandhu". *Indian Antiquary* LIII, Jan–Aug 1924: 8–12, 177–180.

17/1: Cordier, P. *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. III. *Index du Bstan-gyur*. (Tibétain 180–332). Paris 1915.

17/2: Takakusu, J. "Abhidharma Literature...". *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 1904–1905.

18/1: Bāṇa(bhaṭṭa), *Harṣacarita*, chapter VIII.

18/2: *Moggallāna-pañcikāpradīpa*, Dharmakīrti-śrī-Dharmārāma-nāyaka-mahāsthavira-sampādita. [A commentary on the Pāli grammar of Moggallāna.]

18/3: Cordier, P., *Catalogue du fonds tibétain...*

19/1: Takakusu, J. "Abhidharma Literature...". *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 1904–1905.

22/1: Stcherbatsky, Th. *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana*. Leningrad 1927.

23/1: *Brahmasūtra-Śaṅkara-bhāṣyam*.

24/1: *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*, *Bauddha-darśanam*.

II.6. The Sanskrit text of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*

The main body of the book consists of the *mūla* of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, i.e. the *kārikā*s of the chapters I–VIII, which are provided with a simple commentary the author called *Nālandikā-ṭīkā*. As a rule, the *kārikā* or its part is followed by a more or less extended elucidation of the subject matter, which develops a succinct contents of a stanza. Sometimes the author simply offers a synonymical word to explain a given term. A good example of such extended explanation is *kārikā* VII.29 (pp. 206–207) or VI.2 (pp. 159–160), where the author after brief development of its meaning gave an etymological explanation of the technical term(s), and also inserted references to Buddhist Pāli texts, in this case the *Yamaka* and the *Visuddhimagga*. The author refers for the most part to the Pāli texts. Elsewhere one can find references to Sanskrit Buddhist texts too, e.g. *Madhyamakāvatāra*, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā*.

Within the second chapter the author introduced, occasionally, a sub-section *hetu-phala-nirdeśa* (p. 39), where he provided copious internal references to

the other parts of the *Abhidharmakośa*. There are no footnotes, except those on p. 137 ad AK V.22.

The text of the *Abhidharmakośa* ends with the chapter VIII, stanza 40,[49] which agrees with the text edition of Gokhale (GOKHALE 1946: 99). In Gokhale's edition there follow three stanzas numbered 41–43 that make up the end of chapter eight (*samāpatti-nirdeśo nāma aṣṭamaṃ kośa-sthānam*). In Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's rendering these three stanzas (without numbering and marked with inverted comas)[50] follow his short elucidation of the meaning of the *kārikā* 40 (p. 236).[51] Now, the edition of Gokhale contains stanzas numbered 1–13 extracted from the ninth prose chapter *pudgala-nirdeśa* (p. 100), whereas Sāṃkṛtyāyana concluded his edition with his own six stanzas (numbered 1–6) before closing the whole text with the formulas (p. 236):

<div align="center">

(iti dhyāna-nirdeśaḥ) |
(samāptaṃ aṣṭamaṃ kośasthānam) |
(samāptaś cā'bhidharmakośaḥ) |
iti |

</div>

In his stanzas Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana praised the greatness of Vasubandhu and his treatise as being like a jewel, then paid homage to the great scholar Louis de La Vallée Poussin who translated it into French using the Chinese and Tibetan translations, expressed his gratitude to Śrīlaṅkān Vidyālaṃkāra, and finally gave his name, place and date of the publication of his book.[52]

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[49] *kāśmīra-vaibhāṣika-nīti-siddhaḥ*
prāyo mayāyaṃ kathito'bhidharmaḥ |
yad durguhītaṃ tad ihāsmadāgaḥ
saddharmanītau munayaḥ pramāṇam || 40 ||

[50] After LVP, *Kośa* VIII, p. 224, fn. 1 (with some mistakes).

[51] *kāśmīrāṇāṃ vaibhāṣikānāṃ (=vibhāṣāśāstra-pramāṇakānāṃ) matānusāraṃ eva prāyogaṃ abhidharmakośaḥ proktaḥ* | *yat kim apīha mayā na sugṛhītaṃ, tan mama doṣaḥ* | *saddharma varṇane tu buddhā bhagavantaḥ, buddhaputrāḥ śāradvatīputrādaya eva pramāṇam* |

[52] *sambuddha-sambodhi-mahārṇavottha-prakṛṣṭa-ratnāvali-pūrṇa-kośaḥ* |
vyadhāyi dhīreṇa vihīna-doṣo 'bhidharma-kośo vasubandhunā yaḥ || 1 ||
kāle kalājñāna payovimukta srotassu nālandamukheṣu so 'yam |
chinneṣu niḥśeṣapadaṃ samāgājjāḍyāvṛtasvātmajanikṣamāyām || 2 ||
sa pūṣiṇā kovida-puṅgavena cīna-tripod-vāgvasanaṃ vinīya |
prakāśitaḥ phrāṃsagirā sabhāṣyaḥ, gīrvāṇavāk kārikayā ca sārddham || 3 ||
tasyāvalambena divogavīṣu pramā citā śeṣitakārikāṇām |
nālandikāṃ tadvivṛtiṃ vidhāya sthānaṃ durūham saralīkṛtaṃ ca || 4 ||
pīyūṣiṇaḥ pūṣiṇa āśrayeṇa prāyo nibaddhā vivṛtir mayātra |
yad durgṛhītaṃ tviha māmakaṃ tat sphuṭaṃ ca sarvaṃ vibudhasya tasya || 5 ||
laṃkālaṃkāra-bhūte bibudhavarajuṣi kṣāntikīrttyānvavāye,
vidyālaṃkāra-vidyāsadanabudhapade proṣitena prabaddhā |
sāṃskṛtyenārya-kāśikṣitiṣu janijuṣā rāhulenātmaneyam,
kārtikyārka-grahau vikramaśaradi vidhau vāṇavasvaṃ kacaṃdre || 6 ||

II.7. *Nālandikā-ṭīkā*

To show the method RS used in translating LVP's French translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* into Sanskrit, I have selected four passages below as examples: first I give the text of RS's edition, then the original fragment from LVP's translation, and in a footnote the corresponding fragment from P. Pradhan's edition of the *Abhidharmakośa*, based on a manuscript found by RS in Tibet.

The text of the *kārikā*s was taken by RS from the LVP footnotes to his translation. RS founded his commentary on the French translation of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, adapting and abridging it, omitting polemical passages, and using LVP's footnotes with passages from Yaśomitra's commentary and other texts.

The printed Sanskrit text in devanāgarī of Rāhul Jī's edition of the *Abhidharmakośa* (abbr. RS, AK) does not always follow the sandhi rules. There are also occasional misprints and the division of compound words is sometimes unusual (cf. e.g. AK V.22). In some places, the typographical symbols used by RS are missing, and some of the letters are poorly legible. The text of the *kārikā*s is printed in bold type (here: in normal type) and the text of the explanatory section is printed in smaller type (here: in italics). Occasionally I have made minor corrections and additions to the RS text in braces {}.

1. Ad AK II.49

RS, AK, p. 39:

(hetu-phalanirdeśaḥ) |

[kāraṇahetuḥ sahabhūḥ sabhāgaḥ saṃprayuktakaḥ |
sarvatrago vipākaś ca] ṣaḍvidho hetur iṣyate || 49 ||

kāraṇahetvādayaḥ | ṣaḍ hetavaḥ – kāraṇahetuḥ = sattāhetuḥ | sahabhūḥ = anyonyakāraṇam | sabhāgahetuḥ = anugatahetuḥ = samāna-bhāgahetuḥ | saṃprayuktahetuḥ = preritahetuḥ | sarvatragaḥ = sārvadaiśikaḥ *|[53]

*vipākahetuḥ is missing!

LVP, *Kośa* vol. I, p. 245 and fn. 1:

49. *Kāraṇahetu*, *sahabhū*, *sabhāga*, *saṃprayuktaka*, *sarvatraga*, *vipāka*:
le *hetu* est considéré comme sextuple.

Kāraṇahetu, raison d'être ; *sahabhūhetu*, cause mutuelle ; *sabhāgahetu*, cause pareille ; *saṃprayuktakahetu*, cause associée; *sarvatragahetu*, cause universelle; *vipākahetu*, cause de rétribution : telles sont les six sortes de causes que reconnaissent les Àbhidharmikas (Jñānaprasthāna, 1, ii).

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[53]   Cf. AKBh, p. 82:
        kāraṇaṃ sahabhūś caiva, sabhāgaḥ saṃprayuktakaḥ |
        sarvatrago vipākākhyaḥ, ṣaḍvidho hetur iṣyate || 49 ||
        ṣaḍ ime hetavaḥ | kāraṇahetuḥ sahabhūhetuḥ sabhāgahetuḥ saṃprayuktakahetuḥ sarvatragahetuḥ vipākahetur iti |

2. Ad AK V.22

RS, AK, p. 137 and fn. 1–4:

> [ekāṃśena vibhāgena pṛcchātaḥ sthāpanīyataḥ |
> vyākṛtaṃ] maraṇotpatti-viśiṣṭā-tmānya tādivat* || 22 ||

> *recte: maraṇotpattiviśiṣṭātmānyatādivat – MM.

caturvidhaṃ praśna-vyākaraṇa{ṃ} – 1. ekāṃśena vyākaraṇaṃ; 2. vibhajya vyākaraṇaṃ; 3. paripṛcchā-vyākaraṇaṃ; 4. sthāpanīyaṃ (=anuttaritaṃ) iti ||

1. *"mriyaṃte sarve sattvā" iti praśne, "mriyaṃte" iti ekāṃśena vyākartuṃ śakyate |*

2. *"utpadyante sarve sattvā" iti praśne, vibhajya vyākarttavyaṃ bhavati, "kleśasamanvitā utpatsyante na kleśavarjitāḥ" |*

3. *"manuṣyo viśiṣṭo hīno ve"ti praśne, "kasya sambandhene"ti praṣṭavyaṃ bhaviṣyati | "devasambandhene"tyukte "hīna" iti vyākarttavyaḥ, "apāyagati sattvasambandhene"tyabhihite "viśiṣṭa" iti vyākarttavyam |*

4. *"skandhāḥ sattvā eva tato bhinnā ve"ti praśnaḥ sattvasya viṣaye, sattvaś ca nāstyeva kim api vastu | tenāyaṃ praśnaḥ "vandhyāputraḥ śuklaḥ kṛṣṇo ve"ti vat sthāpanīya eva |*[54]

LVP, *Kośa* vol. IV, p. 44:

22. Réponse catégorique, comme pour la mort ; réponse en distinguant, comme pour la renaissance ; réponse par question, comme pour la supériorité ; réponse en récusant la question, comme pour la nonidentité.[55]

1. Si on demande : « Tous les êtres mourront-ils ? », il faut répondre d'une manière catégorique : « Ils mourront ».

2. Si on demande : « Tous les êtres naîtront-ils ? », il faut répondre en distinguant : « Les êtres revêtus de passion (*kleśa*) naîtront ; les êtres exempts de passion ne naîtront pas. »

3. Si on demande : « L'homme est-il supérieur (*viśiṣṭa*) ou inférieur (*hīna*) ? »,

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[54]   Cf. AKBh, p. 292: *caturvidho hi praśnaḥ || ekāṃśavyākaraṇīyo vibhajyavyākaraṇīyaḥ paripṛcchyavyākaraṇīyaḥ sthāpanīyaś ca | tatra yathākramaṃ veditavyam |*
     ekāṃśato vyākaraṇaṃ vibhajya paripṛcchya ca |
     sthāpyaṃ ca maroṇotpattiviśiṣṭātmānyatādivat || 22 ||
     kiṃ sarvasattvā mariṣyantīty ekāṃśena vyākartavyaṃ mariṣyantīti |
     kiṃ sarve janiṣyanta iti vibhajya vyākarttavyaṃ sakleśā janiṣyante, na niḥkleśā iti |
     kiṃ manuṣyo viśiṣṭo hīna iti paripṛcchya vyākarttavyam | atha brūyād apāyān iti viśiṣṭa iti vyākarttavyam |
     kim anyaḥ skandhebhyaḥ sattvo nanya iti sthāpanīyaḥ | sattvadravyābhāvāt | bandhyāputrasyāmagauratādivat |

[55]   LVP, *Kośa* vol. IV, p. 44 fn. 1: *mgo gcig daṅ ni rnam phye daṅ | dri daṅ bzhag par luṅ bstan pa | chi daṅ skye bar khyad par ḥphags | bdag gzhan la sogs lta bu yin.*
     [*ekāṃśena vibhāgena pṛcchātah sthāpanīyataḥ |*
     vyākṛtaṃ] maraṇotpattiviśiṣṭātmānyatādivat ||

il faut répondre par une question : « Par rapport à qui ? » Si on répond : « Par rapport aux dieux », il faut répondre : « Il est inférieur ». Si on répond : « Par rapport aux êtres des mauvaises destinées », il faut répondre : « Il est supérieur ».

4. Si on demande : « Les *skandha*s sont-ils la même chose que le *sattva* ou être-vivant, ou en sont-ils différents ? », c'est une question à récuser parce que la chose appelée ' être vivant ' n'existe pas. De même on récuserait la question : « Le fils d'une femme stérile est-il noir ou blanc ? »

3. Ad AK VI.2

RS, AK, pp. 159–160:

[satyānyuktāni catvāri]

tāni ca –

[duḥkhaṃ samudayastathā |
nirodho mārgaḥ]

duḥkha-satyaṃ, samudaya-satyaṃ, nirodha-satyaṃ, mārga-satyaṃ ceti |
etaṣāṃ yathābhisamayaṃ kramaḥ || 2 ||

sarvaprathamaṃ   duḥkhasatyasyaiva   sākṣātkāro   bhavati,   tataḥ samudayasatyasya, tato nirodhasatyasya, tato mārgasatyasya, ata eveṣāṃ parisaṃkhyāne prathamādi kramaḥ | duḥkhaṃ hi prathamārya-satyam, samudayaṃ dvitīyam |

abhisamayaḥ (abhi + sam + iṇ) = abhisambodhaḥ {,} ayaḥ = jñānaṃ, sam = samyak, abhi = abhimukhaṃ, nirvāṇabhimukhaṃ* hi samyagjñānaṃ abhi-samayaḥ |

[56](1) paṃca upādāna-skandhāḥ duḥkha-satyam |

(2) sāsrava-dharmāṇāṃ hetuḥ samudaya-satyam |

(3) pratisaṃkhyā nirodhaḥ (2:55) nirodha-satyam |

(4) śaikṣā aśaikṣā dharmā mārga satyam |

yadvā –

(1) nāmarūpaṃ duḥkhasatyaṃ; (2) karma kleśāś ca samudayaḥ; (3) karma kleśa-kṣayaḥ nirodhasatyam; (4) śamatha-vipaśyanāḥ mārgasatyam |

vibhajyavādinastu –

(1) aṣṭau duḥkhasvabhāvāḥ – duḥkhaṃ duḥkhasatyaṃ ca; anye sāsravā duḥkhaṃ, paraṃ na duḥkhasatyam | (Yamaka – I:17)

(2) bāhya-saṃsthiti-kārikā tṛṣṇā samudayaḥ *samudaya-satyaṃ ca, anyāḥ sarvāḥ tṛṣṇāḥ sāsravadharma-hetavaś ca samudayo na samudaya-satyam |*

(3) tasyāḥ tṛṣṇāyā nirodhaḥ nirodho *nirodhasatyaṃ ca, sarvānyatṛṣṇānāṃ nirodhaḥ, sāsravadharmāṇāṃ sarve 'nye hetavaśca nirodhaḥ, paraṃ na nirodhasatyam |*

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[56]   From hereon RS has translated his comment from LVP, *Kośa* IV, p. 122, fn. 3.

(4) śaikṣasya aṣṭāṅgamārgo mārgaḥ mārga-satyaṃ ca, saikṣasyānye dharmāḥ, sarve 'śaikṣa-dharmāśca mārgaḥ, na paraṃ mārga-satyam | etasmin mate arhanto duḥkha-nirodha-satyadvaya-samanvitā bhavaṃti, na tu samudaya-mārga-samanvitāḥ | "yasmā pana etāni saccāni buddhā-dayo ariyā paṭivijjhanti, tasmā ariyasaccānīti vuccaṃti... ariyānīti = tathāni – avitathāni = avisaṃvādakānīti attho |"[57] (Visuddhimagga 495).

*recte: *nirvāṇābhimukhaṃ* – MM.

LVP, *Kośa* vol. IV, p. 120 and fn. 2–4:

2 a. Les quatre vérités ont été dites.

2 b–c. A savoir douleur, origine, destruction et chemin.

2 c–d. Leur ordre est celui dans lequel elles sont « comprises ».[58]

[...]

LVP, *Kośa* vol. IV, p. 122, fn. 3:

Vibhāṣā, 77, 5. – Quelle est la nature des quatre vérités ? – Les maîtres d'Abhidharma disent : 1. la vérité de douleur est les cinq *upādānaskandha*s ; 2. la vérité de l'origine est la cause des *dharma*s impurs (*sāsravahetu*) ; 3. la vérité de la destruction est leur *pratisaṃkhyānirodha* (ii. 55 d) ; 4. la vérité du chemin est les *dharma*s qui font les Saints (*dharma*s *śaikṣa*s et *aśaikṣa*s). – Les Dārṣṭāntikas disent: 1. la vérité de la douleur est le *nāmarūpa* ; 2. la vérité de l'origine est le *karman* et le *kleśa* ; 3. la vérité de la destruction est l'anéantissement (*kṣaya*) du *karman* et du *kleśa* ; 4. la vérité du chemin est le calme et l'intellection (*śamatha vipaśyanā*). – Les Vibhajyavādins (voir v. trad. p. 23, 52) disent : 1. ce qui a huit caractères de *duḥkha* est *duḥkha* et *duḥkhasatya*; les autres *dharma*s impurs (*sāsrava*) sont *duḥkha*, mais non pas *duḥkhasatya* [comparer les sources pālies citées ci-dessous p. 125 n. c] ; 2. la *tṛṣṇā* qui produit existence ultérieure est *samudaya* et *samudayasatya*; toute autre *tṛṣṇā* et les autres causes de *dharma*s impurs (*sāsravahetu*) sont

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[57] Cf. AKBh, p. 327: *kānīmāni satyāni kati ca |*
  satyāny uktāni catvāri || 2a ||
kvoktāni | sāsravānāsravadharmanirdeśe | anāsravā mārgasatyam iti svaśabdena, pratisaṃkhyānirodho yo visaṃyoga iti nirodhasatyam, duḥkhaṃ samudayo loka ity atra duḥkhasamudayasatye | kim eṣa evaiṣām anukramaḥ | nety āha | kiṃ tarhi |
  duḥkhaṃ samudayas tathā |
  nirodhamārga iti || 2bc ||
eṣa eṣām anukramaḥ | svabhāvastu yathā pūrvam uktas tathaiveti pradarśanārthas tathāśabdaḥ | sa punar ayam,
  eṣāṃ yathābhisamayaṃ kramaḥ || 2cd ||
yasya hi satyasyābhisamayaḥ pūrvas tasya pūrvanirdeśaḥ | itarathā hi pūrvaṃ hetunirdeśo bhaviṣyat paścāt phalanirdeśaḥ |

[58] LVP, *Kośa* vol. IV, p. 120, fn. 2. *bden pa dag ni bzhir bshad do* = [*satyāny uktāni catvāri*];
  fn. 3. *sdug bsngal kun 'byung de bzhin du | 'gog dang lam ste* = [*duḥkhaṃ samudayas tathā | nirodho mārgaḥ*];
  fn. 4. *de dag ji ltar mngon rtogs rim* = *eteṣāṃ yathābhisamayaṃ kramaḥ.*

samudaya, mais non pas *samudayasatya* ; 3. la destruction de cette *tṛṣṇā* est *nirodha* et *nirodhasatya* ; la destruction de toute autre *tṛṣṇā* et des autres causes de *dharma*s impurs est *nirodha*, mais non pas *nirodhasatya* ; 4. le chemin à huit membres du Śaikṣa est *mārga* et *mārgasatya* ; les autres *dharma*s de Śaikṣa et tous les *dharma*s d'Aśaikṣa sont *mārga*, mais non pas *mārgasatya*. Mais, dans ce système, les Arhats possèdent seulement les vérités de *duḥkha* et de *nirodha*, et non pas les vérités de *samudaya* et de *mārga*.

4. Ad AK VII.28cd–29

RS, AK, pp. 205–207:

> sthānāsthāne daśa jñānānyaṣṭau karmaphale [nava] || 28cd ||
> dhyānā ''dhyakṣā-'dhimokṣeṣu [dhātau ca], pratipatsu [vā] |
> daśa dve saṃvṛtijñāne ṣaḍ vā daśa vā kṣaye || 29 ||[59]

tāni tathāgatasya daśa balāni – [60]

1. sthānā 'sthānajñānabalaṃ – *"tathāgataḥ sthānaṃ ca sthānato yathā-bhūtaṃ prajānāti | asthānaṃ ca asthānataḥ | idaṃ prathamaṃ tathā-gatasya balaṃ, yena balena samanvāgataḥ tathāgato 'rhan samyak-sambuddha udāram ārṣabhaṃ sthānaṃ pratijānāti brāhmaṃ cakraṃ, pravartayati parṣadi samyaksiṃha-nādaṃ nadati |"*[61] *atra daśā 'pi (saṃvṛtādi) jñānāni parisaṃkhyāṃ gacchati |*

2. karmavipākajñānabalaṃ – *"tathāgato 'tītānāgatapratyutpannāni karma-dharmasamādānāni sthānato {hetuto} vastuto vipākataś ca yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti, ...idaṃ dvitīyaṃ tathāgatabalaṃ, yena... |"*[62] *mārganirodha-jñānavarjitāni aṣṭau jñānāni |*

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[59] Cf. AKBh, pp. 411–412:
> dhyānādyakṣādhimokṣeṣu dhātau ca || 29ab ||
> *dhyānavimokṣasamāpattijñānabalaṃ nava jñānāni | nirodhajñānaṃ hitvā | evam indriyaparāparajñānabalaṃ nānādhimuktijñānabalaṃ nānādhātujñānabalaṃ veditavyam |*
> pratipatsu tu || 29b || [p. 412]
> daśa vā || 29c ||
> *nava veti matavikalpārtho vāśabdaḥ | yadi saphalā pratipat gṛhyate | sarvatragāminī pratipajjñānabalaṃ daśa jñānāni | na cen nava | anyatra nirodhajñānāt |*
> saṃvṛtijñānaṃ, dvayoḥ || 29cd ||
> *pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñānabalaṃ *cyutyupapattijñānabalaṃ ca* saṃvṛtijñānam |*
> ṣaṭ daśa vā kṣaye || 29d ||
> *āsravakṣayajñānabalaṃ ṣaḍ jñānāni dharmānvayanirodhakṣayānutpādasaṃvṛtijñānāni | yadi nirodhajñānam evāsravakṣayajñānam | atha kṣīṇāsravasaṃtāne jñānam āsravakṣayajñānaṃ tato daśa jñānāni |*
> *–* Pradhan omits!

[60] Here and below, all Sanskrit text in quotation marks follows Yaśomitra's *Vyākhyā*, quoted by LVP, *Kośa* vol. V, p. 68–69, fn. 1. LVP's edition of the *Vyākhyā* was based on his reading of the manuscript kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Société Asiatique). In my footnotes, I give references to the text of Wogihara's edition (AKVy).

[61] Wᴏɢɪʜᴀʀᴀ (1932–1936: 641.15–19).

[62] Wᴏɢɪʜᴀʀᴀ (1932–1936: 641.19–23).

3–6.   dhyāna-vimokṣa-samādhi-samāpattijñānabalāni – *"tathāgato dhyāna-vimokṣa-samādhi-samāpattīnāṃ saṃkleśa-vyavadāna-vyava-sthānaviśuddhiṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | {... 3} {parasattvānāṃ} parapudgalānāṃ indriyaparāparatāṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti... | {... 4} nānādhimuktikaṃ lokam anekādhimuktikaṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti... | {... 5} nānādhātukaṃ lokaṃ anekadhātukaṃ...| {... 6}"*[63] nirodhajñānam antareṇa nava jñānāni atra caturṣu |

7.   sarvatra{-}gāminī[-]pratipajjñānabalam – *nānāgatisambandhi mārga-jñānabalam* | atra nava daśa vā jñānāni | *"pratipado narakādigāminyaḥ | narakagāminī pratipad yāvad devagāminī nirodhagāminī ca | tatra yā narakādigāminyaḥ pratipadastā hetuḥ | pratipadyante tābhir iti kṛtvā | mārgo 'pi pratipaducyate tena hi visaṃyogaḥ pratipadyate | nirodhastu kathaṃ sa cāpi pratipad? pratipadyate taṃ iti kṛtvā, pratipatphalaṃ vā pratipad ity ucyate |"*[64] *"hetur hi sarvatragāminī pratipad iṣyate | tathā hi vyācakṣate | sarvatra gāminī pratipad jñānabalam | satkāya-samudaya [nirodha] gāminīty artha iti | tatra satkāyaḥ paṃcopādānaskandhāḥ | samudaya utpāda ihābhipretaḥ | {...} satkāyanirodho visaṃyoga{ḥ} | tatra sarvatra gantuṃ śīlaṃ asyā iti sarvatragāminī | sarvatra gāminī cāsau pratipacca sarvatragāminī pratipat | tadjñānaṃ tadeva ca balamiti sarvatra gāminī pratipajjñānabalam |"*[65]
tatra svaphalavirahite mārge parigṛhīte nava jñānāni, saphale tu daśa |

8–9.   pūrvanivāsajñānabalaṃ, cyutyupapādajñānabalaṃ ca – *etad dvayaṃ saṃvṛtijñānam |*

10.   āsravakṣayajñānabalaṃ, *"āsravāṇāṃ kṣayād anāsravāṃ ceto-vimuktiṃ prajñāvimuktiṃ dṛṣṭa eva dharme svayam abhijñāya sākṣāt-kṛtvopasampadya prativedayate | kṣīṇā me jātiruṣitaṃ brahmacaryaṃ kṛtaṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparam asmād bhavaṃ prajānāmīti... |"*[66]
tatra ṣaḍ daśa vā jñānāni bhavanti | ṣaḍ dharmā-vaya-nirodha-kṣayā 'nutpāda-saṃvṛtijñānāni |

LVP, *Kośa* vol. V, pp. 68–71:

28c–29. Dix savoirs dans le *sthānāsthāna*; huit dans le *karmaphala* ; neuf dans les *dhyāna*s, etc., dans les *indriya*s, dans les *adhimokṣa*s, dans les *dhātu*s ; neuf ou dix dans les *pratipad*s ; deux sont *saṃvṛtijñāna* ; le *nirodha* est six ou dix savoirs.[67] [p. 69]

1. Le **sthānāsthānajñānabala** – la force qui consiste dans la connaissance de ce qui est possible et impossible (= le savoir du possible et de l'impossible

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[63]   WOGIHARA (1932–1936: 641.23–33).

[64]   WOGIHARA (1932–1936: 643.33–644.4).

[65]   WOGIHARA (1932–1936: 644.5–11).

[66]   WOGIHARA (1932–1936: 642.22–25).

[67]   Cf. LVP, *Kośa* vol. V, p. 68, fn. 1.

qui est une « force », c'est-à-dire absolu, vii. 30 c) – est les dix *jñāna*s, comporte les dix *jñāna*s.

2. Le *karmavipākajñānabala* – la force qui consiste dans la connaissance de la rétribution des actes – est huit *jñāna*s, en excluant la connaissance du chemin et celle de la destruction (*mārgajñāna, nirodhajñāna*).

3–6. Le *dhyānavimokṣasamādhisamāpattijñānabala* – la force de la connaissance des *dhyāna*s, *vimokṣa*s, *samādhi*s et *samāpat*[p. 70]*ti*s ; l'*indriyaparāparajñānabala* – la force de la connaissance du degré des facultés morales des êtres ; le *nānādhimuktijñānabala* – la force de la connaissance des diverses aspirations des êtres ; le *nānādhātujñānabala* – la force de la connaissance des diverses dispositions acquises des êtres ; ces quatre forces comportent neuf *jñāna*s, en excluant la connaissance de la destruction (*nirodhajñāna*).

7. Le *sarvatragāminīpratipajjñānabala* – la force de la connaissance des chemins qui mènent aux diverses destinées, au Nirvāṇa – est ou bien neuf *jñāna*s ou bien dix *jñāna*s.

Si on comprend « le chemin avec son fruit » (*saphalā pratipad*), cette force comporte la connaissance de la destruction (qui est le fruit du Chemin, *mārga*) ; si on comprend « le chemin sans son fruit », cette force comporte neuf *jñāna*s. [p. 71]

8–9. Le *pūrvanivāsajñānabala* – la force de la connaissance des anciennes résidences – et le *cyutyupapādajñānabala* – la force de la connaissance de la mort et de la renaissance des êtres : ces deux forces sont « savoir mondain », *saṃvṛtijñāna*.

10. L'*āsravakṣayajñānabala* – la force de la connaissance de la destruction des « vices » – est six *jñāna*s ou dix *jñāna*s. On peut considérer l'*āsravakṣayajñāna* en soi, la connaissance de la destruction des vices qui comporte *dharmajñāna, anvayajñāna, nirodhajñāna, kṣayajñāna, anutpādajñāna* et *saṃvṛtijñāna* ; on peut entendre par *āsravakṣayajñāna* le *jñāna* qui se produit dans une série d'où les « vices » ont été expulsés : les dix *jñāna*s existent dans semblable série.

III. Conclusion

Rāhul Jī avidly studied the Pāli canon and the literature available to him during his stay in Śrī Laṅkā. Even then he realised that a huge amount of Buddhist texts existed in Tibetan and/or Chinese translations. He paid particular attention to Vasubandhu's great work, the *Abhidharmakośa*, which had been translated from Chinese and Tibetan into French by Louis de La Vallée Poussin. Rāhul Jī's intention was to make this extremely important text available to the Indian reader in Sanskrit, with the necessary brief commentary. When the book appeared in print in 1931 (in a small number of copies), its author never imagined that a few

years later he would make the remarkable discovery of the original Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Abhidharmakośa* at Ngor Monastery in Tibet. At the time, however, his attention was focused on searching for the *Pramāṇavārttika* of Dharmakīrti and other texts on logic. Rāhul Jī did not return to a study of the *Abhidharmakośa* again, while the editing of the manuscripts he discovered was done by other Indian scholars, Gokhale in 1946 and Pradhan in 1967. Rāhul Jī's work has been forgotten, but it is worth remembering today as a contribution to the history of Buddhist studies in India. Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's personal interest in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* stimulated his untiring efforts in search of the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet. His successful discovery of these most valuable treasures of human thought is an everlasting contribution to the scientific researches (cf. Steinkellner 2004).

Author's note

This is a revised and extended version of a paper presented at the International Conference on "Rahul Sankrityayan: Mahapandit in the Land of Snow", organised by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, Delhi, 14–16 March, 2018 (cf. fn. 2 above).

Abbreviations

AK	*Abhidharmakośa*.
AKBh	*Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*. Ed.: Pradhan (1975).
AKVy	*Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, Yaśomitra.
	Ed.: Wogihara (1932–1936).
LVP	de La Vallée Poussin, Louis.
LVP, *Kośa*	de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa*.
Merī jīvan-yātrā	Sāṃkṛtyāyana (1998).
RS	Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana (Rahul Sankrityayan).

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Notes on the Tocharian A Lexicon

Tao Pan

Abstract: This paper offers detailed philological investigations of Toch. A *ś$_u$kär*, *kār**, *sākät* and *yusār* based on parallel texts in Sanskrit, Chinese and Old Uyghur. By uncovering several cases of loan translations, the following results have been achieved: Toch. A *ś$_u$kär* probably means "power" (= Skt. *bala-*, OUygh. *küč*, Chin. *lì* "id."); Toch. A *kār** means "path, ground"; Toch. A *sākät* means "assembled, arrived" (= Skt. *saṃnipatita-* "id."); Toch. A *yusār* means "rainy season" (= Skt. *varṣa-* "id.", OUygh. *yay* "summer"). The present study is inspired by and in part responds to the *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A* in 2023. A preliminary list of problematic entries is provided as addendum, including Toch. A *āral**, A *cwal*, A *karṇe*, A *tursko* or "*trusko*", A *p$_u$käl*, A *porant**, A *prakte*, A *miṣi*, A *ymatu*, A *lokalok*, A *Vacramukhe*, A *śu* and A *ṣoṣ*.

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Introduction

With the publication of DThTA, Carling and Pinault have for the first time made the Tocharian A lexicon easily accessible to a wider public. This book marks a new stage of Tocharian scholarship, upon which all future studies will be based. However, given the scope of this volume, it is not surprising that there are still a few entries in this lexicon that could be improved. Before embarking on the detailed investigations of Tocharian lexemes, brief remarks on the methodology and logic of the argument seem necessary here.

In the case of Sieg's speculative translations under discussion below, without knowledge of possible loan translations, Sieg adopted another strategy, namely according to his analysis of the context described in the Tocharian passage containing the targeted words. So Sieg's analysis is based on his understanding of what might be suitable or natural in specific situations, for which, although he did not give any reason as to why the text has to be understood in that way. In the current paper, however, the translation and interpretation of unclear Tocharian words will proceed from a comparison of parallel texts, which contain correspondents of the Tocharian words in question.

As for Tocharian Buddhist stories, it is usually the case that the story has no exact parallel in other versions regarding all the plot details. In most cases, the Tocharian version proves to be a local adaptation based on Indian versions, cf. the famous Vyāghrī-story and the detailed study by Meng and Pan (2022). Despite the lack of complete parallelism, certain short episodes and formulaic expressions in the original Indian versions have been faithfully rendered into Tocharian as loan translations (cf. Pan 2019; 2021a; 2021b; 2024). And the abundance of stock phrases in the Buddhist narratives and stories has been well-known since Feer's (1891: 1–14) comprehensive study of the *Avadānaśataka* (AvŚ), one of the most important collections of Buddhist narratives. Building on Feer's work, Demoto (1998: 29–62) conducted an almost exhaustive study of stock phrases and repeated passages in AvŚ, drawing on the corresponding Sanskrit texts and Chinese parallels. This prevalence is easily understood in the context of early Buddhism's oral transmission, particularly regarding Buddhist stories. The frequent use of epithets and formulaic language in the Homeric epics is comparable to the Buddhist case as a result of oral transmission, cf. Friedrich (2011) for Homer's Formelsprache.

Therefore, by comparing similar episodes and stock phrases in the Sanskrit Buddhist stories with their Tocharian counterparts, it becomes possible to decipher certain unclear Tocharian phrases and words. This method begins with identifying stock phrases in the Sanskrit and Chinese Buddhist corpora using online databases, e.g. GRETIL (https://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil.html) for Sanskrit and CBETA (https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/) for Chinese corpus.

The next step involves an internal philological study of passages containing the targeted stock phrases. Due to the fragmentary state of the Tocharian texts and frequent innovations, discrepancies between Tocharian and parallel versions regarding certain plot details are inevitable in the case of narratives. However, differences in minor details do not necessarily invalidate the results derived from the identified calques (cf. footnote 5 below). Finally, an etymological analysis is conducted to ensure that the Tocharian words and their etyma adhere to the regular phonological, morphological, and semantic development. Representative examples of this method include Toch. B *pitke* "fat, grease" and B *ore* "joint, stalk", cf. Pan (2019) and Pan (2023) respectively.

1. Toch. A *ś*ᵤ*kär*

1.1. State of Research

In the dictionary recently published by Carling and Pinault (2023: 472) Toch. A *ś*ᵤ*kär* is translated as "sting, spike". Since Sieg et al. (1931: 41, 50, 108) mentioned Toch. A *ś*ᵤ*kär* without offering any translation, this explanation probably goes back to Sieg's (1944: 20) translation "mit Stöcken (?)" for Toch. A *śukrāsyo* in the *Puṇyavantajātaka* fragment A16a6. Given the footnote to this translation "Oder»Spießen«. Die Bedeutung von *śukar* ist unsicher, nach 98ᵃ2 scheint es zum Stechen (*tsop*) gebraucht zu werden", the proposed meaning "stick, spike [Stock, Spieß]" is merely speculation by Sieg, because the verb Toch. A *tsop-* "to prick"[1] does not necessarily require a complement such as "stick" or "spike", and it is equally possible to prick "with a weapon", "with anger" or "with force". Lane (1947: 52) leaves Toch. A *śukrās* untranslated by writing "with śukrās (?)" and cites Sieg's German rendering "mit Stöcken (?)".

In the first Tocharian A lexicon, Poucha (1955: 324) tentatively suggests the meaning "wise (?) [sapens (?)] (sic)" for Toch. A *ś*ᵤ*kär* as well as its connection with Toch. A *śuk* "provision for a journey" (= Skt. *pātheya-* "id.", Chin. 資糧 *zī liáng* "id.", cf. Enomoto 1997: 92–93) by observing "Pertinetne ad *śuk*?" In his review of Poucha (1955), Couvreur (1955–1956: 70) defends Sieg's hypothesis by removing Sieg's question mark and stating "*ś*ᵤ*kär* nicht «sapens», sondern etwa «Stock, Spiess, Dorn, Stachel»", but he does not provide any support for his explanation.

An unfortunate circumstance in the history of Tocharian studies should be mentioned here. The founders of Tocharology, such as Sieg, Siegling and Schulze, consistently marked the meanings of unclear Tocharian words with a following question mark. Sometimes, however, these speculative meanings were adopted as being well-established in later literature simply by removing

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[1] According to Huard (2022: 382–383), Toch. B *tsop-* means "frapper, broyer" and is cognate with Toch. B *tsāp-* "mash, crush".

the question marks without further philological evidence. During this process, some hypotheses became facts without further ado. This situation has already been brought to the fore in Pan (2021c: 13).

Couvreur's or Sieg's interpretation has been incorporated as a secure entry into the glossary of TEB (Thomas and Krause 1964: 146). Toch. A *śₐkär* occurs in the phrase *kārumṣiṃ śₐkäryo* in the Tocharian A version of the *Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka* (MSN), and Ji et al. (1998: 79, 298) adopt the meaning "sting" for Toch. A *śₐkär* despite the peculiarity of the resulting phrase "[w]ith the sting of mercy".[2] Tamai (2012: 183) considers Toch. A *śₐkär* to be a loanword from Skt. *śukra-* "bright, brightness", apparently due to the formal similarity, but he adds a question mark after it, because his translation "making the people from front to back (= retreat) with the brilliance (Skt. *śukra* 'fire, light'?) of the monks" sounds suspicious indeed. The speculation of Sieg (1944: 20) has now become *communis opinio*, as registered most recently in DThTA by Carling and Pinault (2023: 472), who have cited and adopted the above-mentioned interpretations in Couvreur (1955–1956), TEB and Ji et al. (1998). However, so far there has been no philological investigation of Toch. A *śₐkär*, and no counterpart in Sanskrit or Old Uyghur has been discovered.

1.2. "Through the power of compassion"

Toch. A *śₐkär* is attested in four fragments, as listed in DThTA (Carling and Pinault 2023: 472), namely: nom./acc. sg. *śₐkär* in A91b4 and A98a2, instr. sg. *śₐkäryo* in YQ II.3a2, instr. pl. *śukrāsyo* in A16a6. The key to its decipherment lies in the phrase Toch. A *kārumṣiṃ śₐkäryo* in YQ II.3a2 in MSN (Ji et al. 1998: 78–79), which occurs in Maitreya's monologue as his self-description. Under the assumption that this Tocharian phrase "through *śₐkär* of compassion" should have a counterpart in the Buddhist texts, a search for "以慈悲" *yǐ cí bēi* (lit. "through compassion") has been conducted in the digital corpus of Chinese Buddhist texts (https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/), and this search resulted in two candidates: 以慈悲力 *yǐ cí bēi lì* "through the power of compassion" (= Skt. *karuṇā-balena*) and 以慈悲心 *yǐ cí bēi xīn* "through the mind of compassion" (= Skt. *karuṇā-cittena*). The meaning "mind" for Toch. A *śₐkär* does not really fit in the context of Toch. A *śukrāsyo neṣ wrasas ṣkārā ypamāṃ* "making people in front backwards with *śukrās*" in A16a6.

Therefore, Toch. A *kārumṣiṃ śₐkäryo* is very likely a calque of Skt. *karuṇā-balena* "through the power of compassion" or *mahā-karuṇā-balena* "through the great power of compassion", which are clichés in several Buddhist texts; cf. Skt. *karuṇābalena* in LV 24.61 (Hokazono 2019: 296), and *mahākaruṇābalena* in

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[2]   So is the translation in the Tocharian database CEToM, https://cetom.univie.ac.at/?m-yqii3, accessed on 19th June 2024.

GV (Vaidya 1960: 426), DBh (Vaidya 1967: 39); cf. further *karuṇābala-* in JM (Hanisch 2005: 5; Meiland 2009: 14), and *mahākaruṇābala-* in LV (Hokazono 1994: 656), GV (Vaidya 1960: 59, 143, 191), DBh (Vaidya 1967: 46). Although the Old Uyghur counterpart of Toch. A *kāruṃṣiṃ śᵤkäryo* in YQ II.3a2 in MSN is missing in the corresponding section of the second act (cf. Geng et al. 1988: 122–123),[3] this phrase occurs elsewhere, namely in the introductory chapter: OUygh. *uluγ yrlıqančučı bilig küčintä* "through the great power of compassion" (Geng et al. 1988: 18–19), and in DKPAM OUygh. *ulug y(a)rlıkančučı köŋülin* "through the willpower of compassion" is frequently used (cf. Wilkens 2016: III, 1106–1107).

In Chinese Buddhist texts, the phrases Chin. 以慈悲力 *yǐ cí bēi lì* "through the power of compassion" (= Skt. *karuṇābalena*) or Chin. 以大慈悲力 *yǐ dà cí bēi lì* "through the great power of compassion" (= Skt. *mahākaruṇābalena*) are widely attested, cf. Chin. *yǐ cí bēi lì* in *Buddhacarita* (Chin. 佛本行經 *fó běn xíng jīng*, T.193, 4.90a14; on the parallel Tocharian version of T.193, cf. Pan 2023: 310), Chin. *yǐ dà cí bēi lì* in Kumārajīva's *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (Chin. 妙法蓮華經 *miào fǎ lián huá jīng*, T.262, 9.23b21) and **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (Chin. 大智度論 *dà zhì dù lùn*, T.1509, 25.256c20–21). Both Kumārajīva and the translator of T.193 must have been closely related to the Tocharian-speaking regions. Therefore, Toch. A *śᵤkär* probably corresponds to Skt. *bala-* "power, force, vigour", OUygh. *küč* "power, strength", Chin. 力 *lì* "power, force".

1.3. Verifying the New Interpretation

In order to verify the new meaning "power, force, vigour" for Toch. A *śᵤkär*, it has to be tested against the other three occurrences.

(1) Instr. pl. *śukrāsyo* in A16a6

Fragment A16 belongs to the Tocharian *Puṇyavantajātaka* (on the various parallel texts, cf. Pan 2022: 95, 118), and the sentence Toch. A *śukrāsyo neṣ wrasas ṣkārā ypamāṃ* "making people in front backwards with *śukrās*" is located in the episode about prince Puṇyavanta, "the virtuous". Although there is no direct parallel to this sentence, a similar description is preserved in the Chinese *Puṇyavantajātaka* (Chin. 福力太子因緣經 *fú lì tài zǐ yīn yuán jīng*),

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[3] Given the correspondence between Toch. A *(ca)kravarttis lānt* "of the Cakravartin-king" in YQ II.3a3 and OUygh. *čkrwrt ilig* "Cakravartin-king" in 2b17 as well as Toch. A *(bādha)ri brāhmaṃ mokoneyo lyutār nāṃtsu tärmmāṃ kapśiñño* "Bādhari the Brahmin, with his body trembling excessively because of his advanced age" in YQ II.3a5 and OUygh. *titräyü ätözin badari braman* "Brahmane Badhari, am Leibe zitternd" in 2b19–20 in the second act (cf. Ji et al. 1998: 78–79; Geng et al. 1988: 122–123), the expected Old Uyghur parallel to Toch. A *kāruṃṣiṃ śᵤkäryo* in YQ II.3a2 is simply nonexistent on folio 2 instead of being located in the lacuna of the missing folio 3, because the Old Uyghur version of MSN is not an exact translation of the preserved Tocharian version.

namely Chin. 咸來衛護於福者 *xián lái wèi hù yú fú zhě* "They all came to guard and protect Puṇyavanta" (T.173, 3.434a18). In view of the proposed meaning for Toch. A *śₐkär* above and the outlined context, it would not be out of place to render Toch. A *śukrāsyo neṣ wrasas ṣkārā ypamāṃ* as "making people in front backwards with forces". The sense of instr. pl. form Toch. A *śukrāsyo* can be compared with Eng. *forces* designating "the troops or soldiers composing the fighting strength of a kingdom" (cf. OED, s.v. "force (n.1), sense I.4.a").

(2) Nom./acc. sg. *śₐkär* in A91b4 and A98a2

Fragments A91 and A98 belong to the Tocharian *Saundaranandacarita-Nāṭaka* (SNCN), and it has already been pointed out by Pan (2021b: 266–267) that the Tocharian drama SNCN deviates from its Indian basis, i.e. the *Saundarananda* (SauN) by Aśvaghoṣa, with respect to wording and structure, although there exist many shared keywords between the Tocharian and Sanskrit versions, e.g. in fragment A91: Toch. A *ṣāmaṃ nāṃtsu* "having become a monk" in a1 matches Skt. *liṅgaṃ... śāstṛvidhipradiṣṭaṃ gātreṇa* "signs ordained by the teacher on his body" in verse 7.1 of SauN; Toch. A *kroṅśe* "bee" in a2 matches Skt. *ālīna-saṃmūrchita-ṣaṭpadāyām* "(mango-trees) thick with settling **bees** (lit. 'six-footed')" in verse 7.3; Toch. A *aṣuk wsā-yokās pokenyo* "with broad gold-coloured arms" in a3 matches Skt. *yuga-dīrgha-bāhur* "long-armed as a chariot yoke" in verse 7.3 (cf. Covill 2007: 132–133).

The incomplete pada 3c /// *śₐkär ᵎ kälytär säm ᵎ cut ṣtāmis posac*: "*śₐkär* it is situated next to a mango-tree" in A91b4 is found in a group of verses preceded by a melody name Toch. A *nandavilāpaṃ* "in Nanda's lament" on the one hand, and the verses have parallels in the seventh canto of Skt. SauN, i.e. Nandavilāpa "Nanda's lament", on the other, which can hardly be a coincidence. To be specific, pada 3c probably corresponds to verse 7.8 of Skt. SauN:

> *latāṃ praphullām atimuktakasya cūtasya pārśve parirabhya jātām |*
> *niśāmya cintām agamat kadaivaṃ śliṣṭā bhaven mām api sundarīti ||*

> Next he noticed a cheerful *atimúktaka* creeper which had grown up entwined around the mango-tree at its side, and he thought "When will Súndari hold me like that?"
>
> (Covill 2007: 134–135)

Toch. A *cut ṣtāmis posac* "next to the mango-tree" corresponds to Skt. *cūtasya pārśve* "near the mango-tree", the masculine demonstrative Toch. A *säm* "he/it" probably refers to the creeper, and Toch. A *kälytär* "stands, is situated" corresponds roughly to Skt. *jātām* "grown, appeared". Therefore, Toch. A *śₐkär* is used to describe the creeper, and could be completed to Toch. A *(śla) śₐkär* "with force, vigorously → passionately, zealously", which would be compatible with Skt. *parirabhya* "having embraced, clasped", given the fact that a nominal

derivative of the verb Skt. *rabh-* "to embrace, clasp, long for", i.e. Skt. *rabhas-*, indeed means "force, zeal".

The occurrence in A98a2, i.e. Toch. A *pot ś*$_u$*kär presyo* ⎜ *tsopiñcäṃ* ⎜ *pañcyā laṣyā* ⎜ *ṣu* "young animal, with *ś*$_u$*kär* and *pres*, they beat/crush[4] it, with strap for five (fingers)…", presents some difficulty. In Skt. SauN there is a reference to leather straps in verse 1.35:

> *baddhagodhāṅgulītrāṇā hastaviṣṭhitakārmukāḥ* ⎜
> *śarādhmātamahātūṇā vyāyatābaddhavāsasaḥ* ‖

> With their great quivers bristling with arrows, their fingers protected by leather straps, their bows extended in their hands and the arrows drawn back.

> (Covill 2007: 38–39)

If the Tocharian verse above depicts the same scene, Toch. A *pañcyā laṣyā* "with strap for five (fingers)" could correspond to Skt. *baddhagodhāṅgulītrāṇā* "equipped with finger-protector and leathern fence"[5] and refer to the leathern contrivance for protecting five fingers. Thus Toch. A *ṣu* could be completed to Toch. A *ṣu(tkmäs)* "bolts". Furthermore, Toch. A *pot* "young animal" in A98a2 would match Skt. *nāgeṣu... śvāpadeṣu ca* "among elephants and wild beasts" in verse 1.36; Toch. A *riṣaki* "sages" as counterpart of Skt. *tāpasās* "ascetics" in verse 1.37 is attested in A98b5; Toch. A *tsopats wäl pāpṣuñcäśśi* "great king of well-conducted ones" in A98b4 could refer to Skt. *te puṇyakarmāṇaḥ* "their actions being meritorious" in verse 1.39 (cf. Covill 2007: 38–41). And the meaning "force, strength" for Toch. A *ś*$_u$*kär* would fit the context. As a result, the meaning proposed by Carling and Pinault (2023: 314) for the rare word Toch. A *pres** could be modified: instead of "goad, spike", which seems to be based on the previously assumed meaning "sting, spike" for Toch. A *ś*$_u$*kär*, it probably designates "strength, force" *vel sim.*, namely a synonym of Toch. A *ś*$_u$*kär* "power, force". Thus Toch. A *pot ś*$_u$*kär presyo* ⎜ *tsopiñcäṃ* ⎜ *pañcyā laṣyā* ⎜ in A98a2 can be translated as "with force and strength, they crush the young animal, with strap for five (fingers)".

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[4] Toch. A *tsop-* has the meaning "to beat, crush" according to Carling and Pinault (2023: 560).

[5] According to one anonymous reviewer, Skt. *baddhagodhāṅgulītrāṇā* means more precisely, "protected by a thin leather glove" instead of "leather straps", and the reviewer thus claims that Carling and Pinault's interpretation is better. But the discussion here centers on Toch. A *ś*$_u$*kär* and *pres*, which are translated as "spike" and "goad" by Carling and Pinault (2023: 472, 314). I am not convinced how the change of "strap" to "glove" in the Sanskrit verse could speak for the interpretation of "spike and goad" instead of "force and strength" in the Tocharian verse, whether the Indian archery is involved or not.

1.4. Linguistic Remarks

Based on the philological investigation above it is very likely that Toch. A *śᵤkär* means "power, force, vigour". Toch. A *śᵤkär* can then be connected with PIE **deu̯k-* "to pull, tear" (LIV²: 124): **deu̯k-ro-* > Proto-Toch. **tsʲäu̯kræ* > **śukra* > Toch. A *śᵤkär*. On the full-grade **-ro*-formation **R(e)-ro-* with substantival meaning, cf. Skt. *-aśra-* "-cornered" and Gr. ἄκρος "topmost, outermost" < **h₂eḱro-* from PIE **h₂eḱ-* "(to be/become/make) sharp, pointed" (NIL: 287–288; Vine 2002: 341–343). For the semantic development from "to pull" to "force", cf. Eng. *pull*, which, when used as a noun, can designate "the force exerted in pulling or drawing, pulling power" (OED, s.v. "pull, n.¹, sense II.6.d").

2. Toch. A *kār**

2.1. State of Research

Toch. A *kār** is first mentioned in TG (Sieg et al. 1931: 96–97), where it is tentatively interpreted as a loanword from Skt. *kāraṇa-* "cause", and an emendation with a question mark to Toch. A †*kāraṇäntu* is postulated. This explanation entered Sieg's (1944) translation of the *Puṇyavantajātaka*, where Toch. A *āpāyṣinās kāräntu* in A14b1 is rendered as "the causes for rebirth in an evil state of existence [die Anlässe zur Geburt in einer schlechten Daseinsform]". Lane (1947: 50 and fn. 155) has adopted the translation of Sieg, but traces Toch. A *kār** back to Skt. *kāra-* with uncertainty (marked with two question marks). Poucha (1955: 59) lists three occurrences of Toch. A *kār**, but gives no translation.[6] Hilmarsson (1996: 85–86) regards Toch. A *kār** as cognate with Toch. B *kāre* "pit, hole", apparently due to their formal similarity, but has offered no philological evidence. Carling (2009: 115) leaves Toch. A *kār** untranslated in the earlier partial edition of DThTA, although she mentions the meaning "pit, hole" proposed by Hilmarsson (1996: 85). In the complete edition of DThTA, Carling and Pinault (2023: 107) have adopted Hilmarsson's explanation and additionally mentioned "Pinault (2020d:388)" concerning its etymology. However, according to Pinault (2020: 388 fn. 131), who cites "Carling (2009:115a)" (i.e. Carling 2009: 115), "its meaning is not fully ascertained".[7] Finally, Tamai (2012: 181) translates Toch. A *āpāyṣinās kāräntu* as "deeds of decadences" without further justification, presumably interpreting Toch. A *kār** as a loanword from Skt. *kāra-* "action". It can clearly be seen that hitherto no rigorous philological examination has been conducted on Toch. A *kār**, and no equivalent in Sanskrit, Old Uyghur or Chinese has been identified.

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[6]   The form Toch. A *kārā* in A382a3, found together with several Old Uyghur names and titles, probably does not belong here and it might be an Old Uyghur word in origin, cf. OUygh. *kara* "Bestandteil von Personennamen" (Wilkens 2021: 334; Carling and Pinault 2023: 107).

[7]   The "alternative source" proposed by Pinault (2020: 388 fn. 131), i.e. "Skt. *kārā-* 'prison, confinement'", is obviously based on their formal resemblance, but can hardly be correct, given the admitted semantic uncertainty.

2.2. Parallel and Calque

The solution to the problem concerning Toch. A *kār** can be found in its occurrence in the *Puṇyavantajātaka* A14b1–2: *pñi praskintu ⁝ wikäṣṣ-äṃ ⁝ āpāyṣinās ⁝ kāräntu ⁝ pñi – ₋b₂ – –* (:) "Merit expels his fears, merit … *kāräntu* of evil existence". The parallel texts are located in the Chinese translation of the *Puṇyavantajātaka* (福力太子因緣經 *fú lì tài zǐ yīn yuán jīng* T.173):

(1) Chin. 福者捨離惡趣 *fú zhě shě lí è qù* "The virtuous one discards and stays away from evil states of existence" (T.173, 3.431b18–19).

(2) Chin. 福者臨終無疾病，臨終亦復歡喜生，極惡境相不現前，遠離驚怖及苦惱 *fú zhě lín zhōng wú jí bìng, lín zhōng yì fù huān xǐ shēng, jí è jìng xiàng bù xiàn qián, yuǎn lí jīng bù jí kǔ nǎo* "Approaching his end the virtuous one has no illness, joy arises as well, extremely evil situation and appearance do not occur, and he is away from fear and distress" (T.173, 3.434a13–14).

And the situation of people without merit is described in the same Chinese text:

(3) Chin. 無福者墮地獄中，受大苦惱常無間，或墮餓鬼或畜生，受飢渴苦及負重 *wú fú zhě duò dì yù zhōng, shòu dà kǔ nǎo cháng wú jiān, huò duò è guǐ huò chù shēng, shòu jī kě kǔ jí fù zhòng* "People without merit will fall into hell, and experience great suffering without end; or they become hungry ghosts or animals, and will suffer from hunger and thirst as well as bear burdens" (T.173, 3.433c6–7).

Therefore, Toch. A *āpāyṣinās kāräntu* probably corresponds to Chin. 惡趣 *è qù* "evil state of existence", which translates Skt. *apāya-gati-*, *apāya-patha-*, *apāya-bhūmi-* or simply *apāya-* as well as *durgati-* "id." (cf. HIRAKAWA 1997: 489) and refers to the rebirths as beings in hells, as animals or as ghosts. Thus Toch. A *kār** (presumed nom./acc. sg. of *kāräntu*) probably corresponds to Skt. *gati-*, *patha-* or *bhūmi-* and means "path, place to go, state, ground".

Despite its fragmentary context, it is very likely that the phrase Toch. A *kāraṃ lmo* (A316a8) in the so-called "Sonnenaufgangswunder" story refers to Buddha's action after displaying his miracles, cf. the description preceding this phrase Toch. A *wräṣ wä(r y)o(kāñ swāñcenāñ) por yokāñ wriṃ /// ₈ₐ ṣ·lcär : vaiḍur yokāñ āsānäṣ (opläṣ nu) ārk(ya)nt wsā-yo(kāñ)* "Aus dem Wasser gingen wasserfarbige (Strahlen) [und] feuerfarbige aus dem... heraus, beryllfarbige aus dem Sitz, (aus dem Lotus aber) weiße [und] goldfarbige" in A315+316a7–8 (cf. SIEG 1952: 29) and one possible parallel Skt. ***vividhāny arcīṣi*** *kāyān niścaranti tadyathā* **nīlapītāni** *lohitāny* **avadātāni** *mañjiṣṭhāni* **sphaṭika-varṇāni** "**different kinds of light** emerged from his body—they were **blue**, **yellow**, red, **white**, crimson, and the **color of crystal**" in Divy (COWELL and NEIL 1886: 161;

Rotman 2008: 278). Therefore, Toch. A *kāraṃ lmo* probably means "sat down on the ground" and corresponds to Skt. *prajñapta evāsane niṣaṇṇaḥ* "sat down on the designated seat" in Divy (Cowell and Neil 1886: 161; Rotman 2008: 278).

As in the case of A14b1, fear and an evil state of existence are mentioned together in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts as well, cf. Skt. *kumārga-bhaya-* "fear of the evil paths (i.e. evil states of existence)" attested in the reconstructed Sanskrit phrase *sarvakumārgabhayātikrāntaṃ* "beyond fear of any bad ways" and Skt. *(sarva-) durgati-bhayam* "fear of (every) evil destiny" in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* (Braarvig 1993: 324, 365). The equivalent in Old Uyghur is OUygh. *üč yavlak yol(lar)* "the three evil states of existence" (Wilkens 2021: 818), cf. Skt. *trīṇy apāyapathāni* in Suv 5.24 (Nobel 1937: 62).

Chin. 惡趣 *è qù* "evil state of existence" has a synonym, i.e. Chin. 惡道 *è dào* "evil path", which literally translates Skt. *amārga-*, *asanmārga-*, *kupatha-* or *kumārga-* on the one hand and designates "evil states of existence" and is equivalent of Skt. *apāya-gati-* or *apāya-patha-* (Hirakawa 1997: 488) on the other. The Tocharian counterpart is Toch. A *umpar-ytār* "evil path" (Carling and Pinault 2023: 66) in the *Varṇāhavarṇa* fragment A246b4, and it corresponds to Skt. *asanmārga-* in verse 2.34 (cf. Hartmann 1987: 109). The use of the same verb Toch. A *wik⁽ā⁾-* "to avoid, expel" in A246b4 and A14b1 points to the affinity between Toch. A *āpāyṣinās kāräntu* "evil states of existence" (Chin. *è qù* "id.") and Toch. A *umpar-ytār* "evil path" (Chin. *è dào* "id.").

2.3. Linguistic Remarks

Given the multiple origins of Toch. A *k,* the exact origin of Toch. A *kār* "path, place to go, state, ground" cannot be determined with certainty, and there are at least two possibilities, namely derivatives by means of a *-ro-*suffix from PIE *$\hat{g}^h eH$-* "to move" (LIV²: 172) or *$g^h eh_1$-* "to come, arrive" (LIV²: 196): *$\hat{g}^h H$-ro-* or *$g^h h_1$-ro-* > Proto-Toch. *karæ* > Toch. A *kār*. On the semantic development from "to move, come" to "path, place to go, state", cf. Skt. *gati-* "going, path, place of origin, state". Despite their semantic discrepancy, Toch. A *kār* "path, state, ground" and Toch. B *kāre* "pit, hole" could be cognates, because the semantic connection between "ground" and "pit, hole" is not unlikely, cf. Eng. *ground* in the sense of "bottom, hole in the ground".

According to Pinault (2020: 388), the variant form Toch. B *kārre* in B358a3 (unearthed in Murtuq, dated to the classical period, cf. Peyrot 2008: 221) contains an etymological geminate *rr*, and he derives Toch. B *kārre* from PIE *$g^u_s r h_3$-$d^h ro$-* with an *ad hoc* explanation: "*kärtræ > *kärθræ > Toch. B *kärhre* reshaped as *kār-re* under the influence of the allomorph *kār-* (linked with *kär-*) abstracted from the subjunctive stem of the verb Toch. B *kār-* 'to gather,

collect'", where not only the proposed sound changes "*kärtræ* > *kärθræ* > Toch. B *kärhre*" are unparalleled inside Tocharian but also the assumed influence from a semantically unrelated verb is unmotivated. In fact, the geminate writing *rr* can be attributed to regional or scribal features, cf. Toch. B *trrice* (in Kizil WD-II-3b2) for *trice* "third", B *pärrittar* (in PK AS 15Hb3) for *pärittar* 2. sg. mid. impv. of *ritt-* "to be attached" (MALZAHN 2010: 825) and B *amārraṣṣe* "immortal" (in B152 b5, Kizil) (probably from Skt. *amara-* "undying").

3. Toch. A *sākät*

3.1. State of Research

Until now, Toch. A *sākät* has been unanimously interpreted as the correspondent of Skt. *tūṣṇīm* "calm, silent" and translated as "silent, quiet(ly)", cf. POUCHA (1955: 362) ("tacite, quiete", "= Scr. tuṣnīm" (sic)), THOMAS and KRAUSE (1964: 153) ("ruhig, still, schweigend", "skt. tūṣṇīm"), JI et al. 1998: 299 ("quiet"), PEYROT (2013: 645) ("quietly kept in your minds" for Toch. A *sākät kälymāṃ pältsäkyokk*), TAMAI (2017: 263) ("quietly"), CARLING and PINAULT (2023: 512) ("quiet"). But in reality, there exists no Skt.-Toch. A bilingual text containing Skt. *tūṣṇīm* and Toch. A *sākät*, and this explanation goes back to SIEG's (1952: 22) translation of the following sentence in the *Mūgapakkhajātaka* (MpJ): A74a3 /// *(bodhi)sattu mā kaś wāworäṣ sākät lyäm* || "Der Bodhisattva saß schweigend, ohne [darauf] zu achten". This description has no equivalent in any of the parallel texts, including Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and Khotanese versions of the *Mūgapakkhajātaka*,[8] and, on the other hand, undoubtedly does not refer to his pretended muteness because in the preceding fragment A84 he talks with his father and explains his desire to become a monk. Sieg's interpretation, "silent [schweigend]", could have been prompted by the phrase *mā kaś wāworäṣ* "without giving any consideration".

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[8] The Pāli version is found in Jātaka no. 538 *Mūgapakkhajātaka* (FAUSBØLL 1896: 1–30; COWELL and ROUSE 1907: 1–19). The Sanskrit version is located in Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* no. 37 (VAIDYA 1959: 239–243). The Tibetan version is preserved in the Tibetan *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya* (MSV) (cf. its German translation by SCHIEFNER 1877) and the Tibetan version of *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. There are four Chinese versions, namely T.154 六度集經 *Liù dù jí jīng* by Kang Senghui (no. 38 太子墓魄經 *Tài zǐ mù pò jīng* "sutra of prince Mūgapakkha"), T.167 太子慕魄經 *Tài zǐ mù pò jīng* by An Shigao, T.168 太子墓魄經 *Tài zǐ mù pò jīng* by Dharmarakṣa, T.1442 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 *Gēn běn shuō yī qiè yǒu bù pí nài yē* by Yijing (episode of 水生太子 *shuǐ shēng tài zǐ* "water-born prince"). A very brief retelling is found in the Khotanese *Jātakastava*, cf. DRESDEN (1955). I want to thank Mengji Huang (Heidelberg) for the valuable information of various versions.

3.2. Stock Phrase and Calque

Toch. A *sākät* is attested five times,[9] to be precise three times together with the verb Toch. A *läm-* "to sit" and twice with Toch. A *käly-* "to stay, be situated": A74a3 *sākät lyäm*, A147b6 *sākät lmoräṣ*, A162a2 *sākät klyanträ*, A213b7 *sākät kälymāṃ*, YQ III.11b2 *sākät lmoryo*. This circumstance can best be explained in terms of calques from Sanskrit stock phrases, which are frequently encountered in the Tocharian Buddhist corpus. In the Buddhist Sanskrit texts, descriptions of gathering scenes and sitting in an assembly usually contain *saṃniṣaṇṇa-* "sat down, sat together" (from *sad-* "to sit") + *saṃnipatita-* "assembled, arrived" (from *pat-* "to"), which is a fixed expression attested in e.g. *(samāje) sanniṣaṇṇo 'bhūt sannipatitaḥ* "he has arrived and sat down (in the assembly)" in MPS 11.12, 26.7 (Waldschmidt 1950–1951: 182, 254 *passim*), *(parṣadi) saṃniṣaṇṇo 'bhūt saṃnipatitaḥ* "id." in Divy (Cowell and Neil 1886: 19, 44 *passim*),[10] *(parṣadi) saṃniṣaṇṇā saṃnipatitā* "she has arrived and sat down (in the assembly)" in AvŚ (Vaidya 1958: 183; Speyer 1906–1909: II, 22).[11] In contrast, the phrase *tūṣṇī(m)* "quietly" + *sad-* "to sit" is a rare phrase in Sanskrit, where the usual collocations are *tūṣṇī(m)* + *bhū-/as-* "to become, be". Therefore, Toch. A *sākät* probably corresponds to Skt. *saṃnipatita-* and means "assembled, arrived".

3.3. Verifying the New Interpretation

Based on the proposed meaning and interpretation, the five occurrences of Toch. A *sākät* listed above will be analysed and translated accordingly in this section.

(1) A74a3 *sākät lyäm* "arrived, he sat down"

The sentence Toch. A *(bodhi)sattu mā kaś wāworäṣ* **sākät lyäm** "the Bodhisattva **arrived and sat down**, without giving any consideration" in A74a3 probably refers to the scene in MpJ, where the Bodhisattva as prince was summoned by the king, who was planning his son's marriage with daughters of other kings, but the Bodhisattva was indifferent to it after his arrival in the assembly. In the closest parallel, i.e. 水生太子 *shuǐ shēng tài zǐ* "water-born prince" in the Chin. MSV, the prince expresses clearly his aversion to sensual enjoyment, cf. Chin. 我不求受欲，猶如於毒果 *wǒ bù qiú shòu yù, yóu rú yú dú guǒ* "I do not want or experience sensual enjoyment, just like poisonous fruits" (T.1442, 23.725b1).

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[9] The occurrence in "YQ II.5 b4" given by Carling and Pinault (2023: 512) is situated in the lacuna and restored based on A213b7, cf. Ji et al. (1998: 92–93, 94 note 18).

[10] Cf. the translation by Rotman (2008: 62, 99): "was seated in the … assembly. As one of those assembled".

[11] Cf. the translation by Feer (1891: 277): "était dans l'assemblée, assise au milieu de la réunion".

(2) A147b6 *sākät lmoräṣ* "having arrived and sat down"

The sentence Toch. A *tmäṣ riṣak praṅk* **sākät lmoräṣ** *śla poto oki lāntac tränkä(ṣ)* in A147b6 can be rendered as "After that, the sage, at the moment, **having arrived and sat down**, as with respect, speaks to the king". This is comparable to the formulaic expressions in the Buddhist texts, cf. Skt. *tena khalu punaḥ samayena... tasyāṃ eva parṣadi saṃniṣaṇṇo 'bhūt saṃnipatitaḥ... añjaliṃ kṛtvā... idam avocat* "And at the moment verily … in the very assembly he has arrived and sat down … with hands respectfully folded, and said this (to someone)" in Divy (COWELL and NEIL 1886: 19; cf. ROTMAN 2008: 62).

(3) A162a2 *sākät klyanträ* "they are assembled"

In view of the words, Toch. A *(na)nde sundariṃ opyā(c)///* "Nanda (thought/ thinking of) Sundarī" in line a4, fragment A162 might belong to the episode describing Nanda's lament in SNCN, whose Sanskrit parallel is found in canto 7 of SauN, cf. Skt. *sasmāra tām aśrumukhīṃ sabāṣpaḥ priyāṃ* "he remembered with sobs his mistress with her tear-strewn face" in verse 7.6 (COVILL 2007: 132–133; JOHNSTON 1932: 36). On Toch. A *kāklont poryo* "fallen with fire" in A162a5, cf. *kāmāgnināntarhṛdi dahyamāno* "[b]urning in his heart with the fire of passion" in verse 7.12 (COVILL 2007: 134–135). Line a2 */// mäṣ*[12] *sākät klyanträ* "they are assembled" could refer to the bees gathering around mango-trees in verse 7.3, the tiny flowers falling from mango-trees in verse 7.4, or people coming to Nanda for help in verse 7.5 (cf. JOHNSTON 1932: 36).

(4) A213b7 *sākät kälymāṃ* "remaining assembled/accumulated"

According to YQ II.5b4 (cf. JI et al. 1998: 90, 92), the sentence in A213b7 can be restored as Toch. A *(kᵤpāraṃ māskyās sa)ñceyntu* **sākät kälymāṃ** *pältsäkyokk ats (lyukrā särki ppärksāc-äṃ)* and translated as "you (pl.) should ask him, one by one, deep and difficult questions, **remaining assembled/accumulated** in your mind only". The translation "quietly kept in your minds" by PEYROT (2013: 645) is problematic, because Toch. A *käly-* "to stand, be situated" is intransitive (MALZAHN 2010: 593) and *kälymāṃ* "standing, remaining" can hardly be rendered as "kept".

(5) YQ III.11b2 *sākät lmoryo* "having arrived/assembled and sat down"

This occurs in a typical scene of hosting and respecting monks, and its parallel, though fragmentary as well, is found in the Old Uyghur MSN, cf. "führten sie sie mit Verehrung ins Haus, ließen sie auf einem hohen … Platz sitzen und beehrten (Hend.) sie mit lieblichen, süßen [Speisen und Getränken]" (GENG et

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[12]   The syllable *-mäṣ* could belong to the nom. pl. m. of an adjective in *-m*, cf. *klyomäṣ* "noble people" nom. pl. m. According to ITKIN (2019: 41), a very small fragment THT2587 belongs to A162, but it does not offer enough information for further identification.

al. 1988: 211). The Tocharian sentence Toch. A *(saṅka)sth(e)r träṅkäṣ kāsu kāsu dānapati wärpācci pissaṅk **sākät lmoryo*** can thus be rendered as "the senior of the community says: well, well, O lord of liberality, **having arrived/assembled and sat down**, the community has been (well) received by you".[13] Toch. A *sākät lmoryo* "having arrived/assembled and sat down" can be regarded as an absolute construction in the instrumental, cf. the preceding ablative absolutive *sākät lmoräṣ* "having arrived and sat down" in A147b6. Apart from the common ablative absolutive, examples of *perlativus absolutus* and *genitivus absolutus* can be identified in Tocharian as well, cf. Pan (2021a: 129).

3.4. Toch. A *[s]ākäts* and Skt. *pakṣupāsaka*

A form which is probably related to Toch. A *sākät* "assembled, arrived" is Toch. A *[s]ākäts*,[14] which is a hapax in the Skt.-Toch. A bilingual fragment A369 and not recorded by Carling and Pinault (2023). In A369a3 Skt. *pakṣi* "winged, bird" is rendered by Toch. A *[s]ākäts lu*, and Toch. A *sākäts* means accordingly "winged". There is a relevant gloss in the same fragment, namely Toch. A *salat lu wāsak* for Skt. *pakṣupāsaka*; the sentence in question reads: a4 • *niyataṃ pakṣupāsaka : ṣakk atsek säs sala(t) l(u)* /// a5 *salat lu wāsak* •. In SWTF (III, 65) the original manuscript reading *pakṣupāsaka* in A369a4 has been incorrectly changed to **pakṣūpāsaka*. The editor was presumably thinking of a compound of *pakṣu*- and **u***pāsaka*- "layman", and it is interpreted thus by Poucha (1955: 292) and Carling and Pinault (2023: 431) as well. However, a compound of "flying animal"[15] and "layman" sounds peculiar.[16] In fact (Buddhist-)Skt. *pāsaka*- stands for *pāśaka*- "noose, snare", cf. Pāli *pāsaka*- "a loop or noose" (Cone 2020: 455), and the sentence Skt. *niyataṃ pakṣupāsaka(ṃ)* thus means "the snare for birds is tied tightly", probably a metaphor for the bondage of people with passion, cf. Skt. *saṃraktacittasya hi mandabuddheḥ … avekṣā etad dṛḍhaṃ bandhanam āhur āryāḥ* "die Beachtung aber des Dummkopfs, dessen Denken von Leidenschaft ergriffen ist, die nennen Edle eine feste Fessel" in

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[13] The translation "sitting quietly" by Ji et al. (1998: 193) can hardly fit the context, because both parties, i.e. the lord of liberality as host and the monks as guests, are unlikely to be "sitting quietly" during the process of giving and taking alms.

[14] The consonant sign before -*ā*- is very likely an *s*-, cf. the forms of the akṣara *sā* in line 3 and *sa* in line 4. Here it is assumed that *[s]ā*- is the initial syllable of the word. Toch. A *sākät* and Toch. A *sākäts* probably derive from the same root and differ only in their suffixes, i.e. with **-to*- and **-tio*-suffix respectively.

[15] Skt. *pakṣu*- "bird" corresponds to Toch. A *salat lu* "flying animal" (Carling and Pinault 2023: 431), cf. Toch. B *salamo luwo* "flying animal" in B404a3 and Toch. B *lwāsa ṣlyamñana* "flying animals" in B29b8.

[16] Also problematic is the explanation for Skt. *pakṣu*- "N. pr. eines Schlangendämons" by Thomas and Krause (1964: 152), which in turn is based on the questionable entry in MW. Instead of "N. of a serpent-demon" (MW s.v.), Skt. *pakṣu*- means "bird", cf. Skt. *vidrutāś ca bhayatrastā vinedur mṛgapakṣuṇaḥ* "Terrified beasts and **birds** fled screeching" in *Rāmāyaṇa* book 5 *Sundarakāṇḍa* 5.40.2 (Goldman and Goldman 1996: 228).

Uv II. 5–6 (Bernhard 1965: 113; Hahn 2007: 17–18). Therefore, *pace* Carling and Pinault (2023: 431), Toch. A *wāsak* in A369a5 is a loanword from Middle Indic or Buddhist-Skt. *pāsaka-* "noose, snare".

3.5. Linguistic Remarks

Morphologically, the adjective Toch. A *sākäts* "winged" would presuppose the existence of a noun Toch. A *sākät-** or *sāk** "wing", because Toch. A *-ts* is very likely the adjective suffix from Proto-Toch. **-ṭiæ*. Since Skt. *patatra-/pat(t)ra-* "wing" derives from *pat-* "to fly, fall" (EWAia: II, 71),[17] Toch. A *sākät* "assembled, arrived" (= Skt. *saṃnipatita-*, from *pat-* "to fall, fly") and Toch. A *sākäts* "winged" (= Skt. *patatrin-* or *pattrin-* "id.") are probably cognates and derive from the same root Toch. A *sāk⁽ᵃ⁾-* "to fall, fly, come, remain" (cf. Malzahn 2010: 933),[18] which goes back to PIE **seh₁k̂-* "to be there, have arrived" (LIV²: 519): PIE **sh₁k̂-to-* > Proto-Toch. **saktæ-* > Toch. A *sākät* "assembled, arrived"; **sh₁k̂-ṭio-* > Proto-Toch. **saktiæ-* > Toch. A *sākäts* "winged".

Another related word is probably Toch. A *sākär* "auspicious, good, favourable" (Carling and Pinault 2023: 513), which is the underlying adjective of Toch. A *sākrone* "kindness" (= Skt. *bhadravattā-*) in Skt.-Toch. A bilingual fragment A386b1, and it can be a derivative from PIE **seh₁k̂-* "to be there, have arrived" as well, namely **sh₁k̂-ro-* > Proto-Toch. **sakræ-* > Toch. A *sākär*. The semantic connection between "to come, fall" and "pleasing, good" is well attested: cf. OHG *gifallan* "to fall, fall to, please" (EWAhd: III, 39); Gr. ἱκανός "sufficient, satisfactory" and ἵκω "I come" from PIE **seik̂-* "to reach, arrive"; Gr. ἄσμενος "rescued, glad" and νέομαι "I come" from PIE **nes-* "to get away" (LIV²: 454).

3.6. Tentative Restoration of Toch. A *sākä(t)* in A314b1[19]

The line A314b1: /// ·*m*· – ·*puk nu c(a)my (ak)ml*· – – – – – – – – ·*y·nāk säs tri wältseṃ ārkiśoṣi puk sākä(t)* ··*r*· (*ś*)*ś(ä)*[20]*ll ok(i)* : *sne ś*· /// in the so-called "Sonnenaufgangswunder" story is left untranslated by Sieg (1952: 30) due to its fragmentary state, but the words *c(a)my (ak)ml*· … *säs tri wältseṃ ārkiśoṣi puk* "his face … this whole three-thousand-world" and the description of Buddha's rays of light in the preceding and following lines (Toch. A *swāñcenyo* "through ray of light" in line a8 and Toch. A *swāñcenāśśi* "of

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[17] Cf. also the remark on PIE **peth₁-* "fallen" in LIV²: 478: "Zu trennen von 2.**peth₂-* 'fliegen', doch im Iir. offenbar damit zusammengefallen, wobei sich semantisch weitgehend **peth₂-* durchsetzt". In the online Addenda und Corrigenda zu LIV² (Kümmel 2024: 69), there is only **pet-* "fliegen, stürzen, fallen".

[18] The semantic connection between "to fall, come" and "to remain" can be confirmed by Skt. *patita-* "fallen, being in".

[19] The small point after *ka* perhaps belongs to a *t*- sign.

[20] On the writing of *śśä* with two points over the normal sign, cf. Toch. A *pkaśśäl* in A3b6. As noted by one anonymous reviewer, "*śä* without Fremdzeichen is frequent in Tocharian A".

rays of light" in b3) probably belong to a cliché in the Buddhist texts, cf. Skt. *svaṃ mukhamaṇḍalaṃ pracchādya … raśmibhiḥ ayaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātur udāreṇāvabhāsena sphuṭo 'bhūt* "having covered **his face** … **through rays of light this three-thousandfold**-great-thousandfold **world** system was **filled with exalted splendour**" in KarP (Yamada 1968: 48–49), *ūrṇākośāt prabhām utsṛjati sma yayā prabhayā trisāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātur mahatā suvarṇavarṇāvabhāsena sphuṭo 'bhūt* "from the circle of hair between his eyebrows he released **rays of light**, and through the rays the **three-thousandfold**-great-thousandfold **world** system was filled with great **golden-coloured splendour**" in LV (Hokazono 2019: 348) and *sa(r)v(a)ś c(ā)y(aṃ) l(oka udā)reṇāvabh(āsena s)phuṭo 'bh(ūt)* "and this **whole world** was **filled with exalted splendour**", in MAV unearthed in Turfan (cf. Fukita 2003: 62; SWTF: IV, 439). Therefore, the tentative restoration Toch. *sākä(t)* in A314b1 probably renders Skt. *sphuṭa-* "filled, open, expanded". On the semantic affinity of "to fly" and "open, expanded", cf. Eng. *fly* in the sense of "spread" (e.g. Eng. *rumours were flying*) and PIE *$peth_2$-* "to spread, extend"[21] with a remark in LIV²: 478–479: "Originally identical with 2nd *$peth_2$-* 'to fly' ← 'to spread the wings' [Urspr. identisch mit 2.*$peth_2$-* 'fliegen' ← 'die Flügel ausbreiten']".

4. Toch. A *yusār* "rainy season"

4.1. State of Research and Brief Review

Toch. A *yusār* is only attested twice in A65b5 and A70b4 (see section 4.3 below), and in addition a related word A *yusāri* is found in A265a4. Sieg (1952: 44 fn. 9) considers A *yusār* in A70b4 to be a correspondent of Skt. *navā navāḥ* and translates it as "always new [immer wieder neuen]". Sieg's interpretation is adopted by Thomas and Krause (1964: 130). According to Schmidt (1994: 280) Toch. A *yusār* means rather "spring", and he connects it with PIE *$u̯esōr$* "spring", i.e. Toch. A *yusār* < *$yän w'äsār$* < *$en u̯esōr$* "in spring". Schmidt's explanation is adopted by Hilmarsson (1991: 190) and Blažek (2006: 3).

Pinault (2021: 2[22]) as well as Carling and Pinault (2023: 371) translate Toch. A *yusār* as "season" and interpret Toch. A *yusāri* as a dual form. This interpretation goes back to Pinault (1993: 143–157). Pinault's (1993: 146–147) explanation of Toch. A *yusār* as "season" is based upon the occurrences Toch. A *yusār yäpsant ṣme-śärme* in A70b4 in the *Viśvāntarajātaka* (VJ) and A *yusār praṣṭā* in A65b5 in MpJ. Although the phrase Toch. A *yusār yäpsant ṣme-śärme* in A70b4 indeed should belong to the description of a scene in VJ, for which Skt. *ṛtu-prayatna-racita-* is used (Hanisch 2005: 82; Meiland 2009: 224), Pinault's (1993: 146)

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[21] According to Schumacher and Matzinger (2013: 974), EWAhd VI: 1348 and Kümmel (2024: 78), the root should be established as PIE *$(s)peth_2$-* "to spread" with *s*-mobile in view of Lat. *spatium* "space".

[22] I.e. the second page of the PDF file uploaded by Pinault, which is not paginated.

conclusion that "*yusār* rend apparemment skr. *ṛtu-*" is problematic, because the Sanskrit compound cannot be an exact equivalent of the Tocharian phrase[23] and Toch. A *ṣme-śärme* "summer (and) winter" clearly does not correspond to Skt. *prayatnaracita-* "carefully crafted" (Meiland 2009: 225).

In the case of Toch. A *yusār praṣṭā* in A65b5, Pinault (1993: 147) regards it as rendering of Sanskrit compound *ṛtu-kāla-* "proper season; menstruation period", but he translates Toch. A *yusār praṣṭā* as "at the time of season [au moment de la saison]" in the sense of "at a time that is normally favourable for wheat growth [au moment normalement propice à la croissance du blé]" without offering any textual evidence for this unusual interpretation, which is not attested in the Sanskrit texts. The phrase underlying Pinault's hypothesis (1993: 146), i.e. "summer" (Skt. *grīṣma-*) + "winter" (Skt. *hemanta-*) + "season" (Skt. *ṛtu-*), as basis of Toch. A *ṣme-śärme-yusāri* in A265a4 is not attested in the Sanskrit corpus either. Pinault's (1993: 146, 150) theory of the so-called "good season [belle saison]" and "bad season [mauvaise saison]" of the Tocharian calendar, for which he does not cite any relevant literature,[24] seems not to be grounded in historical texts and is therefore weakly credible.

4.2. Parallel and Calque

Schmidt's (1994: 280) interpretation is obviously based on the occurrence in MSN, i.e. Toch. A *ṣme-śärme-yusāri nasl(aṃ)*[25] /// in A265a4, for which the Old Uyghur parallel reads *yaz küz yay [qïšlïγ*[26] *äv ba]rq ordu qaršïsïn* "Seinen Frühlings-, Herbst-, Sommer- [und Winter- Haus-] Palast" (Geng et al. 1991: 270, 285). Schmidt is correct in pointing out that Toch. A *ṣme* means "summer"[27] and Toch. A *śärme* means "winter",[28] but he has not provided the original Sanskrit phrase.[29]

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[23] The Tocharian VJ is not an exact parallel to the Sanskrit version in Āryaśūra's JM, cf. Sieg 1952: 44 fn. 1 and Pan (2022: 103–104).

[24] According to Pinault (1993: 150), autumn and winter are "bad season [mauvaise saison]". But autumn is the season of harvest in many cultures, and winter with a lot of snow is auspicious as a sign of next year's bounteous harvest in China, cf. the common Chinese proverbs 冬雪丰年 *dōng xuě fēng nián* "snow in winter and (new) year with a rich harvest" and 瑞雪兆丰年 *ruì xuě zhào fēng nián* "plenty of snow is a sign of new year with a bounteous harvest".

[25] So is the restoration by Pinault (1993: 147).

[26] Instead of OUygh. *qïšlïγ* it could also be restored as *qïšlïq* "winter residence [Winterquartier]" (literally "for winter") or *qïšqï* "wintry, of winter [winterlich, des Winters]" (cf. Wilkens 2021: 374–375). I would like to thank my colleague Dr Ma Fu for this information.

[27] Its counterpart Toch. B *ṣmāye* "summer" corresponds to Skt. *grīṣma-* "hot season" and *varṣa-* "rainy season", cf. Ogihara (2011: 129).

[28] Its Tocharian B counterpart *śramṣṣe**, as claimed by Pinault (*apud* Ogihara 2012: 170), is semantically problematic. In addition, only *[r]·[mṣ]··* is discernible in the fragment, making their restoration highly uncertain.

[29] In the Buddhist Sanskrit corpus there is no such compound as Skt. *grīṣma-hemanta-*

Toch. A *ṣme-śärme-yusāri nasl(aṃ)* /// in A265a4 and its Old Uyghur parallel refer to prince Siddhārtha's three palaces for three seasons, cf. Skt. *grīṣmikavārṣikahaimantikeṣu prāsādeṣu* "in the palaces for summer, rainy season and winter" in LV (Hokazono 2019: 124); Pāli *bandhumā rājā vipassissa kumārassa* **tayo pāsāde** *kārāpesi ekaṃ* **vassikaṃ** *ekaṃ* **hemantikaṃ** *ekaṃ* **gimhikaṃ** "King Bandhumā caused three palaces to be built for Prince Vipassī, one for the rainy season, one for the cold season, and one for the hot season" in DN II (Davids and Carpenter 1903: 21; Walshe 1987: 207); Pāli *tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave* **tayo pāsādā** *ahesuṃ eko* **hemantiko** *eko* **gimhiko** *eko* **vassiko** "Moreover, monks, I had three palaces: one for winter, one for summer, and one for the rainy season" in AN I (Morris, rev. Warder 1961: 145; Woodward 1979: I, 128). Therefore, Toch. A *ṣme-śärme-yusār* is very likely a calque of Skt. *hemanta-grīṣma-varṣa-* "winter, summer and rainy season",[30] a common compound attested e.g. in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Pradhan 1975: 177), *Manusmṛti* 3.281 (Olivelle 2005: 122, 502), and *Carakasaṃhitā*.[31] Furthermore, Toch. A *nasäl* (*naslaṃ* acc. pl. f.) is a calque of Skt. *bhavana-* "house, palace",[32] and Toch. A *yusāri* is probably gen. sg. of Toch. A *yusār* "rainy season" under the influence of the kinship nouns ending in *-r* (cf. Krause and Thomas 1960: 105). OUygh. *yay* "summer" (= Skt. *varṣa-* "rainy season", cf. Wilkens 2021: 879) is thus a suitable correspondent of Toch. A *yusār* "rainy season". The hypothetic interpretation of Toch. A *yusāri* "two seasons" in A265a4 by Carling and Pinault (2023: 371) goes against the above-cited parallel texts in Sanskrit and Pāli and should be revised.

4.3. Verifying the New Interpretation

The correspondence between Toch. A *ṣme-śärme-yusāri nasl(aṃ)* "palaces for summer, winter and rainy season" and OUygh. *yaz küz yay (qĭšlĭɣ äv ba)rq ordu qaršïsïn* "his palace (house) for spring, autumn, summer (and winter)" merits attention. The reason why OUygh. *yaz* "spring" could correspond to Toch. A *ṣme* "summer" (= Skt. *grīṣma-*, Pāli *gimha-*) and OUygh. *küz* "autumn" to Toch. A *śärme* "winter" (= Skt. *hemanta-*, Pāli *hemanta-*), lies in the fact that

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vasanta-, hemanta-grīṣma-vasanta- or *vasanta-grīṣma-hemanta-*, which underlies Schmidt's interpretation, namely Toch. A *ṣme* = Skt. *grīṣma-* "summer", Toch. A *śärme* = Skt. *hemanta-* "winter" and Toch. A *yusār* = Skt. *vasanta-* "spring".

[30] In the case of Sanskrit calques, the Tocharian translations sometimes deviate slightly from their Sanskrit models with respect to word order, cf. Pan (2021c: 47–48).

[31] Cf. Skt. *śītoṣṇavarṣalakṣaṇāḥ punar hemantagrīṣmavarṣāḥ saṃvatsaraḥ sa kālaḥ* "Time is year which again consists of winter, summer and rainy seasons with (dominant) characters of cold, heat and rains respectively" (Sharma 2014: I, 76–77).

[32] On the correspondence between the Skt. *-ana-* suffix and Toch. gerundive suffix in the designation of concrete objects, cf. Pan (2021a: 128). Toch. A *naslune* usually translates Sanskrit abstract nouns, e.g. Toch. A *mā yulā naslune* rendering Skt. *anavahitatā-* "inattentiveness" in A385a5–b1 (cf. Thomas and Krause 1964: 43 fn. 12).

the Indian *grīṣma*-season corresponds to spring and summer in the four-season system, on the one hand, and the Indian *hemanta*-season to autumn and winter in the four-season system, on the other, cf. Sangpo (2012: II, 1089). It also indicates that the Old Uyghur calendar differs from the Indian calendar, which is understandable given the very different climates.

The newly established meaning of "rainy season" also fits the context of A65b5. Toch. A *k*ᵤ*yalte* **yusār praṣṭā** *wrasom wsār tāpaṣ kucne tmäṣ oko kälpāl tāṣ cam säₐ₆(m neṣā tāppu tākiṣ tämyo tsmāraṃ t)āppus sām wsār mäskatär •* in A65b5–6 with restoration by Sieg (1952: 26 fn. 9) can be translated as "If a person eats grain **during the time of the rainy season**, (then he would have eaten beforehand) the fruit that he would get from it. (Therefore) the grain is (already) eaten (in the root)". Rice, millet and maize are commonly sowed and grown during the rainy season and harvested from September to October, and eating the grain during the rainy season is thus equal to consuming the foundation. The Chinese parallel is located in the episode of 水生太子 *shuǐ shēng tài zǐ* "water-born prince" in the Chinese MSV, where "formerly" and "in former times" refer to a period before the harvest and could be regarded as a reference to the rainy season:

> Chin. 此大穀聚若先不食根本者 *cǐ dà gǔ jù ruò* **xiān** *bù shí gēn běn zhě* "This great heap of grain is like the one who **formerly** did not consume the foundation" (T.1442, 23.724c13–14).

> Chin. 如若先時不食他物便成大聚 *rú ruò* **xiān shí** *bù shí tā wù biàn chéng dà jù* "If **in former times** he did not consume (the grain), that thing would become a great heap (of grain)." (T.1442, 23.725c4)

> Cf. Schiefner's (1877: 127) German translation of the Tibetan parallel in MSV: "Wenn dieser Getreidehaufen nicht von Anfang an von der Grundlage verzehrt würde, würde er gross werden".

The occurrence in A70b4 presents some difficulty because of the hapax *yäpsant*, which is partly faded in the manuscript. Carling and Pinault (2023: 371–372) propose to read it as "*yä[ṣ]sant*" and change the text to *yusāryäṣ sant*, which consists of a hypothetical "Abl.Du." *yusāryäṣ* meaning "from the two seasons" and an invented hapax †*sant* with an *ad hoc* meaning "really happening".[33] The strategy of creating a new hapax in order to explain an existing hapax can hardly be recommended, and the strangeness of the resulting phrase "during the really happening summer [and] winter" further weakens their explanation. Since the meaning "season" for Toch. A *yusār,* as well as the dual form assumed by Pinault (1993: 146–147), prove to be questionable, the reading *yäpsant* should

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[33] The hapax †*sant* is glossed by Carling and Pinault (2023: 508) as "true, real, happening", but translated as "really happening".

be kept.[34] Although the meaning of Toch. A *yäpsant* is unclear (cf. Malzahn 2010: 798), the whole Tocharian phrase *yusār yäpsant ṣme-śärme* in A70b4 should correspond roughly to Skt. *ṛtuprayatnaracita-* "carefully crafted by the seasons" or Skt. *ṛtu-* "season" alone in a description of the beauty of the forest in VJ (Meiland 2009: 224–225). Therefore, the meaning "rainy season" for Toch. A *yusār* is also suitable in A70b4.

4.4. Linguistic Remarks

Toch. A *yusār* "rainy season" is probably a collective of A *yus** "falling water", which might derive from PIE *ịes-* "to boil, foam" (LIV²: 312–313). Morphologically, a possessive derivative from an *-u*-stem abstract noun **isu-* "boiling, foaming" would result in **isu̯-o-* "characterised by or equipped with boiling and foaming", and **isu̯-o-* > Proto-Toch. **ʲäsu̯-æ* > Toch. A **yus* "falling water". For the phonological development, cf. Toch. A *yuk* "horse" < Proto-Toch. **ʲäku̯-æ* < PIE **h₁ék̑-u̯-o-* "equipped with speed, characterised by rapidity" (Hackstein 2013: 99); for the semantic development, cf. Middle Irish *ess* "waterfall" < Proto-Celt. **ịes-tu-* ← PIE **ịes-* "to boil, foam" (O'Rahilly 1942: 144). Similar formations are found in Toch. A *oṅk* B *eṅkwe* "man" from PIE **ṇk̑-u̯-o-* "characterised by dying or death → mortal" from PIE **nek̑-* "to die".

5. Conclusion

Based on the philological investigation above, the following improvements may be suggested:

(1) Toch. A *kār** probably means "path, place to go, state, ground". Toch. A *āpāyṣinās kāräntu* corresponds to Chin. 惡趣 *è qù* "evil states of existence", the equivalent of Skt. *apāya-gati-*, *apāya-patha-*, *apāya-bhūmi-* "id.".

(2) Toch. A *yusār* probably means "rainy season" and corresponds to Skt. *varṣa-* "id." and OUygh. *yay* "summer". Toch. A *ṣme-śärme-yusār* "summer, winter and rainy season" is a calque of Skt. *hemanta-grīṣma-varṣa-* "winter, summer and rainy season". Toch. A *nasäl* is a calque of Skt. *bhavana-* "house, palace".

(3) Toch. A *wāsak* in A369a5 is a loanword from Middle Indic or Buddhist-Skt. *pāsaka-* "noose, snare" (= Skt. *pāśaka-*).

(4) Toch. A *śu̯kär* probably means "power, force, vigour" and corresponds to Skt. *bala-* "id.", OUygh. *küč* "id.", Chin. *lì* 力 "id.". Toch. A *kāruṃṣiṃ śu̯käryo* "through the power of compassion" is a calque of Skt. *karuṇā-balena* "id."

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[34]   In fact, in the Tocharian A corpus the consonant group *-ṣṣ-* is only attested once in Toch. A *rākṣṣās* < **rākṣätsās*, acc. pl. of Toch. A *rākṣats* "demon".

(= Chin. 以慈悲力 *yǐ cí bēi lì* "id."); cf. further OUygh. *uluɣ yrlıqančučı bilig küčintä* "through the great power of compassion", Chin. 以大慈悲力 *yǐ dà cí bēi lì* "id.".

(5) The hapax †*sant* "true, real, happening" postulated by CARLING and PINAULT (2023: 508) is to be given up.

(6) Toch. A *sākät* probably corresponds to Skt. *saṃnipatita-* and means "assembled, arrived". Toch. A *sākät* + *läm-* "to sit" or *käly-* "to stay, be situated" are calques of Skt. *saṃniṣaṇṇa-* "sat down, sat together" + *saṃnipatita-* "assembled, arrived". Toch. *sākä(t)* can be restored in A314b1 and probably translates Skt. *sphuṭa-* "filled, open, expanded".

(7) Toch. A *[s]ākäts* "winged" probably occurs in A369a3, and Toch. A *[s]ākäts lu* "winged animal" renders Skt. *pakṣi* "winged, bird".

6. Addendum

A preliminary list of problems and inconsistencies in other entries in DThTA is presented here:

(1) P. 41b–42a on Toch. A *āral** and p. 189b on Toch. A *cwal*: *cwal ārlā* in A3b5 is mistakenly given as *cwal* †*arlā* on p. 189b (correct on p. 41b), and without any further philological evidence or reference is translated as "in the beginning [and] at the end" (p. 189b), which is simply rendered from SIEG's (1944: 6) tentative German translation "beim Beginn (?) und beim Aufhören". Given the very fragmentary state of A37a3 and THT1146b4, even if we accept the postulated existence of Toch. A *ārlā* there by CARLING and PINAULT (2023: 41b), it is impossible to establish the meaning of *ārlā* based on A37 and THT1146, for which the two editors have not provided any parallel text, and the meaning "ending, ceasing" for *āral** is solely based on A3b5. This is another example of the circumstance outlined in section 1.1 above.

Toch. A *ṣñi ṣñaṣṣesā ortāsā (tämne) emtsu cwal ārlā* in A3b4–5 can be rendered as "held/guarded by his own kinsmen and friends, (and so) by companion and blood relative" and corresponds to Skt. *mitrair amātyaiś ca tathā suhṛdbhiḥ sālohitai(ḥ) [pr](i)[ya](tamo) [gṛ](h)[ītaḥ]* "held/guarded as the dearest by friends and kinsmen, and so by companions and blood relatives" in the *Śikhālakasūtra* (Olav Hackstein, p.c.; cf. OGIHARA 2009: 147; MATSUDA 1996: 866).[35] Therefore, Toch. A *cwal ārlā* renders Skt. *suhṛdbhiḥ sālohitaiḥ* "by companions and blood relatives". Toch. A *cwal* means "companion, friend",

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[35]   The Chin. parallels are 善友貴重人 ... 同氣親兄弟，善能相攝受 *shàn yǒu guì zhòng rén ... tóng qì qīn xiōng dì, shàn néng xiāng shè shòu* (T.99, 2.353b15–16) and 親友臣同恤，愛樂有齊限，謂攝在親中 *qīn yǒu chén tóng xù, ài lè yǒu qí xiàn, wèi shè zài qīn zhōng* (T.26, 1.641c29–642a1).

and Toch. A *āral** or *ārāl** means "blood relative". Note that Ogihara (2009: 149–150) has already dealt with Toch. A *cwal ārlā* in detail and his 2009 paper is indeed listed in the bibliography of DThTA on p. XXXVII.

(2) P. 97b on Toch. A *karṇe*: in translating *śuddhodaṃ nu karṇe oki mṣapantiṃ ṣeṣ* "but Śuddhodana was lord of a field, like Karṇa" in A118b3, Carling and Pinault explain *karṇe* as "[f]rom Skt. *Karṇa* 'n. of a king of Aṅga' (MW: 256b)", which goes back to Carling (2009: 104b). Under the entry *Karṇe* (Carling and Pinault 2023: 97b), Toch. A *mṣapantiṃ* is translated as "member of the reigning order" (following Carling 2009: 104), but under the entry *mṣapantiṃ* (Carling and Pinault 2023: 357b), it is translated as "member of the warrior class, warrior".

In fact, Toch. A *Karṇe* in A118b3 is the name of a king in the Śākya family.[36] Detailed information on the Śākya lineage is, for instance, preserved in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* from Gilgit (cf. Gnoli 1977: 21, 26, 31), according to which Karṇa was the king of the city Potalaka (Skt. *potalake nagare... karṇo nāma rājābhūt*), one of his successors was Virūḍhaka, who again was predecessor of Siṃhahanu, father of Śuddhodana (= father of Buddha), and they all belonged to the lineage of Mahāsaṃmata (Skt. *mahāsaṃmatavaṃśaḥ*, Gnoli 1977: 32).[37] On Toch. A *karṇe* and *mṣapantiṃ* cf. further Pan (2024).

(3) P. 229a on Toch. A *tursko* or "*trusko*": Toch. A *tursko* is only found in a Skt.-Toch. A bilingual fragment A361 of the *Saṃyuktāgama*, where Toch. A *(tsraṣṣu) neṣi śkaṃ tār-tursko ñi* "and (manliness) is like my *tār-tursko*" corresponds to Chin. 精進無廢荒 *jīng jìn wú fèi huāng* "manliness (makes the land) free of weeds" (T.99, 2.27b2), whereas the corresponding Pāli text is *viriyam me dhuradhorayhaṃ* "manliness is my draught animal". Carling and Pinault have altered Toch. A *tursko* to †*trusko*, which is not actually attested, in order to connect the word to Pāli *dhorayha* "draught animal" and derive it from Toch. A *trusk-* "to connect".

In arguing for the meaning of Toch. A *tursko* Carling and Pinault cite and rely on Enomoto (1997), and they claim that: "The word is attested in a translation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (see Enomoto 1997: 97), which corresponds to Pa. (SN I:172, Sn:14) *viriyam me dhuradhorayhaṃ* 'energy is my beast of burden'." However, as early as Sieg and Siegling's publication of Tocharian A texts in 1921, the passages and verses of Pāli parallel texts were explicitly noted in the

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[36]   PW s.v.: "bei den Buddhisten ein Sohn Mahāsaṃmata's". This piece of information in PW originates from Foucaux (1848: 411), who described the origin of the Śākya family based on the Tibetan *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra*.

[37]   On this episode and the relationship between the Tibetan *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra* and Sanskrit *Saṅghabhedavastu*, cf. Silk (2008: 258 footnote 16). The Chinese parallel text is located in the 眾許摩訶帝經 *Zhòng xǔ mó hē dì jīng* (T.191, 3.936c–937c).

introduction preceding the fragment A361 (cf. Sieg and Siegling 1921: 202). Furthermore, Enomoto's paper in fact compares the Sanskrit portion of this bilingual fragment with the corresponding Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* text, which Carling and Pinault probably have not consulted. Therefore, they repeated a fact already stated by Sieg and Siegling in 1921.

Moreover, the translation "and the beast of burden of energy is my draught animal" by Carling and Pinault (2023: 229a) deviates significantly from the metaphor in the Pāli version, because their translation would be tantamount to saying "beast is animal". Could such a statement really be what Buddha is preaching here? The syntagma "X-*ṣi* Y" here probably means "X is like Y" (literally "X-like Y"), cf. Pāda 2a Skt. *(śraddhā) bījaṃ tapo vṛṣti(ḥ)*, which matches Toch. A *perāk$_u$neṣi śäktālyī pāpṣuneṣi (swase)* "faith is like seed, penance is like rain". The postulated meaning "carrier, beast of burden" (Carling and Pinault 2023: 207b) for Toch. A *tār* and their etymology of "[l]oan from Skt. *dhāra*-" are problematic as well, since Skt. *dhāra*- never means "beast of burden".

It has already been proven that the Sanskrit and Tocharian A versions of the *Saṃyuktāgama* in A361 are more in line with the Chinese parallel, while the Pāli version differs from them (Pan 2021c: 69–70). Therefore, Toch. A. *tār-tursko* corresponds to Chin. 無廢荒 *wú fèi huāng* "free of weeds" and means "cutting of weeds" literally. Accordingly, Toch. A. *tār* means "weeds" and *tursko* means "cutting", cf. further Pan (2021c: 77–80).

(4) P. 288b on Toch. A *p$_u$käl*: perl. pl. †*puklākā* is a ghost form, and the two occurrences A54a6 and A289b8–288a1 cited by Carling and Pinault should be emended differently. In A54a6, the vowel sign after -*klā*- is probably -*o* (cf. the pointed right tip, which is different from *ā* in *kā*), so instead of *puklā(k)[ā]*, it is more likely *puklā(y)[o]* instr. pl. In A289b8–288a1, it should be restored as Toch. A *okāk (w)älts puklāk(aṃ)* "up to 1000 years" with *puklākaṃ* loc. pl., because as a preposition Toch. A *okāk* "up to" governs locative case, cf. Carling and Pinault (2023: 76–77) and Carling (2000: 345) for other examples.

(5) P. 297a on Toch. A *porant**: section R "Possibly, *ype*- in 229 a1 (sic!) is not ►*ype* 'country' but a loan from TB *yape* 'spider'". First, Toch. A *ype* occurs not in "229 a1" but in A229 a2, which is correctly registered in section T; second, on p. 378a the occurrence of Toch. A *ype* in A229a2 is still included under the entry *ype* "land" without mentioning the presumed borrowing from Toch. B on p. 297a.

(6) P. 303a on Toch. A *prakte*: the translation "punishment, expiation" by Carling and Pinault corresponds to the tentative rendering "poena, punitio (?)" by Poucha (1955: 195). The reason for this interpretation was pointed out by

Jɪ et al. (1998: 53–54, note 1), who translated the occurrence Toch. A *kᵤyal mā prakte kälpitār* in the MSN fragment A215b2 as "Why are you not punished?" (so is the translation by Jɪ 1988: 148 fn 1), thus Toch. A *prakte* means "punished". This translation is based on its Old Uyghur parallel, because "[t]hese sentences have their counterparts in Ui. II, but not quite equivalent to each other" (Jɪ et al. 1998: 53, note 1). "Ui. II" refers to the "Chinese translation done by Prof. Geng Shimin" (Jɪ et al. 1998: 18), and the Chinese translation is "你将受惩罚" *nǐ jiāng shòu chéng fá* "You will get punishment" (cf. Gᴇɴɢ 2008[38]: 76). Geng's Chinese translation is based on his edited text "qïzɣutïng bolzun". However, according to Gᴇɴɢ et al. (1988: 96–97), instead of OUygh. *qïzɣutïng bolzun*, the text is **qïz qïsga bolz-un** "**Mangel und Knappheit** mögen sein!", i.e. with *qïz qïsga* or *kız kısga* "beschränkt, kurz" (Wɪʟᴋᴇɴs 2021: 376). The reading *qïz qïsga* is confirmed by Zɪᴇᴍᴇ (pers. comm. on 24th June 2024) against the manuscript photo. It is unclear why Geng changed the text to *qïzɣutïng*. According to Wɪʟᴋᴇɴs (2008: 427–428) the reading "*kızgutuŋ bolzun*" meaning "Mögest du bestraft werden!" in the "Xinjiang-Edition" is better than "*kız kısga*" by Gᴇɴɢ et al. (1988: 96) because it is closer to the Tocharian text *kᵤyal mā prakte kälpitār* "Why are you not punished?" However, Wɪʟᴋᴇɴs's (2008: 428) understanding of the Tocharian sentence is based on the interpretation by Jɪ et al. (1998: 53–54, note 1) and Tʜᴏᴍᴀs's (1990: 20) German translation, which again is based on the English translation by Jɪ (1988: 148 fn 1), which is repeated in Jɪ et al. (1998: 53–54, note 1). Therefore, the supposed superiority of the reading "*kızgutuŋ*" claimed by Wɪʟᴋᴇɴs (2008: 427–428) is hardly credible due to its reliance on a *de facto* circular argument.

Moreover, the meaning "punishment" for Toch. A *prakte* can hardly fit the context in A311a5: *ptāñkte märkampal pekluneṣi pñi pūk pñintwaṃ tpär sumerr oki koṃ-ñkätt oki lukśanu pūk kleśāśśi* **prakte** *ypant* "the merit of writing the law of Buddha-god is the highest among all the merits like Sumeru, (is the) brightest like the sun-god, (is) making **prakte** of all the afflictions". A search for "*puṇya-*" "merit" and "*kleśa-*" "affliction" in the Buddhist Sanskrit corpus shows that instead of "punishment" of the afflictions, which is nowhere attested, the afflictions are extinguished (Skt. *upaśamaya-* "to extinguish"), destroyed (Skt. *samuddhṛ-* "to destroy utterly") or eradicated (Skt. *unmūlaya-* "eradicate") due to the accumulated merits, e.g. through writing Buddhist sūtras, cf. the following examples:

a. *Saṃghāṭasūtra* § 78: Skt. *evam evāsya* **saṃghāṭasya dharmaparyāya-sya lekhanād** *yat* **puṇyaṃ** *tan na śakyam upamāṃ kartuṃ. imaṃ sarva-śūra saṃghāṭaṃ sūtraṃ puṇyanidhānāni darśayati.* **sarvakleśān upa-śamayati** "it is impossible to find an adequate comparison for the **merit**

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[38]   Ji Xianlin apparently made use of an earlier Chinese translation of the 1st act made by Geng before 1998 (cf. Jɪ 1988: 148 fn 1), and this version was later published in Gᴇɴɢ (2008).

made by **writing the Saṃghāṭasūtra**. For, the Saṃghāṭasūtra makes the treasures of merit visible (*puṇyanidhāna*), **extinguishes all impurities** (*kleśa*)" (von Hinüber 2021: lxv, 31 (Ms F)).

b. *Saṅghastotrastava*: **puṇyakṣetram ayaṃ saṃghaḥ kleśakakṣa-samuddhṛtaḥ** "Dieser Orden ist ein Feld der **Tugend**, der das Gestrüpp der **Leidenschaften ausgerottet** hat" (Schlingloff 1955: 92).

c. *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* No. 39 *Kapilāvadānam* verse 107cd: Skt. *vyasananipatitānāṃ līlayā puṇyaśīlā ǀ nikhilam atulamūlaṃ kleśam unmūlayanti* "The **virtuous ones** easily **uproot** completely the deeply rooted **affliction** of those who have fallen into misfortune" (Vaidya 1959: 254).

Therefore, as correspondent of Skt. *sarvakleśān upaśamaya-* "to extinguish all the afflictions", Toch. A *pūk kleśāśśi prakte ypant* in A311a5 can be translated as "extinguishing/destroying/eradicating all the afflictions", and Toch. A *prakte* means "extinguishment, destruction, eradication" accordingly. Toch. A *ākā konaṃ ǀ ṣom nṣā tᵤkär yät ǀ kᵤyal mā prakte ǀ kälpitār* (YQ I.6b8+A215b2) can be rendered as "finally today (lit. on the day) you are niggardly to me alone, why wouldn't you get destruction?" (cf. Thomas 1990: 20). This curse by Nirdhana the Brahmin would match its Old Uyghur parallel *qïz qïsga bolzun,* "there should be misery and deficiency (for you)!" Toch. A *(o)mäskenäśśi prakte (ype)ñcä* in A322a5 thus means "they eradicate the evils". And Toch. A *ṣñi kätwes mätkont prakte ypamtär kārūṇik* in A300b3 can be rendered as "we (= creatures in hells) cause (lit. make) destruction of our own tongue mutually (lit. towards selves),[39] O compassionate one!", cf. its OUygh. parallel in the 20th chapter of the *Maitrisimit* from Singim: *tylymzny pycyšwr pyz* "Unsere Zungen zerschneiden wir uns gegenseitig" (Tekin 1980: 176, Taf. 174 verso line 30), and Toch. A *prakte yap-* (mid.) corresponds to OUygh. *pycyš-* or *bïčïš-* "sich gegenseitig (ab)schneiden" (Wilkens 2021: 167). Etymologically, Toch. A *prakte* "extinguishment, destruction" could be cognate with OHG *brechan* "break" and probably derives from PIE *bʰreĝ-* "break" (cf. EWAhd II: 307–309).

(7) P. 348a on Toch. A *miṣi*: in section T "Perl.Sg. 62 a1" is recorded, but in section F there is no "Perl.Sg.". In section T the presumed occurrence "*miṣā*" in A62a1 is interpreted as "Perl.Sg.", but immediately preceding it this very occurrence "*miṣā*" in A62a1 is changed to "(*miṣī*)" and regarded as "Obl.Sg.". In fact, the manuscript reading is very likely *mi[ṣī]*, instead of the "*mi[ṣ]ā*" noted by Sieg and Siegling (1921: 35), given the slightly different position of the right stroke of the vowel signs *ī* and *ā*.

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[39] Instead of "punishment, expiation", Carling and Pinault (2023: 121) translate Toch. A *prakte* here as "torture", cf. their translation "we make torture to ourselves to our own tongue".

(8) P. 378b–379a on Toch. A *ymatu*: in section R, we read: "According to Huard (p.c.), the phrase *ymatu miṣi* corresponds to Skt. *dvipādaka-puṇyakṣetra-* 'a human field of merit' (BHSD:274b)", but in section S *ymatu miṣi* is rendered as "animate (i.e. personified) field [of merits] (Skt. *dvipādaka-puṇyakṣetra-*)", and in section T as "living field [of merits]". Thus, the word "human" in BHSD was changed by Carling and Pinault to "animate" or "living", although "human" (two-footed), "animate" (two-footed, four-footed or many-footed) and "living" cannot simply be regarded as synonyms. Furthermore, while Carling and Pinault *apud* Huard admit that the underlying Skt. word must be *dvipādaka-* "two-legged", they give "Skt. °*gama-*" as the counterpart of Toch. A *ymatu* at the beginning of this entry.[40]

In fact, Toch. A *ymatu* means not simply "going", but rather "rushing, running" and corresponds to Tib. *rgyug pa* "running" or *mgyogs pa* "rapid" and Chin. 急行 *jí xíng* or 馳走 *chí zǒu* "rushing" in the corresponding passages of the *Garbhāvakrāntisūtra*. Toch. B *yärpontaṣṣe ynamont miṣṣi* "moving field of merit" and Toch. A *ymatunt miṣi* "moving field" are renderings of Skt. *jaṅgamaṃ puṇyakṣetram* "moving field of merit", which is attested in the *Avadānaśataka* (Speyer 1906–1909: I, 158 line 10) as an epithet of Buddha and is reminiscent of another epithet in the *Varṇārhavarṇastotra* by Mātṛceṭa, i.e. Skt. *jaṅgamaṃ puṇyatīrthaṃ* "moving/wandering pilgrimage site of merit" (Hartmann 1987: 67). Skt. *jaṅgama- puṇyakṣetra-* "moving field of merit" is rendered into Chinese as 行福田 *xíng fú tián* "moving field of merit". On Toch. A *ymatu*, cf. Pan (2024).

(9) P. 405b on Toch. A *lokalok*: this word occurs in an episode in the *Puṇyavantajātaka*, where bones of a lion were scattered in a mountain called *lokalok*. Toch. A *lokalok* is translated as "quite far away" and interpreted as an "[i]terative compound based on" Toch. A *lok* "far, away" by Carling and Pinault, which goes back to Carling (2009: 135a, "far away"). In fact, as a name of a mountain Toch. A *lokalok* is borrowed from Skt. *lokāloka-* "world and non-world" (cf. Lane 1947: 48) as "N. of a mythical belt or circle of mountains … dividing the visible world from the region of darkness" (s.v. in MW). Cf. Skt. *prakāśaścāndhakāraśca lokāloka ivācalaḥ* "both shining and not shining like the mountain Lokâloka (which is lighted on one side and dark on the other)" in *Raghuvaṃśa* 1.68 (Kale 1997: Skt. 21, transl. 7; Scharpé 1964: 26). Skt. *lokāloka-* is also attested in the Sanskrit texts from Turfan, cf. SWTF IV: 65 and von Simson (2000: 261 fn. 60).

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[40] This is based on Peyrot's (2016: 206–207) identification in "A 425e+f a1". However, Peyrot adds that "[i]t must be admitted, however, that 'moving' or 'going' is not obviously correct for all passages", and as for Toch. A *ymatunt* in A62a1 and A251b4, Peyrot prefers the meaning "gathered" or "assembled", which "is derivable from a more basic 'having come'."

(10) P. 413a on *Vacramukhe*: in section D, we read "From Skt. *vajra-mukha-*, lit. 'top of diamond'". The Tocharian name is reminiscent of a deity called Vajramukha (Chin. 金剛面 *jīn gāng miàn*) with the head of a wild boar in the tantric Buddhism, and his name Skt. *vajramukha-* means rather "having a face as hard as a *vajra*". Cf. the explanation in the *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* (CHANDRA 2005: 4010–4011): "Vajramukha (Jap. Kongōmenten) is one of the Twenty Devas in the outer circle of the six sub-maṇḍalas of the Vajradhātu in the Genzu version (AD 806)". In the story of Krośavatī (A4b3–5), which the king chews (Toch. A *trāskaṣ* from *trāsk-* "to chew") and destroys, the king's Tocharian name *vacramukhe* could mean "having a mouth as hard as a *vajra*".

(11) P. 472: Toch. A *śu* is missing, but on the next page a compound "*śu-ype**" is given as an independent entry, where "*śu*, adv. 'near, close'" as an independent word is indeed specified in section D. Toch. A *śu* in A3b2 is regarded by PINAULT (2008: 236) as an independent word with unknown meaning. On the same page (i.e. OGIHARA 2009: 146[41]) containing the discussion of Toch. A *lyālyoryo* cited in DThTA (p. 410b), Ogihara gives a detailed analysis of Toch. A *śu*, according to which Toch. A *śu ypeyā mskantāsac* renders Skt. *pratyantavāsine* "to someone staying near the border" (cf. Chin. 邊境民 *biān jìng mín* "people near the border"), and Toch. A *śu* probably means "frontier, border".

However, OGIHARA's (2009: 146) translation "frontier, border" for Toch. A *śu* evokes doubt because such a meaning can hardly fit its context in A69a6: *mā py ārkiśoṣi cu sem śu yāmtsāt* "the world did not make you (their) protection either", where Toch. A *śu* + *yām-* (middle voice) governs double accusatives, i.e. *cu* "you" and *sem* "protection". Given the fact that Toch. A *śu ypeyā* corresponds Skt. *praty-anta-* "near the border", as admitted by OGIHARA (2009: 146) himself, Toch. A *śu* + *yām-* (middle voice) probably renders Skt. *prati-* + *kar-* (middle voice) "make sth. as sth." with double accusatives, cf. Skt. *pura imā̐l lokān pratikaravāmahā* "let us make these worlds as citadels in opposition" in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* 1.23 (AUFRECHT 1879: 19; KEITH 1920: 125). Thus Toch. A *śu* corresponds to Skt. *prati-* and means "towards, near". Etymologically, Toch. A *śu* could go back to *$\hat{k}i̯oh_1$ "with this, near this", as instr. sg. of PIE *$\hat{k}i̯o$- "this one" (DUNKEL 2014: II, 412–413), and *$\hat{k}i̯oh_1$ > Proto-Toch. *$ki̯ō$ > Toch. A *śu* (for the sound change of word-final *-ō*, cf. HACKSTEIN 2017: 1314).

(12) P. 497 and pp. 73–74: according to CARLING and PINAULT (2023: 497) there is no Toch. A *ṣoṣ*, and Toch. A *ṣoṣ* after Toch. A *lyālyoryo* in A3b2 is interpreted as a sandhi form of *eṣoṣ* "termite mound", which is a hapax and regarded as "[p]robably cognate with" another hapax *eṣuṣ* meaning "termite". The argument of CARLING and PINAULT (2023: 73) regarding Toch. A *eṣuṣ* is dubious, because

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[41]   It is unclear, why by writing "Ogihara (2009a: 136, 143, 170)" CARLING and PINAULT (2023: 473) simply leave out the very page, i.e. 146, where Ogihara gives a detailed analysis of Toch. A *śu*.

simply by saying that "[t]he text describes a series of creeping animals: ants, worms, scorpions, etc.", they proposed the meaning "termite, white ant" for the hapax *eṣuṣ* without any philological evidence.

(13) Some typos:

p. 135b under entry Toch. A *kip*, section T: *sñi* >> *ṣñi* (correct in Carling 2009: 146a).

p. 208a under entry Toch. A *tārśoṃ*: "Nom./Obl.Sg. *tārśoṃ*" in section F, but in section T no example of nom. sg. is specified.

p. 284b: under entry Toch. A *pässāk*: "fem." and "Obl.Pl. … (passäkās) 327 a6", but p. 168b: "PPrt. Obl.Sg.Masc. 327 a6 ///(kā)k[l]epsunt pässākā///".

p. 356b under entry Toch. A *mrāc*: "B *mrāc*" acc. sg. is given, but nom. sg. B *mrāce* is indeed attested, namely in PK AS 6Aa2, which is absent in Adams (2013: 514).

p. 369a under entry Toch. A *yäslu*: *yäslu** with a following "*", but the nom. sg. form is indeed attested.

p. 397b under entry Toch. A *lālaṃṣäk**, section F, Nom.Pl.Masc: *lālamṣkeñ* >> *lālaṃṣkeñ*.

p. 425a under entry Toch. A *warpiśke*: B *werpīśke* >> B *werpiśke*, it is usually written with short *i*, and only once as *werpīśke* in B406b2.

p. 467b under entry Toch. A *śäktālyi*: B *śaktālye* >> B *śäktālye*, Toch. B *śäktālye* also occurs as *śaktalye* in two MQ fragments B209 and B205 (with *śaktālyi* in line a2), but *śaktālye is not attested.

p. 476a under entry Toch. A *śol-śoluneyum*, section T: *śolumeyumäñcäs* >> *śoluneyumäñcäs*.

Funding

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

AN I   *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, Part I, see Morris, rev. Warder (1961); Woodward (1979).

AvŚ   *Avadānaśataka*, see Vaidya (1958); Speyer (1906–1909).

BHSD   Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, see Edgerton (1953).

Celt.   Celtic.

Chin.   Chinese.

DBh   *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, see Vaidya (1967).

Divy   *Divyāvadāna*, see Cowell and Neil (1886).

DKPAM   *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*, see Wilkens (2016).

DN II   *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, see Davids and Carpenter (1903); Walshe (1987).

DThTA   *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A*, see Carling and Pinault (2023).

Eng.   English.

EWAhd   *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen*, see Lloyd et al. (1988–2021).

EWAia   *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, see Mayrhofer (1986–2001).

Gr.   Greek.

GV   *Gaṇḍavyūha*, see Vaidya (1960).

Jap.   Japanese.

JM   *Jātakamālā*, see Hanisch (2005); Meiland (2009).

KarP   *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra*, see Yamada (1968).

LIV²   *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*, see Rix et al. (2001).

LV   *Lalitavistara*, see Hokazono (1994, 2019).

MAV   *Mahāvadānasūtra*, see Fukita (2003).

MpJ   *Mūgapakkhajātaka*.

MPS   *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, see Waldschmidt (1950–1951).

MSN   *Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka*, see Ji et al. (1998).

MSV   *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*.

MW   Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, see Monier-Williams (1899).

NIL   *Nomina im indogermanischen Lexikon*, see Wodtko et al. (2008).

OUygh.	Old Uyghur.
OHG	Old High German.
Pa.	Pāli.
perl.	perlative.
PIE	Proto-Indo-European.
PK AS	Pelliot Koutchéen, Ancienne Série, Paris.
PW	Petersburg *Wörterbuch*, see BÖHTLINGK and ROTH (1855–1875).
SauN	*Saundarananda*, see COVILL (2007).
Skt.	Sanskrit.
Sn	*Suttanipāta.*
SN	*Saṃyutta-Nikāya.*
SNCN	*Saundaranandacarita-Nāṭaka.*
Suv	*Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, see NOBEL (1937).
SWTF	*Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, see WALDSCHMIDT et al. (1994–2018).
T.	Taishōzō.
TEB	*Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, see KRAUSE and THOMAS (1960); THOMAS and KRAUSE (1964).
TG	*Tocharische Grammatik*, see SIEG et al. (1931).
THT	Tocharische Handschriften der Turfansammlung, Berlin.
Tib.	Tibetan.
Toch.	Tocharian.
VJ	*Viśvāntarajātaka.*
YQ	Yanqi Qianfodong.

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Cinematic Narratives of Macau: Foreign Perspectives and Portuguese Portrayals

Alexandre RAMOS

Abstract: This article delves into history of cinema in Macao, exploring the contrasting viewpoints of foreign Western filmmakers and Portuguese filmmakers during the colonial administration. It reveals a prevalent tendency among the foreign filmmakers to portray the territory through a negative lens. In contrast, the study analyses the historical narratives of Portuguese cinema in Macao. It shows a consistently positive portrayal, shaped by Portuguese filmmakers. The article unravels the intricacies of filmmaking dynamics in Macao, shedding light on divergent cinematic perspectives by focusing on the careers of Ricardo Malheiro and Miguel Spiguel. This examination serves as a compelling lens for understanding the broader dichotomy between foreign and Portuguese representations of Macao, this culturally rich territory.

Keywords: Macao, colonial films, Western cinema, Portuguese colonialism, Hong Kong

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Introduction

This article explores the history of cinema in Macao by focusing on the contrasting perspectives of foreign, i.e. non-Portuguese, Western filmmakers and Portuguese filmmakers. It begins by highlighting the prevalent tendency to associate the territory with negative characteristics in films directed or produced by foreigners in Macao during its Portuguese administration. Next, it examines the historical narratives of Portuguese cinema in Macao and contrasts them with the perspective of the foreign filmmakers. It shows how a positive portrayal of this former colony was consistently created by Portuguese filmmakers or those supported by Portuguese entities.

The article carries out a detailed analysis of the professional careers of filmmakers Ricardo Malheiro and Miguel Spiguel to unravel the complexities of filmmaking in Macao. By examining their career paths, creative choices and thematic inclinations, the study aims to shed light on the factors influencing the divergent cinematic perspectives on Macao. This examination of individual filmmaking experiences serves as a compelling lens through which to understand the broader dichotomy between the foreign and Portuguese representations of Macao.

Many Portuguese filmmakers filmed in Macao, but it was foreign Western directors who "discovered" and showed this Portuguese colony as a cinematic space to the world (Lopes 2016). For foreign directors, Macao was the backdrop to many spy, romance, suspense, and comedy films, but it was seldom a "Portuguese" or a "Chinese" city. It was an exotic place where Western characters lived out their romances and adventures. The locals – Portuguese, Chinese, and Macaense – played the same role as the city (Macao) and were part of the set, supporting characters that gave the footage the exoticism that the scripts and, consequently, the audience enjoyed.[1]

The choice of Macao as a location resulted from several things that Hollywood and the European film industry looked for outside their own urban centres. Macao and Hong Kong possessed features that were not so easily found in other cities in Asia and the East – we call this group of features the *exotic occidentality of the East.*

What is this exotic occidentality of the East? It was a way of being and acting in the East, living, working and, in this case, filming in Euro-Asian locations administrated by Europeans where the Western *modus vivendi* and *faciendi*

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[1]   This reality can be seen in the following Western films, directed or staged in Macao: *Macao l'enfer du jeu* (1939); *Love is a Many-Splendored Thing* (1955); *Forbidden* (1953); *Macao, Ferry to Hong Kong* (1959); *Out of the Tiger's Mouth* (1962); *The Peking Medallion* (1967); *Histoire Immortelle* (1968); *The Man with the Golden Gun* (1974); *Cleopatra and the Casino of Gold* (1975).

were assured for those with European ancestry. In these cities, supposedly under the European *pax*, there were fewer risks of filming being interrupted by political and social instabilities or Western production crews having to deal with political and social environments hostile to their presence.

Macao and Hong Kong were doubly exotic for the American audience: they were both European and Asian. But did not the European colonies and ex-colonies in Africa and Asia offer the same filming conditions and provide the same exoticism? Partially yes. Like Macao and Hong Kong, other territories were administrated by European powers, and the audiences were familiar with a series of clichés and imaginaries created by cinema – Western cinemas of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries inherited the narrative and visual traditions, as well as cultural assumptions, on which popular Orientalism was based, and filmmakers discovered how popular these subjects could be (BERNSTEIN and STUDLAR 1997: 3). Still, most of these cities were marked by Western architecture, with Western restaurants and people dressed in a Western style, among other distinctly European aspects, i.e., they did not correspond to the exotic standards they wanted to show.[2] In addition, in the aftermath of World War II, with its ongoing decolonisation and independence processes and civil wars in the former European colonies, making films whose scripts were essentially stories about Western characters made for Western audiences became increasingly difficult in Africa or Asia – either for security or practical reasons, since cities were undergoing political, cultural, and demographic decolonisation processes. However, in the cases of Macao and Hong Kong, this did not happen, as we shall describe below.

Despite some exceptions, the Portuguese films made in Macao until 1974 were mainly short documentaries produced with public funds. In contrast, foreign productions made in Macao were mostly feature films financed by private capital. Most productions were not entirely filmed in Macao – the city's images shown in the final cut correspond to the so-called "partially filmed in Macao" caption. Some of the reasons why Macao was filmed for these foreign productions were

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[2] Edward Said, in his book *Orientalism*, first published in 1978, writes about the vision of the Orient to which the Western public was accustomed and which it wanted to see represented in the cinema: "On a visit to Beirut during the terrible civil war of 1975–1976 a French journalist wrote regretfully of the gutted downtown area that 'it had once seemed to belong to ... the Orient of Chateaubriand and Nerval'. He was right about the place, of course, especially so far as a European was concerned. The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences. Now it was disappearing; in a sense it had happened, its time was over. Perhaps it seemed irrelevant that Orientals themselves had something at stake in the process, that even in the time of Chateaubriand and Nerval Orientals had lived there, and that now it was they who were suffering; the main thing for the European visitor was a European representation of the Orient and its contemporary fate, both of which had a privileged communal significance for the journalist and his French readers" (SAID 2014: 1).

related to its geographical proximity to Hong Kong and Continental China. For example, in the film *Ferry to Hong Kong* (1959), part of the story happens on a boat that connects the British and the Portuguese colonies. There were also films in which Macao replaced Hong Kong (e.g., *Dragon: the Bruce Lee Story*, 1993) or Continental China (e.g., *Shanghai Surprise,* 1986). In some of these films the Portuguese names of the streets or the buildings could be seen, which looked strange. When Macao was indeed Macao in films, it was shown mainly as a crossing point, a non-place. For example, in *The Man with The Golden Gun* (1974), agent 007 travels to Macao to meet the Portuguese gun dealer Lazar.

Macao depicted in Western non-Portuguese cinema

While Macao had been filmed by foreign directors and mentioned in their films before, its territory and local reality were never the primary inspiration for a feature film until *Macao, l'enfer du jeu* (1939). This film is based on the famous novel by Maurice Dekobra, published in 1938 about Macao. According to the author, it is a city of pleasure resorts and arms dealers. Paradoxically, the first significant production with the word *Macao* in its name distributed worldwide was filmed not in the former Portuguese colony but in a studio in Nice (France). Chinese and Indochinese workers were recruited as extras in the Paris area.

In *Macao, l'enfer du jeu*, the Portuguese colony is portrayed as a place of gambling and arms trafficking. However, unlike other foreign films staged or filmed in Macao, it contains scenes indicating that Macao was a Portuguese territory. According to Luís de Pina's research, Portuguese Censorship may have ordered cuts that removed the Portuguese atmosphere of this film, which may explain the small impact of *Macao, l'enfer du jeu* in movie theatres and the press in Portugal (Pina 1991: 7).

The same negative connotations can be found in the fictional feature film *Macao* (1952), a studio production made in Hollywood. The movie was directed by the Austrian-American Josef von Sternberg. Of the films shot in Macao and Hong Kong that are mentioned in this article, *Macao* is probably the most famous and influential in terms of the actors, the people and the company involved in its production. The film's contents made the Portuguese Censorship forbid its showing on national soil (Pina 1991: 9).

The idea of Macao as a getaway place, a crossing point or a holiday destination for the people of Hong Kong transmitted by Hollywood productions can be found in *Love Is a Many-Splendored Thing* (1955). This feature film, more famous for its soundtrack than its screenplay, tells the story of a Euro-Asian couple that faces many obstacles in a society not yet accustomed to interracial relationships. It was partially filmed in Macao, where the couple decide to spend

a few days away from the disapproving looks they get in the British colony of Hong Kong.

Less known but also one of the films that shows Macao as a crossing point and a refuge, *Forbidden* (1953), starring Tony Curtis, was released two years before. This film tells the story of Eddie, its main character, who is hired by a mobster from Philadelphia to locate his wife and take her back to the USA. Eddie finds his boss' wife in Macao and, while doing his job, saves the life of the owner of one of the city's casinos, who coincidentally is engaged to the woman he is looking for.

Different from *Macao, l'enfer du jeu* and *Macao*, *Ferry to Hong Kong* (1959) tells the story of Mark Conrad (Curd Jürgens) who, after being expelled from Hong Kong, travels aboard Captain Heart's ferry (Orson Welles) to Macao. However, his entrance into the Portuguese colony is refused, and Conrad remains in a sort of purgatory between the two European colonies. Throughout the film, there are visual and oral references to Macao. Even though it is not a film about Macao, it shows the real city of Macao and not the reality staged in European and American studios.

In the 1960s, three other films perpetuated Macao as a city of gambling, corruption, and prostitution, where gangsters seemed to act freely. The American production *Out of the Tiger's Mouth* premiered in 1962. This drama tells the story of two refugee children from Continental China who end up in a brothel in Macao after their grandmother entrusts their fates to an unscrupulous boatman who had promised to take them to their uncle in Hong Kong. The film wanted to alert the international community to this type of problem.

Two other feature films whose stories unfold in cultural and architectural settings of the type of East-meets-West were released in 1967: *The Peking Medallion* (1967)[3] and *Via Macao* (1967). They are both European productions of the spy/gangster/romance genres previously explored in other productions.

Peking Medallion was filmed in a studio in Berlin, where the atmosphere of the Portuguese colony was recreated and only partially filmed in Macao and Hong Kong. This co-production – French, German (West Germany) and Italian – explores the clichés of the corrupt and violent underworld of the Portuguese colony. One of the film's passages seems to summarise what would become a cinematic commonplace about Macao: "From the four corners of the Earth... From the four corners of Hell... the search for the Peking Medallion drew them to Macao, the deadliest city in the world!"

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[3]   Watch the full film at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-TT-8_ufYoo (accessed 11 October 2024). This film was exhibited internationally under different titles: *Die Holle von Macao*, *The Peking Medallion*, *O Medalhão de Pequim*, *Os Corruptos*, *The Corrupt Ones*, *Hell To Macao*, *Los Corrompidos*, etc.

Via Macao, directed by the French Jean Leduc and produced by the Spanish producer and Portuguese resident Felipe de Solms (RAMOS and MARTINS 2023), also explores the universe of arms trafficking and espionage on the territory. Like other productions, it expresses Hollywood clichés like the romance between the leading character and the *femme fatale,* usually a Western woman he finds in the East. This film, however, has the particularity of being directed and starred in by Leduc and Solms, two filmmakers with previous connections and works in Continental Portugal and its colonies (RAMOS and MARTINS 2021: 172–175). Nonetheless, it preserves the image of Macao as a city of crime and espionage that had been developed by previous foreign productions.

A year later comes *Histoire Immortelle* (1968), a television film directed and starred by Orson Wells, inspired by a story by Karen Blixen that takes place in Macao in the 19th century. In this production, the city of Macau was recreated in French studios, with only glimpses of the scenery. The idea was not to present a realistic image of Macao, but rather to suggest that it was a remote port city where Westerners lived out adventures and romantic stories. The depiction of the architecture and the local Chinese and Portuguese population was merely to give the place an exotic and unique atmosphere.

In the year James Bond "visited" Macao, 1974, scenes for *Cleopatra Jones and the Casino of Gold* (1975), an action and adventure *blaxploitation*[4] film, were shot in the territory. Once again, the two European colonies in China were the stage for action scenes, espionage, and fights against crime associated with gambling and casinos. In this film, both main characters, the heroine and the villain, are women – reminiscent of the social activism that prevailed in the West at the time, especially in the USA, namely female empowerment and the struggle for racial equality.

As mentioned above, this article focuses on foreign Western films. However, the study of foreign Asian productions filmed in Macao is a valuable perspective for future research. Many of them were produced in Hong Kong and mainly portrayed Macao as a place of gambling, nightlife and adventure – e.g. *Pedicab Driver* (1989); *Casino Tycoon* (1992); *The Longest Nite* (1998) or *Casino* (1998).

Macao through the lens of two Portuguese filmmakers: Ricardo Malheiro and Miguel Spiguel

The Portuguese from Europe and the colonies had to wait until the 1950s to meet cinematic Macao through the lenses of their compatriots. National directors and producers certainly made other films, but this was the decade when projects financed – fully or partially – by public funds arrived on metropolitan screens.

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4   *Blaxpoitation* is a subgenre of ethnic American films primarily directed at the Afro-American community.

Ricardo Malheiro and Miguel Spiguel, a Turkish based in Portugal, were the two directors responsible for most Portuguese films about Macao.[5]

Actor, director, and producer Ricardo Malheiro had extensive experience making propaganda documentaries in Portugal and its colonies; he filmed and produced two films about Macao, namely *Macao – Cidade do Nome de Deus* (1952)[6] and *Viagem Ministerial às Províncias do Oriente 3 – Macao* (1953)[7]. These were two of the films he made between 1949 and 1954. During these five years, the director/producer filmed all the Portuguese colonies, including the territories administrated by Portugal in India and Timor, which, due to chronology and distance, were probably the two Portuguese colonies where the fewest national cinematic productions had been made (Ramos and Martins 2021: 165–167; Ramos 2020; 2021).

The documentary *Macao – Cidade do Nome de Deus* is essentially a tourism film with a bias of political propaganda. The narrator starts by mentioning the centuries-old Portuguese administration and, as the images flow, describes the main public (administrative offices, hospitals, markets, schools, radio and even the municipal kennel), military and civilian buildings of the colony. Like other colonial documentaries, it presents a unique and positive perspective of the territory; its socioeconomic development, resulting from public investment, is one of the main messages. It also shows the powerful architectural and cultural components and their contrasts with the vernacular oriental brands. As regards the local population, curiously, it only mentions the "Chinese" in order to praise their hospitality. Finally, the documentary ends by showing Macao as a place of peace and a cultural melting pot, demonstrating the "huge kindness, understanding, and love of the Portuguese people". This documentary is the fruit of its time, and we can perceive the narrative of Luso-tropicalism[8] and race equality of the Portuguese Empire. On the one hand, among other things, it mentions that education is meant for all children, regardless of colour

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[5]   About Miguel Spiguel work and biography, see Piçarra (2015).

[6]   See http://www.cinemateca.pt/Cinemateca-Digital/Ficha.aspx?obraid=3504&type=Video (accessed 11 October 2024).

[7]   See http://www.cinemateca.pt/Cinemateca-Digital/Ficha.aspx?obraid=2393&type=Video (accessed 11 October 2024).

[8]   Lusotropicalism is a mixture of the theories Gilberto Freyre proposed in the 1930s and formalised in the 1950s about the exceptional Portuguese racial character (and, therefore, the Brazilian). Freyre's work promoted that Portugal was a more benign and racially tolerant coloniser than other European powers, that Brazil would one day be an Arcadia, composed of a mixed-race population, and that the vast Portuguese Imperial World was ultimately, despite some problems, a successful interracial experience (Anderson et al. 2019). In short, the Lusotropicalist assumptions include the idea that the Portuguese have a unique ability to have harmonious relationships with other people, their adaptability to the tropics, and their inherent lack of prejudice. Together with colonial ideology, these ideas were widely diffused in Portuguese society after World War II (Valentim and Heleno 2018: 32–42).

Scenes from the movie *Macao – Cidade do Nome de Deus.* © ANIM National Archive of Moving Images of the Portuguese Cinematheque.
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Fig. 1. Avenida Almeida de Almeida Ribeiro, considered one of the city's main thoroughfares.
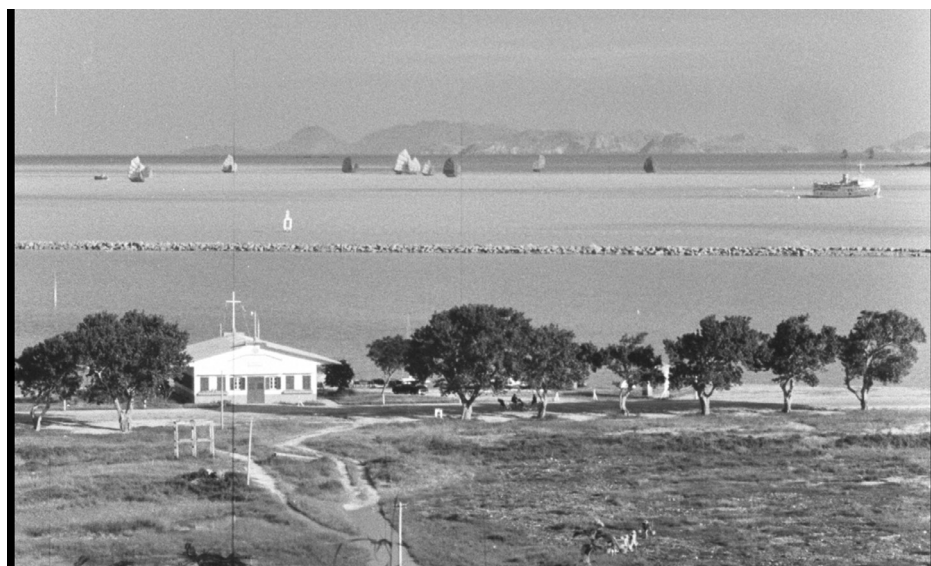

Fig. 2. Porto Exterior, located in the eastern part of the Macau Peninsula.

Fig. 3. The ruins of St. Paul's Church (Ruína da Igreja de S. Paulo). They are part of the Historic Centre of Macau, which has been classified by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site.

Fig. 4. Chinese junks in Praia Grande Bay (Portuguese: Baía da Praia Grande).

or creed, and the word "colony" is not used, but on the other, the ideals of "Christianisation" and "Occidentalisation" of people and territories prevail, as well as the terms "yellow culture" and "Chinese folk".

Viagem Ministerial às Províncias do Oriente 3 – Macao (1953), an Agência Geral Ultramarina (AGU)[9] production, is one of three episodes of a documental series about the visits of the Minister of Overseas, Admiral Manoel Maria Sarmento Rodrigues, to the Portuguese colonies of India, Timor, and Macao. It is basically a news story about his visit to Macao between June and July 1952.[10] It essentially shows the Minister's inaugurations and official visits during his stay. Since there is no direct speech, the spectator is guided by the narrator, who explains the actions. Also, it praises the symbols of Portugal in the colony and the benefits of the Portuguese administration. Ricardo Malheiro repeats many images and a few sentences that appeared in the 1952 documentary, which mentioned that the swimming pool was "inaugurated" by the Minister, and the one from 1953 shows its inauguration. Ricardo Malheiro, as did Felipe de Solms and other directors, took the chance to film other things while they were on location, or they reused editing "leftovers" to make other documentaries and thus take advantage of their stays. The film conveys virtually the same messages as the previous one, but there is more emphasis on the "local Portuguese way" despite the cultural and ethnic polychromy of the city and its population, and clearly distinguishes the "Portuguese community" from the "Chinese community". Once more, the Chinese people are praised for their traits (e.g., curiosity).

Benefiting from some temporal distance, Miguel Spiguel's films seem to have "absorbed" more comprehensively the new Portuguese colonial speech formulated after the constitutional revision of 1951[11]. We also propose the hypothesis that, as a foreigner, Spiguel had a different way of "looking" at the Portuguese colonies while respecting the constraints imposed by censorship. The footage he filmed in Macao can be used to study his way of making propaganda.

His experience as a filmmaker in Macao started in the mid-1950s when he directed and produced two short documentaries: *Macao, Jóia do Oriente* (1956) and *Acção Missionário no Oriente* (1956). The opening of his first film includes intertitles with this acknowledgement:

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9 The AGU - General Overseas Agency was a Portuguese public institution, founded on the 30th of September 1924 and dedicated to the communication and promotion of the Portuguese Colonial Empire.

10 After visiting the Portuguese colony, the Minister of Overseas also visited Hong Kong and Japan.

11 The constitutional review of 1951, which determined, among other formal aspects, the replacement of the terms "Empire" and "colonies" by, respectively, "Overseas" and "overseas provinces", was a way of internationally distancing Portugal's image of the epithet of colonising power (Alexandre 2017: 198–218).

> To His Excellency the Governor of the Province, Admiral Joaquim Marques Esparteiro, to the most distinguished Doctor Pedro José Lobo, and all the official and private entities, Fernando Macedo and Miguel Spiguel thank you for your collaboration in this documentary.

This introductory note explains the film's production and Spiguel's connections in Macao, which would facilitate his future works (and funding) in the territory. The relationship with Doctor Pedro José Lobo[12] is possibly the most important. This short film follows the form and contents of Malheiro's films. Several monuments, residential neighbourhoods, institutional buildings (such as Leal Senado, the former seat of the Portuguese government, and the building of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino), and social infrastructures (e.g., hospitals, hotels, inland port, swimming pool complex) are filmed. Then, streets and local businesses are filmed. Hybrid culture is particularly emphasised: symbols of oriental tradition (e.g., tiger dance; pagodas) and European influence (e.g., modern architecture). For example, the monument to Camões is shown among oriental monuments like pagodas.

Acção Missionário no Oriente has a different focus and follows a theme that gradually disappears from colonial documentaries: European missionary work, Portuguese in this case, in the world. This film evokes the importance of Portuguese missionaries in the East and their action in Macao.

Later, he directed a documentary for the series *Portugal, além da Europa*, *Pescadores de Amangau* (1958), financed by Pedro José Lobo's company, P.J. Lobo & C.ª. A sort of sociological documentary, it shows, and comments on the typical aspects of the lives and relationships of the fishermen who live in their boats docked in Macao (Pina 1977: 38).

In 1960, Miguel Spiguel directed and produced *Macao* (1960),[13] accompanied by Aquilino Mendes as co-producer (Pina and Cruz 1989). Among other tasks, Aquilino Mendes oversaw photography and assisted him in several documentaries he made in Portugal, the colonies, and even Malaca.[14] *Macao* is a typical example of how Portuguese colonial cities were described by colonial documentaries: the colony is shown as a peaceful, beautiful, and adorned territory where one can feel Portuguese culture. According to its narrator, everyone lives peacefully despite the cultural melting pot, with no distinction between races or creeds. For example, Mozambican soldiers are filmed among the men performing military service in the colony.

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[12]   On Doctor Pedro José Lobo, see Ramos and Martins (2023).

[13]   Watch the full film at https://arquivo-cave.defesa.gov.pt/details?id=17497&ht=macau&detailsType=Description (accessed 11 October 2024).

[14]   In Thailand, Spiguel directed *Malaca* (1960), a documentary about the traces of Portuguese culture in this territory.

In 1966, Miguel Spiguel directed what we consider his most curious work in Macao, the feature film in colour *Operação Estupefacientes*, composed of the segments *O Importador de Ópio*, *Doca de Patene* and *Mayana*, with a total of 55 minutes, which later led to three autonomous short films. This docudrama's narrative focuses on Polícia Judiciária de Macao's (PJM) fight against drug trafficking and use, namely opium. *Doca de Patane* introduces a slightly marginal side of Macao, showing fewer noble areas of the city, different from the images of casinos and monuments that represented it at the time. The film is a eulogy to the fight against drug trafficking and use in Macao. One of its most curious aspects is that real PJ officers play the leading roles. As for *Mayana*, it is a mixture of the genres of tourism film and educational romance. Miguel Spiguel was able to direct a film alerting the harm of drugs that was simultaneously a propaganda film of the territory and the Portuguese administration's measures to fight drug trafficking and use. Miguel Spiguel makes a cameo appearance at the end of the film, providing authenticity to the story and the message he is trying to convey. This trinity of short films reveals a negative side of the Portuguese colony that mainly affects the Chinese community, which the propaganda is forced to address. This film deserves credit for showing another, more obscure, side of the territory and the drama of the refugees from Continental China, which is present, though not expressed explicitly, through its lead actress, Mayana Martin, a refugee from Shanghai.

Working with Aquilino Mendes again, Miguel Spiguel produced two documentaries about Macao: *Macao Industries, Macao Knitters*, and *Macao de Hoje*. The first, spoken in English, was 10 minutes long and served the primary purpose of promoting the local economy, especially the textile company Macao Knitters. As regards the second documentary, its range was more comprehensive, and it tried to show the Portuguese colony's modernity, which was characterised as follows: "from the development in width to the growth in height, this is the equation of today's Macao". The documentary shows how casinos and tourism are the main drivers of the local economy, moving the colony towards rapid development. Its perspective differs from other Portuguese propaganda documentaries since this production clearly recognises the economic importance of casinos and the resulting tourism.

The last three films Miguel Spiguel made in Macao were *Macau Industrial* (1974),[15] *Uma Pérola Chamada Macao* (1974),[16] co-directed with João Botelho, and *Macao* (1977), a Doperfilme production[17] released after the director's

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[15]   Watch the full film at http://www.cinemateca.pt/Cinemateca-Digital/Ficha.aspx?obraid=4676 &type=Video (accessed 2 October 2024).

[16]   Watch the full film at http://www.cinemateca.pt/Cinemateca-Digital/Ficha.aspx?obraid=7821 &type=Video (accessed 2 October 2024).

[17]   On Doperfilmes, see CUNHA (2018a).

death in 1975. There is little to be added to what has been said already. These titles are emblematic of other Portuguese films produced in Macau, presenting a uniformly positive vision of Macanese society.

Other Portuguese productions about Macao

As far as we can tell, the first Portuguese productions filmed in Macao and distributed or exhibited in Continental Portugal were made between 1923 and 1924. Of the three titles that have been identified, we only know the director of *Macao* (1924), Manuel Amor Antunes,[18] who was also responsible for the four Portuguese documentaries about the Portuguese colony in China produced in the 1930s. The other two films were identified by José Matos-Cruz with the following titles: as *Aspectos de Macao* (1923), a Castello Lopes production, and *Asas de Portugal*, *Saudação aos Aviadores do Raid Lisboa-Macao* (1924), a film about the first plane trip between the Portuguese capital and Macao (Matos-Cruz 1999). However, the condition of the cataloguing and conservation of the material precluded any meaningful analysis of its contents.

The films directed by Manuel Amor Antunes were mere captures of Macao's daily reality, similar to the static shot documentaries of the early 20th century; its *prises de vue* had an incipient cinematography that shows the amateurism of its cameraman. The footage filmed in the 1920s was reused in short documentaries that were exhibited in Portugal in the 1930s (J. Nóvoa 1998; A. Nóvoa 2003).

In addition to the early productions of António Amor and the structured, organised work of Ricardo Malheiro and Miguel Spiguel, there were other Portuguese filmmakers who made documentaries and reportages about Portuguese India. Among these, the work of João Mendes and Filipe de Solms deserves special mention, as they included this colony in their general perspective on the Portuguese overseas territories. The documentary filmmaker João Mendes,[19] one of the most active Portuguese filmmakers of the 1950s and 1960s, directed the 20-minute documentary *Portugueses no Mundo*, produced by Felipe de Solms[20] in 1954. The film pays tribute to the effort and faith invested by the Portuguese people to create a nation of people of different races and religions united by the Portuguese flag. Every Portuguese colony was filmed for this purpose. It is an exaltation of Portuguese colonialism, unveiling the narrative of the multiracial and multicontinental nation that was under development.

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[18] About Manuel Antunes Amor's productions, I write above, in the section "Macao through the lens of two Portuguese filmmakers".

[19] On João Mendes, see A.B. (1942), P.A. (1951), Mendes (1952), B. (1959), Rosa (1989), Rosa (1997), Ramos and Martins (2021).

[20] On Felipe de Solms's professional and biographic pathway, see *Oito filmes sobre a África Portuguesa* (1950), *Diário de Luanda* (1951a), *Diário de Luanda* (1951b), de Solms (1952), *Plateia* (1968), Moreno Cantano (2017), Cunha (2018b), Ramos and Martins (2021).

Caminhos Longos: Macao through the eyes of the locals

Caminhos Longos (1955) was the first fictional feature film made in Macao that was directed and produced by a local company. Its production began in 1954, and it premiered in Cine-Teatro Vitória (present-day Banco Tai Fung) at Rua dos Mercadores (Macao) in 1955. The movie is spoken in Portuguese and Mandarin. The film's story unfolds in the aftermath of the final phase of the Chinese Civil War (1946–1949). It addresses the issues of Portuguese refugees in Shanghai and the many Chinese people who, due to the war and the rising prices, moved to Macao, where some settled and others stayed for some time before travelling to other latitudes. According to the researcher Ana Catarina Almeida Leite, although it addresses less positive aspects, this feature film and other Portuguese productions were part of the Portuguese authorities' effort to clean Macao's image as a place essentially devoted to gambling and crime (Leite 2021).

The cast chosen for *Caminhos Longos* is quite interesting because the origins and life experiences of the actors intersect with those of the characters. Wong Hou – who was born in China and had already participated as an actor and director in productions filmed in Beijing, Shanghai, and Hong Kong – plays the role of Tam Meng, a man who is trying to rebuild his life, torn by the vicissitudes of the war in his home country, in Macao. However, once in his host territory, Tam Meng enters the world of crime until he finds the way of redemption. The actress Lola Young was born to a French mother and a Chinese father in Paris and lived in many places in the East. Her father was a high officer of the Chinese Nationalist Government. In *Caminhos Longos*, Lola plays the role of Dolly, a seductive Euro-Asian who is hired to work in a dancing nightclub in Macao. For its part, the Portuguese Irene Matos plays the role of an upper-middle-class young woman who moves to Macao with her parents. Her character's life seems to mimic her own life story. Irene Matos, daughter of Portuguese parents, was born in Hong Kong, where she spent most of her life, and settled with her parents in Macao in the last years of the Chinese Civil War. As for the actress Chung Ching, born in Continental China, she studied at the Catholic School of Santa Rosa de Lima in Hong Kong and plays the role of the young Chinese Catholic Teresa Vong, an affectionate nurse who is trying to recover spiritual purity, after receiving advice from a priest. Finally, José Pedro da Silva Valador, a Portuguese man from Alenquer who lived in Macao while performing military service as an expeditionary soldier, interprets Duarte Silva, an agent from Polícia Judiciária. The young agent is the personification of the zealous and dynamic agent who puts duty before his own interests. It is a prototype of the excellent policeman and the good public servant who tries to impose law and morals in the Portuguese colony and always listens to his heart more than he strictly enforces the law (*Eurásia Filmes* 1954).

The film's whereabouts are unknown, and the press published only a few images from it. However, this group of character types seems to agglutinate different views of Macao expressed in Western fiction films and Portuguese documentaries.

In synch with the aspects explored in Western fiction films about Macao, *Caminhos Longos* examined the drama of refugees, the underworld of casinos and nightclubs (dancing) and the prostitution associated with them. Criminal and gangster activity is present in the character of Tam Meng. The fascination for investigation and espionage while fighting crime is incarnated by Duarte Silva. East-meets-West is found in the European and Euro-Asian characters circulating between the two territories, whose cultural habits and language distinguish them from the Chinese community. And finally, there is the interracial romance. But there is also a more positive and nationalist Portuguese perspective of the territory, which is given to us by Duarte Silva, a public servant who tries to impose law and morals in a territory that is an oasis of peace in a China devasted by the Civil War. Silva's work does not seem easy because he faces several, apparently interconnected, problems: the refugees' drama and the world of vice, prostitution, and crime, which appears to come from the outside, as shown by the character of Tam Weng. However, this agent is benevolent and cares about every character, regardless of their origins. Though we cannot prove it, Duarte Silva appears to be the personification of Macao's Portuguese Administration.

In line with the two visions of Macao mentioned above, the positive one (portrayed in Portuguese productions) and the negative one (associated with gambling and crime, depicted in Hollywood and European productions), two particular aspects can be distinguished. In the first, Portuguese nationalist actors are depicted as combating criminality, whereas in the second, the deficiencies of Macau's social fabric are accentuated, encompassing matters such as refugee crises, prostitution, and gambling. Furthermore, it is essential to consider the perspective of those of Luso-Macanese descent. The character Teresa Vong serves as a representative example of Catholicism within the context of Macanese religious practice, particularly within the mix-raced and Sino-Catholic communities. It must be emphasised that Catholicism is an essential element of the Macanese identity. Local Christians bear witness to the reality of religious persecution carried out by the Mainland Chinese authorities, particularly in light of the arrival of Catholic refugees and other religious minorities.

The drama of the refugees and the manner in which they were incorporated into the territory emerge as another issue addressed from the local perspective. The director's use of these characters appears to indicate an early emphasis on

a theme that was subsequently explored in international productions such as *Out of the Tiger's Mouth* (1960). The character of Duarte Silva represents the perspective of the locals on combating crime. This reflects a tangible reality that differs from the depiction in Portuguese documentaries. It is, however, noteworthy that the fight against crime is the responsibility of the Polícia Judiciária, rather than being undertaken by vigilantes or foreign agents, as is often depicted in European and Hollywood productions. This distinction serves to illustrate that Macau is not a lawless territory ruled by gangsters and casino owners. While organised crime is indeed a significant issue, it is addressed by the Portuguese Administration.

The story of the film's production company, Eurásia, and its director and technical crew is also a product of the territory's political, social, and demographic history. The production company was founded by Eurico Ferreira, born in Lisbon, José Silveira Machado, from the Azores, and Doctor Pedro José Lobo, born in Timor and a member of Macao's political and business elite. The company was founded with high hopes, and *Caminhos Longos* would be its Trojan Horse to enter the national and international markets. After its first production, the three partners already had two other productions planned, as they said:

> …a film with distinctly Chinese characteristics, a comedy criticising the modern society, a drama about people in the triangle of Hong Kong – Manila – Singapore, a film that will feature the Portuguese province of Timor as its background, an enchanting drama set in the Southern seas, etc., and later releasing its first super-production filmed in colour, based on one fact of our (Portuguese) age of discoveries (XV–XVII). In addition to producing, Eurásia Filmes also distributes films and is especially focused on divulging Portuguese cinema.
>
> (*Eurásia Filmes* 1954)

Regarding its credits, *Caminhos Longos* was produced by Pedro Silveira Machado, a local personality connected to the arts and the radio, who wrote the script with Eurico Ferreira, a Portuguese director based in Macao. Local stories inspired part of the narrative. Filming was conducted by the experienced cameraman and contributor of Macao's Propaganda Services, Albert Young,[21] and the soundtrack was created by Doctor Pedro José Lobo, the film's original sponsor. The feature *Caminhos Longos* was followed by *Macau em Marcha* (1956). We could not retrieve any information on its content. According to the

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[21] Albert Young filmed several Chinese and Hong Kong productions. He collaborated with Macao's Propaganda Services, for which he filmed the documentaries *Os C.T.T de Macau*, *Um dia em Macau* and *Macau Terra Portuguesa*. At the invitation of the Macao General Government, he worked with the filming crews of filmmakers Ricardo Malheiro and Miguel Spiguel, with whom he filmed in Macao, the State of Portuguese India, and Timor. On Albert Young, see Stokes and Braaten (2020).

research conducted by José Matos-Cruz, it was an official production (MATOS-CRUZ 1999).

The last Portuguese film productions about Macao

Between 1969 and 1971, Solms and Leduc filmed the news report *Le Portugal D'Outremer Dans Le Monde D'Aujourd'Hui* (1971). This production, entirely spoken in French, portrays every Portuguese ultramarine province. The first was Macao, followed by Timor, São Tomé, Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique. The narrative paradigm is always the same: socio-economic development, local traditions, multiculturality, and peaceful coexistence among the different ethnic and religious groups that compose the population in the different territories. There is only one exception: the Colonial War problem is addressed in the chapters dedicated to Guinee-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique. The news report features several interviews, and Marcello Caetano[22] is one of the interviewees. The film has the particularity of featuring dialogue, a rarity among the Portuguese colonial documentaries, which are almost exclusively based on narration. As of the mid-1960s, monologues by "experts" or individuals with "administrative responsibilities" were included in an attempt to legitimate and reinforce the films' message and information.

In 1974, the last year of Estado Novo, António Lopes Ribeiro directed the film *Macao, Portugal and China*. The film was produced by Telecine-Moro[23], which between the late 1960s and the early 1970s, produced a set of documentaries on the Portuguese colonies. The experienced director had already made several documentaries of colonial propaganda, but this was the first specifically about Macao. Lopes Ribeiro shows us Macao as a city of gambling, casinos, and traditions, but from a positive perspective, allowing the audience to envision the traces of Oriental and Portuguese culture. The old contrasts with the new at a time when casinos were no longer a taboo for the Portuguese Administration.

Conclusion

The history of cinema about Macao until 1974 reflects its geography, demography, and realities. Attempting to capture Macao's reality through a camera is like using a kaleidoscope, where tilted mirrors create images, showing different combinations at every moment.

The tilted mirrors are a metaphor for Macao's skewed realities that were filmed

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[22]   Marcello Caetano (1902–1980) succeeded António Oliveira Salazar as President of the Council in the Portuguese Dictatorial Regime, Estado Novo (1933–1974).

[23]   On Telecine-Moro, see RAMOS and MARTINS (2023).

over these years. The tiny crystals inside the kaleidoscope represent the cultures and places that, together, offer cinematic visions of this Portuguese colony – a colony that was not always portrayed as Portuguese in cinema. Sometimes Macao was Portuguese, but in other cases, it was Chinese or Macanese.

The portrayal of Macao in foreign Western films and Portuguese films reflects contrasting perspectives shaped by cultural contexts. In Western cinema, Macao often appears as an exotic, lawless non-place, a fantastical setting where Westerners navigate a mysterious oriental backdrop. The locals are depicted as ambiguous figures, often under the control of casino owners, arms dealers, or gangsters, adding to the city's dangerous and alluring image. These films prioritise action, adventure, and romanticised encounters between Western heroes and exotic femme fatales, focusing on a sensationalised vision of East-meets-West.

In contrast, Portuguese films present a more grounded and introspective image of Macao. Documentaries depict it as a Portuguese territory with a complex social fabric, where Europeans and Chinese coexisted, their lives shaped by economic struggles and gradual development. The peaceful coexistence and cultural blending are often attributed to the "Portuguese way of being in the world", reflecting a more measured and colonial view of Macao's identity. However, despite this portrayal, the realities of the Macanese community, with their distinct Euro-Asian identity and overlooked cultural heritage, remain marginalised in both types of films.

In summary, while Western films emphasise Macao as a place of exoticism and intrigue, focusing on its oriental mystique and chaotic environment, Portuguese films offer a more historical and colonial narrative, highlighting Portuguese influence but neglecting the complexities of the local Macanese population and negative aspects. Both perspectives create incomplete images of Macao, shaped by the cultural lens of the filmmakers.

Funding

Acknowledgements

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The Buddha's No-Self Argument: A Drastic Emendation

Ferenc Ruzsa

Abstract: The first part of the Buddha's second sermon, "The Characteristic of No Self", is extremely problematic. It does not fit the cultural context, philosophically it is silly, it does not agree with the Buddha's central doctrines, and it contradicts the second part of the same short text. Moving a single word ("not") up a sentence we get a clear and coherent argument; this must have been the original text. The Chinese version corroborates this. This particular type of corruption shows that here we have something exceptionally rare: a demonstrably verbatim quotation from the Buddha himself.

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The Buddha seems to have been a learned, sharp, deep and consistent thinker. Obviously, not all his disciples were equally well equipped. They did not always fully grasp his more unusual arguments. Over the generations of oral transmission much must have been lost, and much came to be distorted. Most Buddhist texts were committed to writing only some three centuries after the master's passing away around 400 BCE. Still, by comparing different accounts in the Pali Canon and in other traditions and languages (Sanskrit and Chinese being the most important), we can reasonably reconstruct quite a lot for the age of emperor Aśoka, the middle of the 3rd century BCE.

Beyond that point we can reach only tentatively through philological and philosophical analysis. This is shaky, but because the original comes from an intelligent and systematic teacher, we can often credibly correct the traditional text into something more meaningful and consistent with the rest of the old doctrine. Unfortunately, this is not the case with the argument analysed here: it is basically isolated in the Pali Canon, so no consistency check is possible. I can only say that it seems to be more meaningful after the emendation suggested.

This emendation is, however, unusually brutal – it reverses the flow of the argument. In the text, we have: "If it were A, then it would be B; but since it is not A, it is *not* B." After the suggested relocation of the negative particle, the argument will be: "If it were A, then it would *not* be B; but since it is not A, it is B".

The sermon on no self

The argument analysed is "the first *anātman* teaching"[1] in the *Anātma-lakṣaṇa-sūtra* (Discourse on the Characteristic of Nonself)*,* the Buddha's second sermon, on hearing which his first five disciples became enlightened. It is considered an extremely important *sūtra,* surpassed only by the first sermon, *Dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtra* (The Turning of the Wheel of Law)*.* In Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation (2000: 901–903), the whole text runs as follows:

> [T]he Blessed One addressed the bhikkhus[2] of the group of five thus: […]

> "Bhikkhus, form is nonself. For if, bhikkhus, form were self, this form would not lead to affliction, and it would be possible to have it of form: 'Let my form be thus; let my form not be thus.' But because form is nonself, form leads to affliction, and it is not possible to have it of form: 'Let my form be thus; let my form not be thus.'"

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[1]   In the terminology of Wynne (2009b) *An-ātman* is usually rendered as "no-self" or "nonself". In this paper, although most texts analysed are in Pali, I will use the "non-sectarian" Sanskrit terms.

[2]   Pali *bhikkhu,* Sanskrit *bhikṣu*, "mendicant" is a Buddhist monk.

"Feeling is nonself… Perception is nonself… Volitional formations are nonself… Consciousness is nonself. For if, bhikkhus, consciousness were self, this consciousness would not lead to affliction, and it would be possible to have it of consciousness: 'Let my consciousness be thus; let my consciousness not be thus.' But because consciousness is nonself, consciousness leads to affliction, and it is not possible to have it of consciousness: 'Let my consciousness be thus; let my consciousness not be thus.'

"What do you think, bhikkhus, is form permanent or impermanent?" – "Impermanent, venerable sir." – "Is what is impermanent suffering or happiness?" – "Suffering, venerable sir." – "Is what is impermanent, suffering, and subject to change fit to be regarded thus: 'This is mine, this I am, this is my self'?" – "No, venerable sir."

"Is feeling permanent or impermanent?… Is perception permanent or impermanent?… Are volitional formations permanent or impermanent?… Is consciousness permanent or impermanent?" – "Impermanent, venerable sir." – "Is what is impermanent suffering or happiness?" – "Suffering, venerable sir." – "Is what is impermanent, suffering, and subject to change fit to be regarded thus: 'This is mine, this I am, this is my self'?" – "No, venerable sir."

"Therefore, bhikkhus, any kind of form whatsoever, whether past, future, or present, internal or external, gross or subtle, inferior or superior, far or near, all form should be seen as it really is with correct wisdom thus: 'This is not mine, this I am not, this is not my self.'

"Any kind of feeling whatsoever… Any kind of perception whatsoever… Any kind of volitional formations whatsoever… Any kind of consciousness whatsoever, whether past, future, or present, internal or external, gross or subtle, inferior or superior, far or near, all consciousness should be seen as it really is with correct wisdom thus: 'This is not mine, this I am not, this is not my self.'

"Seeing thus, bhikkhus, the instructed noble disciple experiences revulsion towards form, revulsion towards feeling, revulsion towards perception, revulsion towards volitional formations, revulsion towards consciousness. Experiencing revulsion, he becomes dispassionate. Through dispassion [his mind] is liberated. When it is liberated there comes the knowledge: 'It's liberated.' He understands: 'Destroyed is birth, the holy life has been lived, what had to be done has been done, there is no more for this state of being.'"

Here, as in most texts discussing the no-self theory, the conceptual framework is the standard Buddhist anthropology. According to this, a person is made up

of five constituents, *skandha*s.[3] These are *rūpa, vedanā, saṃjñā, saṃskāra*s and *vijñāna,* roughly corresponding to body, sensation, percept, imprints and cognition. In the above translation they were given as form, feeling, perception, volitional formations and consciousness.

The texts keep on repeating that the *skandha*s are not the self. The wording is slightly ambiguous; on first reading it seems that five different views are rejected, like "the body is the self" (a materialist position) or "cognition is the self" (Descartes' approach). This is not very probable: who would ever hold that "the self is the percept" (e.g. my internal image of the computer I am working on right now)? And there are cases where the same person affirms all five at the same time.[4] Therefore the real meaning must be that none of the five *skandha*s, nor any combination of them is (or is part of) the self.

Keeping this in mind, we can summarise the *sūtra* as follows, marking the first *anātman* teaching as (1) and the second as (2):

> The *skandha*s are not the Self.
>
> (1) For if the *skandha*s were the Self, they would not lead to affliction, and it would be possible to have it of them: "Let them be thus; let them not be thus." But because the *skandha*s are not the Self, they lead to affliction, and it is not possible to have it of them: "Let them be thus; let them not be thus".
>
> (2) The *skandha*s are impermanent and therefore they are suffering. They are subject to change. So they are not fit to be regarded thus: "This is mine, this I am, this is my Self."
>
> All *skandha*s (whether past, future, or present, internal or external, gross or subtle, inferior or superior, far or near) should be seen as they really are with correct wisdom thus: "This is not mine, this I am not, this is not my Self."
>
> Seeing thus, the instructed noble disciple gets disenchanted with the *skandha*s, and so he becomes dispassionate. Through dispassion he gets liberated.

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3   *Skandha*, lit. "trunk" is regularly translated as "aggregate", although this seems to be a later understanding. The original meaning was perhaps something like "major part". Although the term is early and universally used, the Buddha himself probably did not use this word in this meaning; it may have been Śāriputra who first did so.

4   E.g. Saccaka Aggivessana in the *Cūḷa-saccaka-sutta* (MN 35) discussed below: *Ahañ hi, bho Gotama, evaṃ vadāmi – 'rūpaṃ me attā, vedanā me attā, saññā me attā, saṅkhārā me attā, viññāṇaṃ me attā' ti.* "Gotama, I do say so: 'Body is my self, sensation is my self, percept is my self, imprints are my self, cognition is my self.'" (Unless explicitly stated otherwise, translations are by the author.)

The first *anātman* teaching

It is apparent that the first *anātman* teaching contains two arguments:

> The *skandha*s are not the Self, because:
>
> (1a) If the *skandha*s were the Self, they would not lead to affliction. But because the *skandha*s are not the Self, they lead to affliction.
>
> (1b) If the *skandha*s were the Self, it would be possible to have it of them: "Let them be thus; let them not be thus." But because the *skandha*s are not the Self, it is not possible to have it of them: "Let them be thus; let them not be thus."

The first argument seems fairly clear at first. The self must be selfish: I do what I like, what is good to me; I do not harm myself. This seems logical, although somewhat naive – especially in the Indian ascetic tradition, where torturing oneself is what the best and wisest people do.

In fact, as we can see from the second *anātman* teaching, the Buddha is not arguing against a psychological concept of self – he is rejecting a very specific metaphysical idea. "Is what is impermanent, suffering, and subject to change fit to be regarded thus: 'This is mine, this I am, this is my Self'?" The idea attacked is that there is an eternal Self in us and it is essentially joyful. As in the Vedānta tradition, where the unchanging Self is called *sac-cid-ānanda,* "existent, consciousness and happiness". This kind of Self I am spelling with a capital "S". Of this Self it is analytically true (true by definition) that

> – it is eternal, undecaying and unchanging;
> – it is blissful: it is not a source of pain or suffering.

In all his no-self arguments the Buddha (in contrast to some later Buddhists) never addresses the question of whether the common-sense or psychological notion of "I" or "self" is useful, realistic and correct or not. What he says is only that there is no eternal, unchanging and inherently blissful substance in us that could somehow correspond to our subjectivity and personal identity.

On this understanding, the first argument is solid. The *skandha*s can be sources of various kinds of suffering – your body, when you have a toothache; sensation, when you hear extremely loud music; percept, when you see something horrible in a film; imprints, when a childhood trauma prevents you from being happy in a particular way; and cognition (mind, thinking) when you think of your bleak future. So the *skandha*s cannot be the essentially blissful Self.

The argument from control

Argument (1b) is, however, quite problematic. It is often called the "argument from lack of control". As Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000: 1066–1067) summarised it in his note to the translation given above, it

> demonstrates the selfless nature of the five aggregates on the ground that they are insusceptible to the exercise of mastery (*avasavattitā*). If anything is to count as our "self" it must be subject to our volitional control; since, however, we cannot bend the five aggregates to our will, they are all subject to affliction and therefore cannot be our self. For a fuller presentation of this argument, see MN I 230–33.[5]

Now both parts of the argument are unconvincing. The factual premise that I cannot control my *skandha*s is not true, and the supposed rule that my self must be under my control is anything but evident.

As for the first, I can control my body – stand up, take a walk etc.; my sensations – closing my eye; my percepts – looking away; the activity of my imprints – voluntarily recalling a pleasant memory; and my cognition by thinking of something else. This is obvious, so probably the idea is that I cannot change my *skandha*s, I can only control their activity. But even that is not true. I can modify my body through diet or exercise, my imprints in therapy or through meditation, my cognition by learning.

We could try to understand "control" in the sense of "absolute and unlimited control", and then the statement would be true: I cannot fly and I cannot change my body into a squirrel. However, the wording of the text makes it extremely improbable. "It is not possible to have it of the *skandha*s: 'Let them be thus; let them not be thus'." It is categorical denial, the sentence cannot mean that "It is not always possible".

It seems that we are left with only one possible interpretation: "I cannot change my *skandha*s by mere volition, by simply wishing it." Although this is not explicit in the text, at least it does not contradict the text. And it is a true statement.

Self and control

The second part of argument (1b), the underlying assumption that my self is under my control, at first sight may appear quite reasonable. I am that part of the world which is under my direct, immediate control. However, in this sense I do control the *skandha*s, and of course we would say that they are parts of me.

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[5]   The reference is to the *Cūḷa-saccaka-sutta* (MN 35) discussed below.

If, on the other hand, we understand "control" as deduced above, we get the improbable idea that "my self is what I can change by mere volition". I think that no philosopher and no religion ever shared this concept. Many would choose the opposite view: the self is not what can be controlled – the self is the controller. The self is what gives us our identity; it is the stable, unchanging core. Not something that could be changed by a mere wish.[6]

More importantly, this "control" requirement presupposes that the self can be changed, therefore it is not an unchanging entity. And it directly contradicts the analytical truth reconstructed above from the second *anātman* teaching that the Self is eternal, undecaying and unchanging.

Perhaps we have made a mistake in this lengthy and complicated analysis? No. Let us have another look directly at the text itself. There is only one line omitted here between the two paragraphs quoted:

> "But because consciousness is nonself […] it is not possible to have it of consciousness: 'Let my consciousness be thus; let my consciousness not be thus.' […]

> "Is what is impermanent suffering or happiness?" – "Suffering, venerable sir." – "Is what is impermanent, suffering, and subject to change fit to be regarded thus: 'This is mine, this I am, this is my self'?" – "No, venerable sir."
>
> (BODHI 2000: 902)

The contradiction is there. Something is nonself, because I cannot change it – what is subject to change is not my self. The self must be unchanging and at the same time changeable by me.

If, however, we look at the original, we may resolve the contradiction. "Subject to change" is in Pali *vipariṇāma-dhamma*,[7] "by nature changing to the worse", "necessarily decaying". This makes it theoretically possible that the Buddha is here arguing against a Self that is

- eternal, undecaying (and, perhaps, nothing else can change it);
- blissful, not a source of pain or suffering;
- can change itself by willing it.

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6   This was clearly elaborated in KUAN (2009: 162–163).

7   In the Sanskrit versions, *vipariṇāma-dharmin* (*Saṅgha-bheda-vastu* and *Catuṣ-pariṣat-sūtra*) meaning the same, and *vipariṇāma-virāga-nirodhatā*, "changing to the worse, fading and ceasing" (*Mahā-vastu*); see WYNNE (2009a: 64–65). In the Chinese SĀ 33 and 34, it is *biànyì fǎ* 變易法, translated as "a changing dhamma" (SMITH 2001) or "dharmas, easily subject to change" (PIERQUET 2010–2016); but in fact, it is just a literal rendering of the Pali expression, *biànyì* "change" + *fǎ* "dharma". "Easily changing dharmas" would be *yìbiàn fǎ* 易變法; I thank Gábor Kósa for the last remark.

This is a coherent idea, corresponding to an eternal and free soul. Many people believe in an immortal soul and many believe in the possibility of change: I can decide to be a better person, and if I truly want it, I will make it.

Can the Buddha be denying the "self changing self" position?

The solution reached above is still unconvincing, for several reasons. First, we know of no Indian tradition that held this view. It seems that in Indian philosophy it came to be generally accepted that a changing entity is perishable, so all eternal things must be essentially unchangeable. In any case, we never hear of the position that "the Self is eternal, but it can change itself by willing it". Why would the Buddha argue against a position that no-one held? – We could, however, think that he is just attacking a popular concept, the belief in an immortal and free soul.

The second, fairly interesting problem is that the position here rejected is exactly that of standard Buddhism. Of course, no Buddhist calls this undecaying, blissful, free entity "Self" – that would be heresy. But most Buddhists hold that we all have the Buddha-nature in us (although different traditions use different names for it), and once we reach *nirvāṇa*, it becomes manifest. A person in *nirvāṇa*, an *arhat* or *buddha*, is free from suffering and he is practically omnipotent: he can fly, take whatever form he pleases, can go anywhere in the blink of an eye, even to the highest heaven. So, he can actually change all his *skandha*s. This is not a fatal objection, if somebody thinks (as the present author firmly believes) that all the wondrous aspects of Buddhism are later additions, not the teaching of the master himself.

The third objection is serious. No-one believes in a self that is free to change itself into anything by merely wishing it. Even God cannot change himself into a non-god: he cannot simply resign. If the Buddha is attacking here a position worth attacking, a position that at least some people accept, then this freedom is not absolute. Realistically it can mean only that I can change myself within limits, and often it needs willpower, much effort and practice.

But the Buddha cannot be denying this – for it is not only true, but, more importantly, this is the central tenet of Buddhism. Suffering is universal, but you can get rid of it. By practicing Buddhism, you can reach liberation. Our text actually ends by saying that understanding this doctrine leads to liberation – and that is quite a significant change. So, if we accepted this interpretation, the Buddha would say: "Understanding that you have no power to change yourself, you can change yourself." This is mystical, perhaps it could nicely fit into the *prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*s or a Zen *kōan,* but it is not like the Buddha.

The emendation

We have tried all we could do to produce a coherent and reasonable interpretation that fits the Buddha's teaching, and failed. Once we got to this point, there are few possibilities left.

The Buddha, of course, may be mistaken: to err is human. However, this is an extremely important sermon and the topic, the *anātman* doctrine, is central to the Buddha's teaching. This is basically the only clear metaphysical tenet he had. He talked about it quite often, so he must have thought it over really carefully. This is where we would least expect a silly mistake.

It is also possible that our text is composite, which is quite frequently the case with the old *sūtra*s. Then the first and the second *anātman* teachings do not belong together, they had originally entirely different contexts, so they cannot be interpreted together, as we have done. This is again improbable, for two reasons. The first *anātman* teaching never occurs in other contexts; and even without any context it is quite implausible. Why would anyone accept that "the self (if it existed) could be changed in a way the *skandha*s cannot"?

It seems we are left only with the weird option, an emendation not supported by any text in the whole Pali canon. What I am proposing is that we emend the argument by moving a single "not" from the second sentence to the first. The argument in the texts:

> (1b) If the *skandha*s were the Self, it would be possible to have it of them: "Let them be thus; let them not be thus". But because the *skandha*s are not the Self, it is NOT possible to have it of them: "Let them be thus; let them not be thus".

is now changed to:

> (1b') If the *skandha*s were the Self, it would NOT be possible to have it of them: "Let them be thus; let them not be thus". But because the *skandha*s are not the Self, it is possible to have it of them: "Let them be thus; let them not be thus".

The emended version says just the opposite to what our texts say. And, unsurprisingly, because (1b) seemed untenable, its opposite, (1b') is convincing, even can be understood as an analytical truth.

The straightforward meaning of (1b') fits the context perfectly. "An eternal Self would be unchanging. But you can control and change the *skandha*s, so they cannot be the Self, and they cannot be parts of it." This fits the Indian scenery also. Not only classical Vedānta, but already the earliest Upaniṣads clearly formulate the idea of the unchanging self. "It is always the same [...] That is

Ātman,"[8] says Uddālaka Āruṇi. Similarly in the Sāṃkhya philosophy, change (*pariṇāma*) is the characteristic of matter only, contrasting with soul (*puruṣa*). And it can be shown that both Āruṇi and Sāṃkhya are earlier than the Buddha, who, in fact, knew both teachings (Ruzsa 2017: 169–170).

But even without the present context of the second *anātman* teaching that stipulates that the Self must be unchanging, (1b') is meaningful and seems to suggest a philosophically interesting insight: "the essence or self of something is that part of it that remains the same when the thing changes." This seems to agree well with our intuition. On this definition, it becomes a logical truth that the self cannot change. It is meaningless to say, let my self be this or that. It is meaningless to say, "I want to be Einstein". I may want to have his genius, his career or his looks, but I cannot want to be him. If God tried to fulfil this wish, somebody looking on may superficially say: "He has turned into Einstein", but that would be false. That would not be *me*. What happened is that God annihilated me and created a replica of Einstein in the same place.

Then it seems advisable to modify the translation as well:

> (1b") If the *skandha*s were the Self, it would not be possible to wish with respect to them: "Let them be thus; let them not be thus". But because the *skandha*s are not the Self, it is possible to wish with respect to them: "Let them be thus; let them not be thus".

This translation is actually more literal than Bhikkhu Bodhi's, who tried to translate in a way that fits the "lack of control" interpretation. The Pali is *labbhetha ca rūpe – "evaṃ me rūpaṃ hotu, evaṃ me rūpaṃ mā ahosī" ti.* Such quotations without a verb defining their role in the context (or preceded by the copula + Genitive of person) with the particle *ti* normally mean that the person thinks, knows, wishes or decides it – and not, that he performs it. When he does perform it, it is regularly repeated in the next sentence without the *ti*-construction. Since the English idiom requires a verb, I added above "to wish", according to the content of the quoted sentence, "let it be so". But instead of "to wish", we could also understand here "to think or to say".

Philological considerations

The *Anātma-lakṣaṇa-sūtra* has two copies in the Pali Canon: an isolated text in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, the *Anatta-lakkhaṇa-sutta* (SN 22.59), and a discourse embedded into the narrative of the Buddha's acts after his enlightenment in the *Mahā-vagga* part of the *Vinaya*, the collection of books on the monastic

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[8]   *tac chaśvat saṃvartate. […] sa ātmā. Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* 6, 13, 2–3 (Olivelle 1998: 254). Translation by Hume (1921: 248).

order (Vin. I.13–14). It also has a lengthy elaboration in a different setting, in a discourse with the non-Buddhist Saccaka; that will be discussed in the next section.

As could be expected with such an important topic, the second *anātman* teaching recurs extremely frequently in the Canon. The characteristic expression "This is mine, this I am, this is my self" and its negation occur 347 times.[9] In contrast, the first *anātman* teaching is found only in the texts mentioned in the previous paragraph and in a direct quotation from the *Anatta-lakkhaṇa-sutta* in the *Cūḷa-niddesa*.[10] This rare occurrence cannot be accidental – it seems that the transmitters of the tradition were not comfortable with the argument, and, as we have seen, they had reason to be so.

Also in Sanskrit we find the first *anātman* teaching only in the *Vinaya* accounts of the Buddha's life.[11] In all these versions the logic of argument (1b) is that of the Pali, although most try to rectify somewhat the awkward sentence suggesting the falsehood "it is not possible to wish with respect to the body 'let my body be thus, let my body not be thus'."[12] Already the *Cūḷa-niddesa* clarifies that it is not the wish that is impossible but to realise it, introducing the argument with "Mastery over form is not possible".[13] The *Saṅgha-bheda-vastu* and the *Catuṣ-pariṣat-sūtra* simply change the grammatical case of *rūpa* "body" from Locative to Genitive, resulting in a sentence plausibly meaning "it is not possible for the body that it should be thus, it should not be thus".[14] The *Mahāvastu* keeps the Locative, but changes the expression to "fulfilling one's wish does not succeed here – let my body be thus, let my body be not thus."[15]

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[9] *Etaṃ mama, eso 'ham asmi, eso me attā* 156 times, and *N' etaṃ mama, n' eso ham asmi, na m' eso attā* 191 times.

[10] Nidd II p. 278, commenting upon "*Suññato lokaṃ avekkhassu*" ("Regard the world as empty") in the *Mogharāja-māṇava-pucchā*. This is the only place where we find the first *anātman* teaching without the second. – The *Cūḷa-niddesa* is in fact a commentary (that somehow came to be regarded as canonical) on two chapters of the canonical *Sutta-nipāta*.

[11] These have been conveniently collected and partially translated in WYNNE (2009a: 64–66 and 2009b: 85–86); I will quote these texts from him. There are some unpublished Sanskrit fragments and a Gāndhārī version of the *Anātma-lakṣaṇa-sūtra* (ALLON 2007: 15; 2014: 23, mentioning several Chinese parallels as well). ALLON (2020) published the Gāndhārī version (Senior collection RS 22 no. 2) with careful comparison of the parallels. It matches exactly the Pali text in all the relevant details.

[12] *Na ca labbhati rūpe – "evaṃ me rūpaṃ hotu, evaṃ me rūpaṃ mā ahosī" ti* (*Anatta-lakkhaṇa-sutta*).

[13] BODHI (2017: 1310). *Rūpe vaso na labbhati, [...]* (Nidd II p. 278).

[14] *Na ca labhyate rūpasya "evaṃ me (rūpam) bhavatu, evaṃ mā bhūd" iti* (WYNNE 2009b: 86).

[15] *Na câtra ṛdhyati kāma-kārikatā: evaṃ me rūpaṃ bhavatu, evaṃ mā bhavatu* (WYNNE 2009b: 85). (In the parallel previous sentence, we find *rūpe* in place of *atra*.)

The Pali commentaries, as well as modern translators and interpreters all follow this approach and read (1b) as an argument from lack of control. The sole exception is Tse-fu Kuan (2009: 169–170), who notices that the Chinese parallels differ significantly.

There are two Chinese versions of the *Anātma-lakṣaṇa-sūtra*, both in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*: no. 33 entitled "No self", and no. 34, "The five monks".[16] The two variants are very close to each other, differing in a single character in the sentences we are interested in.[17] In these texts, argument (1b) reads thus:

> If material form were Self, […] it should not [be possible to] intend with regard to material form thus: "Let it be thus; let it not be thus". Because material form is without Self, […] it is possible to intend with regard to material form thus: "Let it be thus; let it not be thus".[18]

This agrees exactly with our final emendation, (1b"). The whole argument seems to match word by word the Pali text, except for the transposition of the word "not". Therefore, we can assume that there were two traditions of the argument, (1b) found in more versions, (1b") surviving only in these two Chinese

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16 SĀ 33 (Taishō vol. II no. 99 pp. 7b–7c) *Fēi wǒ* 非我, and SĀ 34 (Taishō vol. II no. 99 pp. 7c–8a) *Wǔ bǐqiū* 五比丘. There are two other, somewhat more distant parallels (SĀ 86, "Impermanence" and SĀ 87, "Suffering"). Although they would further corroborate our findings, at the same time they would make the flow of argument even more complicated, therefore they will not be analysed here.

17 SĀ 33 has *bù yìng yú sè yù* 不應於色 欲 "should not wish about form", while in SĀ 34 we read *bù dé yú sè yù* 不得於色 欲 "not possible to wish about form", both clearly corresponding to the (emended) Pali: *[na] labbhetha rūpe – "…" ti*, "it would not be possible to wish about form".

18 Kuan (2009: 169), translating SĀ 33. The original is: *Ruò sè shì wǒ zhě, […] bù yìng yú sè yù lìng rú shì, bù lìng rú shì. Yǐ sè wú wǒ gù, […] dé yú sè yù lìng rú shì, bù lìng rú shì.* 若色是我者，[…] 不應於色欲令如是、不令如是。以色無我故，[…] 得於色欲令如是、不令如是。Anālayo's rendering (2014: 4) is very close: "If bodily form were the self, […] there should not be the wish for bodily form to be in this way and not to be in that way. Because bodily form is not self, […] one gets the wish for bodily form to be in this way and not to be in that way." Smith (2001) also mostly agrees: "If form were self, then […] it ought not [happen that one would] want form to be like this and it not be like that. Form is not self because, […] it is the case that, regarding form, one wants it to be like this and it is not like that." Similarly Patton (2024): "If form were self, […] there wouldn't be these desires about form: 'Let it be so; let it not be so.' Because form has no self, […] these desires become possible: 'Let it be so; let it not be so.'"

Pierquet (2010–2016), translating SĀ 34, tries to recreate the logic of the Pali: "If form existed as a self, then […]. Regarding form, it is also not possible to cause it to be like this, or not like this, because form is not oneself. […] one also grasps the desire to make form like this, or not like this." The effort is quite valiant, but the result is impossible for several reasons. E.g. you cannot translate identical phrases (*dé yú sè yù* 得於色欲, first with *bù* 不 "not" prefixed) completely differently – first "Regarding form, it is not possible to cause it to be", then "one grasps the desire to make form".

translations. Since we found (1b) very problematic, while (1b") is quite plausible, we could rest assured that (1b") is original, while (1b) is an early corruption.[19]

The discourse with Saccaka

There is a serious objection to our reconstruction. In a *sūtra* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, "The Shorter Discourse to Saccaka" (MN 35), argument (1b) is presented in a form and context that makes it impossible to emend it to (1b").

The Buddha had a public debate with Saccaka Aggivessana,[20] a *nirgrantha*.[21] What follows is a heavily compressed version of their discussion,[22] with arguments (1b) and (2) marked; [B] stands for the Buddha, [S] for Saccaka:

> [B:] "This is how my instruction is usually presented to my disciples: 'Bhikkhus, the *skandha*s are impermanent, the *skandha*s are not self.'"

> [S:] "Just as when seeds and plants, whatever their kind, reach growth, increase, and maturation, all do so in dependence upon the earth, based upon the earth; and just as when strenuous works, whatever their kind, are done, all are done in dependence upon the earth, based upon the earth – so too, Master Gotama, a person has the *skandha*s as self, and based upon the *skandha*s he produces merit or demerit. I assert thus, Master Gotama: 'The *skandha*s are my self.'"

> [B:] "What do you think, Aggivessana? Would a head-anointed noble king exercise the power in his own realm to execute those who should

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[19] Tse-fu Kuan also thought that the Chinese version is closer than the Pali to the Buddha's thinking, but for very different reasons. Although translating as quoted above: "it should not [be possible to] intend", he interpreted it as Anālayo's rendering suggests: "there should not be the wish". "[T]he essential characteristic of 'selfhood' [is] being an autonomous entity […] If something is an autonomous entity, it can always be the way that it wishes to be, and therefore it is permanent and happy" (KUAN 2009: 170). This is but a slight variation on the "lack of control" interpretation that says: "the Self is able to change as it wishes", while Kuan's Chinese would say: "the Self can always be the way that it wishes to be, therefore it is pointless to wish it otherwise". Kuan does notice the difference between the Chinese and Pali versions, but he does not see that the Chinese is the exact opposite of the Pali. He thinks that "[t]his argument in SĀ 33 is also found in the above sūtra 10 of Chapter 37 of the *Ekottarika-āgama*" (KUAN 2009: 170), but there we find only the argument from lack of control ("even an emperor will grow old").

On the other hand, the interpretation proposed here understands the self as the source of identity. It is *sensu stricto* meaningless to wish "let the self change", for "change" is "becoming different", i.e. "becoming non-identical" – therefore the wish would be "let the identical become non-identical", a plain self-contradiction.

[20] This is the Pali name. In Sanskrit, Sātyaki is found (ANĀLAYO 2011: I.233), while Aggivessana seems to correspond to Āgniveśyāyana.

[21] Usually understood as a Jaina, but this is far from clear, see KUAN (2009: 163–166).

[22] Compressed from the translation by ÑĀNAMOLI and BODHI (2009: 324–327).

be executed, to fine those who should be fined, and to banish those who should be banished?"

[S:] "Yes. He would exercise it, Master Gotama, and he would be worthy to exercise it."

(1b) [B:] "What do you think, Aggivessana? When you say thus: 'The *skandha*s are my self,' do you exercise any such power over those *skandha*s as to say: 'Let my *skandha*s be thus; let my *skandha*s not be thus'?"

[S:] "No, Master Gotama."

[B:] "Pay attention, Aggivessana, pay attention how you reply! What you said afterwards does not agree with what you said before, nor does what you said before agree with what you said afterwards.

(2) What do you think, Aggivessana, are the *skandha*s permanent or impermanent?"

[S:] "Impermanent, Master Gotama."

[B:] "Is what is impermanent suffering or happiness?"

[S:] "Suffering, Master Gotama."

[B:] "Is what is impermanent, suffering, and subject to change fit to be regarded thus: 'This is mine, this I am, this is my self'?"

[S:] "No, Master Gotama."

Here the discussion clearly centres around lack of control: "do you exercise any such power over those *skandha*s as to say..." (*vattati te tasmiṃ rūpe* [etc.] *vaso – [...] ti*). And this is strongly corroborated by the contrasting example of the king, who does have power over his realm.

The text is unambiguous, and it is perfectly resistant to the emendation suggested. However, it can be shown to be unauthentic. First of all, it is bordering on the meaningless. Saccaka, a famous expert debater is shown to be silenced by an altogether irrelevant example: "The *skandha*s are not your self, for you have no power over them like a king has over his realm." Since a king's realm is not his self, the example must be about possession: *his* realm, *your* self. But the genitive case has many-many senses,[23] so this argument is as strong as this: "Your grandfather is not *your* grandfather, for you cannot sell him like *your* car."

Let us suppose that Saccaka overlooked this fault. But the contrast implied simply does not exist: the king has *no* power to make his realm as he wishes;

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[23] As it was famously well known in India: *Ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* (Pāṇini 2.3.50, in Sharma 2002: 153), "In all other cases the Genitive should be used" (translation mine).

while Saccaka *does* have the power to cut off from his body what needs to be cut off (his nails) and to expel what needs to be expelled (when emptying his bowels).

Philology attests to the simile of the king being interpolated here, for in another *sūtra*[24] king Prasenajit uses exactly these words, fully in harmony with the context there: "Being a head-anointed noble king, I am able to have executed those who should be executed, to fine those who should be fined, to banish those who should be banished." So, this sentence was copied here, changing only "I am able" to "exercises the power in his own realm", to match the wording of argument (1b).[25]

There are two Chinese parallels to this text. The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version[26] is quite close to the Pali, a minor addition being that what we deduced above, i.e. that the example of the king must be about possession, is here explicit: "The Buddha said: 'Aggivessana, whoever is the owner, would he not be totally free to do anything he likes?' He answered: 'It is like this, Gotama.'" In the *Ekottarika-āgama* version[27] Saccaka starts by asserting that *rūpa* (probably he thinks of "matter", not "body") is permanent, and the illustration of the powerful king is meant to refute this: "The Blessed One said: 'What do you think, Nigaṇṭha's son? Will a wheel-turning king become old with white hair, wrinkled face and dirty clothes?'"

What had happened in the transmission is probably impossible to reconstruct. The simplest story would be that first the corruption from (1b") to (1b) happened, then somebody trying (unsuccessfully) to make some sense of the implausible (1b) added the simile of the king; then some further effort to make the latter more convincing shows in the two versions preserved in Chinese.

Interestingly, the powers of the kings mentioned differ in the three versions. In the Pali, he has the power to punish justly; in the SĀ, he can punish and reward:

> [T]he king of a country [...] in his own country can put to death a man who has committed a crime, or bind him, or expel him, or have him

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[24] MN 89, *Dhammacetiya-sutta* (Monuments to the Dhamma), translation based on Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi (2009: 731). – This is not a stock phrase, for it does not occur anywhere else; actually it has some quite unusual forms (*ghātetāya*, *jāpetāya*, *pabbājetāya*).

[25] The Pali of MN 89 is *[A]haṃ [...] rājā khattiyo muddhāvasitto; pahomi ghātetāyaṃ vā ghātetuṃ, jāpetāyaṃ vā jāpetuṃ, pabbājetāyaṃ vā pabbājetuṃ*; while our MN 35 reads: *Rañño khattiyassa muddhāvasittassa [...] vattati sakasmiṃ vijite vaso ghātetāyaṃ vā ghātetuṃ, jāpetāyaṃ vā jāpetuṃ, pabbājetāyaṃ vā pabbājetuṃ.* The change of the wording from *pahomi* to *vattati sakasmiṃ vijite vaso* is intended to reflect *vattati te tasmiṃ rūpe vaso*.

[26] SĀ 110 at T II 35a17 to 37b25. For the translation see Anālayo (2015: 58–81).

[27] EĀ 37.10 at T II 715c–716c. For the translation of the relevant parts see Kuan (2009: 159–160).

be whipped and his hands and feet cut off; and if someone has done a meritorious deed, [the king can] grant him the gift of an elephant, a horse, a vehicle, a town, or wealth.

<div align="right">(Anālayo 2015: 67)</div>

In the EĀ, the king can punish unjustly: "A wheel-turning king has the ability to act according to his own free will, to kill whoever should not be killed and bind whoever should not be bound" (Kuan 2009: 159).

Let us recall that Saccaka defined the self in karmic terms: "[A] person has the *skandha*s as self, and based upon the *skandha*s he produces merit or demerit" (compressed from Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 2009: 325). This is quite parallel to the SĀ king's giving rewards and punishment. This could suggest that originally the Buddha used the example of the king to show that it is not the *skandha*s that produce karma, for the king does not act personally (with his *skandha*s) but through his subjects. (Also the person receives his due from the king, not from his own *skandha*s). This would also harmonise with the conclusion of the *sūtra* where the Buddha explains that the same physical acts (of giving a gift) have different karmic results according to the person it is given to.

Another karmic interpretation is suggested by the EĀ version – in this case, the Buddha would be denying karmic effectivity:[28] you may have done something very meritorious, but the result may be that the tyrannical monarch will have you executed.

So probably it is not the simplest story that comes closest to the truth. Saccaka may have given a (partly) karmic definition of the self, deducing from it that the *skandha*s are the self. The Buddha may have answered with (one or several versions of) the parable of the king, refuting the karmic aspect of the argument, then proceeding with the more general no-self exposition.

Whichever story we prefer, it is clear that the extant versions do not remember very well the logic of the original discourse. Therefore it is quite plausible to suppose that the already standardised (but erroneous) text of the well-known *Anātma-lakṣaṇa-sūtra* was simply inserted here: it is a quotation, not an independently remembered text, so it cannot give more weight to the reading quoted. It shows only what we already know, that the faulty reading (1b) was much more widespread than the probably original (1b").

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[28]   I have argued elsewhere (Ruzsa 2019) that the Buddha – in contrast to most Buddhists – did not accept karmic determination, as it would severely limit human freedom (e.g. to reach *nirvāṇa* in this very life).

Buddha-vacana

Surprisingly, the very error itself proves the unusually high authenticity of the text. For in spite of the corruption making it meaningless, it was so well preserved that with the reposition of a single *na* we got back a meaningful text with a deep philosophical insight. And that is possible only if the text was remembered verbatim. So in all probability in the emended text we have something very rare – the words of the Buddha, *Buddha-vacana*, literally.

Here is a reconstruction of what may have happened. The Buddha after his enlightenment pondered long how to teach; also on his way to Benares he had plenty of time to think over his teaching materials. In a culture without script, the standard method was to use concise memoriter texts with explanations added after the students have learnt the text. This method was used by the Buddha's two teachers, Uddaka Rāmaputta and Āḷāra Kālāma as well.

So the Buddha composed his own summaries to memorize, and they are called now his first two "sermons" or "discourses": the *Turning of the Wheel of Law* and *The Characteristic of No Self.* For him, the insight that an unchanging self is meaningless was extremely important: this made him leave his masters who tried to show him this self (but he saw nothing).

However, most of his disciples were unable to understand the argument (1b"), so he soon dropped it from the curriculum. That is why the tradition does not remember his explanations on it; but the first few disciples did memorize the text itself, and passed it on, without any exegesis. The complicated logical structure of the counterfactual sentences facilitated the corruption. The original "A – not-B, not-A – B" sequence got smoothed (in a part of the tradition) into "A – B, not-A – not-B".

The debate with Saccaka happened very early in the Buddha's teaching career. It seems to have been his first attempt to preach in a capital city (Vesālī, capital of the Vajji confederation), and (at least Assaji, one of) his first five disciples were still with him. So it is entirely possible that he still used (1b").

Later in his life the Buddha perhaps avoided the no-self doctrine altogether, as being really frightening to many in his audiences – while not being necessary for his disciples to reach *nirvāṇa*, true freedom from unhappiness.

Funding

Author's note

The ideas in this paper are the result of the ongoing work together with my friend Tibor Körtvélyesi on early Buddhism. A preliminary Hungarian version of this paper was presented at a conference ("Szelf-koncepciók az ókori és középkori filozófiában" [Conceptions of self in ancient and medieval philosophy]) held at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, on 16th December 2019.

I thank Dávid Jónás for his help with the Chinese texts throughout this paper.

Abbreviations

EĀ   *Ekottarika-āgama*
MN   *Majjhima-nikāya*
Nidd II   *Cūḷa-niddesa*
SĀ   *Saṃyukta-āgama*
SN   *Saṃyutta-nikāya*
Vin.   *Vinaya-piṭaka*

Pali texts are quoted from (but numbering and pages given according to the PTS edition): *Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Tipiṭaka 4.0* (version 4.0.0.15). © 1995 Vipassana Research Institute. Chinese texts are quoted from (but references given according to the Taishō edition): https://suttacentral.net/

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The Huaisheng Mosque in Canton: A New Translation and Analysis of the Oldest Inscription from 1350 CE

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Abstract: The Huaisheng Mosque in Canton is one of the oldest mosques in China. Its exact founding year is unknown, however the earliest still existing inscription dates to the year 1350, the final stage of the Mongolian Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). The text carved on a stone stele documents the reconstruction of the mosque, after it had burnt down some years earlier. To make this text known to a wider public and correct misunderstandings, the inscription was completely translated and newly annotated.

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1. Introduction

Stone inscriptions in China, having a long tradition and wide distribution, are interesting and important sources. Like tesserae these inscriptions can complete the mosaic on historical persons, and their social, cultural and political background.[1] Foreigners, such as people from the Western Region, i.e. Central and Western Asia, who came to China and settled down, also used this form of information and representation in their communities. The earliest Islamic inscriptions are words and sentences on tombstones and in mosques, written in Arabic, Persian or Turkish, often bilingual.[2] The carvings in mosques are inscriptions on the pillars and on the crossbeams, on wooden boards hanging in the rooms, and on stone steles standing in the yards and pavilions of the mosque area. Well documented are the Islamic inscriptions, mostly in Arabic, from the mosques and Muslim tombs in Quanzhou, which were compiled and annotated by Chen Dasheng (CHEN 1984).

However Islamic inscriptions, either monolingual or bilingual, are to be found all over China where Muslim communities exist. Since the Mongol period, bilingual Islamic steles have been erected in mosques, especially after the repair or reconstruction of the building. The earliest stone steles with Chinese Islamic inscriptions are situated in south-eastern China in the mosques of Dingzhou, Quanzhou and Guangzhou (LI 1996: 114–118). These steles were erected at the end of Mongol Yuan dynasty, during the years 1348 (Dingzhou) and 1350 (Guangzhou and Quanzhou). Of these three inscriptions I selected the stone stele of the Huaisheng Mosque in Guangzhou: an inscription of the year 1350 which documents the reconstruction of the mosque after it has burnt down. Based on the inscription text, I will analyse the political, social, and religious situation pertaining to the Muslim community in Guangzhou, the circumstances surrounding the erection of the stele, and its long existence in the mosque for many centuries until it was finally destroyed during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). The name Huaishengsi has been translated as: Mosque of Holy Remembrance (BROOMHALL [1910] 1987: 109), Temple of the Memory of the Saint, Temple of Holy Remembrance (FRANKE 1983: 114), Flourishing of the Sage Mosque (STEINHARDT 2015: 59); however, I prefer to use the Chinese name Huaisheng Mosque.

In the beginning of my research, I wanted to translate, annotate, and compare the three Mosque inscriptions of Guangzhou, Quanzhou and Dingzhou. However, I soon realised that this would be too comprehensive and complex for just an article and should be done in another project. So, I concentrated on

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[1] For the translation of the tomb inscription of the Muslim scholar Liu Zhi, see STÖCKER-PARNIAN (2021).

[2] Bilingual texts: Chinese–Arabic, Chinese–Persian, Chinese–Turkish.

the Huaishengsi inscription, an interesting document for the history of Islam in China and, in particular for the city of Guangzhou.

The article is divided into seven parts: After the introduction (no. 1), I give a full translation of the inscription (no. 2), and afterwards I analyse the composition and structure of the inscription text (no. 3). Then I inquire the five persons, recorded in the text and who handle the establishing of the stele (no. 4). The minaret or stupa, cited in the inscription, which is probably the oldest still existing part of the mosque, is examined in no. 5. For a better understanding, especially for the non-Sinologist reader, I give some information on the historical relations between East and West Asia, the coming of Muslims and their situation in China during the 14th century, all in all the background knowledge of the stele and its inscription (no. 6). At last, I list and specify the special (Islamic) terminology, which is used in the inscription (no. 7).

2. Text of the inscription[3]

(line 1) 重建懷聖寺記
Zhongjian Huaishengsi ji
Documenting the Reconstruction of the Huaisheng Mosque

(line 2)[4] 奉議大夫廣東道宣慰使司都元帥府經理郭嘉撰文
*fengyi dafu Guangdongdao Xuanwei shisi du yuanshuai fu jingli **Guo Jia** zhuan wen*
The Grandee of the Twenty-fourth Class[5] of Pacification Commissions and General Regional Military Commands[6] of Guangdong region, the registrar official[7] **Guo Jia** has composed the text.

(line 3) 政議大夫同知廣東道宣慰使司都元帥府撒的迷失书丹
*zhengyi dafu tongzhi Guangdongdao Xuanwei shisi du yuanshuai fu **Sademishi** shu dan*

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3   The inscription was translated in the 19th century by Dabry de Thiersant (1878) into French and by Karl Himly (1887) into German. However, these translations are quite outdated, sometimes incomprehensible, and partly not correct.

4   After the title (line 1), there are 3 lines (lines 2–4), introducing the important persons – Guo Jia, Sademishi, Seng Jiane – who were responsible for the composition of the inscription. The whole text consists of 24 vertical lines.

5   *Fengyi dafu* 奉議大夫 (Grandee of the Twenty-fourth Class) – in the ranks of the titles of the officials; Farquhar (1990: 25, no. 28).

6   *Xuanwei shisi du yuanshuai fu* 宣慰使司都元帥府 (Pacification Commissions and General Regional Military Commands); Farquhar (1990: 412, no. 120).

7   *Jingli* 經理 (registrar official); Farquhar (1990: 23).

The Grandee of the Eleventh Class[8] the Associate[9] of Pacification Commissions and General Regional Military Commands of Guangdong region **Sademishi** has written in red.

(line 4) 中奉大夫江浙等處行中書省参知政事僧家訥篆額
*zhongfeng dafu Jiangzhe dengzhu xingzhongshusheng canzhi zhengshi **Seng Jiane** zhuan e*
The Grandee of the Tenth Class[10] of the Branch Central Secretariat for Jiangzhe[11] and other places[12], the Second Privy Councillor[13] **Seng Jiane** has written the headline in seal script.

Beginning of the main text:

(line 5) 白雲之麓坡山之隈有浮圖焉
***Baiyun** zhi lu po shan zhi wei you **futu** yan*
At the foot of **White-Cloud Hill**, at the bay of the slope of the hill, there is a **stupa**.

其制則西域嶪然石立
*qi zhi ze **Xiyu** jie ran shi li*
It was built according to the style of **Western Region** and was erected made of stone.

中州所未睹
***Zhongzhou** suo wei du*
This had never been seen before in Central Province (i.e. **China**).

世傳自李唐訖今
*shi chuan zi **Li Tang** qi jin*
It is said that it passed from the **Tang Dynasty** to the present.

蝸旋 **(line 6)** 蟻陟左右九轉
woxuan yizhi zuo you jiu zhuan
Spiralling up like a snail shell and an anthill, left and right in nine turnings (spirals).[14]

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8   *Zhengyi dafu* 政議大夫 (Grand Master for Proper Consultation), a prestige title; see HUCKER (1985: 67). For translation of *zhengyi dafu* (Grandee of the Eleventh Class), see FARQUHAR (1990: 25, no. 15).

9   *Tongzhi* 同知 Associate (Pacification Commissioner); FARQUHAR (1990: 412. no. 121).

10   *Zhongfeng dafu* 中奉大夫 (Grandee of the Tenth Class); FARQUHAR (1990: 25. no. 14).

11   *Xingzhongshusheng* 行中書省 (Branch Central Secretariat); FARQUHAR (1990: 367).

12   The *Jiangzhe* province covered most of the present provinces Zhejiang and Fujian. FARQUHAR (1990: 371).

13   *Canzhi zhengshi* 参知政事 (Second Privy Councillor); FARQUHAR (1990: 171).

14   The spiral stairs ascend on the left and the right like a snail shell or an anthill.

南北其扃
nan bei qi jiong
There is a door to the south and one to the north.

其膚則混然若不可级而登也
qi fu ze hun ran ruo buke ji er deng ye
Its skin (i.e. exterior) is one of an undivided body, appearing to be vertically inaccessible.

其中為二道上出惟一户
qi zhong wei er dao shang chu wei yi hu
Inside there are two routes, at the top there is only one door.

古碑澷 **(line 7)** 漫而莫之或纪
gu bei huan man er mo zhi huo ji
The old stone stele inscription has become illegible, and nothing can be deciphered.

寺之毀于至正癸未也殿宇一空
si zhi hui yu Zhizheng Guiwei ye dian yu yi kong
The mosque burned down in the Yuan Zhizheng era (i.e. 1343), the great hall was an empty space.

今 **(line 8)** 參知浙省僧家讷元卿公實元帥
*jin can zhi Zhesheng **Seng Jiane Yuanqing** Gong shi Yuanshuai*
Now, the vice counsellor of Zhejiang Province, Lord **Seng Jiane**, with adult name **Yuanqing**, concurrently serves as the Marshal.

是乃力為輦礫樹宇金碧載鮮
shi nai li wei nian li shu yu, jin bi zai xian
Then with great effort they removed the rubble and reconstructed the building. It is decorated in green and gold.

徵文於予而未之遑也
zheng wen yu yu, er wei zhi huang ye
Then they asked me to write an essay, but there was no time to do it.

適 **(line 9)** 元帥馬合謨德卿公至曰
*shi yuanshuai **Mahemo Deqing** gong zhi yue*
Just then the Marshal Lord **Mahemo,** with adult name **Deqing** said:

此吾西天大聖擗奄八而馬合蘇也
*ci wu Xitian dasheng **piyanbaer Mahema** ye*
This is our great holy man and **peigambar**[15] **Muhammad** of the Western Land.

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[15]   *Piyanbaer*, i.e. peighambar, rasul, the prophet.

其石室尚存修事崴嚴
*qi **shishi** shang cun, xiu shi sui yan*
His **Stone House**[16] still exists, (one is) practising the rituals every year.

至者 **(line 10)** 乃弟子撒哈八以師命來東
*zhi zhe nai dizi **Sahaba** yi shi ming lai dong*
By order of the master, his disciples, the **Sahaba**[17] came to the east.

教興崴計殆八百
jiao xing sui ji dai ba bai
The teaching flourishes for almost 800 years.

制塔三此其一爾
zhi ta san, ci qi yi er
They constructed three towers (mosques, minarets)[18], this is one of them.

因興程租入經廢弛
yin xing cheng zu, ru jing fei chi
Then they established the regulation and rent of the land. However, the managing of the income has been neglected.

選於 **(line 11)** 衆得哈只哈散使居之以掌其教
*xuan yu zhong de **Hazhi Hasan** shi ju zhi yi zhang qi jiao*
By the community **Hajji Hasan** was elected, resulting in his living there and managing the teaching.

噫兹教崛于西土
*yi! zi jiao jue yu **Xitu***
Alas! This teaching emerged in the **Western land**,

乃能令其徒顓顓帆海
nai neng ling qi tu zhuanzhuan fan hai
So, he could order his followers to sail alone across the ocean.

崴一再週堇堇 **(line 12)** 達東粵海岸
*sui yi zai zhou jinjin da dong **Yue** hai an*
After almost two years, they arrived on the east coast of **Canton**,

逾中夏立教兹土
*yu **Zhongxia** li jiao ci tu*
they passed over to **China** and established the teaching (i.e. Islam) in this land.

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16   *Shishi*, i.e. Stone House, the Kaaba.

17   *Sahaba*, i.e. an associate, one of the companions of Muhammad, one who had seen and accompanied the Prophet. Mason (1921: 267, fn.).

18   The three towers refer to the Shizi Mosque (i.e. Huaisheng Mosque), the Qilin Mosque in Quanzhou and the Fenghuang Mosque in Hangzhou. Bai (1982: 335).

其用心之大用力之廣
qi yong xin zhi da yong li zhi guang
They used their great heart and broad strength,

雖際天極地而猶有未為已焉
sui ji tian ji di, er you you wei yi yan
although it brought them to the limit of the sky and to the end of the earth, there are still individuals who were not persuaded.

且 **(line 13)** 其不立像教惟以心傳
qie qi bu li xiang jiao wei yi xin chuan
And moreover, they do not erect statues, they pass on the teaching only with the heart (i.e. by word of mouth).

亦髣髴達磨
*yi fangfu **damo***
And it also resembles the (Buddha-**)dharma**[19].

今觀其寺宇空洞闃其無有像設
jin guan qi si yu kong dong qu qi wu you xiang she
Now, one sees the mosque hall and a void recess (i.e. mihrab), quiet and without displayed images.

與其徒日禮 **(line 14)** 天祝釐
*yu qi tu ri li **tian** zhu li*
And the followers are doing daily rites and are praying to **Tian** (i.e. Allah),

月齋戒惟謹不遺時刻晦朔
yue zhaijie wei jin, bu yi shi ke hui shuo
and are fasting very strictly, and do not omit the time and hour of the last, and the first day of the lunar month.

匾額懷聖
*bian e **Huaisheng***
The horizontal board is titled "**Remembrance of the Holy Man**".

其所以尊其法
qi suoyi cun qi fa
That which is respected is the law,

篤信其師教為何如哉
du xin qi shi jiao weihe ruzai
one sincerely believed in the teaching of the master, why it was like this!

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[19] *Damo* 達磨 is the Dharma, the teaching of Buddha.

既一(寺)²⁰/ **(line 15)** 燬蕩矣
ji yi (si) hui dang yi
Since it (the mosque) was completely destroyed by fire,

而殿宇宏敞廣厦周密
er dianyu hong chang guang sha zhou mi
therefore, the hall became wide and spacious, a big building carefully [built].

則元卿公之功焉
*ze **Yuan Qing** Gong zhi gong yan*
This was the achievement of Lord **Yuan Qing**.

常住無隱徒眾有歸
chang zhu wu yin tu zhong you gui
A permanent residence, without hiding, the mass of believers has some retreat (gathering place).

則德卿公之力焉
*ze **De Qing** Gong zhi li yan*
This is the effort of Lord **De Qing**.

嗚 **(line 16)** 呼不有廢也其孰以興
wuhu bu you fei ye qi shu yi xing
Alas! Without destruction, how could it rise again?

不有離也其孰與合
bu you li ye qi shu yu he
Without separation, there can be no convergence.

西東之異俗古今之異世
xi dong zhi yi su gu jin zhi yi shi
The different customs of West and East, the different generations of then and now,

以師之一言
yi shi zhi yi yan
according to the word of the teacher,

歷唐宋 **(line 17)** 五代四裂分崩
*li **Tang Song Wu Dai**, si lie fen beng*
the previous **Tang**, **Song** and the **Five dynasties**, all declined and fell in ruin.

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²⁰ This character, the last in line 14, is not decipherable, it may be the character *yi* (one) or *si* (temple).

而卒行乎昭代四海一家之盛世於數十萬里之外
erzu xing hu zhao dai si hai yi jia zhi sheng shi yu shu shiwan li zhi wai
And finally, there came a resplendent dynasty, a family of flourishing generations, in 100,000 li over the four seas,

十百千年之後如指如 **(line 18)** 期明聖已夫!
shi bai qian nian zhi hou ru zhi ru qi ming sheng yi fu
after tens of thousands of years, as indicated by time, this was the bright holy man!

且天之所興必付之人
qie tian zhi suo xing bi fu zhi ren
And what **heaven** (i.e. Allah) is promoting, must be handed over to human.

雖灰燼之餘
sui huijin zhi yu
Although ashes in excess,

而卒昭昭乎成於二公之手
erzu zhaozhao hu cheng yu er Gong zhi shou
but finally, resplendence was manifested by the hand of the two Lords,

使如創初又豈 **(line 19)** 偶然哉?
shi ru chuang chu you qi ouran zai
they initiated the beginning. Oh, it did not happen by chance!

遂為之辭曰
sui wei zhi ci yue
Thereupon the poem says:

(line 20)

天竺之西	*Tianzhu zhi xi*	West of **India**,
曰維大食	*yue wei **Dashi***	there is **Arabia**,
有教興焉	*you jiao xing yan*	where the teaching emerged,
顯諸石室	*xian zhu **shishi***	it is manifested in the **Stone House**.
遂逾中土	*sui yu **Zhongtu***	Then they crossed over to **China**
闡於粵東	*chan yu **yue** dong*	and expounded [the teaching] in **Canton**.
中海外内	***Zhong** hai wai nei*	in **China** and abroad.

(line 21)

窣堵表雄	*su-du biao xiong*	The stupa expresses magnificence,
迺立金鷄	*nai li **jin ji***	there is standing a **golden cock** on top,
翹翼半空	*qiao yi ban kong*	tilting his wings in midair.

商舶是脉	*shangbo shi mai*	The trading ships are like veins,
南北其風	*nan bei qi feng*	coming with the wind from north and south.
火烈不渝	*huo lie bu yu*	The violent fire is not changing,
神幻靡窮	*shen huan mi qiong*	the divine spirit is endless.

(line 22)

珠水溶溶	***zhu shui*** *rongrong*	The **Pearl River** is flowing gently.
徒集景從	*tu ji jing cong*	The believers come together following the sunlight.
甫田莽蒼	*fu tian mang cang*	Now the fields are boundless,
复厦穹窿	*fu sha qionglong*	again, the great hall is domed.
寺曰懷聖	*si yue* **Huaisheng**	The mosque is called **Huaisheng**,
西教之宗	*xi jiao zhi zong*	it is a religion of western teaching.

(line 23)

至正十年八月初一日
zhizheng shi nian ba yue chu yi ri
Zhizheng, 10th year, 8th month, 1st day (1350)[21]

当代主持哈只哈只哈散
dangdai zhuchi **Hazhi Hasan**
The present (religious) leader is **Hajji Hasan**

(line 24)

中顺大夫同知廣東道宣慰使司都元帥府副都元帥馬合謨
zhongshun dafu tongzhi Guangdong dao xuanweishisi du yuanshuai fu fudu yuanshuai **Mahemo**
Grandee of the Nineteenth Class[22] of Pacification Commissions and General Regional Military Commands of Guangdong region, Assistant General Regional Military Commander[23] **Muhammad**.

3. Composition and structure of the stele text

The composition of the stele inscription shows the classical form; the top part of the tablet, the so-called *forehead* of the stele, *bei'e* 碑額 bears two horizontal rows of eight Chinese characters in seal script, which form the main headline of the stone stele. These eight seal characters are *Zhong jian Huai sheng ta si*

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[21]   Zhizheng, 10th year, 8th month, 1st day; i.e. 1350 CE / 751 Hijra.

[22]   *Zhongshun dafu* 中顺大夫 (Grandee of the Nineteenth Class); FARQUHAR (1990: 25, no. 23).

[23]   *Fudu yuanshuai* 副都元帅 (Assistant General Regional Military Commander; FARQUHAR (1990: 412, no. 120).

zhi ji 重建懷聖塔寺之記 (Inscription of the reconstruction of the Huaishengta Mosque).[24] The eight characters are arranged in 2-word steps, read from top to bottom and from the right to the left. The headline is centered in the middle of the board and elaborately surrounded by two dragons, one on each side, which are integrated into a cloud carving design.

Below the heading there are three and a half lines of horizontal Arabic text, squeezed in between the headline and the following Chinese text; possibly the Arabic words were engraved after the Chinese text was finished.[25]

The main Chinese text is structured in 24 vertical rows of characters running from the right to the left. The first line is the title, which is: *Zhong jian Huaishengsi ji* 重建懷聖寺記 (Documenting the Reconstruction of the Huaisheng Mosque). Thus, the name of the mosque here is Huaisheng Mosque, "Mosque of remembrance of the holy man" – omitting the *Ta*, which was used in the headline.

Ta means pagoda – in this context a minaret – and is a tower-like building. The stone stele bears two different names for the mosque, one with the *ta* in the main title and one without the *ta* at the beginning of the Chinese text. The reason for this small difference in the mosque name is not quite clear, but the *ta* – the tower – is a special mark of the Huaisheng Mosque, which will be discussed at a later stage.

After the title there are three lines bearing the names and titles of the persons – Guo Jia, Sademishi and Seng Jiane – who are responsible for the reconstruction of the mosque. Then the main text starts, from line/row 5 to line/row 19, which is completed by a poem on the mosque (line 20 to 22). The last two lines (line 23 to 24) give the time of the setup of the tablet and the names of the persons working and managing the mosque.[26]

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[24]   Also translated: Inscription of the reconstruction of the Mosque and Pagoda of the Holy Man (i.e. Muhammad).

[25]   For the translations of the Arabic text, see: DIETERICI (1859: 475–477), HIMLY (1887: 141–142), DABRY DE THIERSANT (1878: 88–89) and *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* 16, p. 110. I am thankful to Nourane Ben Azzouna (personal communication) for her new translation: "Allah, who is exalted, said: 'The mosques of Allah are only to be maintained by those who believe in Allah and the Last Day' [beginning of Qur'an 9:18], and the Prophet, peace be upon him, said: 'Whoever builds a mosque for Allah, who is exalted, Allah, who is exalted, builds for him 70,000 palaces in paradise'. This construction of the great congregational mosque of the Companions [of the Prophet], may Allah be pleased with it for a happy beginning and a praiseworthy end, was completed thanks to the energetic efforts of the Emir who rose to the pinnacle of great qualities, Emir Maḥmūd Wayshād, may Allah extend his exalted protection [or patronage], on the date of the year 751, in the month of Radjab, carefully drafted in [some Turkish words?]."

[26]   On the five persons mentioned in the inscription, see section 4 below.

Sadly, the original stone stele had been destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, and only the horizontal board heading with the eight big seal characters survived the disaster (Zhong et al. 1989: 3 fn. 1). The present stele in the mosque in Guangzhou is a new copy of the original inscription. It is 165 cm high and 92 cm wide. Fortunately, a stone rubbing of the original stele text exists and was reprinted in 1887 in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (**Fig. 1**). The rubbing was handed out to Himly while he was in China in 1876. However, he did not see the stone stele *in situ*. Due to weak health, he could not visit Canton during his stay in China, as documented at the beginning of his article (Himly 1887: 141).

The copy is quite clear and legible, some characters are difficult to decipher or partly wiped out. Unfortunately, most Chinese publications of the inscription text are reprinted in *jiantizi* (simplified characters), which makes no sense for a document of the 14th century, and moreover, it complicates the reading and understanding of the text.

4. Five persons recorded in the inscription

The inscription mentions five persons involved in the construction and installation of the stone stele, these are:[27]

Guo Jia 郭嘉 – who composed the inscription text.

Sademishi 撒的迷失 – who wrote the stele text.

Seng Jiane 僧家訥[28] – the initiator of the reconstruction project and writer of the top title.

Mahemo 馬合謨 – the promoter of the restoring of the educational administration of the mosque.

Hajji Hasan 哈只哈散 – the managing Ahong of the Huaisheng Mosque, after its reconstruction.

The first one is **Guo Jia**,[29] the author of the inscription, whose name is written in the first line of the text. Guo Jia 郭嘉, with the style name Yuan Li 元禮, came from Linzhou 林州 in Henan and is the offspring of a family of famous

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[27]   In the following I refer to the article of Ma (2011:76–83) and Bai (1982: 325–339).

[28]   The character of *Jia* in the name of *Seng Jiane* is different to the text collection of Yu (2001: 12); here it is 僧嘉讷 , on the stone inscription it is *Seng Jiane* 僧家訥. Bai (1982: 325) uses the correct form of the inscription.

[29]   Guo Jia is recorded in *Yuan Shi* (History of Yuan), *Lie Zhuan* (Biographies of Loyal and Righteous), *quan* 194, *di* 81. His official position and title written on the stone is exactly found in the *Yuan Shi*: *Guangdongdao Xuanweishisi du yuan-shuai fu jingli* (Pacification Commissions and General Regional Military Commands of Guangdong region, the registrar official); *Yuan Shi, quan* 194, *di* 81, pp. 4396–4397. See also Ma (2011: 78).

officials. His paternal grandfather Guo Ang[30] 郭昂, his uncle Guo Zhen 郭震 and his father Guo Hui 郭惠 are documented in the *Yuan Shi* 元史 (History of Yuan). His grandfather Guo Ang was an important military and civil official and, moreover, wrote over 600 poems during his lifetime. In the tradition of his grandfather Guo Jia also composed essays and literary works, of which some were published by Li Xiusheng 李修生 in the *Quan yuan wen* 全元文 (Complete Yuan Texts). Because of his intellectual ability and his official position, Guo Jia was asked by Seng Jiane and by Mahemo to compose the inscription for the Huaisheng Mosque. His approval was a great favour and significant support for the official acceptance of the Islamic community and the reconstruction of their mosque in Guangzhou. Some years later, Guo Jia was appointed as commander in Liaoyang to suppress the insurgents of the Red Turban Uprising. When the rebel army attacked Liaoyang in 1358, Guo Jia died whilst defending the city.

It is not quite clear if Guo Jia was a Muslim, as he used some unusual or non-Islamic terms in the text, (for example, *dharma*, *tian*, stupa), which will be discussed later. He was a Chinese and Confucian and in favour of Buddhism, and he was not very familiar with Islam. Probably it was also the time of the beginning of the influence and Sinicisation of Islamic terminology by other religions existing in China (Ma 2011: 78).

The second person in the inscription is **Sademishi** 撒的迷失, also written Sadimishi 撒迪弥实, with the style name *Zhengde* 正德. He was the writer of the stele text, and a military official, as is documented in line 3 of the inscription:

> **(line 3)** 政議大夫 同知廣東道 宣慰使司 都元帥府 撒的迷失 书丹.
> *zhengyi dafu tongzhi Guangdongdao Xuanwei shisi duyuan shuai fu* **Sademishi** *shu dan*
> The Grandee of the Eleventh Class, the Associate of Pacification Commissions and General Regional Military Commands of Guangdong region **Sademishi** has written in red.

Sademishi and Mahemo are names which can often be found in the Yuan Dynasty; therefore, it is not easy to identify these persons. However, according to Ma (2011: 81), they are Muslims, even if their origin is not quite clear. *Mahemo* is the Chinese transcription of Mohammad, and *Sa* is the family name or part of name of many Hui Muslims and Mongols in China. Sademishi is mentioned in the works of the Yuan-official Liu E 刘鹗 of Jiangxi, who praised him for his political talent and benevolent government and for caring for the people and rendering many political services. Moreover, he supported the establishment of this stone stele. He was asked by Guo Jia to write the text in red, i.e. he wrote the text with a red pen on the stone, and later these characters

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30   Guo Ang is documented in *Yuan Shi*, *Lie Zhuan* (Biographies of Loyal and Righteous), *quan* 165, *di* 52.

were engraved according to his script. Concerning the personal background there is no certainty of the ethnicity and religious affiliation of Sademishi, but as far as Ma is concerned, he could be a Muslim (MA 2011: 82). Although his family was of Western origin, he was quite well educated in Chinese studies, calligraphy, and culture.

The third person listed in the inscription is **Seng Jiane** 僧家訥, who is the manager and organizer of the rebuilding project of the mosque (MA 2011: 78–80).

Seng Jiane 僧家訥 – also written Seng Jianu 僧家奴 – with the style name Yuanqing 元卿, was a Mongol and high official at the end of the Yuan Dynasty. While there exists no biography of him in the *History of Yuan*, there is an entry in the *Complete Yuan Texts* (MA 2011: 79). Here it is recorded that Seng had different official posts in Shandong, Jiangxi, Fujian, Guangdong and in Jiangzhe. This position, being employed in the Branch Central Secretariat of Jiangzhe, is inscribed in line 4 of the stone text:

> **(line 4)** 中奉大夫江浙等處行中書省参知政事僧家訥篆額
> *zhongfeng dafu Jiangzhe dengzhu xingzhongshusheng canzhi zhengshi Seng Jiane zhuan e*
> The Grandee of the Tenth Class of the Branch Central Secretariat for Jiangzhe and other places, the Second Privy Councillor **Seng Jiane** has written the headline in seal script.

Besides this, there exist different short entries in literary and historical works, which allude to somebody with the name Seng Jiane, or Seng Jianu. Ma examines and analyses all these entries and concludes that these names always refer to one and the same person. Seng was a Mongol statesman, who supported the reconstruction of the mosque for political and economic reasons. MA (2011: 80) doubts that he was a Muslim, although Bai writes that Seng was a believer of Islam (BAI 1982: 335).

Guangzhou was during the Yuan Dynasty an important and thriving harbour, and the number of foreign Muslim merchants coming from the West was increasing. Many of them stayed longer and settled down, so the reconstruction of the mosque and its buildings was necessary for a harmonious and peaceful life for the Muslim community in Chinese society. Therefore, due to his political power Seng Jiane supported the rebuilding of the mosque and moreover wrote the heading of the inscription, the eight characters in seal script "*Zhong jian Huai sheng ta si zhi ji*" (Inscription of the reconstruction of the Huaishengta Mosque). Ironically, only this eight-character-tablet survived the catastrophe of the destruction during the Cultural Revolution.

The last two persons are **Mahemo** 馬合謨 and **Hajji Hasan** 哈只哈散, about whom little information exists. Mahemo (Muhammad or Mahmud) is a very common Muslim name, and there are many persons with this name found in historical records of the Yuan Dynasty.

Mahemo 馬合謨, with the style name Deqing 德卿, was an Assistant Regional Military Commander of Guangzhou, which is recorded in the last line of the inscription,

> **(line 24)** 中順大夫同知廣東道宣慰使司都元帥府副都元帥馬合謨
> *zhongshun dafu tongzhi Guangdongdao xuanweishisi du yuanshuai fu fudu yuanshuai* ***Mahemo***
> Grandee of the Nineteenth Class Pacification Commissions and General Regional Military Commands of Guangdong region, Assistant General Regional Military Commander **Muhammad**.

According to Ma (2011: 81) he had in general three main duties, namely:

1. to provide Guo Jia with information for composing the text on Islam and its arrival in China;
2. to engage Hajji Hasan as the religious leader of the mosque;
3. to promote the normalisation of religious activities in the Huaisheng Mosque, which is expressed in the inscription in line 15 with the words:

> 常住無隱徒衆有歸則德卿公之力焉
> *Chang zhu wu yin tu zhong you gui ze* ***De Qing*** *Gong zhi li yan*
> A permanent residence, without hiding, the mass of believers has some retreat (gathering place). This is the effort of Lord **De Qing.**

Therefore, from this perspective, he was one of the most important persons for the reconstruction of the mosque and the later revival of the religious life of the community. The name Mahemo does not appear in the first lines of the inscription, but at the end, it is the last word in the last line – it is even the last word of the whole text. This final position of the name in the inscription may refer to the importance of Mohammad, a Muslim working in an official post for the Mongol government in China. Furthermore, he was managing and operating the mosque together with Hajji Hasan, who was the Ahong of the Huaisheng Mosque and responsible for religious activities. Hajji Hasan, about whom no further information exists, is mentioned in line 23, one line before Mahemo.

> 当代主持哈只哈散
> *dangdai zhuchi* ***Hazhi Hasan***
> The present (religious) leader is **Hajji Hasan**

Hajji Hasan was elected by the community, as it is documented in line 11:

選於 **(line 11)** 眾得哈只哈散使居之以掌其教
*Xuan yu zhong de **Hazhi Hasan** shi ju zhi yi zhang qi jiao*
By the community **Hajji Hasan** was elected, resulting in his living there
and managing the teaching.

Hajji Hasan and Mahemo were the two persons responsible for religious activities
in the mosque and for a harmonious social life in the Muslim community.

5. *Ta* – stupa – pagoda – minaret – *bangkelou* – a unique feature of the Mosque

A special characteristic of the mosque is the *ta* 塔, the pagoda or minaret,
also *bangkelou*[31]. Its round cylindrical form is typical for most minarets in the
Islamic world, but it is unusual for historical mosques of the Hui in China. The
enforced political integration process in the 14th century at the beginning of
the Ming dynasty caused the Muslims to build their mosques after the style of
the Chinese temple architecture. This was part of the process of Sinicisation,
which was imposed on all foreigners living in China, and the Muslims living
their way of life in their own quarters had to adapt to the Chinese surroundings
and culture. It is not known exactly what the old prayer hall of the mosque
looked like, but in 1343 it burnt down, and the new hall was influenced by
the Chinese architectural style; however, the accompanying minaret, the round
stupa-pagoda survived the fire. At least the inscription gives no hint that the
pagoda was destroyed, but the completely burnt hall had to be repaired again,
it says:

寺之毀于至正癸未也殿宇一空
si zhi hui yu Zhizheng Guiwei *ye dian yu yi kong.*
The mosque burned down in Yuan Zhizheng era (i.e. 1343); the great hall
was an empty space.

The stupa-minaret remained a historical element, and this unusual foreign-
looking structure became a special characteristic of the Huaishengsi in
Guangzhou.

Guo Jia, the author of the inscription, commences his text referring to the
minaret, which he calls *futu* 浮圖 (stupa) a Buddhist term for an Islamic minaret.
Firstly, he depicts the site of the mosque – near the White-Cloud Hill – and then
he gives a detailed description of the tower or *futu*, which is built in a Western
style and made of stone. He says:

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[31]   Bangkelou 邦克樓: *bang* "call to prayer" (Persian), *lou* "building" (Chinese).

白雲之麓坡山之隈有浮圖焉其制則西域嶻然石立
*Baiyun zhi lu po shan zhi wei you **futu** yan qi zhi ze Xiyu jieran shili*
At the foot of White-Cloud Hill, at the bay of the slope of the hill, there is a **stupa.** It was built according to the style of Western Region and was erected made of stone.

This peculiar tower, which is very untypical for China apparently existed since the Tang dynasty, according to Guo Jia:

中州所未睹世傳自李唐訖今
*Zhongzhou suo wei du Shi chuan zi **Li Tang** qi jin*
This had never been seen before in Central Province (i.e. China). It is said that it passed from the **Tang Dynasty** to the present.

However, he does not say that the *futu* was always a minaret, it may originally have been constructed as a lighthouse for the ships, guiding them to the harbour of Guangzhou, a commercial town where foreigners were living and trading. Then Guo Jia goes on with the description of the inside of the tower with its spiral stairs, and he says:

蝸旋 **(line 6)** 蟻陟 左右九轉 南北其扃
Woxuan yizhi zuo you jiu zhuan nan bei qi jiong
Spiraling up like a snail shell and an anthill, left and right in nine turnings, there is a door to the south and one to the north.

It is not clear whether he means that there are two doors on the top platform or two doors on the ground level.[32] Guo Jia goes on with the outside description and says:

其膚則混然若不可級而登也
Qi fu ze hun ran ruo buke ji er deng ye
Its skin (i.e. exterior) is one of an undivided body, appearing to be vertically inaccessible.

The outside of the tower is like a skin forming a single entity, and it is not visible that there are stairs inside. But there are two stairways and one door on the top platform:

其中為二道上出惟一户
Qi zhong wei er dao, shang chu wei yi hu
Inside there are two routes, at the top there is only one door.

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[32] Steinhardt (2015: 65) mentions two entrances from ground level. Hagras (2023: 210) too writes that there are two entrances, "one on the north side and the other on the south, each with a spiral staircase".

The tower or stupa is also called **Guangta** 光塔 i.e. Tower of Light, and this corresponds to the Arabic word *manara,* meaning place of light or fire, which may indicate that this tower was a beacon or a lighthouse for ships coming to Guangzhou (Steinhardt 2015: 65–66). Another theory is that the tower was a place where one could observe the weather, especially the direction of the wind. Supporting this theory is the existence of a golden cock, a weather vane, on top of the Guangta, which moved its wings according to the wind. The author Guo Jia mentions the golden cock in his poem at the end of the inscription in line 21. But he does not use the word Guangta for the pagoda, but another Buddhist term for stupa, the phonetic translation *su-du*.[33]

窣堵表雄	**su-du** biao xiong	The **stupa** expresses magnificence,
迺立金鷄	nai li **jin ji**	there is standing a **golden cock** on top,
翹翼半空	qiao yi ban kong	tilting its wings in midair.

A cock on top of a Buddhist pagoda is quite common, however a golden cock on top of an Islamic minaret is very unusual, and this may be a hint that it was originally not an Islamic building.

However, many stories exist about this rooster. Already the Song dynasty author **Yue Ke** 岳珂 (1183–1240) wrote about the one-legged cockerel on the tower, which had one of its legs stolen by a robber.[34] Yue Ke, whose father was governor of Guangzhou had contact with foreigners, the sea-barbarians (*hailiao* 海獠), especially with the Muslim merchant **Pu Shougeng** 蒲壽庚 and he describes the strange and unusual customs and culture of these foreigners. Yue Ke saw the "gigantic stupa which was entirely different in shape from an ordinary Buddhist one" (Kuwabara 1935: 5) and that the foreigners climbed up and prayed for a good arrival of the ships.

Yue Ke depicts the stupa standing behind the house of the Pu family, and although he does not mention the name of the tower, it is obvious that the minaret of the Huaisheng Mosque is meant:

At the back (of the house of the P'u family), there is a stupa (窣堵) towering toward the heavens. Its form is different from an ordinary one, the circular base is made of bricks piled up tier on tier to a great height, and the outside is coated over with mortar. When seen from a distance, it looks like a silver pen (i.e. white, tapering form). At the base, there is a door, through which one ascends on spiral steps (旋螺), never visible from the outside. As one ascends each flight of many steps, there is a hole for letting in light. Every year, in May or June, when trade-ships are

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[33]   In the beginning of the inscription he uses for the tower/minaret the Buddhist term *futu* (stupa).

[34]   For the story of the golden rooster that was missing a leg, see Steinhardt (2015: 62).

expected to arrive, a great many people would enter the stupa (塔), and, getting out of the window, make loud noises and cries, with which they pray for the south wind, and the prayer has always been effective. On the top of the stupa, there is a gold cock (金雞), very large in dimensions, that stands for the nine-wheels 相輪 at the top of a Buddhist stupa. One of the legs of the cock is now lost.

(KUWABARA 1935: 29)[35]

And then Yue Ke tells the story of how the leg was stolen by a thief and how he was finally captured.[36] Because of a heavy storm the golden cockerel fell down during the Ming dynasty. It was set up again, but in 1669 during the Qing Kangxi era, the cock was again blown down by a heavy storm. Following this, the cock was left aside and the minaret got its calabash-like form and pinnacle.[37]

However, what is more interesting in our context, is the use of special terminology by Yue Ke, which we also find in the inscription, like *sudu* 窣堵 (stupa), *xuanluo* 旋螺 (spiral steps), *ta* 塔 (stupa/pagoda), *jinji* 金雞 (gold cock), and this may indicate that the author Guo Jia knew the text of Yue Ke.

The Guangta minaret is 35.75 m. in height,[38] cylinder like and made of bricks, and so survived the repeated burnings and destructions of the mosque. During the renovation in 1935, most parts of the mosque were changed into a steel and cement structure, particularly the great hall was modernised by this new technique. This is more durable than wood, noted LIU Zhiping (2011: 14–19), because so many termites (*bai mayi* 白螞蟻) exist in Guangzhou; a danger for historical wooden buildings. Therefore, the pavilions now have stone pillars. Near the middle door are stone walls, and the Guangta is completely constructed using bricks to prevent the destructions caused by termites (LIU 2011: 16). And today this minaret or *bangkelou* 邦克樓 is one of the biggest among the mosques in China (LIU 2011: 18).

The cylindrical shape of the Guangta minaret was obviously so striking and eye-catching that also visitors of Canton in later periods described this unusual tower. For instance, Dennys, who visited China in the middle of the 19th century, writes in his guide:

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[35] See also CHAFFEE (2018: 105–106). Kuwabara inserts the Chinese original text of Yue Ke after his translation. For a better understanding I inserted some Chinese characters in parenthesis.

[36] *Ting Shi* p. 126. See also STEINHARDT (2015: 62).

[37] LIU (2011: 18). The different forms of the Guangta described in historical works is sketched in ZHONG et al. (1989: 357).

[38] LIU (2011: 18). STEINHARDT (2015: 62). However CHAFFEE (2018: 105) and HAGRAS (2023: 221) define the length of the minaret with 36.3 metres (119 feet).

…in the Tartar Quarter, lies the Mohammedan Mosque and Minaret, called the Kwang T'ap, (光塔), or Bare Pagoda. This place of worship was founded circa A.D. 850, by the Arabian voyagers who then frequently visited Canton.

(Dennys [1867] 2012: 165)

Another visitor, Marshall Broomhall also refers to the mosque and its pagoda in his book on *Islam in China*, he states:

The "Mosque of Holy Remembrance" is the largest and most ancient of all the five mosques in Canton. It is situated in the old city in Smooth Pagoda Street, which street takes its name from the unique pagoda which stands within the court-yard of the mosque.

(Broomhall [1910] 1987: 109)

The "unique pagoda" is the minaret, which is situated inside the mosque area. On page 108 there is a photo of the mosque entrance and the nearby minaret, which is not in a good condition, because there are trees growing on top of its roof. Then Broomhall explains the Islamic tradition concerning the origin of the mosque:

According to tradition this mosque was built by Mohammed's maternal uncle, which tradition has already been discussed in these pages. Unfortunately for this claim, there are no ancient monuments in Canton to substantiate so remarkable a statement.

(Broomhall [1910] 1987: 109)

The Islamic tradition about Saad Ibn Abi Waqqas, the maternal uncle of Mohammad, who was sent to China and who is buried in Canton is not mentioned in the inscription of 1350. Then Broomhall continues:

The mosque was destroyed by fire in 1343 A.D. and was rebuilt in 1349–1351 A.D. by a certain Emir Mahmond.

(Broomhall [1910] 1987: 109–110)

According to the inscription the mosque burned down in the Yuan Zhizheng Guiwei era (1343) and was rebuilt and finished in Yuan Zhizheng, 10th year, 8th month, 1st day (1350). Altogether the whole procedure of planning and reconstruction needed about seven years.

Nancy Steinhardt (2015: 60) too emphasises that "the most unusual structure of the Guangzhou Mosque is the minaret, named Guangta, or Tower of Light", and that "it is so prominent that the complex sometimes goes by the name Guangtasi, Mosque of the Guangta".

She does a broad research and comparison on Islamic architecture in China. Concerning the Guangta minaret she comes to the following conclusion:

> The Guangta indicates that in fourteenth-century Guangzhou the Muslim community was secure enough to proclaim its presence with a minaret that projected above the low, Chinese-style outer walls of Huaisheng Mosque.
>
> <div align="right">(STEINHARDT 2015: 69)</div>

And moreover, she states that the minaret is a notable example of an "architectural announcement of Islam in China", and that it clearly proclaims the foreign origins of Islam (STEINHARDT 2015: 70).

The word Guangta is not used by Guo Jia in the inscription, it is named stupa – *futu, sudu, ta* – and was considered as an element of foreign influence, originating in the Western Region.

6. Historical background of the inscription

The stone stele was established at the end of the Yuan dynasty in 1350. The text gives no exact information when and how the first Muslims came to Canton or China, but it records in line 10 that the master, i.e. the Prophet Muhammad, ordered his followers, the Sahaba, to go to the East; it says:

> 至者 **(line 10)** 乃弟子撒哈八以師命來東
> *zhi zhe nai dizi Sahaba yi shi ming lai dong*
> By order of the master, his disciples, the **Sahaba** came to the east.

However, there is no reference of the number and names of these Sahaba, even the already mentioned Saad Ibn Waqqas is not cited in the inscription. Concerning the chronology of Islam the author Guo Jia makes an approximate statement, somewhat exaggerating the Islamic period by roughly 50 years:

> 教興崴計殆八百
> *jiao xing sui ji dai ba bai*
> The teaching flourishes for almost 800 years.

The year of the inscription is 1350, which correspondents to the Hijra year 751. Guo Jia gives no exact date or year when Islam or Muslims first came to China, either he did not know, or it was not important for the author. Another later stone inscription in the mosque of the 17th century, records a concrete date of the arrival of Islam/Muslims in China. It was composed on the occasion of a repeated reconstruction of the mosque during the Qing Kangxi era, the 37th year (1698). It bears the same title as the Yuan stone stele of 1350, *Zhong jian Huaishengtasi zhi ji* 重建懷聖塔寺之記 (Record of the Reconstruction of the Huaishengta Mosque).

In this text of the 17th century one can find the statement that the Huaisheng Mosque was built "long ago" in the Zhenguan era, the 1st year, of the Tang Dynasty, i.e. 627 CE. The same date is also documented on a vertical name plate (102 x 46 cm) carved in the stone wall of the *Kanyuelou* 看月樓 (Building for Observing the Moon). The stone tablet bears three vertical character lines: in the center is the name of the mosque: Huaisheng Guangta Si, on its right side, the founding date: "Tang Zhenguan Yuannian, newly constructed (i.e. 627)", and on the left side the reconstruction date: "Kangxi 34th year, again constructed (i.e. 1695)". The characters are written in gold on a dark background and are surrounded by a yellow-cloud-design (**Fig. 2**).

However, most scholars today question this early arrival of Muslims to China during the 7th century[39], though there have already been contacts between China and the West in pre-Islamic times.[40] Predominantly Persian traders of the Sasanid Empire (224–651) travelled to China along the Silk Road by land and by sea, and several delegations from Persia are documented in the Dynastic Histories (CHAFFEE 2018: 13–15). From the 8th century we have an eyewitness report of Du Huan 杜環, who came to Kufa, the early capital of the Abbasid Empire (750–1258), as a prisoner of war, after the Chinese army was defeated in the Battle of Talas (today Uzbekistan). After 10 years he returned to China by ship and arrived in Canton. He wrote down his experiences and knowledge of the Abbasid society, which were later integrated in the *Tongdian* 通典 (Encyclopedic History of Institutions). This early information on the Islamic world was also adopted into the official Tang History.

During the Tang Dynasty the southeastern port of Guangzhou became one of the most important trading centers of the east, where many merchants of Western Asia lived in special foreign quarters. In the 9th century the tradesman Sulaymān compiled a book on his travels to the Far East, titled *Account of China and India* (AHMAD 1989: XIV–XV). It reports on the special law of exterritoriality in Khānfū (i.e. Guangzhou); this text was adopted by Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī and integrated into his book *Silsilat al-Tawārīkh* (Chain of Histories):

> (12) Sulaymān, the merchant, relates that in Khānfū, which is the meeting place of the merchants, a Muslims is made an arbitrator by the ruler of China to settle the disputes arising among the Muslims visiting this region; this is what the King of China desires.
>
>   (AHMAD 1989: 37)[41]

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[39] Chen Qing gives a good overview on the "early years of Islam in China" (CHEN 2018: 7–18).

[40] On the historical relations between China, Central Asia and the Roman and Byzantine Empire from ancient times until the Tang dynasty see LIEU and MIKKELSEN (2016).

[41] The French translation by Jean SAUVAGET (1948: 7): "Le marchand Solaiman rapporte qu'à Canton, qui est le point de rassemblement des commerçants, il y a un homme musulman que le chef des Chinois a investi du pouvoir de trancher les conflits entre les musulmans qui se rendent dans cette région: et cela sur le désir particulier du souverain de la Chine."

The decline of Guangzhou was caused by the rebellion of Huang Chao, who in 879 sacked and plundered the city, destroyed its infrastructure, and killed thousands of inhabitants, also a great number of foreigners, Muslims, Christians, Jews, etc.[42] As a result, the maritime trade was transferred to the northern port of Quanzhou during the following Song Dynasty (960–1279). Quanzhou became the center of maritime oversea trade, and during this time several mosques were built in the city supported by Muslim merchants.

However, the heyday of Westerners and Muslims was during the Yuan Mongol period (1279–1368). Muslims had a higher social status than the Chinese and could attain important political and military positions. This is also documented in the first lines of the stone inscription, where the persons responsible for the stone tablet are mentioned, two of them are Mongol officials – Sademishi and Seng Jiane. Muslim travellers coming to Yuan China were impressed by the wealth and comfort of their fellow believers. In his book, the traveler Ibn Battuta recounts the situation involving the Muslims in China:

> In every Chinese city there is a quarter for Muslims in which they live by themselves, and in which they have mosques both for the Friday services and for other religious purposes. The Muslims are honoured and respected.
>
> (Gibb 1953: 289)

The Chinese however are unclean in his eyes, as they "are infidels, who worship idols and burn their dead like the Hindus," and moreover they "eat the flesh of swine and dogs, and sell it in their markets" (Gibb 1953: 289).

But then Ibn Battuta is quite impressed of the city Sin-Kalan or Sin as-Sin, the Arabic name for Canton, which he describes as the: "city of the first rank, in regard to size and the quality of its bazaars" (Gibb 1953: 289). And to him the most important Chinese products was porcelain: "One of the largest of these is the porcelain bazaar, from which porcelain is exported to all parts of China, to India, and to Yemen" (Gibb 1953: 289).

Like Sulayman in the 9th century, Ibn Battuta explains the special rights of foreign Muslims living in their own quarters, under their own jurisdiction.

> In one of the quarters of this city is the Muhammadan town, where the Muslims have their cathedral mosque, hospice and bazaar. They have also a qádí and a shaykh, for in every one of the cities of China there must always be a Shaykh al-Islám, to whom all matters concerning the Muslims are referred [i.e. who acts as intermediary between the government and the Muslim community], and a qádí to decide legal cases between them.
>
> (Gibb 1953: 289)

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[42] Abū Zayd speaks of 120,000 massacred foreigners, the Arab author Mas'udi (896–956) of 200,000 killed Muslims, Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians (Chaffee 2018: 48).

So, in the eyes of a Muslim merchant, Canton was despite its negative and unholy aspects, a good place to live and to make abundant profits.

7. Special terminology used in the inscription

As already mentioned above the inscription has some peculiarities and special terminology, which is unusual for an Islamic text of this time. In the 14th century Islam was already widely spread in China, by Muslim merchants coming from West- and Central Asia. This is documented by numerous tombstones in China bearing the *nisba* – the name which shows the place of origin of a person for example from Bukhara, Khorasan, Isfahan, Aleppo, Jerusalem etc. (MUKAI 2016: 249–250). These persons, who died far away from home were regarded as martyrs, and the phrase "He who dies in exile, dies a martyr" (MUKAI 2016: 247) is often seen on old tombstones in Muslim graveyards.

The translation and use of Islamic terminology in Chinese started already with the arrival of the first envoys at the imperial Tang court in the 8th century, who came from Dashi (Arabia), bringing along presents as tributes to the throne. So, information on foreign people, their customs, and the products they brought to China were already known to officials and educated Chinese, living in the eastern seaports.

What is however interesting in our text of 1350, is that many of these relevant Islamic words, which already existed in Chinese, and are used in historical texts and documents, are not used in this inscription. These are for example the important place names Mecca and Medina, or the central word for God – Allah.

For Allah the author Guo Jia uses *Tian* – heaven – the first character in line 14:

與其徒日禮 **(line 14)** 天祝釐
*yu qi tu ri li **tian** zhu li*
And the followers are doing daily rites and are praying to **Tian** (i.e. Allah).

Mecca and Medina existed already in Chinese historical works, documented in the *Zhu Fan Chi*[43] 諸蕃志 (A Description of Foreign Peoples) written by the Song author Zhao Ruguao 趙汝适 in the 13th century. Among others it cites the Islamic place names Mecca (Majia 麻嘉),[44] and Baghdad (Baida 白達).[45] Medina (Modina 摩地那) as well is documented in the *Tang Histories* (10th cent.).

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[43]   *Zhu Fan Chi* (Description of Foreign Peoples) is a collection of notes on foreign countries and their products. For the English translation, see HIRTH and ROCKHILL ([1911] 1966).

[44]   HIRTH and ROCKHILL ([1911] 1966: 24, no. 23).

[45]   HIRTH and ROCKHILL ([1911] 1966: 135, no. 30).

However, the inscription, names the Kaaba the Stone House (line 9 and 20) and uses the long-existing word for Arabia, i.e. Dashi[46] in the poem (line 20).

The following terms are used in the inscription:

Terms for the West

Xiyu 西域   Western Region
Xitian 西天   Western Land

Names for China

Zhongzhou   中州
Zhongxia   中夏
Zhongtu   中土

Names for Mohammad

Mahema   馬合麻 Mahe**ma** is for the Prophet (peigambar) Mohammad
Mahemo   馬合謨 Mahe**mo** is the organizer/promoter of the mosque activities
Peigambar   擗奄八而 馬合蔴 piyanbaer Mahema Prophet Mohammad

Sahaba – disciples of Mohammad

The word Sahaba 撒哈八 is recorded in the text, however no names, not even of the famous Abi Waqqas, whose tomb is regarded by many believers to be situated in Canton, and who is documented in later inscriptions and historical works.

Buddhist terms, which are unusual for an Islamic text

Damo   達磨   *Buddha-dharma*
Tian   天   Heaven (i.e. Allah, God)
Sudu   窣堵 and *Futu* 浮圖   stupa (i.e. minaret)

8. Conclusion

The inscription *Zhong jian Huaishengsi ji* 重建懷聖寺記 (Documenting the Reconstruction of the Huaisheng Mosque) is one of the oldest Chinese Islamic stone inscriptions in China. It was erected at the end of the Yuan Dynasty in the year 1350 in Guangzhou, after the mosque burnt down in 1343. Regarding the planning, construction, and activity of the mosque, five persons are mentioned in the text: Guo Jia, Sademishi, Seng Jiane, Mahemo and Hajji Hasan. The most important was Guo Jia, the offspring of a famous family of officials and who

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46   Hirth and Rockhill ([1911] 1966: 114, no. 22).

was the military commander of Guangdong at this time. Because of his energy and political relations, the Islamic community could rebuild the mosque again, which existed already in the city before.

The documentation of the reconstruction of a religious building belonging to a foreign religion, demonstrates the successful integration and acceptance of the Islamic community in China. Nevertheless, the inscription gives only little or indirect information on the religion of Islam, especially the poem at the end of the text more describes the atmosphere of nature, and the setting of the mosque than its religious purpose and function. Concerning its terminology, the text is quite well adjusted to its Chinese surroundings using Buddhist or Chinese words for Islamic theological termini and conceptions, and thereby it indicates that the process of assimilation occurred already under Mongol rule and not, as often assumed, with the beginning of the following Ming dynasty.

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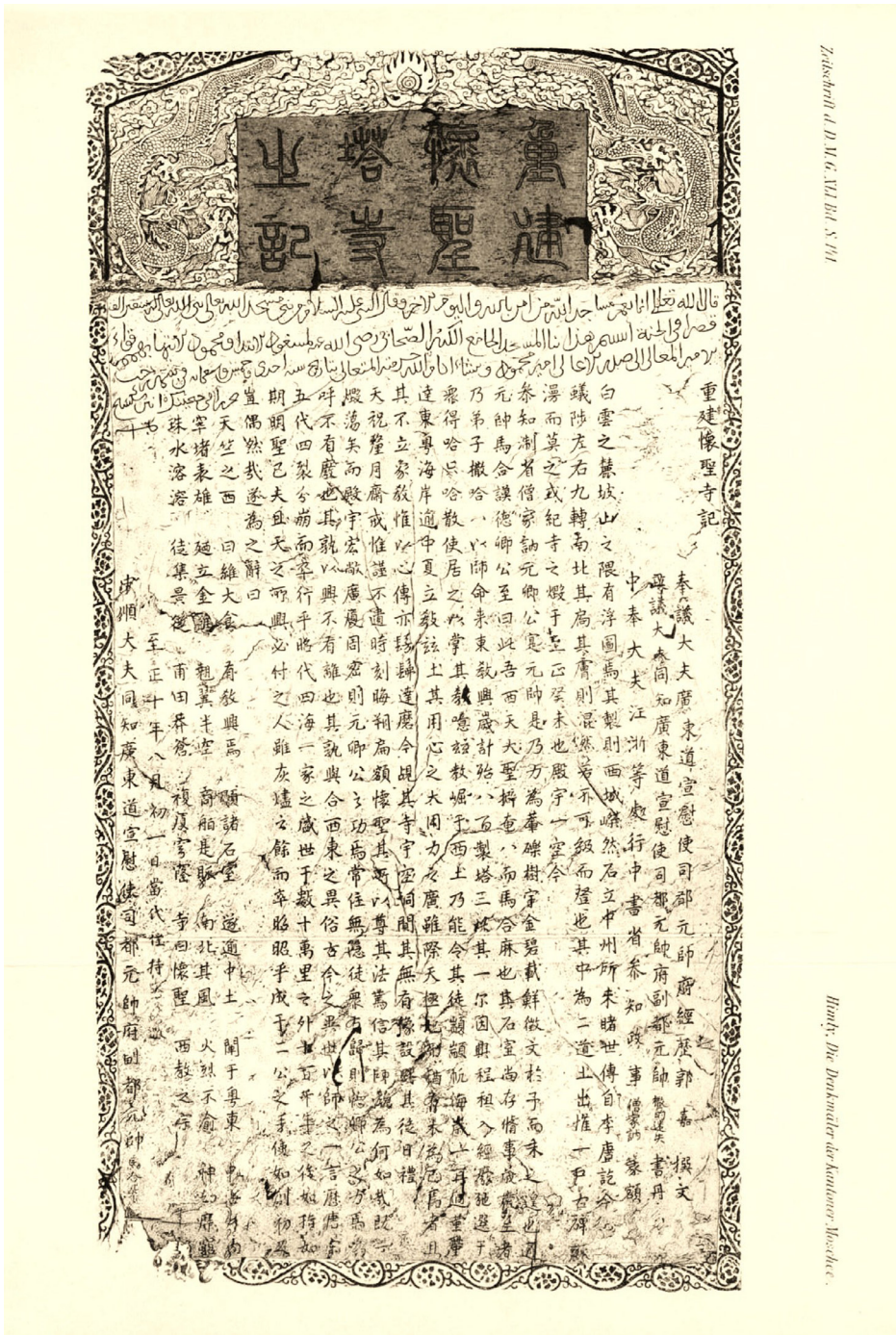
Fig. 1. Original inscription from 1350, reprinted in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (HIMLY 1887).

Fig. 2. Stone tablet of the Kanyuelou (Building for Observing the Moon) with the inscription "Huaisheng Guangta Si". © B. Stöcker-Parnian.

Review

Gerhard Oberhammer, *Meghanādārisūris Lehre vom* jīvaḥ *als Subjekt des Erkennens. Eine begrifflich kritische Rezeption der überlieferten Lehre*. Wien: De Nobili Research Library, 2023. 51 pp. (Publications of the De Nobili Research Library, Occasional Papers 10).

The booklet under review consists of two parts: a German translation of a part of the "Prameyanirūpaṇa" in Meghanādārisūri's treatise Nayadyumaṇi (pp. 33–50) and a study of the doctrine of the jīva as it can be extracted from this passage (pp. 9–31), an extended version of a 2017 lecture, published in English translation in 2018 (p. 7).

Meghanādārisūri [= M.] (14th cent. CE) belongs to the school of Rāmānuja. So fittingly, first the author tries to show how M.'s conception of the *jīva* (a term that he uses synonymously to *ātman*, but more frequently, as denoting the subject of knowledge) is connected to Rāmānuja's understanding of the body as "substance that can be controlled and preserved for its own purpose" by a conscious entity.[1] One part of his definition of the *jīva* is its being "the body of the brahman" (*brahmaśarīrabhūtaḥ*, *Nayadyumaṇi* 234,16). M. understands this aspect in such a way that the *brahman/paramātman* controls the individual *jīvas* by completely pervading them from inside and making them perform activities at will. This can be taken as the theological background of M.'s conception of the *jīva* as the subject of knowledge, which – in the main part of the passage under discussion – is developed against the backdrop of a Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika *pūrvapakṣa*. First, the *jīva/ātman* is essentially knowledge and is therefore,

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[1] *dravyaṃ sarvātmanā svārthe niyantuṃ dhārayituṃ ca śakyam*. (It is not clear to me why the author translates *śakyaṃ* here by "muss".)

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in every act of apperception, constantly aware of the "ego" (*ahamartha*). Second, the *jīva* is atom-sized (*aṇu*). The author points out that M. links this feature of *aṇutva* with its being directed at itself (*pratyaktva*) and limited (*paricchinnatva*), and so interprets it as an expression of its "relational subjectivity" (p. 22). What links the *jīva* to the outer world is "knowing" (*jñāna*), understood as a kind of substance that – during the saṃsāric existence – uses the sense organs to leave the body. It is not a fully independent substance, however, but is ultimately connected to the *jīva* as to its substrate (*āśraya*), which therefore can be directly apprehended. The author summarises this interpretation by stating that "*ahamartha* and *dharmabhūtajñāna* form an ontological unity that precedes every existence in the *saṃsāra*" (p. 29). In addition, the author deals with M.'s explanation that a certain karma residue (*adṛṣṭa*) is linked to a given *jīva* as its own by virtue of the fact that the Lord (*īśvara*) has given it "the means and so on" (*karaṇādi*). He takes this to indicate the "interrelational dialectic dynamics inside the *ahamarthaḥ*, which is internally pervaded by the Paramātmā" (p. 30) and thanks to that "achieves freedom and responsibility" in his actions (p. 31).

The present publication is valuable, as it throws light on one of the most intriguing problems in Indian philosophy – the question of subjectivity and self-awareness – from an unusual angle. The author achieves this task both by his well-informed interpretations and excellent translations, which manage to walk the tight line between literalness and excessive freedom. It has to be said, though, that the argumentations in the booklet are not always easy to follow, and the strategy to operate with modern philosophical conceptions like "apperception" or "openness" in the translations is not unproblematic. From a practical perspective, it is not convenient for the reader that the Sanskrit text is given in footnotes to the translation – the customary solution of printing original and translation on facing pages would have been far superior. But these points do not change the fact that the reviewed publication is a must-have for scholars dealing with the history of the Rāmānuja school, and – far beyond this group of readers – recommendable for everybody interested in the universal philosophical problem of self-awareness.

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