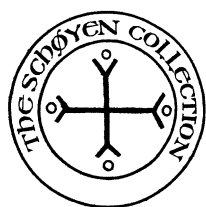


MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SCHØYEN COLLECTION

BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS

Volume IV

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SCHØYEN COLLECTION



MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SCHØYEN COLLECTION



BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS

Volume IV

General Editor:
Jens Braarvig

Editorial Committee:
Jens Braarvig, Paul Harrison, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Kazunobu Matsuda,
Gudrun Melzer, Lore Sander

HERMES PUBLISHING · OSLO

2016

*Hermes Academic Publishing & Bookshop A/S,
P.O.Box 2709 Solli, N-0204 Oslo*

© Jens Braarvig 2016

*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission in writing of Hermes Academic Publishing & Bookshop.
Exceptions are allowed in respect of any fair dealing for the purpose
of research or private study, or criticism or review.
Enquiries concerning reproduction outside these terms should
be sent to the publisher with the address as stated above.*

ISBN 978-82-8034-203-4

*Printed in Norway
by
RK Grafisk AS Oslo*

THIS VOLUME
IS DEDICATED TO

KLAUS WILLE

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF HIS GENEROSITY TO HIS COLLEAGUES
AND HIS PRODIGIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THE STUDY OF BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	xiii
CONVENTIONS	xv
ABBREVIATIONS	xvii

I) Sūtra:

a) Āgama:

1. Fragments of an *Ekottarikāgama* Manuscript in Gāndhārī
Chanida Jantrasrisalai, Timothy Lenz, Lin Qian, Richard Salomon 1
2. Fragments of the *Itivṛttaka*
Mitsuyo Demoto 123
3. A Folio of a Parallel to the *Śalyasūtra* or *Sunakkhattasutta*
Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Klaus Wille 151
4. A Possible Sanskrit Parallel to the Pali *Uruvelasutta*
Peter Skilling, Saerji, Prapod Assavavirulhakarn 159

b) Mahāyāna:

5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*
Stefan Baums, Andrew Glass, Kazunobu Matsuda 183
6. The *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* in Gāndhārī
Stefan Baums, Jens Braarvig, Timothy J. Lenz, Fredrik Liland,
Kazunobu Matsuda, Richard Salomon 267
7. The Final Folio of a Version of the *Larger Sukhāvātīvyūhasūtra* and Fragments
of a Text Possibly Related to the *Tathāgatabimbaparivarta*
Paul Harrison, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Kazunobu Matsuda 283
8. Fragments of the *Ratnaketuparivarta*
Chanwit Tudkeao 295
9. A Gāndhārī Fragment of the *Sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra*
Paul Harrison, Timothy Lenz, Lin Qian, Richard Salomon 311

II) Vinaya:

10. More Folios of the *Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins
in Early Western Gupta Script
Masanori Shōno 321

III) Miscellaneous:

11. A Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī Fragment of a Commentary on <i>aśubhabhāvanā</i> and the Formation of the Foetus Jens W. Borgland, Jens Braarvig	329
12. Āryaśūra's <i>Jātakamālā</i> and Another Story Collection Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Kazunobu Matsuda	333
13. A New Fragment of the <i>Jyotiṣkāvadāna</i> Stefan Baums	345
14. Two Mahādeva Fragments Jonathan A. Silk	351
15. Another Fragment of Mātrceṭa's <i>Prasādapratibhodbhava</i> Jens-Uwe Hartmann	359
16. Stories about Saṅgha and His Pupil Paul Harrison, Jens-Uwe Hartmann	361
17. Thirty-two Fragments Written by Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī Scribe 7 Richard Salomon	367
18. Protective Verses for Travellers: a Fragment of the <i>Diśāsauvastikagāthās</i> Related to the Scriptures of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins Vincent Tournier	407
BIBLIOGRAPHY	439
FACSIMILES Prepared by Gudrun Melzer	457
CONTRIBUTORS	507

CONVENTIONS

Description of a fragment:

recto and verso, abbreviated r and v, if a fragment is identified

A and B, if the beginning cannot be decided

a, b, c, d, etc., for several fragments of one number, e. g., 2378/1/17a, in the uf (unlocalized fragments) sections, e. g. 2378/uf2/1a

Symbols:

- () restorations in a gap
- [] damaged akṣara(s)
- ⟨ ⟩ omission of (part of) an akṣara without gap in the manuscript
- « ‹ › » interlinear insertion
- { } superfluous (part of an) akṣara
- + one destroyed akṣara
- ~⟨number⟩+ approximate number of lost akṣaras, e. g. ~60+
- .. one illegible akṣara
- . illegible part of an akṣara
- ... indefinite number of lost akṣaras
- — filler mark (used when the surface of the manuscript cannot be written upon)
- /// beginning or end of a fragment when broken
- * virāma
- ’ avagraha, not added in transliteration, but added without brackets in reconstruction (note, however, ’pi and pi)
- ḥ upadhmanīya
- ḥ jihvāmūlīya
- ⊗ double circle with rosette
- string hole
- ◎ concentric circles
- ◇ gap representing punctuation
- | daṇḍa
- ↵ punctuation mark in early manuscripts (most of the marks lack the two ornamental dots)
- ↶ punctuation mark in early manuscripts
- punctuation mark
- punctuation mark

Tibetan transliteration: ṅ, ṅ̃, ź, ś, g-yog

Chinese transcription: Pinyin with tonal diacritics

Note: For the conventions employed for editing Chinese and Tibetan texts see vol. III, p. xxiii-xxiv.

ABBREVIATIONS

-a – aṭṭhakathā (commentary).

AAWG – Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse

Abhidh-k-bh(P) – P. Pradhan (1975), ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, rev. 2nd ed. by A. Haldar (TSWS, 8), Patna.

Abhidh-k-vy – Unrai Wogihara (1932–1936), ed., *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā by Yaśomitra*, Tokyo.

Abhidharmadīpa – Padmanabh S. Jaini (1977), ed., *Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṣaprabhāvṛtti*, Patna.

Abhis – see AbhisDh.

AbhisDh – Karashima, Seishi (2012), *Die Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ: Verhaltensregeln für buddhistische Mönche der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*, 3 vols. (Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica, XIII.1–3), Tokyo.

Af – Fujita Kōtatsu (1992–96), ed., *The Larger Sukhāvāṭīvyūha: Romanized Text of the Sanskrit Manuscripts from Nepal*, Tokyo.

AF = additional fragment.

AMgD – Ratnachandraji, Shri (1923–38), *An illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary*, 5 vols., Agra [Reprint: Tokyo 1977].

Amk – Mahesh Pant (2000), ed., *Jātarūpa's commentary on the Amarakośa*, 2 vols., Delhi.

AN – *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. R. Morris/E. Hardy (1885–1900), ed., *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (PTS), London [Part I, 2nd edition, Richard Morris, ed., A. K. Warder, rev., Oxford, 1961].

ARIRIAB – *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology*.

AV(Ś) – Vishva Bandhu (1960–1964), ed., *Atharvaveda (Śaunaka) with the Pada-pāṭha and Sāyaṇācārya's Commentary*, Hoshiarpur.

AVPariś – G. M. Bolling and J. von Negelein (1909–10), ed., *The Parisiṣṭas of the Atharvaveda. Volume 1: Text and Critical Apparatus, in 2 Parts*, Leipzig.

Avś – J. S. Speyer (1906–09), ed., *Avadānaśataka* (BB 3), St. Petersburg.

BAI – *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*.

BB – Bibliotheca Buddhica, St. Petersburg, 1902ff.

BBDD – Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (2014), ed., *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research. Papers Presented at the Conference Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field, Stanford, June 15-19 2009* (ÖAW, Denkschriften, 460), Wien.

Bcap – de La Vallée Poussin, L., ed., (1901–14), *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, Bibliotheca Indica vol. 150, Calcutta.

BEFEO – *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*.

BEI – *Bulletin d'études indiennes*.

BhīVin(Mā-L) – Gustav Roth (1970), ed., *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya, including Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka and a summary of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin* (TSWS 12), Patna.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Bhk – Bhadrakalpikasūtra.
BHS – Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.
BHSD – Franklin Edgerton (1953), *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol. 2: Dictionary, New Haven.
BHSG – Franklin Edgerton (1953), *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol. 1: Grammar, New Haven.
BLSF I – Seishi Karashima and Klaus Wille (2006), ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, Vol. I, Tokyo.
BLSF II – Seishi Karashima and Klaus Wille (2009), ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, Vol. II.1–2, Tokyo.
BLSF III – Seishi Karashima, Jundo Nagashima and Klaus Wille (2015), ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, Vol. III.1–2, Tokyo.
BMSC I – Jens Braarvig *et al.* (2000), ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*, Vol. I (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, 1.1), Oslo.
BMSC II – Jens Braarvig *et al.* (2002), ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Vol. II (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, 3), Oslo.
BMSC III – Jens Braarvig *et al.* (2006), ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Vol. III (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection), Oslo.
BrSam – Ramakrishna Bhat (1981), ed., *Varāhamihira's Brhat Samhitā with English Translation, Exhaustive Notes and Literary Comments*, 2 vols., Delhi.
BSOAS – *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.
Bspt – *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra*.
BSR – *Buddhist Studies Review*.
BST – Buddhist Sanskrit Texts.
bv. – bahuvrīhi compound.
CAJ – *Central Asiatic Journal*.
CBETA – Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association
CDIAL – Turner, Ralph Lilley, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London 1968 / Vol. 2: Indexes Compiled by Dorothy Rivers Turner, London 1969 / Vol. 3: Phonetic Analysis by R. L. Turner and D. R. Turner, London 1971 / Addenda et Corrigenda, ed. J. C. Wright, London 1985.
ChS – Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka.
ChS – Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition (of canonical, postcanonical and non-canonical Pāli texts, publ. by the Buddha Sasana Council, Rangoon, since 1956).
CKI – Andrew Glass and Stefan Baums (ongoing), *Corpus of Gāndhārī Inscriptions*. http://gandhari.org/a_inscriptions.php.
CPD – Dines Andersen, Helmer Smith, Hans Hendriksen *et al.* (1924–), *A Critical Pali Dictionary*, begun by V. Trenckner, Copenhagen.
CPO – Collection in Private Ownership.
CPS – E. Waldschmidt (1952–60), ed., *Das Catuspariṣatsūtra: eine kanonische Lehrschrift über die Begründung der buddhistischen Gemeinde* (ADAW 1952.2, 1956.1, and 1960.1), Berlin.

ABBREVIATIONS

- D – Derge blockprint version of Tibetan canon.
- Dbh – Ryūkō Kondō (1936), ed., *Daśabhūmīśvaro nāma Mahāyānasūtram*, Tokyo [Reprint: Kyoto 1983].
- Dh – Dharmarakṣa.
- Dharmaskandha* – Siglinde Dietz (1984), ed., *Fragmente des Dharmaskandha. Ein Abhidharma-Text in Sanskrit aus Gilgit*, Göttingen.
- Dhp-G^k – *Dharmapada* manuscript from Khotan (“Gāndhārī Dharmapada”; Brough 1962)
- Dhp-P – Pali *Dhammapada* (von Hinüber and Norman 1995).
- DhVin – The Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas, T. 1428 四分律 *Sifēnlǚ*, tr. Buddhayaśas and Zhú Fóniàn 竺佛念, 412 C.E.
- DN – *Dīgha-nikāya*.
- DP – Margaret Cone (2001), *A Dictionary of Pāli* (PTS), Oxford.
- DPPN – G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, 2 vols., ¹1960 (¹1937–38), (PTS).
- EĀ – *Ekottarikāgama*.
- EĀ(Trip) – Chandrabhal Tripathi (1995), ed., *Ekottarāgama-Fragmente der Gilgit-Handschrift* (Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Monographie 2), Reinbek.
- EB – *The Eastern Buddhist*.
- G – Gāndhārī.
- GD – Gāndhārī Dictionary, i.e., Stefan Baums and Andrew Glass (ongoing), *A Dictionary of Gāndhārī*, <http://gandhari.org/dictionary/>.
- Geiger – Geiger, Wilhelm (1916), *Pāli: Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg.
- HBK – *Hokke Bunka Kenkyū*.
- HG – Hayashidera Genshu Collection.
- HI – Hirayama Ikuo Collection.
- IA – *Indian Antiquary*.
- IBK – *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 [Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies], Tokyo.
- IJJ – *Indo-Iranian Journal*.
- IndTib – Indica et Tibetica.
- ItivC – The Chinese version of the *Itivuttaka*, 本事經 *Běnsǐjīng* (T. 17, no. 765, pp. 662b–699b)
- ItivP – E. Windisch (1889), ed., *Itivuttaka* (PTS), London.
- JA – *Journal asiatique*.
- JAOS – *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- JIABS – *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*.
- JICABS – *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies* (then: *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Studies*).
- JIP – *Journal of Indian Philosophy*.
- JOS – *Journal of Oriental Studies*.
- JPTS – *Journal of the Pali Text Society*.
- JRAS – *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- kdh. – karmadhāraya compound.
- Ku – Kumārajīva.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Lokaprajñapti* – Kazunobu Matsuda (1982), “Bonbun danpen Loka-prajñapti ni tsuite” 梵文断片 Loka-prajñapti について (“Sanskrit Fragments of the *Loka-prajñapti*”), *Bukkyōgaku* 14: 1–21.
- Lv – S. Lefmann (1902–08), ed., *Lalita Vistara*, Halle.
- MĀ – Madhyamāgama.
- MaVin – Mahāsāṃghika-Vinaya.
- Mbh – Vishnu S. Sukthankar *et al.* (1933–41), ed., *The Mahābhārata*, Poona.
- MIA – Middle Indo-Aryan.
- Mmī – Shūyo Takubo (1972), ed., *Ārya-Mahā-Māyūrī Vidyā-Rājñī*, Tokyo.
- Mmk – see *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.
- MN – *Majjhima-nikāya*; V. Trenckner and Robert Chalmers (1888–99), ed., *Majjhima-Nikāya*, London (PTS).
- Mppś – *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra*, T. 1509 大智度論, *Dàzhìdùlún*, see also Lamotte 1949–1980.
- MS – Martin Schøyen Collection.
- MśVin – The Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas, T. 1421 彌沙塞部和醯五分律, tr. 竺道生 Zhú Dàoshēng (Buddhajīva) *et al.*, 424 C.E.
- MūVinVibh(Ch.) – The Chinese translation of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, T. 1442 根本說一切有部毘奈耶, tr. 義淨 Yìjìng, around 710 C.E.
- MūVinVibh(Tib.) – The Tibetan translation of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, *’Dul ba rnam par ’byed pa*, tr. Jinamitra and Klu’i rgyal mtshan.
- Mv – É. Senart (1882–1897), ed., *Le Mahāvastu* (Collection d’ouvrages orientaux; Seconde série), Paris.
- Mv(J) – *The Mahāvastu: Translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit by J. J. Jones*, 3 vols. (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vols. 16, 18, 19), ¹1949–1956; ²1973–1978, ³1987, London.
- Mvy – R. Sakaki (1926), ed., *Mahāvvyūtpatti*, 2 vols., Kyōto.
- MW – Monier Monier-Williams (1899), *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford.
- NPED – Cone, Margaret, *A Dictionary of Pāli*, Part I: a–kh, Oxford: The Pali Text Society 2001; Part II: g–n, Bristol: The Pali Text Society 2010.
- ÖAW – Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- P – Pali.
- Pkt – Prakrit.
- PIOL – Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain.
- Poṣ(Hu) – Hu-von Hinüber, Haiyan (1994), *Das Poṣadhavastu: Vorschriften für die buddhistische Beichtfeier im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins* (Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Monographie 13), Reinbek.
- PrMoSū(Mā-L) – N. Tatia (1976), ed., *The Prātimokṣasūtram of the Lokottaravādimahāsāṅghika School*, Patna.
- PrMoSū(Mū/LCh) – Lokesh Chandra (1960), “Unpublished Gilgit Fragments of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 4: 1–11.
- PrMoSū(Sa. v.Si) – Georg von Simson (1986–2000), ed., *Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins. Nach Vorarbeiten von Else Lüders und Herbert Härtel herausgegeben*, Teil I: Wiedergabe bisher nicht publizierten Handschriften in Transkription; Teil II: Kritische Textausgabe, Übersetzung, Wortindex sowie Nachträge zu Teil I (ST 11, AAWG 155, 238), Göttingen.

ABBREVIATIONS

- PTS – Pali Text Society.
- PTSD – T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede (1921–25), *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London.
- Pudgalasūtra* – Gudrun Melzer (2010), ed., *Ein Abschnitt aus dem Dīrghāgama*, Teil 2, Dissertation München: 309–343.
- PV – *Petavatthu*, in J. P. Minayeff (1888), ed., *Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu* (PTS), London.
- PW – Petersburg-Wörterbuch: Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolf Roth (1855–75), *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, 7 vols., St. Petersburg.
- Ram – P. C. Divanji (1960–75), ed., *The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa. Critical Edition*, 7 vols., Baroda.
- Rkp(Ch1) – Taishō, XIII, No. 397, 大方等大集經 *Dà fāngdǎng dàjī jīng*, 寶幢分, translated by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 (385–433 C.E.).
- Rkp(Ch2) – Taishō, XIII, No. 402, 寶星陀羅尼經 *Bǎoxīng tuólúóní jīng*, translated by Prabhākaramitra in 631 C.E.
- Rkp(K) – Y. Kurumiya (1978), ed., *Ratnaketuparivarta: Sanskrit Text*, Kyoto.
- Rkp(Sa/2) – Saerji, “More Fragments of the Ratnaketuparivarta (2),” ARIRIAB 14: 35–57.
- Rkp(Tib) – Y. Kurumiya (1979), ed., *'Dus pa chen po rin po che tog gi gzuñs: 'Dus pa chen po dkon mchog dbal zēs bya ba'i gzuñs: being the Tibetan Translation of the Ratnaketuparivarta*, Kyoto.
- RV – Barend A. van Nooten & Gary B. Holland (1994), ed., *Rig Veda – A metrically restored Text with Introduction and Notes*, Cambridge Mass..
- Sadd – Helmer Smith (1928–66), ed., *Saddanīti: La grammaire Palie d'Aggavaṃsa*, 6 vols., Lund.
- Śārd (M) – Sanjītkumar Mukhopadhyaya (1954), ed., *The Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, Santiniketan.
- Śārd (StP) – Tensho Miyazaki *et al.* (2015), “The Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna from Central Asia”, in *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The St. Petersburg Sanskrit Fragments*, ed. S. Karashima and Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, Tokyo: 1–84.
- SaVin – The Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, T. 1435 十誦律, tr. Kumārajīva, Puṇyatṛāta and Dharmaruci, 404 C.E.
- SbÖAW – *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*.
- SBV – Raniero Gnoli (1977–78), ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*. 2 vols. (SOR IL), Roma.
- SHT – Ernst Waldschmidt *et al.* (1965–2012), ed., *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfan-Funden* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, X), Wiesbaden/Stuttgart. [Teil 1 (1965): unter Mitarbeit von W. Clawiter und L. Holzmann hrsg. von E. Waldschmidt; Teil 2 (1968): im Verein mit W. Clawiter und L. Sander-Holzmann hrsg. von E. Waldschmidt; Teil 3 (1971): unter Mitarbeit von W. Clawiter und L. Sander-Holzmann hrsg. von E. Waldschmidt; Teil 4 (1980) und 5 (1985): bearbeitet von L. Sander und E. Waldschmidt; Teil 6 (1989), 7 (1995), 8 (2000), 9 (2004): hrsg. von H. Bechert, beschrieben von K. Wille; 10 (2008); 11 (2012): beschrieben von K. Wille.
- Śikṣ, – Cecil Bendall, ed., (1902), *Çikshāsamuccaya: A Compendium of Buddhistic Teaching, Compiled by Śāntideva*, BB 1, St. Petersburg.
- Skt – Sanskrit.

ABBREVIATIONS

- SN – L. Feer (1884–98), ed., *Samyutta-Nikāya* (PTS), London [vol. 6, Indexes, by C. A. F. Rhys Davids, 1904].
- SOR – Serie Orientale Roma.
- SPSS – *Sarvapūnyasamuccayasamādhisūtra*.
- SRAA – *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*.
- Śrīgh – Singh Sanghasen (1983), ed., *A Study of the Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācārasaṃgraha-ṭīkā*, Patna.
- SS – *Sūtrasamuccaya*.
- StII – *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*.
- SWTF – *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, begonnen von E. Waldschmidt, ed. H. Bechert, K. Röhrborn, J.-U. Hartmann, bearb. G. von Simson, M. Schmidt, J.-U. Hartmann, S. Dietz, Jin-il Chung, A. Bock-Raming, M. Straube, K. Wille, Göttingen 1973ff.
- SyR – Syāmaratṭha Tripiṭaka.
- T. – 大正新脩大藏經 *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, 100 vols., Tokyo, 1924–1934.
- T – Tibetan.
- Th – *Theragāthā*.
- Tib – Tibetan.
- Tōhoku – Ui Hakuju, Suzuki Munetada, Kanakura Yensho & Tada Tokan (1934), ed., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)*, Sendai.
- TP – *T'oung Pao*.
- TP – D. T. Suzuki (1955–1961), ed., *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, 168 vols., Kyoto.
- tp – tatpuruṣa compound.
- TSWS – Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series.
- uf – “unlocalized fragments” (i.e., minor fragments) in the Martin Schøyen Collection.
- Uv – Franz Bernhard (1965–1968), ed., *Udānavarga*, 2 vols., Göttingen.
- Vin – H. Oldenberg (1879–1883), ed., *Vinayaṭīka*, 5 vols. (PTS), London.
- Vinayasūtra* – The Digital Data of Preliminary Transliteration of the *Vinayasūtra*, The Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University: http://www.tais.ac.jp/related/labo/sobutsu/sobutsu_book/data/vinayasutra_trlt.pdf.
- VinSū(re-ed) – The Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University, ed., *A Preliminary Romanized Version of the Vinayasūtra*, 2001 [<http://www.tmx.tais.ac.jp/sobutsu/>].
- VinVibh(R) – Valentina Rosen (1959), ed., *Der Vinayavibhaṅga zum Bhikṣuprātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins, Sanskritfragmente nebst einer Analyse der chinesischen Übersetzung* (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden 2), Berlin.
- VOHD – Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland.
- WZKS – *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*.
- YBh – Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya (1957), ed., *The Yogācārabhūmi of Ācārya Asaṅga*, Calcutta.
- ZDMG – *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

A Possible Sanskrit Parallel to the Pali Uruvelasutta*

Peter Skilling, Saerji and Prapod Assavavirulhakarn

I. Description of the Schøyen fragments

I.1 Transliteration

I.2 Tentative restoration

II. Parallels

II.1. The Pali Uruvela-sutta

II.1.1. Pali text

II.1.2. Translation

II.2. Śamathadeva's Tibetan citation

II.2.1. Tibetan text

II.2.2. Translation

II.3. Chinese Saṃyuktāgamas

II.3.1. Chinese texts

III. A note on Brahma's verses

III.1. Udānavarga (verses 1–3)

III.2. Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (verses 1–3)

III.2.1. Bhaiṣajyavastu

III.2.2. Vinayavibhaṅga (1)

III.2.3. Vinayavibhaṅga (2)

III.3. Prātimokṣa of the Dharmaguptaka school (verses 1–3)

III.4. Mahāvastu parallel to verse [1]

III.5. Parallel to verse [1] in an unidentified Mahāyāna sūtra fragment from Central Asia

III.6. Citations of the verses in technical literature

III.7. Remarks on the verses

*IV. The Perfection of Wisdom and the *Urubilvā-sūtra*

IV.1. Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā

V. Comparison of the versions

VI. Notes on terminology

VI.1. The vocabulary of hierarchy: *gaurava*, *pratīṣa*, *sabhayavaśavartin*

VI.2. Terminology of respect

VI.3. Terminology of spiritual accomplishment

*VII. Conclusion: the *Urubilvā-sūtra and the Urubilvā cycle*

* We are grateful to Prof. Jens Braarvig for giving us the opportunity to study and publish this folio from the Schøyen Collection, and to Martin Schøyen for preserving the fragments and making them freely accessible to scholars. We thank the Khyentse Foundation for the support that has made our research possible, and we deeply appreciate Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoché's continued interest in the legacies of the Buddhist textual heritage. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are our own. They are provisional.

I. Description of the Schøyen fragments of the Uruvela-sutta

Three birch-bark fragments preserved among the Buddhist manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection appear to belong to a single incomplete folio.¹ The largest fragment is MS 2381/241, the left-hand side of the folio; since the top and bottom are preserved, we can estimate the width of the folio, and know that the folio has eight lines on each side. MS 2381/186 only preserves the top/bottom portion, and five lines are preserved. MS 2382/uf18/2d is the smallest fragment, containing only two or three lines of text. A page number may be seen on the upper left margin of Schøyen 2381/241; unfortunately the figure is damaged. It appears to read ..71 as the last two digits of a possibly three-digit number. Whatever the case, this suggests that the folio belonged to a relatively long manuscript. A study of the contents allows us to assign Schøyen 2381/186 to the right portion of the folio, and Schøyen 2382/uf18/2d to the middle portion (see below and facsimile). The script is the so-called “Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I” as described by L. Sander, “Paleographical Analysis,” in BMSC I: 298–300.

I.1 Transliteration

MS 2381/241, 2382/uf18/2d, 2381/186; folio ..71 recto

- 1 brāhmaṇena vā devena vā mā .e + + + + + + + + + + ///
- 2 samāpadyeyuḥ evam api kila [bh]. + + + + + + + + + + /// + + + + + + ///
- 3 ya paryāpaṃnā aparimuktā eva [s]. [t]k. .. + + + + + + + + + + /// .ā || ya .. [b]uddho hy abhiññā .. ///
- 4 paśamaḡāmiṇaṃ : ye pi dīrghāyuso devā va .. + + + + + + + + + + /// + + + + + .. thā mṛ + + + + + + + + + + /// + + + + +
+ + + + + .. [v]. y. .. + ///
- 5 va<h> samayaṃ urubilvāyāṃ viharāmi nadyā neraṃjanāyās tī /// + + + + + .. + + + + + + + + + + /// + + + + +
+ + + + + .. bh. kṣava eka[s]ya ///
- 6 – – vastya viharāḥ kaṃ nu khalv ahaṃ anyāṃ śramaṇaṃ vā brā .. /// + + + + + [t]y. vihareyaṃ .. sya
me bhikṣava etad a .. ///
- 7 – – satkṛtya gurukṛtyopaniḥśṛtya vihareyaṃ || .. + + + + + /// .. sya na khalu punar ahaṃ taṃ
samanupa[śy]. ///
- 8 sadevamānuṣāsuraṃ ātmanaḥ śīla[s].ṃ .ṃ + + + + + + + + + + /// tya gurukṛtyopaniḥśṛtya vihareyaṃ + + + + +

verso

- 1 maṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā satkṛtya gurukṛtyopaniḥśṛtya + + + + + + + + + + /// .. punar ayaṃ mayā dha ..
gaṃ[bh]īro nip[u] + + + + +
- 2 – – – yaṃ nāhaṃ dharmam eva satkṛtya gurukṛtyopani + + + + + + + + + + /// .[ā]gatasya idam evaṃrūpaṃ
cetasā cetaḥ .. ///
- 3 .. – – tad bhagavaṃṃ evam etad sugata : dharmam eva bha[g]. + + + + + + + + + + /// + + [n]iḥśṛtya viharatu
[•] ye pi te bhūva .. ///
- 4 – – – – dharmam eva satkṛtvā gurukṛtvā upaniḥśṛtya /// + + + + + .. vaṃ bhavi[śya]ṃ[ty] a[n]āgate
dhvani tathāga + + + + +

¹ Since no other fragments have so far been identified, we assume for the time being that the three fragments are all that survives of the folio.

- 5 tya vihariṣyaṃti • bhagavān apy etarhi tathāgato rhām [s]. .. /// /// + tkṛtvā guru .. + + + /// /// +
 + + + + + + + + + [k]. tvā u .. + + ///
 6 m ājñāya mahābrahmāṇas ca yāvatām vi[d]i + + + + /// /// .. gham apy adrākṣī dha .m. .. ///
 7 sam aṃtarīkṣe sthito yena tathāgata .. + + + + + + /// /// ye ca b[u]d[dh]ā anāgatā[h] .. ///
 8 tvā vihareyur viharāṃti ca • a .. + + + + + + + + + ///

I.2 Tentative restoration (beginning from the fifth line)

(ekam bhikṣa)r5vaḥ samayaṃ urubilvāyāṃ viharāmi nadyā neramjanāyās tī(re ... 'cirābhisambud-
 dho ...) bh(i)kṣava ekasya (...)r6vastya viharāḥ kaṃ nu khalv ahaṃ anyam śramaṇam vā
 brā(hmaṇam vā satkṛtya gurukṛtyopaniḥśṛ)ty(a) vihareyam (ta)sya me bhikṣava etad a(bhūt ...) r7
 satkṛtya gurukṛtyopaniḥśṛtya vihareyam || (...)sya na khalu punar ahaṃ taṃ samanupaśy(āmi ...
 sadevake loka samārake sabrahmake saśramaṇabrāhmaṇikāyāṃ prajāyāṃ) r8 sadevamānuṣāsu-
 rāyāṃ ātmanaḥ śīlas(a)m(pa)m(nataram samādhisaṃpannataram prajñāsaṃpannataram vimukti-
 saṃpannataram vimuktijñānadarśanasampannataram ... satkṛ)tya² gurukṛtyopaniḥśṛtya vi-
 hareyam (... śra)v1maṇam vā brāhmaṇam vā satkṛtya gurukṛtyopani-śṛ(tya vihareyam ...) punar
 ayaṃ mayā dha(rmo) gaṃbhīro nipu(ṇo ...)v2yaṃ nāhaṃ dharmam eva satkṛtya gurukṛtyo-
 paniḥśṛtya vihareyam ... tath)āgatasya idam evaṃrūpaṃ cetasā cetah(parivitarikaṃ ājñāya ...
 evam e)v3tad bhagavaṃn evam etad sugata | dharmam eva bhag(avān ... satkṛtya
 gurukṛtyopa)niḥśṛtya viharatu | ye 'pi te 'bhūva(nn atīte 'dhvani tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksam-
 buddhās teṣāṃ api bhagavanto) v4 dharmam eva satkṛtvā gurukṛtvā upaniḥśṛtya (...)vaṃ
 bhaviṣyaṃty anāgate 'dhvani tathāga(tā arhantaḥ samyaksambuddhās teṣāṃ api bhagavanto dhar-
 mam eva satkṛtya gurukṛtyopaniḥśṛ)v5tya vihariṣyaṃti | bhagavān apy etarhi tathāgato 'rhām
 s(amyaksambuddhas tasya api bhagavān dharmam eva sa)tkṛtvā guru(kṛtvā upaniḥśṛtya viharatu
 ... satkṛtvā guru)k(r)tvā u(paniḥśṛtya viharatu ...)v6m ājñāya mahābrahmāṇas ca yāvatām vidi(tvā
 ...)gham apy adrākṣī dha(r)m(a... vaihāya)v7sam aṃtarīkṣe sthito yena tathāgata(s tenāñjaliṃ
 praṇamya tathāgataṃ gāthayādhyabhāṣata ...) ye ca buddhā anāgatāḥ (...)v8tvā vihareyur
 viharāṃti ca | a(...)

II. Parallels

The main part of the three fragments appears to represent a Sanskrit parallel to the Pali *Uruvela-
 sutta*; to a short sūtra cited by Śamathadeva in his Essential Commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhi-
 dharmakośa* (*Abhidharmakośa-upāyikā-ṭīkā*); and to two Chinese translations, one in each of the
 two Chinese *Samyuktāgamas*.³ It appears that the sūtra proper starts from the fifth line of the recto
 (*samayaṃ urubilvāyāṃ viharāmi*); we have been unable so far to identify the first four lines. The
 fragments do not preserve any title; for convenience we will call the text studied here the
 **Urubilvā-sūtra*.

² The gap is much too small for the reconstructed text; it was probably abbreviated with *yāvat* or a similar word.

³ MS 2381/186 was identified as a parallel to the *Gārava-sutta* by Peter Skilling, 14 June 2002; MS 2381/241 and 2382/uf18/2d were identified by Saerji, 5–8 August 2012, both using preliminary transcriptions made by Klaus Wille, to whom we are grateful for his painstaking work. For reasons given below, we now see the fragments as from a possible parallel to the *Uruvela-sutta* rather than to the *Gārava-sutta*.

II.1. The Pali Uruvela-sutta

The Pali *Uruvela-sutta* is included in the *Uruvela-vagga*, the third *vagga* of the *Catukka-nipāta* of the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*.⁴ Here it opens the *vagga*, which is so named because this and the following sutta are associated with the town of Uruvelā.⁵ The sutta may be named “The first *Uruvela-sutta*” on the basis of the *uddāna* at the end of the *vagga*.⁶ The sutta is placed in the *Catukka-vagga* because it refers to four *khandha*, that is, *sīla*, *samādhi*, *paññā*, and *vimutti* (see below).

II.1.1. Pali text⁷

ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. Tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi bhikkhavo ti. Bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccasossum.

Bhagavā etad avoca ekaṃ samayaṃ bhikkhave Uruvelāyaṃ viharāmi najjā Nerañjarāya tīre Ajaṇḍanigrodhe pathamābhisambuddho tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave rahogatassa paṭisallīnassa evaṃ cetaso parivitakko udapādi dukkhaṃ kho agāravo viharati appatisso kannu kho ahaṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyan ti

Tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave etad ahosi aparipūrassa kho **me**⁸ sīlakkhandhassa pāripūriyā aññaṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyaṃ na kho panāham passāmi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya aññaṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā attanā sīlasampannataram yam ahaṃ sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyaṃ

aparipūrassa kho **me**⁹ ... samādhikkhandhassa ... paññākkhandhassa ... vimuttikkhandhassa pāripūriyā aññaṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyaṃ na kho panāham passāmi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya aññaṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā attanā vimuttisampannataram yam ahaṃ sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyan [¹⁰] ti

tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave etad ahosi yannūnāhaṃ yo pāyaṃ dhammo mayā abhisambuddho tam eva dhammaṃ sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyan ti.

atha kho bhikkhave Brahmā Sahampati mama cetasā cetoparivitakkam aññāya seyyathāpi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya evam eva Brahmaloce antarahito mama purato pāturahosi.

atha kho bhikkhave Brahmā Sahampati ekamsam uttarāsaṅgam karitvā dakkhiṇajānumaṇḍalaṃ pathaviyaṃ nihantvā yenāhaṃ tenañjalim paṇāmetvā maṃ etad avoca.

evaṃ etaṃ Bhagavā evam etaṃ Sugata ye pi te bhante ahesuṃ atītam addhānaṃ arahanto sammāsambuddhā te pi bhagavanto dhammaṃ yeva sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihariṃsu

⁴ Morris 1976.

⁵ For this locality in Pali literature, see DPPN I 435. The Sanskrit form is *Urubilvā* or *Uruvilvā*.

⁶ *dve uruvelā*: SyR 41.9, PTS 31.30.

⁷ We present here a transliteration of the Pali from the Thai-script, Aruṇanibhāguṇākara *et al.* 1980. We note a few variants from the PTS version (AN II 20–21). For English translations see, most recently, Bhikkhu Bodhi 2012: 406–408; see also Woodward 1973: 20–22, Nyanaponika Thera and Bhikkhu Bodhi 1999: 81–83. For translations of the *Gārava-sutta*, see Caroline Rhys Davids 1917: 174–176, and Bhikkhu Bodhi 2000: 233–235.

⁸ *me* SyR : *ahaṃ* PTS.

⁹ *me* SyR : *ahaṃ* PTS.

¹⁰ Here the *Gārava-sutta* has a fifth passage on *vimuttiññāḍassana-kkhandha*.

ye pi te bhante bhavissanti anāgatam addhānam arahanto sammāsambuddhā te pi bhagavanto dhammaṃ yeva sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya viharissanti bhagavā pi bhante etarahi arahaṃ sammāsambuddho dhammaṃ yeva sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya viharatū ti

idam avoca Brahmā Sahampati idam vatvā athāparam etad avoca

ye ca atītā¹¹ sambuddhā ye ca buddhā anāgatā
 yo cetarahi sambuddho bahunnaṃ sokaṇāsano [1]
 sabbe saddhammagaruno **vihariṃsu vihāti ca**¹²
athā pi¹³ viharissanti esā buddhāna dhammatā [2]
 tasmā hi attakāmena mahattam abhikaṅkhatā
 saddhammo garukātabbo saraṃ buddhāna sāsanan ti | [3]

idam avoca bhikkhave Brahmā Sahampati idaṃ vatvā maṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā tatthevantaradhāyi |

idha¹⁴ khvāhaṃ bhikkhave brahmuno ajjhesanaṃ veditvā attano ca paṭirūpaṃ yopāyaṃ dhammo mayā abhisambuddho tam eva dhammaṃ sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihāsiṃ yato ca kho bhikkhave saṅgho pi mahattena samannāgato atha me saṅghe pi gāravo¹⁵ ti.

II.1.2. Translation

Once the Fortunate One was staying in Sāvattihī at Anāthapiṇḍika's Pleasance in Jeta's Grove. The Fortunate One addressed the monks: O monks. Sir, the monks replied.

The Fortunate One said:

Once, monks, when I was dwelling at Uruvelā¹⁶ on the bank of the river Nerañjarā¹⁷ at the foot of the goatherd's banyan tree just after I had realized awakening, when I was alone and withdrawn in contemplation, this thought came to me: He who has no respect and has no reverence dwells in suffering. Now, what samaṇa or brāhmaṇa can I honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon?

I then reflected:

I could honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon another samaṇa or brāhmaṇa in order to fulfill the aggregate of virtue which is not yet fulfilled in myself. But in the world with its deities, its māras, its brahmās, in this human world with its samaṇas and brāhmaṇas, its deities and men, I do not see any other samaṇa or brāhmaṇa who is more perfect in virtue than myself, whom I might honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon.

¹¹ *ye ca atītā* SyR : *ye cabbhatītā* PTS. The latter is closer to the Sanskrit versions. SyR gives the same reading for the *Sāgātha-vagga* version, while PTS has *ye ca atītā* with v.l. *ye cabbhatītā* from Sinhalese manuscripts.

¹² *vihariṃsu vihāti ca* SyR: *vihāmsu viharanti ca* PTS. SyR and PTS both have *vihariṃsu viharanti ca* in the *Sāgāthā-vagga* version.

¹³ *athā pi* SyR : *atho pi* PTS.

¹⁴ *idha* SyR : *atha* PTS.

¹⁵ *gāravo* SyR : *tibba-gāravo* PTS. Note that the phrase *tibba-gārava/tivra-gaurava* occurs elsewhere in Buddhist texts. For Sanskrit *tivra-gaurava*, see e.g. Tripāthī 1995: 94, 187, and Vaidya 1961a: 33.11.

¹⁶ For Uruvelā, see DPPN I 435–436. For Uruvilvā, see BHSD 148. In Urubilvā, the Buddha also reflected on the four *smṛtyupasthāna*: see *Samyutta-nikāya*, Part V, *Mahā-vagga*, p. 167. This event at Urubilvā is also cited in Prajñāvarman's *Udānavargavivaraṇa*: see Balk 1984: 442.12–443.23. In the two Chinese *Samyuktāgamas*, the Buddha reflects on the four *smṛtyupasthāna* in a sūtra which follows the **Urubilvā-sūtra*.

¹⁷ For the Nerañjarā river, see DPPN II 85–86. The Sanskrit form in the Schøyen fragment is Nerañjanā (recto, line 5). Śamathadeva has *chu bo nai rañdza na* = Nairañjana. See BHSD 312.

I could honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon another samaṇa or brāhmaṇa in order to fulfill the aggregate of concentration ... the aggregate of wisdom ... the aggregate of liberation which is not yet fulfilled in myself. But in the world with its deities, its māras, its brahmās, in this human world with its samaṇas and brāhmaṇas, its deities and men, I do not see any other samaṇa or brāhmaṇa who is more perfect in liberation than myself, whom I might honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon.

Then I reflected:

Let me then honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon this very Dhamma to which I have fully awakened.

Therupon, Brahmā Sahampati,¹⁸ knowing my thoughts with his mind, disappeared from the Brahma world and reappeared before me, just as [easily] as a muscular man might stretch out his folded arm or fold in his stretched out arm.

Brahmā Sahampati arranged his upper robe over one shoulder, knelt with his right knee placed on the ground, raised his hands, palms together, towards me, and said to me:

So it is, Fortunate One. So it is, Sugata. Those who in the past were arahants, truly and fully awakened Buddhas, those Fortunate Ones honoured and respected and dwelt in dependence upon the Dhamma. Those, sir, who in the future will be arahants, truly and fully awakened Buddhas, those Fortunate Ones as well will honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon the Dhamma. The Fortunate One is at present an arahant, a truly and fully awakened Buddha: let him honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon the Dhamma.

Thus spoke Brahmā Sahampati. Having said this, he spoke further:

The Sambuddhas of the past, the Buddhas of the future.

And the Sambuddha of the present, destroyer of sorrow for many:

All dwelled, dwell, and will dwell with respect for the Saddhamma.

This is a natural law for Buddhas.

Therefore, one who seeks the self, who aspires to greatness

Should pay respect to the Saddhamma, recollecting the teachings of the Buddhas.

Thus, monks, spoke Brahmā Sahampati. Having said this, he paid homage to me, circumambulated me, keeping me to his right, and disappeared right there.

Here indeed, O monks, having understood Brahmā's request, realizing that it was appropriate for myself, I dwelt honouring and respecting and dwelling in dependence upon exactly the Dhamma that I had realized. And when, O monks, the monastic order attained the state of greatness, then for me there was respect for the order as well.¹⁹

¹⁸ For Brahmā Sahampati, see DPPN II 337–338, 1080–1081. His most important narrative role is inviting the newly awakened One to teach, the famous *ajjhesanā*. He also visited the Buddha on several occasions at the Jetavana and elsewhere. The *Brahmasaṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* contains fifteen discourses in prose and verse in which Sahampati plays a role.

¹⁹ *yato ca kho bhikkhave saṅgho pi mahattena samannāgato atha me saṅghe pi gāravo ti*. The commentary explains as follows (PTS II 26.15): *yato ti yasmiṃ kāle. mahattena samannāgato ti rattaññumahattaṃ vepullamahattaṃ brahmacariyamahattaṃ lābhaggamahattan ti iminā catubbidhena mahattena samannāgato. atha me saṅghe pi gāravo ti atha mayhaṃ saṅghe pi gāravo jāto. kasmim̐ pana kāle bhagavatā saṅghe gāravo kato ti. mahāpajāpatiyā dussayagadānakāle; tadā hi bhagavā attano upanītaṃ dussayugaṃ saṅghe Gotami dehi, saṅghe te dinne ahañ c'eva pūjito bhavissāmi saṅgho cā ti vadanto saṅghe gāravaṃ akāsi nāma.*

II.2. Śamathadeva's Tibetan citation

We know nothing about the life of Śamathadeva except that he was a bhikṣu born in Nepal (Bal po). His only known work is an important commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, preserved in the Tibetan Tanjur: the *Abhidharmakośa-upāyikā-ṭīkā*.²⁰ The *Upāyikā-ṭīkā* was translated by the Indian *upādhyāya* Jayaśrī and a Tibetan *bhikṣu* from Khams (eastern Tibet), Shes rab 'od zer, in the "Cool Pavilion"²¹ in the north of the *Jarame *vihāra*, in the centre of the great Kashmiri city "Matchless" (*kha che'i groñ khyer chen po dpe med kyi dbus dza ra me'i gtsug lag khañ gi byañ phyogs kyi bsil khañ*).²² The location of the *Jarame *vihāra* and the exact date of the translation are unknown; the work might have been translated in the second half of the eleventh century.²³

Śamathadeva cites the complete sūtra with reference to Vasubandhu's citation of the first of the three verses of the sūtra in the concluding section of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the *Pudgalaviniścaya*. He gives the abbreviated *nidāna* "at Śrāvastī" (*gleñ g'zi ni mñan du yod pa na'o* = *śrāvastyāṃ nidānaṃ*). The progression of thought is similar to that of the Pali, and the Fortunate One relates the story in the first person. Śamathadeva does not identify the source of his citation.

II.2.1. Tibetan text²⁴

gleñ g'zi ni mñan du yod pa na'o || de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis dge sloñ rnam la bos te | dge sloñ dag **duṣ gcig gi tshes ña** mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas nas riñ por ma lon pa na **chu bo nai rañdza na'i 'gram** byañ chub kyi śiñ druñ na gcig pu dben pa nañ du yañ dag 'jog la **bzugs pa** na | 'di lta bu'i sems la sems kyi yoñs su rtogs pa skyes te | gus pa med pa ni sdug bsñal ba ste | bdag po med ciñ 'jigs par dbañ sgyur ba med pa ni don chen po las yoñs su ñams par 'gyur ro || gus pa dañ bcas pa ni bde ba ste | bdag po dañ bcas śiñ 'jigs pa dbañ sgyur ba dañ bcas pa ni don chen po yoñs su rdzogs par 'gyur te | gañ bdag²⁵ las **tshul khrims phun sum tshogs pa** khyad par du 'phags pa'am tiñ ñe 'dzin phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | śes rab phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | rnam par grol ba phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | rnam par grol ba'i ye śes mthoñ ba phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa lha dañ bcas pa dañ bdud dañ bcas pa dañ tshañs pa dañ bcas pa dañ **dge sbyoñ dañ bram ze'i** skye dgu'i lha dañ mi'i 'jig rten na 'ga' žig yod na bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba bdag²⁶ gis **bkur stir byas | bla mar byas** | rjed par byas | mchod par byas te **yoñs su bsten ciñ gnas par bya'o** žes dgoñs so ||

yañ 'di sñam du | gañ yañ bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag **bdag gis bkur stir byas | bla mar byas** | rjed par byas | mchod par byas te

²⁰ See the remarks on this work in Skilling and Harrison 2005.

²¹ Cool Pavilion stands for *bsil khañ* = *harmikā, harmya*. *Bsil khañ* belongs to the technical vocabulary of Indian Buddhist architecture, but exactly what sort of physical structure the term stands for is not known. It might be a pavilion set on a flat roof. For a recent discussion of the term *harmya/harmika* with references, see Karashima 2012: 109, §13.9. See also BHSD 618.

²² For *Groñ khyer chen po dpe med* (Anupama, Nirupama?) see Naudou 1968: 169–171.

²³ Mejer: 1991: 64.

²⁴ D 4094, *mñon pa, ñu*, 84a3–85b4 = P 5595, *mdo 'grel, thu*, 130b1–132a6. Text in bold face corresponds to words preserved in the manuscript.

²⁵ *bdag*: Derge and Peking read *dag*; we emend to *bdag*.

²⁶ *bdag*: Derge and Peking read *dag*; we emend to *bdag*.

yoñs su bsten ciñ gnas par bya ba gañ bdag las tshul khriims phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | tiñ ñe 'dzin phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | śes rab phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | rnam par grol ba phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | rnam par grol ba'i ye śes mthoñ ba phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa lha dañ bcas pa dañ | bdud dañ bcas pa dañ | tshañs pa dañ bcas pa dañ | **dge sbyoñ dañ bram ze'i** skye dgu'i lha dañ **mi'i** 'jig rten na 'ga' yañ **med** de | **gžan du na ñas rañ ñid kyis** chos mñon par mkhyen nas mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas te gañ yañ bdag gis chos la bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag | **bdag gis bkur stir byas** | **bla mar byas** | rjed par byas | mchod par byas nas **bsten ciñ** lan mañ du **gnas par bya'o** zes dgoñs so ||

de nas tshañs pa stoñ gi bdag po'i **sems kyis** ña'i **thugs** rnam par śes nas skyes bu stobs dañ ldan pa'i lag pa brkyañ ba las bskum pa'am bskums pa las brkyañ ba tsam gyis tshañs pa'i 'jig rten na mi snañ bar gyur te ña'i mdun du 'dug nas 'di skad ces smras so || **bcom ldan 'das de de bžin no** || **bde bar gšegs pa de de bžin te** | gus pa med pa ni sdug bsñal ba ste | bdag po med ciñ 'jigs par dbañ sgyur ba med pa ni don chen po las yoñs su ñams par 'gyur ro || gus pa dañ bcas pa ni bde ba ste bdag po dañ bcas śiñ 'jigs par dbañ sgyur ba dañ bcas pa'i don chen po yoñs su rdzogs par 'gyur te | gañ yañ bcom ldan 'das kyis bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag bcom ldan 'das kyis bkur stir byas | bla mar byas | rjed par byas | mchod par byas te yoñs su bsten ciñ lan mañ du gnas par bya ba bcom ldan 'das las tshul khriims phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | tiñ ñe 'dzin phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | śes rab phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | rnam par grol ba phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | rnam par grol ba'i ye śes mthoñ ba phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa lha dañ bcas pa dañ bdud dañ bcas pa dañ tshañs pa dañ bcas pa dañ dge sbyoñ dañ bram ze'i skye dgu'i lha dañ mi'i 'jig rten na 'ga' yañ med do || **gžan du na bcom ldan 'das rañ ñid kyis** chos mñon par mkhyen nas mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas te | gañ yañ bcom ldan 'das kyis chos la bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag gis bcom ldan 'das kyis **chos** la bkur stir mdzad ciñ bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par mdzad nas **brten ciñ** lan mañ du **gnas par mdzod cig** | btsun pa de ci'i phyir ze na | **gañ yañ** 'das pa'i dus na **byuñ bar gyur pa'i** sañs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de bžin gšegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas de dag kyañ chos ñid la bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag gis **chos ñid la bkur stir byas** | **bla mar byas** | rjed bar byas | mchod par byas nas **ñe bar bsten ciñ** bžugs so || gañ yañ **ma 'oñs pa'i dus na 'byuñ bar 'gyur ba'i** sañs rgyas bcom ldan 'das **de bžin gšegs pa** dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas de dag kyañ chos ñid la bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag gis bkur stir mdzad pa dañ | bla mar mdzad pa dañ | rjed par mdzad pa dañ | mchod par mdzad ciñ bsten ciñ **gnas par 'gyur ro** || **da ltar byuñ ba'i dus kyi bcom ldan 'das de bžin gšegs pa dgra bcom pa** yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas kyañ chos ñid la bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag gis bkur stir mdzad ciñ bla mar mdzad pa dañ | rjed par mdzad pa dañ | mchod par mdzad nas bsten ciñ lan mañ du bžugs par mdzod cig |

gañ yañ 'das pa'i rdzogs sañs rgyas || **gañ yañ ma byon sañs rgyas dañ** ||
 mya ñan mañ po 'jig byed pa'i || gañ yañ da ltar rdzogs sañs rgyas || [1]
 de dag thams cad dam chos la || bkur stir mdzad ciñ ñe bar bźugs ||
 gźan yañ gnas par 'gyur ba ste || 'di ni rdzogs sañs chos ñid yin || [2]
 de phyir 'dod khams 'di na ni || che ba'i bdag ñid 'dod pa mams ||
 sañs rgyas bstan pa rjes dran nas || dam pa'i chos la bkur sti bya || [3]

de nas tshañs pa stoñ gi bdag po mñon par dga' žiñ rjes su yi rañs nas de ña'i žabs la spyi bos
 phyag byas nas mi snañ bar gyur to žes gsuñs so ||

II.2.2. Translation

The *nidāna* at Śrāvastī.²⁷ Then the Fortunate One addressed the monks:

O monks, on one occasion, not long after I realized full awakening, when I was staying on the bank of the River Nerañjanā, beneath the Bodhi tree, alone and withdrawn in contemplation, this thought came to me: To be without respect is suffering. To be without reverence and without deference,²⁸ one fails in the great aim.²⁹ To have respect is happiness. To have reverence, to have deference, one succeeds in the great aim. If in this world of ascetics and brahmins populated by gods and humans, with its gods, with its māras, with its brahmās, there existed anyone who is endowed with superior ethics, is endowed with superior concentration, is endowed with superior wisdom, is endowed with superior liberation, is endowed with superior insight and vision of liberation, and should be respected, revered, honoured, and venerated, I should dwell resorting to [such a person], respecting, revering, honouring, venerating – so I reflected.

I thought further, There is no one in this world of ascetics and brahmins populated by gods and humans, with its gods, with its māras, with its brahmās, who is endowed with superior ethics, who is endowed with superior concentration, who is endowed with superior wisdom, who is endowed with superior liberation, who is endowed with superior insight and vision of liberation, who should be respected, revered, honoured, and venerated, whom I should dwell resorting to, respecting, revering, honouring, and venerating. On the contrary, I should respect, revere, honour, and venerate the Dharma that I have myself directly realized and thereby become fully awakened.

Then Brahmā Sahampati, reading my thoughts with his mind, just as swiftly as a muscular man might fold his extended arm, or stretch out his folded arm, disappeared from the Brahmā world, and seated in front of me said this: Fortunate One, it is so! Sugata, it is so! To be without respect is suffering. To be without reverence and without deference, one fails in the great aim. To have respect is happiness. To have reverence, to have deference, one succeeds in the great aim. In this world of ascetics and brahmins populated by gods and humans, with its gods, with its māras,

²⁷ This refers to the full Śrāvastī *nidāna*, “Once the Fortunate One was staying in Śrāvastī at Anāthapiṇḍada’s Pleasance in Jeta’s Grove.”

²⁸ For the string of terms “respect, reverence, deference” see below.

²⁹ For the phrase, cf. e.g. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā: mahataḥ svārthāt parihīṇo bhaviṣyati, mahataś ca parārtharatnarāśeḥ parihīṇo bhaviṣyati, yaduta sarvajñatāmahārtharatnākarāt parihīṇatvād iti*. Vaidya 1960a: 144.17–18. For the Tibetan, see D 12, *śes phyin, ka*, 160a7–b1: *rañ gi don chen po las yoñs su ñams par 'gyur žiñ gźan gyi don chen po'i rin po che'i phuñ po las yoñs su ñams par 'gyur te | 'di lta ste | thams cad mkhyen pa'i don chen po'i rin po che'i 'byuñ gnas las yoñs su ñams par 'gyur bar rig par bya'o*.

with its brahmās, there is no one who is endowed with superior ethics, who is endowed with superior concentration, who is endowed with superior wisdom, who is endowed with superior liberation, who is endowed with superior insight and vision of liberation, and should be respected, revered, honoured, and venerated, whom the Fortunate One might dwell resorting to, respecting, revering, honouring, and venerating.

The Fortunate One should respect, revere, honour, and venerate the Dharma and should dwell regularly³⁰ resorting to [the Dharma]. Why, sir, is that? In the past, the Buddhas, the Fortunate Ones, the Tathāgatas, the arhats, the truly and fully enlightened ones dwelled resorting to, and respected ... the very Dharma. In the future, the Buddhas, the Fortunate Ones, the Tathāgatas, the arhats, the truly and fully enlightened ones will dwell resorting to, and respect ... the very Dharma. In the present time, the Fortunate One, the Tathāgata, the arhat, the truly and fully enlightened one should dwell regularly resorting to, and respect ... the very Dharma.

The Sambuddhas of the past, the Buddhas of the future,
 the Sambuddha of the present, who destroys much suffering:³¹ [1]
 All of them respected and relied on the Saddharma
 And will dwell doing so: this is the natural law for Sambuddhas. [2]
 Therefore, here in this sensual realm,³² those who seek greatness
 Recollecting the teaching of the Buddhas, should pay respect to the Dharma. [3]

Then Brahmā Sahampati, elated and satisfied, paid homage at my feet with his head, and vanished.

II.3. Chinese Saṃyuktāgamas

The progression of the narrative and thought in the two Chinese versions is basically the same as the texts studied so far. They both open with common formula *evaṃ mayā śrutam*. The prologue is related in the third person: The Fortunate One was staying at Urubilvā on the banks of the Nerañjarā river, just after his awakening. In both cases, he is seated beneath the Bodhi tree as in the Tibetan version, against the Ajapāla fig tree of the Pali version. Neither Chinese version describes the audience or addresses the monks—the narrative is presented as an episode in the life of the Buddha.

³⁰ *lan mañ du = bahulam*, here and below: not in the Pali, but the usage is well attested in both Sanskrit and Pali.

³¹ If not a translation of a variant reading, *mya ñan mañ po 'jig byed pa'i* might be a misinterpretation of Sanskrit *bahūnāṃ śokanāśakaḥ*. Other Tibetan translations of the line include *mañ po 'i mya ñan sel mdzad pa* (*Udānavarga*: D 326, *mdo sde, sa*, 227b7); *mañ po 'i mya ñan 'joms mdzad pa* (*Bhaiṣajyavastu*: D 1, 'dul ba, kha, 9a4); *sañs rgyas mya ñan sel mdzad pa || da ltar mañ po gañ b'zugs dag* (*Vinayavibhaṅga*: D 3, 'dul ba, ja, 224a4; ña, 81b2).

³² The Tibetan reads “here in this sensual realm (*kāmadhātu*)” (*'dod khams 'di na ni*), where the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* has *tasmād iha ātmakāmena*, the Pali *tasmā hi attakāmena*, with v. l. *atthakāmena*. The Tibetan variant is difficult to explain.

II.3.1. Chinese texts

1) Sūtra 1188 (T. 99, pp. 321c18–322a27)	2) Sūtra 101 (T. 100, pp. 410a3–410b10)
如是我聞。	如是我聞。
<p>一時，佛住鬱毘羅聚落尼連禪河側菩提樹下，成佛未久。爾時，世尊獨靜思惟，作是念：“不恭敬者，則為大苦，無有次序，無他自在可畏懼者，則於大義有所退減。有所恭敬，有次序，有他自在者，得安樂住；有所恭敬，有次序，有他自在，大義滿足。</p>	<p>一時，佛在優樓頻螺聚落，泥連河岸菩提樹下，成佛未久。爾時，世尊獨坐思惟，而作是念：“夫人無敬心，不能恭順於其尊長，不受教誨，無所畏懼，縱情自逸，永失義利。若如是者，眾苦纏集。若人孝事尊長，敬養畏慎，隨順不逆，所願滿足，得大義利。若如是者，觸事安樂。”</p>
<p>頗有諸天、魔、梵、沙門、婆羅門、天神、世人中，能於我所具足戒勝、三昧勝、智慧勝、解脫勝、解脫知見勝，令我恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住？”</p>	<p>復作是念：“一切世間，若天、若人，若天世界、若人世界、若魔世界、若梵世界、沙門、婆羅門，一切世間有生類中，若有戒、定、慧、解脫、解脫知見勝於我者，我當親近，依止於彼，供養恭敬。遍觀察已，都不見於世間人、天、魔、梵、沙門、婆羅門，一切世間有勝於我戒、定、慧、解脫、解脫知見，為我依止。”</p>
<p>復作是念：“無有諸天、魔、梵、沙門、婆羅門、天神、世人能於我所戒具足勝、三昧勝、智慧勝、解脫勝、解脫知見勝，令我恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住者。唯有正法令我自覺，成三藐三佛陀者，我當於彼恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住。所以者何？過去如來、應、等正覺亦於正法恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住；諸當來世如來、應、等正覺亦於正法恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住。”</p>	<p>復作是念：“我所覺法，我今應當親近、供養、恭敬、誠心、尊重。何以故？過去諸佛，一切皆悉親近、依止、供養、恭敬、尊重斯法，未來、現在諸佛，亦復親近、依止斯法，供養、恭敬，生尊重心。我今亦當如過去、未來、現在諸佛，親近、依止、供養、恭敬、尊重於法。”</p>
<p>爾時，娑婆世界主梵天王知世尊心念已，如力士屈伸臂頃，從梵天沒，住於佛前，歎言：“善哉！如是，世尊！如是，善逝！懈怠不恭敬者，甚為大苦……廣說乃至……大義滿足，其實無有諸天、魔、梵、沙門、婆羅門、天神、世人於世尊所戒具足勝、三昧勝、智慧勝、解脫勝、解脫知見勝，令世尊恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住者。唯有正法，如來自悟成等正覺，則是如來所應恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住者。所以者何？過去諸如來、應、等正覺亦於正法恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住；諸未來如來、應、等正覺亦當於正法恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住。世尊亦當於彼正法恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住。”</p>	<p>爾時，梵主天王遙知世尊在優樓頻螺聚落，泥連河岸菩提樹下而作是念：“觀察世間，若天、若人、若魔、若梵、沙門、婆羅門，一切生類，若有勝我戒、定、慧、解脫、解脫知見者，我當依止，然都不見有能勝我者。又復觀察過去、未來、現在諸佛，悉皆親近、依止於法，供養、恭敬，生尊重心，我今亦當隨三世佛之所，應作親近、依止、供養、恭敬、尊重於法。”時，梵主天復作是念：“我當從此處沒，往到佛所。”時，梵主天譬如壯士屈伸臂頃，來至佛所。白佛言：“世尊！實如所念，誠如所念。”</p>

<p>時，梵天王復說偈言：</p> <p>“過去等正覺，及未來諸佛， 現在佛世尊，能除眾生憂。 一切恭敬法，依法而住； 如是恭敬者，是則諸佛法。”</p> <p>時，梵天王聞佛所說，歡喜隨喜，稽首佛足，即沒不現。</p>	<p>即說偈言：</p> <p>“過去現在諸如來，未來世中一切佛， 是諸正覺能除惱，一切皆依法為師。 親近於法依止住，斯是三世諸佛法 是故欲尊於己者，應先尊重敬彼法。 宜當憶念佛所教，尊重供養無上法。”</p> <p>爾時，梵王讚歎世尊，深生隨喜，作禮而去。</p>
--	---

III. A note on Brahma's verses

In all versions studied here, Brahmā Sahampati utters three verses at the end to recapitulate and confirm the message of the sūtra. The Schøyen fragment preserves only part of a sentence stating that [Brahmā] stood in the air, performed an *añjali* towards the Tathāgata, and spoke to the Tathāgata in verse, with a fragment of verse [1b]:

(vaihāya)sam aṃtarīkṣe sthito yena tathāgata(s tenāñjaliṃ praṇamya tathāgataṃ gāthā-
yādhyabhāṣata)
... ye ca buddhā anāgatāḥ ... tvā vihareyur viharanti ca a ...

The three verses occur as a set in several places in (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin literature, as well in several combinations elsewhere. In all cases the *nidāna* is different from that studied above.

III.1. Udānavarga (verses 1–3)

The three verses are included in the *Tathāgatavarga* of the great compendium of verse, the *Udānavarga* (XXI 11–13).³³

ye cābhyatītāḥ sambuddhā ye ca buddhā hy anāgatāḥ |
yaś cāpy etarhi sambuddho bahūnāṃ śokanāśakaḥ ||
sarve saddharmaguravo vyāhārṣu viharanti ca |
athāpi vihariṣyanti eṣā buddheṣu dharmatā ||
tasmād ihātmakāmena mātmyam abhikāṅkṣatā |
saddharmo gurukartavyaḥ smaratā buddhaśāsanam ||

In his *Udānavargavivaraṇa*, Prajñāvarman gives the following *nidāna*:³⁴

khyim bdag bzañ sbyin bcom ldan 'das la chos ñan ciñ 'dug pa na | ko sa la'i rgyal po
gsal rgyal bcom ldan 'das kyi spyān śnar 'oñs te | mdun bsu ba ma byas pas de 'khrugs

³³ Bernhard 1965: 281–282.

³⁴ Balk 1984: 616.30–618.30.

*par gyur to || des chos ñan pa'i phyir gsol ba btab pa las ji tsam na tshigs su bcad pa
gsum po 'di gsuñs so ||*

The Gṛhapati Sudatta was sitting, listening to the Dharma from the Fortunate One. Prasenajit, King of Kosala, came into the presence of the Fortunate One. When no one made him welcome, he was perturbed. When he requested to hear the Dharma, [the Fortunate One] spoke these three stanzas.

The three verses are included in the Chinese translation of the *Udānavarga* (T. 212, 出曜經 *Chūyào jīng*, translated by 竺佛念 *Zhú Fóniàn*). The text states that the verses are from the *Saṃyuktāgama*, placing the delivery of the sūtra at Śrāvastī in the Jetavana in the pleasure garden of Anāthapiṇḍada,³⁵ as in the Pali *Uruvela-sutta*. The substance is similar, but the Dharma is expanded to include a list from four *smṛtyupasthāna* to *ārya-aṣṭāṅgamārga*. The narrative is concise, and does not mention Urubilvā or Brahmā's intervention.

III.2. *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (verses 1–3)*

The set of three verses occurs three times in the Tibetan translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*, once in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* and twice in the *Vinayavibhaṅga*. As far as we know, no Sanskrit fragments of the relevant passages are preserved or have been identified. The three verses also occur in Yijing's Chinese translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*[*vibhaṅga*] and *Bhaiṣajyavastu*. The narratives are similar to those of the Tibetan translations.

III.2.1. *Bhaiṣajyavastu*³⁶

The narrative takes place at Rājagṛha. The Nāgarājas Grog mkhar (Valmīka) and Ri bo (Girika) saw Śreṇya Bimbisāra, King of Magadha, from afar, and then said to the Fortunate One: How is it: should one pay homage first to the Saddharma, or to the king? O Nāga kings, one should pay homage to the Saddharma: the Buddhas, the Fortunate Ones, respect the Saddharma, and the arhats as well venerate the Saddharma. Then, on this occasion the Fortunate One recited these verses.

III.2.2. *Vinayavibhaṅga (1)*³⁷

The setting is the Kalandaka residence (Kalandakanivāsa) in the bamboo grove at Rājagṛha (*rgyal po'i khab na 'od ma'i tshal ka lan da ka'i gnas*). The basic story is the same as that of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, but the Nāgarājas are Ri bo (Giri) and Yig 'ong (Valgu).

³⁵ T. 212, 718b26–27.

³⁶ 'Dul ba gzi, *Sman gyi gzi*, in section on *ltuñ byed 'ba' sig tu 'gyur pa rnams* (= *pātayantika*), translated by Sarvajñadeva, Vidyākaraprabha, Dharmākara, and Dpal gyis lhun po, revised by Vidyākaraprabha and Dpal brtsegs: D 1, 'dul ba, *kha*, 9a4–5 = P 1030, 'dul ba, *ge*, 8b2–4. The story is summarized in Panglung 1981: 20.

³⁷ 'Dul ba *rnām par byed pa*, translated by Jinamitra and Klu'i rgyal mtshan, see D 3, 'dul ba, *ja*, 222a4–5 = P 1032, 'dul ba, *ñe*, 209a6–7. The story is translated in von Schiefner 1906: 142–143, and summarized in Panglung 1981: 142–143.

III.2.3. *Vinayavibhaṅga (2)*³⁸

The setting is the Jetavana at Śrāvastī, in the pleasure garden of Anāthapiṇḍada. The basic story is the same as in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, but Nāgarājas are dGa' bo (Nanda) and Nye dga' (Upananda), while the king is Prasenajit, King of Kosala.

III.3. *Prātimokṣa of the Dharmaguptaka school (verses 1–3)*

The Chinese translation of the *Prātimokṣa* of the Dharmaguptaka School includes the three verses near the end (T. 1429, 四分律比丘戒本 *Sifēnlù bīqū Jièběn*, translated by Buddhayaśas), but combines the first two verses into one verse (six stanzas); the fifth stanza is slightly different, to reflect the context: it states that one should respect *śīla*, that is, *dharma*. While other *Prātimokṣas* – for example those of the Sarvāstivādins, Mūlasarvāstivādins, and Lokottaravādin Mahāsāṃghikas – have verses at the end, none of those available for consultation has any verses that correspond to “Brahmā’s verses.”

III.4. *Mahāvastu parallel to verse [1]*

A close parallel to verse [1] occurs in the *Mahāvastu* in connection with the meeting with Upako Ājīvaka, in the section which Senart called “de la Bodhi au Ṛishipatana,” with a single line which bears a resemblance to v. 2d.³⁹

ye cābhyatītā sambuddhā ye ca buddhā anāgatā |
ye caitarahiṃ sambuddhā bahūnāṃ śokanāśakā |
dharmāṃ deśenti satvānāṃ buddhānaṃ eṣā dharmatā ||

Although only one verse is a close parallel, and it is addressed to Upaka en route to Vārāṇasī, it is interesting that it is somewhat connected with the awakening cycle.⁴⁰

III.5. *Parallel to verse [1] in an unidentified Mahāyāna sūtra fragment from Central Asia*

A condensation of verse [1], which collapses the first stanza into a single line, occurs in an unidentified Mahāyāna sūtra fragment in “nordturkestanische Brāhmī, Type a” from the “Handschriften-Höhle” at Šorcuq, recovered on the third German Turfan expedition.⁴¹ It is spoken by Brahmā Sabhāvati⁴² in a quite different context, and is connected with *Prajñāpāramitā*:

prajñāpāramitā śrutvā uttīrṇa bhavasāgarā
ye [c-ābhya]tītā sambuddhā bahūnaṃ śokanāśanā.

III.6. *Citations of the verses in technical literature*

Vasubandhu cites verse [1] in a discussion of the capacity of a continuum called “Buddha” to give

³⁸ 'Dul ba rnam par byed pa, as preceding: D 3, 'dul ba, ña, 81b1–3 = P 1032, 'dul ba, te, 74b5–6.

³⁹ Senart 1897: 327.10.

⁴⁰ The meeting with Upaka is also related in *Vinaya Mahāvagga* with the same verses (PTS ed. I, 8.21).

⁴¹ Waldschmidt 1971: 211–212.

⁴² Sabhāvati is a variant form of Sahāpati, perhaps not recorded elsewhere so far: see BHSD 560 (*sabhāpati*), 587 (*sahāpati*), 588 (*sahāpati*, *sahāmpati*, etc.).

rise to unmistakable knowledge by simply adverting.⁴³ It is this citation of verse [1] that is the occasion for Śamathadeva to cite the sūtra studied here. Another *śāstrakāra* who resorts to the verses is Bhavya,⁴⁴ who cites two verses in his *Madhyamakahrdayatarkajvālā* to prove that many Buddhas can appear in many worlds, against the dogma that only one Buddha appears in one world.⁴⁵

III.7. Remarks on the verses

In sum, the verses are either spoken by Brahmā Sahampati (**Urubilvā-sūtra*, *Uruvela-sutta*, *Gārava-sutta*, Śamathadeva) or by the Buddha (*Vinayavibhaṅga*, *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, *Mahāvastu*). The texts are instructive examples of how verses are put to different purposes in Buddhist literature. In the Uruvela/Urubilvā cycle of texts, Brahmā Sahampati recites the verses to epitomize the message of the sūtra: Buddhas of the past, future, and present all revere the Dharma. This idea is retained in the *Mahāvastu* but in a different context: and here it is spoken by the Buddha to Upaka, “the passer-by.” In the Dharmaguptaka *Prātimokṣa*, the verse is adapted to fit the context: it is not the Dharma, but the *Prātimokṣa* that is emphasized. And in the “nāga narratives” of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, the stanzas are used to illustrate the necessity of paying homage to the Dharma before saluting a ruler, a king, thus applying the verse to political/hierarchical ends. Bhavya cites the verses to demonstrate that many Buddhas can arise in many universes. The question of multiple Buddhas in the present is brought up by Buddhaghosa in the *Manorathapūraṇī* (PTS III, 26.3):

*ye ca atītā sambuddhā ye ca buddhā anāgatā
ye cetarahi sambuddho bahunnaṃ sokaṇāsano
sabbe saddhammagaruno viharīṃsu vihāti ca
athā pi viharissanti esā buddhāna dhammatā
viharīṃsu viharanti cā ti ettha yo vadeyya viharantī ti vacanato paccuppanne pi
bahū buddhā ti so bhagavā pi bhante etarahi arahaṃ sammāsambuddho ti iminā
vacanena paṭibāhitabbo.
na me ācariyo atthi sadiso me na vijjati
sadevakasmiṃ lokasmiṃ n’atthi me paṭipuggalo⁴⁶ ti
ādīhi c’assa suttehi aññesaṃ buddhānaṃ abhāvo dīpetabbo.*

The Sambuddhas of the past, the Buddhas of the future.
And the Sambuddha of the present, destroyers of sorrow for many:
All dwelled, dwell, and will dwell with respect for the Saddhamma:
This is a natural Law for Buddhas.

⁴³ Pradhan 1967: 467.13–22. For Yaśomitra’s comments, see Shastri 1973: 1205.27–30. Also see Wogihara: 705.28–706.2.

⁴⁴ The author’s name is uncertain. Here we follow the form given in the Tanjur for this work. Recently some scholars have preferred the form Bhāviveka.

⁴⁵ D 3854, *dbu ma, dza*, 182b4. For verses 1–2, see 182b1–2 = P 5256, *dbu ma, za*, 198b1–3. Cf. Eckel 2009: 178 (tr.), 359 (text).

⁴⁶ See, e.g., *Ariyapariyesanasutta*, MN 26, PTS ed. I, 171.7.

If someone [takes up this verse, and] says, “[the expression] ‘they dwelled and dwell’ (viharanti, 3rd pers. pl.) [shows that] according to the word [of the Buddha] there are many buddhas in the present as well,” [then] this should be countered by means of *this* statement, [by saying,] “The Fortunate One, good sir, [is mentioned in the singular] here as, “at present, the arhat, the truly and fully awakened one.” The non-existence of other buddhas [at present] should be explained by citing other suttas, such as,

I do not have any teacher, there is no one like me:
in the world with its devas, I have no counterpart.

For the *Mahāvastu* to refer to Buddhas of the present in the plural – *ye caitarahiṃ sambuddhā bahūnāṃ śokanāśakā, dharmam deśenti* – is to be expected, since the Mahāsāṃghika school accepted the existence of many Buddhas at the same time in different universes, as did some other schools, as well as Mahāyāna thought in general. For the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins, it does not seem doctrinally appropriate, and the *Udānavarga* stanzas as they stand are ambiguous, with *yaś cāpy etarhi sambuddho bahūnāṃ śokanāśakaḥ* followed by *sarve saddharmaguravo vyāhārṣu viharanti ca*. But redaction need not necessarily be doctrinally correct; Siamese liturgical texts, for example, include verses like *paccuppannā ca ye buddhā* and chants on the “Buddhas of the ten directions.”⁴⁷

IV. The Perfection of Wisdom and the *Urubilvā-sūtra

The event of the *Urubilvā-sūtra seems to have been well known, and its vocabulary was assimilated into other texts. Some passages in the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* evoke the primary concept: that the Buddha himself, or Buddhas in general, pay homage to the Dharma, with the predictable hermeneutic turn that the Dharma means the Perfection of Wisdom. In some cases, such as in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, the Fortunate One, addressing Śakra, refers directly to the event with the same vocabulary, and identifies the Dharma explicitly with *Prajñāpāramitā*.

IV.1. Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā⁴⁸

imam api cārthavaśam saṃpaśyamānasya mamānuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhasyaitad abhūt; kaṃ nv ahaṃ dharmam upaniśritya vihareyaṃ satkuryāṃ gurukuryāṃ mānayeyaṃ pūjayeyam iti. so 'haṃ kauśika yadā nādrākṣaṃ sadevake loke sabrahmake samārake saśramaṇabrāhmaṇikāyāṃ prajāyāṃ sadevamānuṣāsuraṃ yāṃ sadṛśam. tasya me sadṛśam asamanupaśyamānasya⁴⁹ etad abhūt; yaṃ nūnam ahaṃ ya eva mayā dharmābhisambuddhas tam eva dharmam satkuryāṃ gurukuryāṃ mānaye-

⁴⁷ See Skilling 1996a: 151–183.

⁴⁸ Kimura 1986: 102.9–19. Cf. Vajracharya 2006: 590.12–591.5. For the Tibetan translation, see D 9, *śes phyin, kha*, 116b5–117a3.

⁴⁹ *asamanupaśyamānasya*: the Sanskrit editions read *samanupaśyamānasya*, but the context leads us to prefer *asamanupaśyamānasya*.

yaṃ pūjayeyam iti, dharmam eva copaniśrāya vihareyam iti. ayam eva kauśika saddharma yeyam prajñāpāramitā. aham eva kauśika imāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ satkaromi gurukaromi mānayāmi pūjayāmi satkṛtya gurukṛtya mānayitvā pūjayitvā upaniśrāya ca viharāmi.

It was when I saw just this fact, that upon having awakened to unsurpassed true and complete awakening, I wondered, “Upon what Dharma should I dwell in dependence, [what Dharma] should I respect, should I revere, should I honour, should I worship?” And when, Kauśika, I did not see anyone equal to me in the world with its gods, with its Brahmās, with its Māras, among its people with śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas, with its gods, humans, and titans, I realized, “there is the Dharma to which I have awakened: it is just this Dharma that I should respect, that I should revere, that I should honour, that I should worship. I should dwell in dependence on that very Dharma. This very Saddharma, Kauśika, is the Perfection of Wisdom. Kauśika, I indeed respect, revere, honour, and worship the Perfection of Wisdom. Respecting, revering, honouring, and worshipping [it], I dwell in dependence [on the Perfection of Wisdom].

V. Comparison of the versions

No other fragments apart from 2381/186, 2381/241 and 2382/uf18/2d have been so far identified in the Schøyen collection, and it is impossible to suggest the nature of the collection to which the fragments might have belonged – whether to a *Samyuktāgama*, an *Ekottarikāgama*, or to some other collection. There do not seem to be any citations of the prose part of the *sūtra* in known scholastic literature, although, as seen above, the verses are well known, and the possibility remains that our fragment belongs to a citation in a scholastic text, although this strikes us as unlikely.

The Schøyen fragments are clearly not identical to any of the complete versions of the **Urubilvā-sūtra*. It describes the Dharma as *dharmo gaṃbhīro nipuṇo*; although the other versions do not do this, the phrase evokes a famous description of the Dharma in the *sūtras* that describe the Buddha’s realization, such as the *Sanḅhabhedavastu*, the *Catuspariṣat-sūtra*, and the Pali *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (*Majjhimanikāya*, no. 26). Thus it is a natural connection.

The sequence of some parts seems different. In the other versions, the verses follow the prose, and come at the end. In the Schøyen fragments, it seems as if the prose follows the verses.

The Theravādin tradition transmits a second version of the text known as *Gārava-sutta*, which is the second sutta in the first Vagga of the *Brahma-samyutta* of the *Sagātha-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*.⁵⁰ This text takes its name from the *uddāna* at the end of the Vagga.⁵¹ It is included in the *Brahma-samyutta* because, as in the *Uruvela-sutta*, at the end of the *sutta* Brahmā Sahampati descends from his heaven, confirms and applauds the Buddha’s thought, and pronounces three verses.

⁵⁰ Feer 1973: 138.29–140.16.

⁵¹ SyR 224.2; PTS 153.5, *gāravo*.

The two Pali versions are not quite identical. The *Gārava-sutta* opens with “once I have heard” (*evaṃ me sutam*): the Fortunate One was staying at Uruvelā on the banks of the Nerañjarā river under the Ajapāla fig tree, just after his awakening. As seen above, the *Uruvela-sutta* does not begin with *evaṃ me sutam*.⁵² It opens by stating that the Fortunate One was staying at Sāvattihī in the Jetavana in the pleasure garden of Anāthapiṇḍika; he then addressed the monks, and related the events that had occurred after his awakening. That is, the significant difference between the two suttas is that in the *Gārava-sutta* the narrator – the presumed Ānanda at the First Communal Recitation – relates the events, referring to the Buddha in the third person, but in the *Uruvela-sutta* the Fortunate One relates the events to the assembled monks himself, in the first person.⁵³ This places the *Uruvela-sutta* among the “autobiographical discourses” in which the Buddha relates episodes of his own life and career, specifically among the relatively small number of texts that take place just after the awakening.

Pali sources use the phrase *paṭhamābhisambuddha* for Buddha’s recent achievement of awakening. This is the usual form in Pali, for example at the beginning of the post-awakening cycle in *Vinaya Mahāvagga* I or in the openings of *suttas* 1–4 in the *Bodhivagga* of the *Udāna*. Śamathadeva has *mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas nas riñ por ma lon pa na* = *acirābhisambuddha*, agreeing with the Sanskrit of the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* and the *Saṅghabhedavastu*.⁵⁴ Both Chinese *Samyuktāgamas* have 成佛未久 *chéngfó wèijǐu*, suggesting an underlying Sanskrit *acirābhisambuddha*. In addition, Chinese also has 初成正覺 *chūchéng zhèngjué*, indicating *prathamābhisambuddha*. In the Schøyen fragments, the expression in question is not available.

In both Pali versions, the Buddha is sitting under the Ajapāla fig tree. Śamathadeva has instead Bodhi tree (*byañ chub kyi śing druñ = bodhimūle*),⁵⁵ as in the two Chinese *Samyuktāgamas*. Unfortunately, the Schøyen fragment is broken at the corresponding place.

Another major difference is that the *Gārava-sutta* ends with the verses spoken by Brahmā Sahampati, while the *Uruvela-sutta* goes on to state that Brahmā then paid homage and vanished, after which the Fortunate One reflected further on the need for respect to the saṃgha, the community of monks, when it grew to size. The latter statement is not found in the Tibetan or Chinese versions.

The Schøyen fragment is addressed to the monks and is related in the first person; it thus agrees with the *Uruvela-sutta* and Śamathadeva. We therefore place it as a parallel to the *Uruvela-sutta* rather than the *Gārava-sutta*.

As seen above, the *Uruvela-sutta* is placed in the *Catukka-vagga* because it refers to four *khandha*, that is, *sīla*, *samādhi*, *paññā*, and *vimutti*. This is a less common enumeration of what are

⁵² The omission of *evaṃ me sutam* or other formulas in the collections of short suttas is common; phrases are omitted as editorial shortcuts, and the omissions are rarely if ever significant.

⁵³ Here too, the intermediary would have been Ānanda, relating this at the Recitation.

⁵⁴ Waldschmidt’s reconstruction as *prathamābhisambuddha* earlier on at CPS 1.2 is a wrong retranslation influenced by the Pali. CPS 2.4 has *ayaṃ (buddho bhaga)vān urubilvāyāṃ viharati (na)dyā nairañjanāyās (t)ī(re bodhimūle ‘cirābhisambuddho* – but this is also a reconstruction. The Tibetan *Vinaya* has *mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas nas riñ por ma lon par = acirābhisambuddha*. For the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, see Gnoli 1977: 121.7: *ayaṃ buddho bhagavān urubilvāyāṃ viharati nadyā nairañjanāyās tīre bodhimūle acirābhisambuddhabodhis tejodhātusamāpannaḥ... .*

⁵⁵ For *bodhimūle*, cf. *Saṅghabhedavastu*, loc. cit.

normally five *khandha*, ending with *vimuttiñānadassana*.⁵⁶ The other versions of the *sūtra*, including the Pali *Gāraṇa-sutta*, give all five attainments, but describe them differently: – Śamathadeva gives five *tshul khrims phun sum tshogs pa*, etc., which should translate a form of *sampad*, while one Chinese *Samyuktāgama* also gives an equivalent of *sampad* (具足 *jùzú*). As in Pali, Sanskrit Buddhist texts regularly have *skandha* here,⁵⁷ and the forms with *sam-pad* seem unusual, although there are instances with *sampanna*, as for example in the *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra*.⁵⁸

In the prose, Śamathadeva and the *Uruvela-sutta* refer to the Sambuddhas of the three times rather than Tathāgata. The variation between “Tathāgata” and “Sambuddha” as a subject is common in different recensions of Āgama materials, although it has not been adequately analysed.

VI. Notes on terminology

There are three aspects of terminology that we propose to discuss here. First is a vocabulary of hierarchy, with a string of three terms which is prominent in the **Urubilvā-sūtra* and a few other texts, but otherwise rare. Second is a terminology of respect, seen in a sequence of verbs which are near synonyms. Third is a terminology of spiritual accomplishment, which combines with the first in particular in many of the texts.

VI.1. The vocabulary of hierarchy: *gaurava*, *pratīśa*, *sabhayavaśavartin*

A string of absolutives *sakṛtya(-tvā)* *gurukṛtya(-tvā)* *upaniḥśṛtya(-tvā)* occurs with forms of *√har* several times in the Schøyen fragment. The parallel texts have in addition a string of adverbial phrases (*sa/-a*)*gaurava*, (*sa/-a*)*pratīśa*, (*-a*)*sabhayavaśavartin*, which is not available in the Schøyen fragment. This terminology links the **Urubilvā-sūtra* to several other texts, which might be called a cycle on the importance of respect. Here we may cite the exemplary *jātaka* of the partridge, which inculcates an ideology of respect and hierarchy within the monastic order. This story is known in Pali versions, both in the *Vinaya Cullavagga* and the *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*, and in the Gilgit *Śāyanāsanavastu*. These texts, as do several *suttas* in the Pali *Anguttara-nikāya*, use some of the same strings of phrases. There include, especially:

Pali	Sanskrit <i>Śāyanāsanavastu</i>	Tibetan	
		<i>Śāyanāsanavastu</i>	Śamathadeva
sagārava agārava	sagaurava agaurava	bkur sti dañ bcas bkur sti med	gus pa dañ bcas pa gus pa med pa

⁵⁶ The Pali *Saṅgīti-sutta* gives four *dhammakkhandhā*: *sīlakkhandho*, *samādhikkhandho*, *paññakkhandho*, *vimuttikkhandho*. A similar category is given in the Central Asian Sanskrit *Samgītisūtra* but not in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* version. Cf. also the *Anupādasutta* (*Majjhima-nikāya*, 111, III 28, penult), which refers to the arahant as *vasippatto pāramipatto ariyasmim sīlasmim ... ariyasmim samādhismim ... ariyāya paññāya ... ariyāya vimuttiyā*. According to Anālayo 2011: 635, no parallel to this discourse has been identified so far.

⁵⁷ See for example BHSD 607–608, *skandha* (3).

⁵⁸ Skilling 1994: 272–275. Cp. *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* in Samtani 1971: 47.6 for another list.

sapatissa apatissa	sapratīśā apratīśā	ze sa dañ bcas ⁵⁹ ze sa med	bdag po dañ bcas bdag po med
sabhāgavutti asabhāgavutti	sabhayavaśavartin abhayavaśavartin	'jigs pa'i dbaṅ du 'gro ba dañ bcas pa 'jigs pa'i dbaṅ du mi 'gro ba	'jigs pa dbaṅ sgyur ba dañ bcas pa 'jigs par dbaṅ sgyur ba med pa

An important source for the Pali items is the *Tittirajātaka*,⁶⁰ which occurs in the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinaya* and in the *Jātaka*,⁶¹ its parallel in the Sanskrit *Śayanāsana-vastu* also uses the terms (see above). The Pali *Jātaka* version uses the phrases *agāravā appatissā/sagāravā sappatissā* with forms of *vi-* √*har* several times. The third member of our group is used in both the *Vinaya* and the *Jātaka* in both the negative – *Vinaya* 161.21, *Jātaka* 218.14, 218, 20, *agāravā appatissā asabhāgavuttino* – and with *sa-* – *Vinaya* 162.7, 14, *Jātaka* 219.15, *sagāravā sappatissā sabhāgavuttino*. The *Index of the Jātaka* records the terms for the *Tittira-jātaka* and nowhere else.⁶²

The first two terms do not pose any real problem: *gaurava* occurs alone in various contexts, and *(sa/a)-gaurava* and *(sa/a)-pratīśā* occur together regularly in a number of sources. In Pali *(sa/a)-gāravo* *(sa/a)-ppatissavo* are often used together.⁶³ The inclusion of *(sa/a)-bhayavaśavartin/ (a)sabhāgavutti* as a third and final term seems rare, and the compound rarely if ever stands alone. Its use appears to be limited to the texts noted here, and it seems to have been retired from active use quite early.

It is this third term that is difficult: how to understand and reconcile the Sanskrit *sa/a-bhayavaśavartin* and the Pali *sabhāgavutti*?⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the term does not seem to be attested in any other Prakrit or Sanskrit forms, so our investigation is restricted to Sanskrit and Pali sources and Tibetan and Chinese translations. If the terms were in vernacular usage in early northern India, we have no other evidence at present. Therefore the examination of the textual context is important.

It is not difficult to see a connection between Pali *sabhāgavutti* and Sanskrit *sabhayavaśavartin*, but at present we cannot explain the evolution of the two forms.

As seen above, *sabhayavaśavartin* occurs in the Gilgit *Śayanāsanavastu*; a similar narrative structure and content is found in the Chinese *Samyuktāgama*, sūtra no. 1242 (T. 99, pp. 340c3–20), which was translated by Guṇabhadra in the first half of the fifth century. It has a phrase “awe (deference, fear), following another’s authority” (畏慎隨他自在 *wèishèn suītāzìzài*), which points to Sanskrit *sabhayavaśavartin*. There is no Pali counterpart to compare.

⁵⁹ For *ze sa dañ bcas*, cf. *Mahāvvyutpatti*, no. 1776.

⁶⁰ See Skilling 2008: §77.2; for parallels see Grey 1994: 413–414.

⁶¹ *Vinaya* II, 160–162; *Jātaka* no. 37, I 217–220.

⁶² Yamazaki and Ousaka 2003.

⁶³ See *appatissa/apatissa*, CPD I 304.

⁶⁴ Schopen’s explanation of the Sanskrit form takes the components literally (as does the Tibetan translation), but is unsatisfactory in that it depends only on the context in the *Śayanāsanavastu*, and does not take the other Sanskrit versions or the Pali into account. See Schopen 2000: 149, ad II.28.

The Pali seems to make sense: commenting on *Āṅuttara-nikāya* III 14.23, Buddhaghosa says *asabhāgavuttiko ti asabhāgata visasisāya jīvitavuttiyā samannāgato* (*Manorathapūraṇī* [PTS] III 228, 2). CPD, I 499, defines *asabhāga* as “not being in community with others, unsociable,” and refers to the *Āṅuttara-nikāya* passage just quoted. For *asabhāgavutti*, it cites *Vinaya* I 84, 6, in which the *sāmaṇeras* dwell *agāravā appatissā asabhāgavuttino* towards the *bhikkhus*, and *asabhāgavuttika*, “not living in mutual courtesy,” from the *Cullavagga* and *Āṅuttara-nikāya* passages referred to above.

Is the Pali then the “correct” form, the oldest form, which somehow became corrupted and obscured in the process of Sanskritisation? Or is the Pali a rationalization of an early Prakrit form, a predecessor of both the Pali and the Sanskrit forms? It is possible to explain Pali *vutti* becoming *vartin*, or also *vṛtti*. As for *bhāga* – can there have been changes in the consonant, $g > j > y$, or $y > j > g$?

The Gilgit *Ekottarikāgama* uses the three terms in the definition of the “community that does not have a superior and the community that does have a superior” (*anagravat-parṣat* and *agravatī parṣat*;⁶⁵ the Pali parallel, *Āṅuttara-nikāya* II 70–71 does not use the terms. The *Abhidharmakośa* uses the phrases to define *ahrī*: *ahrīr agurutā*,⁶⁶ which the *Bhāṣya* explains as follows: *guṇeṣu guṇavatsu cāgauravatā apratīsatā abhayam avaśavartitā* [read *abhayavaśavartitā*] *āhrikyam gauravapratidvandvo dharmah*.⁶⁷

VI.2. Terminology of respect

As seen above, the Schøyen fragment only preserves a string of phrases, which occurs several times: *satkṛtya(-tvā) gurukṛtya(-tvā) upaniṣṛtya(-tvā)* with forms of *vi-√har*. In addition to the string *gaurava pratīsa sabhayavaśavartin*, which we have already discussed, the Pali *Uruvelasutta* has the phrase *sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya + vi-√har* as parallel to the Schøyen fragment. Śamathadeva has *bkur stir byas | bla mar byas | rjed par byas | mchod par byas te yoṃs su bsten ciñ gnas par bya ba*. This represents a longer sequence, probably with four terms: *satkṛtya gurukṛtya mānayatvā pūjayitvā upaniśrāya ca + vi-√har*. The Chinese *Samyuktāgama* (T. 99, sūtra no. 1188), 恭敬 宗重 奉事 供養 依彼而住 *gōngjìng zōngzhòng fèngshì gòngyǎng yībēierzhu*, also points to the same four terms.

The Buddha’s reflections on respect at Urubilvā may be further amplified by reference to a sutta in the *Puggala-vagga* of the *Tikanipāta* of the *Āṅuttara-nikāya*.⁶⁸ Here the Buddha defines three types of persons (*puggala*): one who is not to be resorted to or sought out, one who is to be resorted to and sought out, and one who is to be resorted to and sought out by paying respect and homage. The first individual is inferior in virtue, concentration, and wisdom. The second individual is one’s equal in virtue, concentration, and wisdom. The third individual is a person who is one’s better in all three qualities: to such a person one should resort. Why?

⁶⁵ Tripāthī 1995: 94, 187. We use here the form *Ekottarikāgama*, rather than Tripāthī’s *Ekottarāgama*. For a discussion of the title, see Allon 2001: 9–12.

⁶⁶ *Abhidharmakośakārikā* II 32a: Pradhan 1967: 59.18.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Āṅuttara-nikāya* I 124–126: we owe the reference to Woodward’s footnote 4, p. 20.

iti aparipūraṃ vā sīlakkhandhaṃ paripūressāmi paripūraṃ vā sīlakkhandhaṃ tattha tattha paññāya anuggahessāmi, aparipūraṃ vā samādhikkhandhaṃ paripūressāmi paripūraṃ vā samādhikkhandhaṃ tattha tattha paññāya anuggahessāmi, aparipūraṃ vā paññākkhandhaṃ paripūressāmi paripūraṃ vā paññākkhandhaṃ tattha tattha paññāya anuggahessāmi, ...

Because I will fulfill the aggregate of virtue which is not yet fulfilled, and I will utilize the aggregate of virtue wisely, as occasion demands; I will fulfill the aggregate of concentration which is not yet fulfilled, and I will utilize the fulfilled aggregate of concentration wisely as occasion demands; I will fulfill the aggregate of wisdom which is not yet fulfilled, and I will utilize the aggregate of wisdom wisely, as occasion demands; ...

The importance of these ideas is seen in their import into the Perfection of Wisdom thought. The *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* has the same four terms:

*aham eva kauśika imāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ satkaromi gurukaromi mānayāmi pūjayāmi satkr̥tya gurukr̥tya mānayatvā pūjayitvā upaniśrāya ca viharāmi.*⁶⁹

kau śi ka de ltar ña ñid kyañ śes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa 'di la rim gror byed | bkur stir byed | bsti stan du byed | mchod par byed de | de ltar rim gro dan | bkur sti dan | bsti stan dan | mchod pa byas śin rnam par spyod na |⁷⁰

A study of the terms for respect and worship in Buddhist texts is a desideratum, but it is beyond the scope of this essay.

VI.3. Terminology of spiritual accomplishment

Pali and Sanskrit texts present an interdependent sequence of spiritual development that leads to achievement of nirvana, starting with respect. There is some variation in the terms, but the general structure of the development is the same. The *Śayanāsanavastu*⁷¹ states that respect for fellows in the holy life (*sabrahmacārin*) leads to fulfillment of the *āsamudācārika dharma*,⁷² this leads to fulfillment of the *śaikṣadharmā*, which in turn leads to fulfillment of the aggregates of virtue, concentration, wisdom, liberation, and knowledge and vision of liberation – it is then possible for a monk to realize nirvana without attachment. The Fortunate One concludes: Therefore, O monks, you should train thus: we should dwell with respect, with reverence, with deference towards fellows in the holy life, senior, middling, and new.

⁶⁹ Kimura 1986: 102.17–19.

⁷⁰ D 9, *śes phyin, kha*, 117a2–3.

⁷¹ Gnoli 1977: 9.21. For an annotated English translation, see Schopen 2000: 107–108.

⁷² For this term, see Schopen 2000: 150, ad II. 31.

[Śayanāsanavastu, Sanskrit from Gilgit]

tasmāt tarhi bhikṣavaḥ sagauravā viharata sapratīśāḥ sabhayavaśavartinaḥ sabrahmacāriṣu sthavireṣu madhyeṣu navakeṣu. tat kasya hetoḥ. sa tāvad bhikṣavo bhikṣur agauravo viharann apratīśāḥ abhayavaśavartī sthavireṣu madhyeṣu navakeṣu āsamudācārikān dharmān paripūrayiṣyati nedaṃ sthānaṃ vidyate; āsamudācārikān dharmān aparipūrya śaikṣān dharmān paripūrayiṣyati nedaṃ sthānaṃ vidyate; śaikṣān dharmān aparipūrya śīlaskandhaṃ samādhiskandhaṃ prajñāskandhaṃ vimuktiskandhaṃ vimuktijñānadarśanaskandhaṃ paripūrayiṣyati nedaṃ sthānaṃ vidyate; vimuktijñānadarśanaskandhaṃ aparipūryānupādāya parinirvāsyati nedaṃ sthānaṃ vidyate. sa tāvad bhikṣavo bhikṣuḥ sagauravo viharan sapratīśāḥ sabhayavaśavartī brahmacāriṣu sthavireṣu madhyeṣu navakeṣu āsamudācārikān dharmān paripūrayiṣyati sthānaṃ etad vidyate; āsamudācārikān dharmān paripūrya śaikṣān dharmān paripūrayiṣyati sthānaṃ etad vidyate; śaikṣān dharmān paripūrya śīlaskandhaṃ samādhiskandhaṃ prajñāskandhaṃ vimuktiskandhaṃ vimuktijñānadarśanaskandhaṃ paripūrayiṣyati sthānaṃ etad vidyate; vimuktijñānadarśanaskandhaṃ paripūryānupādāya parinirvāsyati sthānaṃ etad vidyate; tasmāt tarhi bhikṣava evaṃ śikṣitavyam: yat sagauravā vihariṣyāmaḥ sapratīśāḥ sabhayavaśavartinaḥ sabrahmacāriṣu sthavireṣu madhyeṣu navakeṣu; ity evaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ śikṣitavyam.

[Śayanāsanavastu, Tibetan translation]

Gnas lam gyi gzi, D 1, 'dul ba, ga, 192a7–b7 = P 1030, 'dul ba, ne, 183b7–184a7

dge sloṅ dag de lta bas na tshaṅs pa mtshuṅs par spyod pa'i gnas brtan daṅ | bar ma daṅ | gсар bu rnamс la bkuṛ sti daṅ bcas | že sa daṅ bcas | 'jigs pa'i dbaṅ du 'gro ba daṅ bcas pas gnas par bya'o | dge sloṅ dag de ci'i phyir že na | re žig dge sloṅ de gnas brtan daṅ | bar ma daṅ | gсар bu rnamс la bkuṛ sti med | že sa med ciṅ 'jigs pa'i dbaṅ du mi 'gro bas gnas na kun du spyod pa'i chos yoṅs su rgyas par 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di med do || kun du spyod pa'i chos yoṅs su ma rgyas par slob pa'i chos rnamс yoṅs su rgyas par 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di med do || slob pa'i chos rnamс yoṅs su ma rgyas par tshul khrims kyi phuṅ po daṅ | tiṅ ne 'dzin gyi phuṅ po daṅ | śes rab kyi phuṅ po daṅ | rnam par grol ba'i phuṅ po daṅ | rnam par grol ba'i ye śes mthoṅ ba'i phuṅ po yoṅs su rgyas par 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di med do || rnam par grol ba'i ye śes mthoṅ ba'i phuṅ po yoṅs su ma rgyas par len pa med par yoṅs su mya ṅan las 'da'bar 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di med do || dge sloṅ dag re žig dge sloṅ de tshaṅs pa mtshuṅs par spyod pa'i gnas brtan daṅ | bar ma daṅ | gсар bu rnamс la bkuṛ sti daṅ bcas | že sa daṅ bcas | 'jigs pa'i dbaṅ du 'gro ba daṅ bcas pas gnas na kun du spyod pa'i chos yoṅs su rgyas bar 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di yod do || kun du spyod pa'i chos yoṅs su rgyas na slob pa'i chos rnamс yoṅs su rgyas bar 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di yod do || slob pa'i chos rnamс yoṅs su rgyas na tshul khrims kyi phuṅ po daṅ | tiṅ ne 'dzin gyi phuṅ po daṅ | śes rab kyi phuṅ po daṅ | rnam par grol ba'i phuṅ po daṅ | rnam par grol ba'i ye śes mthoṅ ba'i phuṅ po yoṅs su rgyas par

'gyur ba'i gnas 'di yod do || rnam par grol ba'i ye śes mthoñ ba'i phuñ po yoñs su rgyas na len pa med par yoñs su mya ñan las 'das par 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di yod do || dge sloñ dag de lta bas na 'di ltar bslab par bya ste | gnas brtan dan | bar ma dan | gsar bu rnams la bkur sti dan bcas | že sa dan bcas | 'jigs pa'i dbañ du 'gro ba dan bcas pas gnas par bya ste | dge sloñ dag khyed kyis de lta bu la bslab par bya 'o ||

VII. Conclusion: the *Urubilvā-sūtra and the Urubilvā cycle

The *Urubilvā-sūtra belongs to the cycle of texts in which the Buddha as teacher recalls and relates events that took place in the vicinity of Urubilvā or, in Pali, Uruvelā. The cycle includes events before the awakening, the awakening itself, and events after the awakening. Our sūtra belongs to the last cycle, the events in the vicinity of the bodhi-tree in the several weeks after the awakening, before the newly awakened one set out for Vārāṇasī to begin his teaching career. Primary sources for these events include the *Vinayas* (Pali *Mahāvagga*, Sanskrit *Mūlasarvāstivāda Saṅghabhedavastu*, etc.) and sūtras of the several schools (for example, *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*); the chronologies of his movements do not always agree, and later texts extend the cycle with further events.⁷³ These details need not concern us here.⁷⁴ What does concern us here is this: that the story studied in this paper differs from the well-known account of Brahmā Sahampati's intervention after the Awakening related in the various *Vinayas*. That story, of the awakened one's hesitation to teach his newly found Dharma, and of how Brahmā convinces him to do so,⁷⁵ is well known as the *brahmādhyeṣana*, "Brahmā's entreaty [to the Buddha to teach]." Embedded references to the event are part of modern Thai liturgy.⁷⁶ In contrast, although Brahma's ratification in our text of the Fortunate One's decision to take the Dharma as his resort belongs to the same textual and metaphysical genre, it is not included in any of the *Vinaya* narratives.⁷⁷

⁷³ For one example in the *Zá āhán jīng*, see Lin 2010: 125–137.

⁷⁴ For an analytical and synoptic study of the early texts, see Bareau 1963 and Nakamura 2000.

⁷⁵ See Bareau 1963: 135–143; Nakamura 2000: 227–235.

⁷⁶ See Skilling 2002: 84–92.

⁷⁷ It does not seem to be discussed by Bareau 1963 or Nakamura 2000.

4. A Possible Sanskrit Parallel to the Pali *Uruvelasutta*

folio .. 71 recto

2381/241
 ॐ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥

2382/uf18/2d
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥

2381/186
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥

verso

2381/241
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥

2382/uf18/2d
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥

2381/186
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥
 अथ शुक उवाच ॥ अथ शुक उवाच ॥

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allon, Mark (2001), with a contribution by Andrew Glass, *Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-Type Sūtras: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 12 and 14* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, 2), Seattle.
- (2009), “A Gāndhārī Version of the Story of the Merchants Tapussa and Bhallika,” BAI 23: 9–19.
- Allon, Mark, and Richard Salomon (2000), “Kharoṣṭhī fragments of a Gāndhārī version of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra,” BMSC I: 243–273.
- (2010), “New Evidence for Mahāyāna in Early Gandhāra,” EB 41: 1–22.
- Allon, Mark, Richard Salomon, Geraldine Jacobsen, and Ugo Zoppi (2006), “Radiocarbon Dating of Kharoṣṭhī Fragments from the Schøyen and Senior Manuscript Collections,” BMSC III: 279–291.
- Amano, Kyoko (2009), *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā I–II: Übersetzung der Prosapartien mit Kommentar zur Lexik und Syntax der älteren vedischen Prosa* (Münchner Forschungen zur historischen Sprachwissenschaft, 9), Bremen.
- Anālayo, Bhikkhu (2011), *A Comparative Study of the Majjhima-nikāya*, Taipei (Dharma Drum Buddhist College Research Series 3, II).
- Aruṇanibhāguṇākara *et al.*, ed., (1980), *Syāmaratṭhassa Tepiṭakam, Suttantapiṭake Aṅguttara-nikāyassa dutiyo bhāgo, Catukkanipāta*, revised by a supervisory editorial board of Theras (ganthādhikārattherehi) at Mahamakūṭa, Bangkok: Mahamakutarājavidyālaya, Siamese Buddhist Era 2523 [CE 1980].
- Asano, Morinobu (1995), “Sūtrasamuccaya to Śikṣāsamuccaya—inyō-kyōten yori mita eikyōkankei [The Sūtrasamuccaya and the Śikṣāsamuccaya],” *Bukkyōgaku* 37: 56–74.
- Ashikaga, Atsueji (1965), *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, Kyoto.
- Bailey, H. W. (1946), “Gāndhārī,” BSOAS 11: 764–797.
- Bakker, Hans (2007), “Monuments to the Dead in Ancient North India,” IJ 50: 11–47.
- Balk, Michael (1984), *Prajñāvarman’s Udānavargavivarāṇa, Transliteration of Its Tibetan Version*, I, Indica et Tibetica, Bonn.
- (1988), *Untersuchungen zum Udānavarga*, unter Berücksichtigung mittelindischer Parallelen und eines tibetischen Kommentars, Bonn. Reprint as: IndTib 53 (2011), Marburg.
- Bureau, André (1959), “Constellations et divinités protectrices des marchands dans le bouddhisme ancien,” JA 247: 303–309.
- (1963), *Recherches sur la Biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens: de la quête de l’éveil à la conversion de Śāriputra et Maudgalyāyana*, Paris (Publications de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient volume LIII).
- Baums, Stefan (2002), “Jyotiṣkāvadāna,” BMSC II: 287–302.
- (2006), “Bemerkungen zum Ordinalzahlssystem der Gāndhārī,” *Jaina-Itihāsa-Ratna: Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*, ed. Ute Hüsken, Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Anne Peters (IndTib, 47), Marburg: 33–44.
- (2009), *A Gāndhārī Commentary on Early Buddhist Verses: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 7, 9, 13, and 18*, PhD dissertation, Department of Asian Languages and Literature,

- University of Washington, Seattle.
- (2012), “Struggling with the Spheres: Interpretations of the Formless Attainments in the Buddhist Borderlands,” paper read at 222th annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, Boston, March 16, 2012.
- Baums, Stefan, Andrew Glass (2002a), A Dictionary of Gāndhārī. <https://gandhari.org/dictionary>.
- (2002b), Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts. <https://gandhari.org/catalog>.
- Beal, Samuel (1884), *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 vols., London.
- Bechert, Heinz (1980), “Allgemeine Bemerkungen zum Thema ‘Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung’,” *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung / The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition* (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, II), ed. H. Bechert, Göttingen.
- (1988), “Alte Vedhas” im Pāli-Kanon: Die metrische Struktur der buddhistischen Bekenntnisformel, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., Jg. 1988, Nr. 4.
- Bernhard, Franz (1965–8), *Udānavarga*, 2 vols (AAWG, 54 / Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, X), Göttingen.
- Bhandarkar, R. G. (1929), *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. IV, ed. Narayan Bapuji Utgikar (Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 4), Poona.
- Bhattacharya, Vidhushekhara (1957), *The Yogācārabhūmi of Ācārya Asaṅga*, Calcutta.
- Bisschop, Peter (2006), *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa: Sects and Centres*, Groningen.
- Bisschop, Peter, and Arlo Griffiths (2007), “The Practice Involving the Ucchuṣmas (*Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa* 36),” *StII* 24: 1–46.
- Bodhi, Bhikkhu, tr., (2000) *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A New Translation of the Saṃyutta Nikāya*, vol. I, Boston.
- (2012), *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha, A Translation of the Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Boston.
- Boucher, Daniel (2005), Review of Allon (2001), *IJ* 48: 289–95.
- (2006), “Dharmarakṣa and the transmission of Buddhism to China,” *Asia Major* 19: 13–37.
- Boyer, A. M., E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart (1927), *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, part II, Oxford.
- Boyer, A. M., E. J. Rapson, E. Senart (1920–9), *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, 3 pts. (pt. 3 by E. J. Rapson and P. S. Noble), Oxford.
- Braarvig, J. (1985), “Dhāraṇī and Pratibhāna: Memory and Eloquence of the Bodhisattvas,” *JABS* 8(1): 17–29.
- (1993), *The Akṣayamatīnirdeśasūtra*, vols. I–II, Oslo.
- Braarvig, Jens, and Ulrich Pagel (2006), “Fragments of the Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra,” *BMSC* III: 11–88.
- Braarvig, Jens, Fredrik Liland *et al.* (forthcoming), *The Lhasa MS of the Bodhisattvapiṭaka*.
- Brough, John (1954), “The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts,” *BSOAS* 16, 2: 351–375.
- (1962), *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (London Oriental Series, 7), London.
- (1977), “The Arapacana syllabary in the old Lalita-vistara,” *BSOAS* 40: 85–95.

- Bühler, G. (1883), “On the Relationship between the Andhras and the Western Kshatrapas,” *Indian Antiquary* 12: 372–374.
- Burrow, T. (1937), *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge.
- Callieri, Pierfrancesco (1997), *Seals and Sealings from the North-West of the Indian Subcontinent and Afghanistan (4th Century BC-11th Century AD): Local, Indian, Sasanian, Graeco-Persian, Sogdian, Roman* (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dissertationes, 1), Naples.
- Canevascini, G. (1993), *The Khotanese Saṃghātasūtra*, Wiesbaden.
- Chen Jinhua (2004), “The Indian Buddhist missionary Dharmakṣema (385–433): A new dating of his arrival in Guzang and of his translations,” *T’oung Pao* 90.4–5: 215–263.
- Chung Jin-il (2006), “More Fragments of *Karmavācanā* Texts,” *BMSC* III: 177–187.
- Coblin, W. South (1994), *A Compendium of Phonetics in Northwest Chinese*, Berkeley (Journal of Chinese Linguistics, Monograph Series, Number 7).
- Conze, Edward (1962), *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, Chapters 55 to 70 Corresponding to the 5th Abhisamaya* (SOR, 26), Rome.
- Cowell, E. B., and R. A. Neil (1886), *The Divyāvadāna, a Collection of Early Buddhist Legends Now First Edited from the Nepalese Sanskrit MSS. in Cambridge and Paris*, Cambridge (repr. 1970, Amsterdam).
- Casparis, Johannes G. de (1958), “Short Inscriptions from Tjaṇḍi Plaosan Lor,” *Berita Dinas Purbakala – Bulletin of the Archaeological Service of the Republic of Indonesia* 4: 3–36.
- Demiéville, Paul (1924), “Les versions chinoises du *Milindapañha*,” *BEFEO* 24: 1–258.
- Demiéville, P. (1953), “Les sources chinoises,” *L’Inde Classique: Manuel de études indiennes*, Tome II, ed. L. Renou & J. Filliozat, Paris.
- Demiéville, P., H. Durt and A. Seidel (1978), *Répertoire du canon bouddhique sino-japonais: édition de Taishō (Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō)*, Tokyo/Paris.
- Demoto, Mitsuyo (2006), “Fragments of the Avadānaśataka,” *BMSC* III, Oslo: 207–244.
- Dharma Publishing Staff (1986), *The Fortunate Aeon: How the Thousand Buddhas Become Enlightened*. Berkeley.
- Dietz, Siglinde (2002), “Fragments of the *Andhasūtra, of the Sūtra on the Three Moral Defects of Devadatta, and of the Kavikumāravadāna,” *BMSC* II: 25–36.
- Duan Qing 段晴 (2009), “A fragment of the Bhadrakalpasūtra in Buddhist Sanskrit from Xinjiang,” *Sanskrit Manuscripts in China: Proceedings of a Panel at the 2008 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies: October 13 to 17*, ed. Ernst Steinkellner, Beijing: 15–39.
- (2010), “梵语〈贤劫经〉残卷-兼述〈贤劫经〉在古代于阗的传布及竺法护的译经风格” *Fànyǔ «Xiánjié jīng» cánjuàn – jiānshù «Xián jié jīng» zài gǔdài Yútián de chuánbò jí Zhú Fāhù de yì jīng fēnggé*. 西域历史语言研究集刊 *Xīyù lìshǐ yǔyán yánjiū jíkān* 3: 201–232.
- (2013a), “贤劫经: *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*” *Xiánjié jīng: Bhadrakalpikasūtra*. 中国国家图书馆藏西域文书: 梵文、佉卢文卷 *Zhōngguó Guójiā Túshūguǎn cáng Xīyù wénshū: Fànwén, Qūlúwén juàn* (梵文贝叶经与佛教文献系列丛书 *Fànwén bèiyèjīng yǔ Fójiào wénxiàn xìliè cóngshū*, 3), ed. 段晴 Duàn Qíng and 张志清 Zhāng Zhìqīng, 上海 Shànghǎi: 225–231.
- (2013b), 于阗佛教古卷 *Yútián fójiào gǔjuǎn*. 上海 Shànghǎi.

- Dutt, N. (1947), *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. 3.1, Srinagar.
 — (1959), *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. 4, Calcutta.
- Dutt, Nalinaksha, with D. M. Bhattacharya and Shivnath Sharma (1939), *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. 1, Srinagar (repr. 1984, Delhi).
- Eckel, Malcolm David, (2009) *Bhāviveka and His Buddhist Opponents: Chapters 4 and 5 of the Verses on the Heart of the Middle Way (Madhyamakahrdaya-karikah) with the Commentary Entitled the Flame of Reason (Tarkajvala)*, Cambridge (Harvard Oriental Series, 70).
- Edgerton, Franklin (1946), “Meter, phonology, and orthography in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit,” *JAOS* 66: 197–206.
- Einoo Shingo (2005), “Ritual Calendar. Change in the Conceptions of Time and Space,” *JA* 293: 99–124.
- Emmerick, Ronald E. (1992), *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*. Second edition (Studia philologica Buddhica, Occasional Paper Series, III), Tokyo.
- Enomoto Fumio 榎本文雄 (1993), “Basharon no bonbun shahon danpen” 『婆沙論』の梵文写本断片 [A manuscript fragment of the *Vibhāṣā* in Sanskrit], *IBK* 42/1: 495–490 (sic).
- (1996), “A Sanskrit Fragment from the *Vibhāṣā* Discovered in Eastern Turkestan.” *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen III* (SWTF, Beiheft 6), Göttingen: 133–143.
- Falk, Harry (1999/2000), “The Pātagaṇḍigūḍem copper-plate grants of the Ikṣvāku king Ehavala Cāntamūla,” *SRAA* 6: 275–283.
- Feer, Léon, (1888, 1973), *The Saṃyutta-nikāya of the Sutta-Piṭaka*, Part I. Sagātha-vagga, PTS, London.
- Foucaux, Philippe-Édouard (1884), *Le Lalitavistara. L’histoire traditionnelle de la vie du Buddha Çakyaṃuni*, Paris [Reprint: 1988].
- Foucher, Alfred (1942), *La vieille route de l’Inde de Bactres à Taxila* (Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan I), vol. 1, Paris.
- Fukita, T. (2009), “The Sanskrit Fragments Or.15009 in the Hoernle Collection,” *BLSF* II: 298–330.
- Fussman, Gérard (1985), “Nouvelles inscriptions śaka III,” *BEFEO* 74: 35–42.
- (1989), “Gāndhārī écrite, gāndhārī parlée,” *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes* (Publications de l’Institut de Civilisation Indienne, sér. in-8^o, fasc. 55), ed. Colette Caillat, Paris: 433–501.
- (1994), “*Upāya-kaśālya*: L’implantation du bouddhisme au Gandhāra,” *Bouddhisme et cultures locales: Quelques cas de réciproques adaptations*, ed. Fumimasa Fukui and Gérard Fussman, Paris: 17–51.
- Glass, Andrew (2000), *A Preliminary Study of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript Paleography*, MA Thesis, Seattle: University of Washington (<http://andrewglass.org/ma.php>).
- (2004), “Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts: A window on Gandhāran Buddhism.” *Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism: Saṃbhāṣā* 24: 129–152.
- (2007), *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras: Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, 4), Seattle.

- (2009), “Bha,” BAI 23: 79–86.
- Gnoli, Raniero, ed., (1977), *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*, Part I, Rome.
- Godard, A[ndré] & Y[eva], J[oseph] Hackin (1928), *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, Paris & Bruxelles.
- Gómez, Luis (1996), *The Land of Bliss: the Paradise of the Buddha of Measureless Light: Sanskrit and Chinese Versions of the Sukhāvativyūha Sūtras*, Honolulu.
- Grenet, Franz (1994), “Bāmiyān and the *Mihr Yašt*,” BAI 7: 87–94.
- Grey, Leslie (1994), *A Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories*, Second Revised and Enlarged Edition, PTS, Oxford.
- Grünendahl, Reinhold (1993), “Zu den beiden Gandhamādana-Episoden des *Āraṇyakaparvan*,” StII 18: 103–138.
- Harrison, Paul (1982), “Sanskrit Fragments of a Lokottaravādin Tradition,” *Indological and Buddhist Studies, Volume in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. L. A. Hercus et al., Canberra: 211–234.
- (1997), “The *Ekottarikāgama* Translations of An Shigao,” *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (IndTib, 30), Swisttal-Odendorf: 261–284.
- (2003), “Mediums and Messages: Reflections on the Production of Mahāyāna Sūtras,” EB 35, No. 2: 115–151.
- (2007), “A Fragment of the **Sambādhāvākāśasūtra* from a Newly Identified *Ekottarikāgama* Manuscript in the Schøyen Collection,” ARIRIAB 10: 201–211.
- (2008), “Fragments of *Ekottarikāgama* (and *Ekottarikāgama*-style) Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection: A Preliminary Survey,” unpublished paper presented at XVth Congress of the International Association for Buddhist Studies, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, June 27, 2008.
- Harrison, Paul (forthcoming), “On Authors and Authorities: Reflections on Sūtra and Śāstra in Mahāyāna Buddhism,” unpublished paper delivered in Tokyo on May 19, 2006, at the 51st Symposium of the ICES (Tōhō gakkai).
- Harrison, Paul, Jens-Uwe Hartmann (2006), “*Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanāsūtra*,” BMSC I: 167–216.
- (2014), ed., *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research*. Papers Presented at the Conference Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field, Stanford, June 15–19 2009 (ÖAW, Denkschriften, 460), Wien.
- Hartmann, Jens-Uwe (2002) “More Fragments of the *Caṅgīsūtra*,” BMSC II: 1–16.
- (2002), “*Āryaśūra*’s *Jātakamālā*,” BMSC II: 318–319.
- (2002), “*Buddhastotras* of *Mātṛceta*,” BMSC II: 304–311.
- (2004), “Contents and Structure of the *Dīrghāgama* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins,” ARIRIAB 7: 119–137.
- (2013), “The Foolish Cat and the Clever Mouse: Another Parable from an Unknown Story Collection,” *Evo śuyadi: Essays in Honor of Richard Salomon’s 65th Birthday*, ed. Carol

- Altman Bromberg, Timothy J. Lenz, Jason Neelis, BAI 23: 105–109.
- (2015), “The Parable of a Man and His Two Ladies: A Fragment of an Unknown Story Collection,” *Neilu Ouya Lishiyuyan Lunji, Xu Wenkan Xiansheng Guxi Jinian* (Collected Papers on the Languages and Civilisations of Inner Asia, Festschrift on the Occasion of Prof. Xu Wenkan’s Seventieth Birthday), ed. Xu Quansheng & Liu Zhen (Ouya Lishi Wenhua Wenku = Library of Eurasian History and Culture), Lanzhou: 189–199.
- Hartmann, Jens-Uwe, Chanwit Tudkeao (2009), “Three Sanskrit Fragments of the Ratnaketuparivarta,” BLSF II: 589–596, Plates 249, 273.
- Hartmann, Jens-Uwe, Klaus Wille (1997), “Die nordturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften der Sammlung Pelliot (Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften, IV),” *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur II, Gustav Roth zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. H. Bechert, S. Bretfeld und P. Kieffer-Pülz (SWTF, Beiheft 8), Göttingen: 131–182.
- (2014), “A Version of the Śikhālakasūtra/Siṅgālovādasutta,” in BMSC III: 1–6.
- (2014) “The Manuscript of the Dirghagama and the Private Collection in Virginia,” BBDD: 137–155.
- Heirman, Ann (2000), “On Some Fragments of the Bhikṣuṅṅīprātimokṣa of the Sarvāstivādins,” *Buddhist Studies Review* 17.1: 3–16.
- Hermann-Pfandt, Adelheid (2008), *Die Lhan kar ma. Ein früherer Katalog der ins Tibetische übersetzten buddhistischen Texte. Kritische Neuausgabe mit Einleitung und Materialien*, Wien.
- Hertel, Johannes (1915), *The Panchatantra. A Collection of Ancient Hindu Tales in its oldest Recension, the Kashmirian, Entitled Tantrakhyayika*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Hinüber, Oskar von (1968), *Studien zur Kasussyntax des Pāli, besonders des Vinaya-Piṭaka*. (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Beihefte, neue Folge, 2), München.
- (1980), “Remarks on the Problems of Textual Criticism in Editing Anonymous Sanskrit Literature,” *Proceedings of the First Symposium of Nepali and German Sanskritists 1978*, Kathmandu: 28–40.
- (1985), “Die Bestimmung der Schulzugehörigkeit buddhistischer Texte nach sprachlichen Kriterien,” *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, III, 1)*, ed. Heinz Bechert (AAWG, 149), Göttingen: 57–75.
- (1989), “Brāhmī inscriptions on the history and culture of the upper Indus valley,” *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan. Reports and Studies Vol. 1, Rock Inscriptions in the Indus Valley*, ed. Karl Jettmar, Mainz: 41–71.
- (2001), *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick, 2.*, erweiterte Aufl. (Sitzungsberichte der ÖAW, 467), Wien.
- (2003), *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Senavarma-Inschrift* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 2003 Nr. 1), Stuttgart.
- (2004), *Die Palola Ṣāhis. Ihre Steinschriften, Inschriften auf Bronzen, Handschriftenkolophone und Schutzzauber*. Materialien zur Geschichte von Gilgit und Chilas (Antiquities of Northern Pakistan: Reports and Studies, Vol. 5), Mainz.

- (2009), “Verwischte Spuren. Der Gebrauch buddhistischer Texte nach dem Zeugnis von Literatur, Inschriften und Dokumenten,” *Sakrale Texte. Hermeneutik und Lebenspraxis in den Schriftkulturen*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard, München: 153–173 and 325–334.
- (2010), Review of McComas Taylor, *The Fall of the Indigo Jackal*, Albany: State University of New York Press, IJ 53: 48–49.
- (2014), “The Gilgit Manuscripts: An Ancient Buddhist Library in Modern Research,” *BBDD*: 79–135.
- Hinüber, Oskar von, K. R. Norman (1995), *Dhammapada*, Oxford.
- Hirakawa, Akira (1995), *Nihyakugojikkai no kenkyū* 二百五十戒の研究 [A study on the Two Hundred Fifty Rules] IV, Tokyo.
- Hiraoka Satoshi 平岡聡 (2007), *ブッダが 謎解く三世の物語: 『ディヴィヤ・アヴァダーナ』全訳* [Budda ga nazo toku sanze no monogatari: *Divya-avadāna zenyaku*], Tōkyō.
- Hitch, D. (1984), “Kharoṣṭhī Influences on the Saka Brāhmī Scripts,” *Middle Iranian Studies: Proceedings of the International Symposium Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of May 1982* (Orientalia Lovaniensia, Analecta, 16), ed. Wojciech Skalmowski and Alois van Tongerloo, Leuven: 187–202.
- Hoernle, A.F. Rudolf (1893–1912), *The Bower Manuscript*, Calcutta.
- Hokazono, Koichi 外薮幸一 (1994), *Raritavisutara no kenkyū* / ラリタヴィスタラの研究, vol. 1, Tokyo.
- Hopkins, E.W. (1915), *Epic Mythology*, Straßburg.
- Hori, Shin’ichirō (2002), “Notes on the Unidentified Sanskrit Fragments in the Ōtani Collection at Ryūkoku University Library,” *JICABS* 6: 132–126.
- Hosoda Noriaki 細田 典明 (1989), “Bonbun ‘Zōagongyō’ butsu shosetsuhon gedō sōō / 梵文『雑阿含経』仏所説品外道相応 (Sanskrit Fragments from the Parivrājakasamyukta of the Saṃyuktāgama) (I),” *Indo tetsugaku to Bukkyō: Fujita Kōtatsu Hakushi kanreki kinen ronshū* / インド哲学と仏教: 藤田宏達博士還暦記念論集 (Indian Philosophy and Buddhism: Essays in Honour of Professor Kotatsu Fujita on his Sixtieth Birthday), Kyōto: 185–206.
- Huber, É. (1908), *Açvaghōṣa: Sūtrālaṃkāra traduit en français sur la version chinoise de Kumārajīva*, Paris.
- Hultzsch, Eugen (1925), *Inscriptions of Asoka, New Edition* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum I), Oxford.
- Jong, Jan W. de (1997–98), “Recent Japanese studies on the *Lalitavistara*,” *Indologica Taurinensia* 23–24: 247–55.
- Karashima Seishi (2000), “A Fragment of the Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins,” *BMSC* I: 233–241.
- (2002), “Two More Folios of the Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins,” *BMSC* II: 215–228.
- (2006a), “Four Sanskrit Fragments of the Ratnaketuparivarta in the Stein Collection,” *BLSF* I: 176–189, Plate 102–103.
- (2006b), “The Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins in Early Western Gupta Script,” in *BMSC* III: 161–176.

- (2008), “Fragments of a Manuscript of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottara)vādins (1),” ARIRIAB 11: 71–90.
- (2009), “The Sanskrit Fragments Or.15010 in the Hoernle Collection,” BLSF II: 335–550.
- (2012), unter Mitwirkung von Oskar von Hinüber, *Die Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ: Verhaltensregeln für buddhistische Mönche der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*, herausgegeben, mit der chinesischen Parallelversion verglichen, 3 vols., Tokyo (Bibliotheca philologica et philosophica buddhica XIII).
- (2013), “Manuscript Fragments of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottaravādin)s (2),” ARIRIAB 16: 47–90.
- (2014), “The Language of the Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ – The Oldest Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Text,” ARIRIAB 17: 77–88.
- Kaul Shastri, M. S. (1939), “Report on the Gilgit Excavation in 1938,” *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 30: 1–12 and 15 plates.
- Kern, Hendrik (1891), *The Jātaka-Mālā or Bodhisattvāvadāna-Mālā by Ārya-Śūra* (Harvard Oriental Series, 1), Boston.
- Kimura, Takayasu (1986), *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā II–III*, Tokyo.
- (1992), *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā V*, Tokyo.
- Kimura, Takayasu, Nobuo Ōtsuka, Hideaki Kimura, Hisao Takahashi (2004), “Bonbun kōtei ‘Chikōmyōshōgon-kyō’ – Sarvabuddhaviṣayāvatārajñānālokālaṃkāra nāma mahāyānasūtra”, *Kūkai no shisō to bunka* [*A Felicitation Volume Presented to Prof. Kichō Onozuka on his seventieth birthday], Tōkyō: 1(596)–89(508).
- Klimburg-Salter, Deborah (1981), “Vaisravana in North-West India,” *Madhu. Recent Researches in Indian Archaeology and Art History. Shri M. N. Deshpande Festschrift*, ed. M.S. Nagaraja Rao, Delhi: 253–262.
- (1989), *The Kingdom of Bāmiyān. Buddhist Art and Culture of the Hindu Kush*, Naples & Rome.
- (2010), “Corridors of Communication across Afghanistan – 7th to 10th centuries,” in *Paysages du centre de l’Afghanistan: Paysages naturels, paysages culturels*, Paris: 173–199.
- Konow, Sten (1929), *Saka Versions of the Bhadrakalpikāsūtra* (Avhandlingar utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps - Akademi i Oslo, II: Hist. - filos. Klasse, No. 1), Oslo.
- Kritzer, Robert (2009), “Life in the Womb: Conception and Gestation in Buddhist Scripture and Classical Indian Medical Literature.” In Jane Marie Law and Vanessa R. Sasson, ed., *Imagining the Fetus the Unborn in Myth, Religion, and Culture*, London.
- (2014), *Garbhāvākṛāntisūtra, The Sūtra on Entry into the Womb* (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series 31), Tokyo.
- Kurumiya, Y. (1978), *Ratnaketuparivarta: Sanskrit Text*, Kyoto.
- (1979), ‘*Dus pa chen po rin po che tog gi gzungs: ’Dus pa chen po dkon mchog dbal zes bya ba’i gzungs: being the Tibetan translation of the Ratnaketuparivarta*. Kyoto.
- Kuwayama Shoshin (2006), “Chinese Records on Bamiyan – Translation and Commentary,” *East and West* 55: 139–161.
- Kuznetsov, B. I. (1966), *Rgyal rabs gsal bai me long: the clear mirror of royal genealogies*,

- Leiden.
- La Vallée Poussin, L. de (1908), “MSS. Cecil Bendall: 2 Fragments en écriture Gupta du Nord,” *JRAS*: 45–53.
- Lalou, Marcelle (1953), “Contribution à la bibliographie du Kanjur et du Tanjur – Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroñ-lde-bcan,” *JA* 241: 313–353.
- Lamotte, Étienne (1949–1980), *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra)*, tome i–v, (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 18) Louvain-la-Neuve.
- (1958), *Histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l’ère Śaka* (PIOL, 14), Louvain-la-Neuve.
- (1967), “Un sūtra composite de l’*Ekottarāgama*,” *BSOAS* 30: 105–116.
- (1988), *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era* (PIOL, 36), transl. S. Webb-Boin, Louvain-Paris.
- Lenz, Timothy (2003), *A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-birth Stories: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 16 + 25* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, 3), Seattle.
- (2010), *Gandhāran Avadānas: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 1–3 and 21 and Supplementary Fragments A–C* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, 6), Seattle.
- Lévi, Sylvain (1915a), “Le catalogue géographique des *yakṣa* dans la *Mahāmāyūrī*,” *JA* 5: 19–138.
- (1915b), “Sur la récitation primitive des textes bouddhiques,” *JA* 5: 401–447.
- Li Can (2015), “A preliminary report on some new sources of the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* (1),” *ARIRIAB* 18: 235–251.
- Li Rongxi (1996), *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, Berkeley.
- Lin, Yueh-Mei (2010), *A Study of the Anthology Za Ahan Jing (T101), Centred on its Linguistic Features, Translation Style, Authorship and School Affiliation*, Saarbrücken.
- Lü Chêng (1963), “Agama (1),” *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, [Colombo]: 1.241a–244b.
- Lüders, Heinrich (1904), “Die Jātakas und die Epik,” *ZDMG* 58: 687–714.
- (1926), *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*, Leipzig (repr. in *Monographien zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie*, vol. 1, Berlin 1979).
- Mair, Victor (1986), “An Asian Story of the Oedipus Type,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 45/1: 19–32.
- (1994), *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*, New York.
- Malalasekera, G. P. (1937–38), *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, 2 vols. London.
- Marino, Joseph (2015), “Cats with flaming tails: the simile of the fortified city in Pāli and Gāndhārī sūtra literature,” *JABS* 38: 73–105.
- Matsuda Kazunobu (1996), *Two Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Daśabhūmikasūtra preserved at the National Archives, Kathmandu* (Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 10), Tokyo.
- (2000), “New Sanskrit Fragments of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra in the Schøyen Collection, Norway,” *The Journal of Oriental Studies* 10: 103.
- (2003), “Sukoien Korekushon no Jūhi Shahonrui ni tsuite スコイエン・コレクションの獣皮写本類について [On the Leather Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection],” 54th Congress of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies, September 6, 2003 (unpublished).
- (2009), “Buddhist manuscripts from the Bāmiyān valley, Afghanistan.” *Preliminary Report on*

- the Conservation of the Bamiyan Birch Bark Buddhist Manuscripts*, ed. Kazuya Yamauchi, Tokyo: Japan Center for International Cooperation in Conservation, National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (Recent cultural heritage issues in Afghanistan, preliminary report series, 5), 7–9.
- (2010), “On the importance of the Buddhist manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection.” *Traces of Gandhāran Buddhism: An Exhibition of Ancient Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*, ed. Jens Braarvig and Fredrik Liland, Oslo: xxviii–xxix.
- (2014), “Japanese collections of Buddhist manuscript fragments from the same region as the Schøyen Collection.” *BBDD*: 165–169.
- Matsuda Yuko (2000), “A stanza in the Vaiśālī Plague Story,” *Zinbun* 35: 13–37.
- Matsumoto, B. (1927), *Buttenhihyōron* (仏典批評論), Tokyo.
- Matsumura, H. (1993), “Marginalia to the Sanskrit Fragments,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 37: 127–129.
- Mayeda, Egaku 前田惠學 (1964), 原始仏教聖典成立史の研究 *Genshi bukkyō seiten seiritsushi no kenkyū* [*A History of the Formation of Original Buddhist Texts*], Tokyo.
- Mejor, Marek (1991) *Vasubandhu’s Abhidharmakośa and the Commentaries Preserved in the Tanjur*, Stuttgart.
- Melzer, Gudrun (2010), *Ein Abschnitt aus dem Dīrghāgama*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Munich.
- Melzer, Gudrun (2014), “A Palaeographic Study of a Buddhist Manuscript from the Gilgit Region,” *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, ed. Jörg B. Quenzer, Dmitry Bondarev, Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 1), Berlin etc.: 227–272.
- Mette, Adelheid (1981), “Zwei kleine Fragmente aus Gilgit,” *StII* 7: 133–151.
- Milizia, Paola (2011), “On the Origin of the Middle Indic Future Suffix *-hi-*,” *JAOS* 131.1: 25–37.
- Moore, Justin Hartley (1907), “Metrical analysis of the Pāli Iti-vuttaka: a collection of discourses of Buddha,” *JAOS* 28.2: 317–330.
- Morris, Richard (1888, 1976), *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Part II. *Catukka Nipāta*, PTS, London.
- Müller, F. W. K. (1908), “Uigurica,” *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1908, Berlin.
- (1931), “Uigurica IV,” herausgegeben von A. von Gabain, *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1931, Berlin: 675–727.
- Nakamura, Z. (1975), “Hōshō Daranikyō Dankan,” *HBK* 1: 14–37.
- (2000), *Gotama Buddha: A Biography Based on the Most Reliable Texts*, vol. I, translated by Gaynor Sekimori, Tokyo.
- Nakatani, Hideaki (1986), “Un fragment xylographique de l’Upāli-sūtra conservé au Musée Guimet,” *BEI* 4: 305–319.
- Nattier, Jan (1991), *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Nanzan Studies in Asian Religions), Berkeley CA.
- Naudou, Jean (1968), *Les bouddhistes kaśmīriens au moyen age*, Paris (Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d’Études, Tome LXVIII).
- Neelis, Jason (2006), “La *Vieille Route* Reconsidered: Alternative Paths for Early Transmission of

- Buddhism Beyond the Borderlands of South Asia,” BAI 16: 143–164.
- (2011), *Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks: Mobility and Exchange within and beyond the Northwestern Borderlands of South Asia* (Dynamics in the History of Religion, Volume 2), Leiden.
- Nolot, Edith (1991), *Règles de discipline des nonnes bouddhistes. Le Bhikṣuṇīvinaya de l'école Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin, traduction annotée, commentaire, collation du manuscrit* (Collège de France, Publications de l'Institut de civilisation indienne, fasc. 60), Paris.
- Norman, K. R. (1983), *Pāli Literature, Including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of All the Hīnayāna Schools of Buddhism* (A History of Indian Literature, vol. 7, 2), Wiesbaden.
- (1997), *The Words of the Doctrine (Dhammapada)* (PTS Translation Series, 46), Oxford.
- Nyanaponika Thera and Bhikkhu Bodhi (1999), *Numerical Discourses of the Buddha: An Anthology of Suttas from the Aṅguttara Nikāya* (Sacred Literature Series), Walnut Creek, CA.
- Oberlies, Thomas (2001), *Pāli: A Grammar of the Language of the Theravāda Tipiṭaka, with a Concordance to Pischel's Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 3), Berlin/New York.
- (2003), *A Grammar of Epic Sanskrit* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 5), Berlin/New York.
- Pagel, Ulrich (1995), *The Bodhisattvapiṭaka: Its Doctrines, Practices and their Position in Mahāyāna Literature*, Tring.
- (2007), *Mapping the Path: Vajrapadas in Mahāyāna Literature*, Tokyo.
- Panglung, Jampa Losang (1981), *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya: analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung*, Tokyo (Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph series 3).
- Parpola, Asko (1978), “Dravidian V- versus Indo-Aryan hV-,” *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 48–49: 243–59.
- (1981), “On the Primary Meaning and Etymology of the Sacred Syllable Ōm,” *Proceedings of the Nordic South Asia Conference Held in Helsinki, June 10–12, 1980* (Studia Orientalia, 50), ed. Asko Parpola, Helsinki, 195–213.
- Pasadika, Bhikkhu, ed. (1989), *Nāgārjuna's Sūtrasamuccaya: A Critical Edition of the Mdo kun las btus pa*, Copenhagen.
- Pauly, Bernard (1959), “Fragments sanskrits de Haute Asie (Mission Pelliot),” JA 247: 203–249.
- Pischel, Richard (1904), “Bruchstücke des Sanskritkanons der Buddhisten aus Idyikutšari, Chinesisch-Turkestan,” *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1904.1: 807–827.
- Pradhan, Prahlad (1975), *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu* (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 8), Patna.
- Prebish, Charles S. (1975), *Buddhist Monastic Discipline: The Sanskrit Prātimokṣa Sūtras of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins*, University Park and London.
- Radloff, W[ilhelm], & A[lexander] von Staël-Holstein (1910), *Ṭiṣastvustik. Ein in türkischer Sprache bearbeitetes buddhistisches Sūtra*, BB 12, St.-Petersburg.
- Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra (1959), *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts: Facsimile edition* (Śata-

- piṭakam: Indo-Asian literatures, vol. 10, pt. 9), New Delhi (repr. 1995, *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts: Revised and enlarged compact facsimile edition*, Delhi).
- Rapson, E.J. (1908), *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, and the "Bodhi" Dynasty*, London.
- Renou, Louis, & Jean Filliozat (1953), *L'Inde classique, manuel des études indiennes*, vol. 2, Paris.
- Rhys Davids, Caroline, tr., (1917, 1973) assisted by Sūriyagoḍa Sumangala Thera, *The Book of the Kindred Sayings (Saṃyutta-nikāya) or Grouped Suttas*, Part I. *Kindred Sayings with Verses (Sagāthā-vagga)*, PTS, London.
- Roth, Gustav (1980), "Particular Features of the Language of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins and their Importance for Early Buddhist Tradition," *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, II)* (AAWG 117), ed. Heinz Bechert, Göttingen: 78–135 (= H. Bechert and P. Kieffer-Pülz (ed.), *Indian Studies (Selected Papers)* (Bibliotheca Indo Buddhica, 32), Delhi 1986, 289–350).
- Rotman, Andy (2008), *Divine Stories: Divyāvadāna*, Part 1, Boston.
- Rowland, Benjamin (1938), "Buddha and the Sun God," *Zalmoxis – Revue des Études Religieuses* 1: 69–84.
- Saerji (2008), "A New Fragment of the Ratnaketuparivarta," *ARIRIAB* 11: 95–103.
- (2010), "More Fragments of the Ratnaketuparivarta (1)," *ARIRIAB* 13: 111–120.
- (2011), "More Fragments of the Ratnaketuparivarta (2)," *ARIRIAB* 14: 35–57.
- Sakaki, Ryōzaburō 榎亮三郎 (1916), *Hon'yaku Mahāvīyūtpatti: Bon-Zō-Kan-Wa yon'yaku taikō / 翻譯名義大集: 梵藏漢和四譯對校*, Kyōto.
- Sakamoto-Goto, Junko (1991), "Mittelindische Absolutivbildung auf -tvā/*-tvāna(m) und verwandte Probleme der Lautentwicklung," *Middle Indo-Aryan and Jaina Studies* (Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. VI and VII), ed. C. Caillat, Leiden: 10–21.
- (1993), "Zu mittelindischen Verben aus medialen Kausativa," *Jain Studies in Honour of Jozef Deleu*, ed. R. Smet and K. Watanabe, Tokyo: 261–314.
- (2011), "The Nakṣatra System in the Vedic Calendar," *IBK* 59, 3: 1075–1083.
- Salomon, Richard (1981), "A Linguistic Analysis of the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad," *WZKS* 25: 91–105.
- (1998), "Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript Fragments in the Pelliot Collection, Bibliothèque Nationale de France," *BEI* 16: 123–60.
- (1999), *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments*, Seattle / London.
- (2000), *A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5B* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, 1), Seattle.
- (2001), "'Gāndhārī Hybrid Sanskrit': New Sources for the Study of the Sanskritization of Buddhist Literature," *IJ* 44: 241–252.
- (2002a), "A Fragment of a Collection of Buddhist Legends, with a Reference to King Huviṣka as a Follower of the Mahāyāna: Schøyen Fragment 2378/9," *BMSC* II: 255–267.
- (2002b), "Gāndhārī and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages in the Light of Newly-discovered Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts," *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples* (Proceedings of the British

- Academy 116), ed. N. Sims-Williams, Oxford: 119–134.
- (2003a), “The Senior Manuscripts: Another Collection of Gandhāran Buddhist Scrolls,” *JAOS* 123: 83–92.
- (2003b), “Three Kharoṣṭhī Reliquary Inscriptions in the Institute of Silk Road Studies,” *SRAA* 9: 39–69.
- (2008), *Two Gāndhārī Manuscripts of the Songs of Lake Anavatapta (Anavatapta-gāthā): British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 1 and Senior Scroll 14* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 5), Seattle.
- (2009) “Why Did the Gandhāran Buddhists Bury their Manuscripts?” *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual and Art*, ed. Steven C. Berkwitz, Juliane Schober and Claudia Brown, London: 19–34.
- (2011), “An Unwieldy Canon: Observations on Some Distinctive Features of Canon Formation in Buddhism,” *Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Max Deeg, Oliver Freiberger and Christoph Kleine (Sitzungsberichte der ÖAW, 820 / Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens 72), Wien: 161–207.
- (2012), Review of Klaus Wille, *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 10, *JAOS* 132: 506–508.
- Salomon, Richard, Gregory Schopen (1984), “The Indravarman (Avaca) Casket Inscription Reconsidered: Further Evidence for Canonical Passages in Buddhist Inscriptions,” *JIABS* 7: 107–123.
- Salomon, Richard, Stefan Baums (2007), “Sanskrit *Ikṣvāku*, Pali *Okkāka*, and Gāndhārī *Iṣmaho*,” *JPTS* 29: 201–27.
- Samtani, N.H. (1971), *The Arthaviniścaya-sūtra and its Commentary (Nibandhana) (written by Bhikṣu Vīryaśrīdatta of Śrī-Nālandavihāra)*, (TSWS 13), Patna.
- Sander, Lore (1968), *Paläographisches zu den Sanskrihandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung* (VOHD, Supplementband 8), Wiesbaden.
- (2000), “A brief paleographical analysis of the Brāhmī manuscripts in volume I,” *BMSC* I: 285–300.
- Sander, Lore, Ernst Waldschmidt (1980), *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden IV* (VOHD, 10.4), Wiesbaden.
- Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina A. (1999), “Towards a Methodology for the Study of Old Tibetan Manuscripts: Dunhuang and Tabo,” *Tabo Studies II: Manuscripts, Texts, Inscriptions, and the Arts*, ed. C.A. Scherrer-Schaub and E. Steinkellner, Rome: 3–36.
- (2000–01), “Histoires de serpents. Cantiques et Enchantements,” *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études – Section des sciences religieuses*, année 2000–2001: 195–202.
- Schiefner, F. Anton von (1906), *Tibetan tales, derived from Indian sources, translated from the Tibetan of the Kahgyur*, London.
- Schlingloff, Dieter (1955), *Buddhistische Stotras aus ostturkistanischen Sanskrittexten* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung, Nr. 22 / Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 1), Berlin.
- Schmithausen, Lambert *et al.* (2002), “Fragments of and Early Commentary,” *BMSC* II: 249–254.

- Schneider, Ulrich (1960), "Das Zahlwort im Mahāvastu," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiet der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 76, 3–4: 249–272 (now in *Opera Minora*, ed. Marion Meisig, Wiesbaden, 2002: 47–64).
- Schopen, Gregory (1997), *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks. Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India*. Honolulu.
- Schopen, Gregory (2000), "Hierarchy and Housing in a Buddhist Monastic Code: A Translation of the Sanskrit Text of the *Śayanāsanavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* – Part One [from the Sanskrit]," *Buddhist Literature*, vol. 2: 92–196.
- (2004a), "If You Can't Remember, How to Make It Up: Some Monastic Rules for Redacting Canonical Texts," *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Studies in the Buddhist Traditions), Honolulu: 395–407 (originally published [1997], *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann [IndTib 30], Swisttal-Odendorf: 571–582).
- (2004b), "On Buddhist Monks and Dreadful Deities: Some Monastic Devices for Updating the Dharma," *Gedenkschrift J.W. de Jong*, ed. H.W. Bodewitz and M. Hara, Tokyo: 161–184.
- (2010), "On Incompetent Monks and Able Urbane Nuns in a Buddhist Monastic Code," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 38: 107–131.
- Seidenstücker, Karl (1922), *Itivuttaka*, das Buch der Herrnworte, eine kanonische Schrift des Pāli-Buddhismus, in erstmaliger deutscher Übersetzung aus dem Urtext, Leipzig.
- Senart, É. (1897) *Le Mahāvastu*, Tome troisième, Paris.
- Śeṭha, Haragovindadāsa Trikamacanda [हरगोविन्ददास त्रिकमचंद शेठ] (1928), पाइअ-सद्-महण्णवो [Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo], कलकत्ता [Kalakattā].
- Seyfort Ruegg, David (1964), "Sur le rapport entre le bouddhisme et le 'substrat religieux' indien et tibétain," *JA* 252: 77–95.
- (2004), "Aspects of the Investigation of the (Earlier) Indian Mahāyāna," *JIABS* 27: 3–62.
- (2008), *The Symbiosis of Buddhism with Brahmanism/Hinduism in South Asia and of Buddhism with "Local Cults" in Tibet and the Himalayan Region*, Wien.
- Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (1951), *The Śatapañcāśatka of Mātr̥ceṭa*, Cambridge UK.
- Shastri, Swami Dwarikadas (1973), *Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Ācārya Vasubandhu, with Sphuṭārthā Commentary of Ācārya Yaśomitra*, Part IV (Bauddha Bharati Series no. 9), Varanasi.
- Shinohara Koichi (2010), "Taking a meal at a lay supporter's residence. The evolution of the practice in Chinese Vinaya commentaries," *Buddhist Monasticism in East Asia. Places of Practice*, ed. J. A. Benn, London: 18–42.
- Silk, Jonathan A. (2008a), *Riven by Lust: Incest and Schism in Indian Buddhist Legend and Historiography*, Honolulu.
- (2008b), "The Story of Dharmaruci: In the *Dīvyāvadāna* and Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā*," *IJJ* 51: 137–185.
- (2008c), "Putative Persian Perversities: Buddhist Condemnations of Zoroastrian Close-Kin Marriage in Context," *BSOAS* 71/3: 433–464.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas (2000), "A Bactrian Buddhist Document," *BMSC* I: 275–277.

- (2007), *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan. II: Letters and Buddhist Texts*, London.
- (2010), “Two Late Bactrian Documents,” *Coins, Art and Chronology II*, ed. Michael Alram *et al.*, Wien: 203–211.
- Sircar, D. C. (1966), *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*. Delhi.
- Skilling, Peter (1992a), “The *Rakṣā* Literature of the Śrāvakayāna,” JPTS 16: 109–182.
- (1992b) [Review of Dharma Publishing Staff 1986], *Journal of the Siam Society* 80: 140–142.
- (1994–97), *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha*, 2 vols., Oxford.
- (1996a), “The Sambuddhe Verses and Later Theravādin Buddhology,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 22: 151–183.
- (1996b), “An Arapacana syllabary in the Bhadrakalpika-sutra,” JAOS 116: 522–523.
- (2002), “*Ārādhanā Tham: ‘Invitation to Teach the Dhamma’*,” *Manusya: Journal of Humanities* (Bangkok), Special Issue No 4: 84–92.
- (2003), “On the *Agnihotramukhā Yajñāḥ* Verses,” *Jainism and Early Buddhism: Essays in Honor of Padmanabh S. Jaini*, ed. Olle Qvarnström, Fremont: 637–667.
- (2008), *Past Lives of the Buddha. Wat Si Chum – Art, Architecture and Inscriptions*, Bangkok.
- (2010), “Notes on the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*,” ARIRIAB 13: 195–229.
- (2011), “Notes on the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* (II): Beyond the Fortunate Aeon: What comes next?,” ARIRIAB 14: 59–72.
- (2012), “Notes on the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* (III): Beyond the Fortunate Aeon,” ARIRIAB 15: 117–126.
- Skilling, Peter, and Harrison Paul (2005), “What’s in a Name? Sarvāstivādin Interpretations of the Epithets ‘Buddha’ and ‘Bhagavat,’” in *Buddhism and Jainism, Essays in Honour of Dr. Hojun Nagasaki on his Seventieth Birthday*, 700–675 [131–156], Kyoto.
- Skilling, Peter, and Saerji (2014), “How the Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon first aspired to Awakening: The *pūrva-praṇidhānas* of Buddhas 1–250,” ARIRIAB 17: 245–291.
- Skilton, Andrew (2002), “*Samādhirājasūtra*,” BMSC II: 97–177.
- Skjærvø, Prods Oktor (2002), *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library: A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part II: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia, Vol. V: Saka, Texts, VI), London.
- Sørensen, Per K. (1994), *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies. An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: rGyal rabs gsal-ba’i me-long*, Wiesbaden.
- Speijer, J. S. (1886), *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden.
- Strauch, Ingo (2010), “More Missing Pieces of Early Pure Land Buddhism: New Evidence for Akṣobhya and Abhirati in an Early Mahayana Sutra from Gandhāra,” EB 41: 23–66.
- Takasaki, Jikido (1974), “*Bosatsuzōkyō ni tsuite*,” IBK 22: 578–86.
- Tauscher, H. (2008), *Catalogue of the Gondhla Proto-Kanjur* (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 72): Wien.
- Thomas, F. W. (1916), “*Ratnadhvaja*, in the Mahāsaṃnipāta Sūtra,” *Manuscript Remains of*

- Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, vol. 1, ed. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Oxford.
- Tokuno Kyoko (1994), “Byways in Chinese Buddhism: The *Book of Trapusa* and Indigenous Scriptures,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Tournier, Vincent (2012a), “La formation du *Mahāvastu* et la mise en place des conceptions relatives à la carrière du *bodhisattva*,” Thèse de doctorat (Ph.D. dissertation), École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris.
- (2012b), “The *Mahāvastu* and the *Vinayaṭīka* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins,” ARIRIAB 15: 87–104.
- Tripathi, Chandrabhal (1962), *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānaśamyukta* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 56 / Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden 8), Berlin.
- (1995), *Ekottarāgama-Fragmente der Gilgit-Handschrift* (StII, Monographie, 2), Reinbek.
- Tudkeao, Chanwit (2009), *Versionen des Ratnaketuparivarta: Studien über die Überlieferung des Ratnaketuparivarta und eine kritische Ausgabe der Sanskrit-Fragmente*, Dissertation submitted to Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München, available as microfiche.
- (2015), “Three Fragments of the Ratnaketuparivarta,” BLSF III.2: 587–591.
- Turner, R. L. (1966), *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London.
- Ui, Hakuju, Munetada Suzuki, Yenshō Kanakura and Tōkan Tada (1934), *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and bstan-ḥgyur)*. Sendai.
- Vaidya, P. L. (1960a), *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā with Haribhadra’s Commentary Called Āloka* (BST 4), Darbhanga.
- (1960b), *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (BST 5), Darbhanga.
- (1960c), *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram* (BST 6), Darbhanga.
- (1961a), *Samādhirājasūtra*, (BST 2), Darbhanga.
- (1961b), *Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Part 1 (BST 17), Darbhanga.
- (1963), *Saddharmalaṅkāvatārasūtra* (BST 3), Darbhanga.
- (1964), *Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Part 2 (BST 18), Darbhanga.
- Vajracharya, Vijay Raj, ed., (2006), *Āryapañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, vol. II: Chapters 2–4 (Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series 64), Sarnath.
- Waldschmidt, Ernst (1971), *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 3, *Die Katalognummern 802–1014* (VOHD 10.3), Wiesbaden.
- (1980), “Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas,” *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung / The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, 2)*, ed. Heinz Bechert (AAWG 117), Göttingen: 136–174.
- Waldschmidt, Ernst, with Walter Clawiter and Lore Holzmann (1965), *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden I* (VOHD 10.1), Wiesbaden.
- (1968), *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden II* (VOHD 10.2), Wiesbaden.
- Warder, A[ntony] K. (1967), *Pāli Metre: A Contribution to the History of Indian Literature*. London.
- Warren, Henry Clarke (1950), revised by Dharmananda Kosambi, *Visuddhimagga of Buddha-*

- ghosācariya* (Harvard Oriental Series, 41), Cambridge MA.
- Watanabe Kaikyoku (1907), “A Chinese Text Corresponding to Part of the Bower Manuscript,” *JRAS* 39, 2: 261–266.
- Watanabe, Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭 (1907a), “南北兩傳の本事經 Nanboku ryōden no Honji-kyō,” 淨土教報 *Jōdo kyōhō* no. 746–7 [Reprint in 壺月全集 *Kogetsu zenshū* (1933) vol. 1: 423–444].
- Watanabe, Kaigyoku (1907b), “A Chinese collection of Itivuttakas,” *JPTS* 1907: 44–49.
- Weller, Friedrich (1928), *Tausend Buddhanamen des Bhadrakalpa*. Leipzig.
- Wessels-Mevissen, Corinna (2001), *The Gods of the Directions in Ancient India. Origin and Early Development in Art and Literature (until c. 1000 A.D.)*, Berlin.
- Wille, Klaus (1997), “Zwei kleine Fragmente aus dem Bhikṣuṅīprātimokṣasūtra,” *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur II* (SWTF, Beiheft 8), ed. Heinz Bechert *et al.*, Göttingen: 307–314.
- (2005), “Some recently identified Sanskrit fragments from the Stein and Hoernle collections in the British Library, London (1),” *ARIRIAB* 8: 47–79.
- (2006), “Some recently identified Sanskrit fragments from the Stein and Hoernle collections in the British Library, London (2),” *BLSF I*: 27–64.
- (2009), “The Sanskrit Fragments Or.15004 in the Hoernle Collection,” *BLSF II*: 73–104.
- (2015), “The Sanskrit Fragments Or.15007 in the Hoernle Collection,” *BLSF III.1*: 13–198.
- Wilson, Liz (1996), *Charming Cadavers. Horrific figurations of the feminine Indian Buddhist hagiography*, Chicago.
- Winternitz, M. (1920), *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, Band 2: Die buddhistische Litteratur und die heiligen Texte der Jainas, Leipzig.
- Wogihara, Unrai (1936, 1989) *Sputārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā by Yaśomitra*, Tokyo.
- Woodward, F. L., tr. (1936, 1973), *The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Anguttara-Nikāya) or More-Numbered Suttas*, vol. 5 (PTS Translation Series, 27), London.
- tr., (1985), *The minor anthologies of the Pali canon*, Part II (PTS, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, 8), London.
- Yakup, Abdurishid (2006), *Diśastvustik: Eine altuigurische Bearbeitung einer Legende aus dem Catuspariṣat-sūtra*, Wiesbaden.
- Yamazaki, M. and Ousaka, Y. (2003), *Index of the Jātaka*, PTS, Oxford.
- Yáng, Fù-xué 杨富学 (2005), “回鹘文佛教譬喻故事及其特色—以回鹘文《折叱王的故事》为例” [*Huigú wén fójiào pìyù gùshì jí qí tèshè—yǐ huigú wén ‘Zhéchì wáng de gùshì’ wéilì*, Buddhist Avadāna Stories in Uighur and their Character, as Exemplified by the Uighur Story of King Caṣṭana], 吐鲁番学研究 *Túlǔfān xué yánjiū* 2005.1-2: 90–106.
- Yuyama Akira (2001), *The Mahāvastu-Avadāna in Old Palm-Leaf and Paper Manuscripts*, 2 vols., Tokyo.