

# Jyotiṣkāvadāna\*

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## Introduction

The story of the householder Jyotiṣka's miraculous fire birth and further career has enjoyed great popularity in the Buddhist tradition, as evidenced by the multitude of literary versions of and references to it, as well as pictorial representations.<sup>1</sup> In this article, we are concerned with the central story itself, the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna*, which has come down to us as part of two different collections. A Sanskrit version is story no. 19 in the *Divyāvadāna*, edited by Cowell and Neil from four Nepalese manuscripts going back to a 17th-century archetype and one manuscript fragment of the 14th or 15th century (Cowell & Neil 1886: vii, 660). The *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* also formed part of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayaśūdrakavastu*, preserved only in Tibetan and Chinese translation ('*Dul ba phran tshogs kyi gzi*, 'Dul ba, Q vol. de-ne, S vol. ta-tha, translated by dPal 'byor, Vidyākaraṇaprabha, and Dharmasrīprabha in the 8th–9th century; *Genbenshuoyiqieyoubu pinaye za shi* 根本說一切有部毗奈耶雜事, T. 1451, translated by Yijing in 710). There is also a later Chinese translation of just the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* (*Guangming tongzi yinyuan jing* 光明童子因緣經, T. 549, translated by Dānapāla in 1007).<sup>2</sup>

## Description of the Fragments

The Schøyen Collection contains ten fragments of the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna*. The first five belong to one folio (*a*), the sixth to eighth constitute the major part of the immediately following folio (*a* + 1). Six lost folios intervene between the eighth and the small ninth and tenth fragment (which thus belong to folio *a* + 8). The fragments are here grouped as follows (compare the facsimile for details of how they fit together.)

- 1) MS 2382/254, 125, 118, uf8/4c, and uf19/5b (Divy 268.15–269.29, Q 14b7–15b3, S 23b4–24b7).
- 2) MS 2382/56, and 2381/uf2/3d and 196a (Divy 270.1–271.7, Q 15b3–16a6, S 25a1–26a2).
- 3) MS 2382/146/4a and 2381/uf1/1b (Divy 280.27–281.21, Q 22a5–b6, S 35b1–36a6).

On no. 3, the folio number [2]30 is preserved, which means we can read the badly damaged folio

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<sup>1</sup> For the latter, cf. Härtel 1981, for the former the same as well as Panglung 1981: 168f. and Grey 1990: 196f.

<sup>2</sup> Gilgit manuscript fragment 1484/1485 (GBM vol. 7) is also attributed to the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* in von Hinüber 1979: 343. This fragment, however, consists entirely of stock passages, with only page 1485 having an echo in the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* (Divy 267.7 ff.); page 1484 resembles more closely part of the *Supriyāvadāna* (Divy 95.24 ff.). Pages 1484 and 1485 do appear to constitute recto and verso of the same folio, and in this combination cannot be assigned to either the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* or the *Supriyāvadāna* as we know them.

number on no. 2 as (22)[3]. No folio number is preserved for no. 1, but since it immediately precedes no. 2, it would be folio 222.

Comparison with the text of the *Divyāvadāna* allows us to determine what proportion of the original lines has been lost in the fragments, and hence what the original width of the manuscript was. This is most easily done with the largest fragment, MS 2382/56, the right margin of which is preserved. The original folio was approximately 41 cm wide and 6.2 cm high in the middle; the single string-hole was ca. 13 cm distant from the left margin. There are six lines per page, of which the middle two are interrupted by the string-hole. The average number of akṣaras in uninterrupted lines is ca. 64; the average number of akṣaras in lines interrupted by the string-hole is ca. 60.<sup>3</sup> The folios are wider in the middle than at the ends. Therefore the top or bottom line of a page sometimes has to stop short when prematurely hitting the margin. The scribe ends such a line of less than normal length with a horizontal row of dots, lines or wiggles (compare 2r6 and 2v1).

The writing material is birch-bark, which is unfortunately in a rather poor state of preservation: the four thin constituent layers of the bark are beginning to separate. In the case of the fragments MS 2381/196a, 2381/uf2/3d, and 2381/uf1/1b this had already happened before they reached the Schøyen Collection, resulting in text on only one side of them (the other “side” of these fragments is in reality the reverse of the outer layer of the original leaves). A rather long chip of bark broken off at the margin of the folio in 1r6 (*ni ... śākyamuner*) / 1v1 (*mānuṣāṃ ... pratyānubhaviṣyati*) would suggest the loss of around eight akṣaras, but on the evidence of the textual parallels only three are (completely or partially) missing on the recto and two on the verso. This probably means that the scribe left a part of the surface empty because of irregularities in the bark, which later may have facilitated the breaking off of the chip.

The script of the manuscript is the so-called Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I, cf. Lore Sander’s analysis in BMSC vol. I, pp. 298–300. On paleographic grounds, the manuscript can therefore be assigned to the sixth or seventh century (but note the caveat at the end of Sander’s discussion).

### *Orthographic and linguistic features*

The manuscript exhibits a number of orthographic and linguistic peculiarities. As is common for Indian manuscript traditions in general, a single stop can be written for a geminate preceding a semivowel: *udiyotayi(syati)* (1r1), *satvo* (1v6); and stops can be doubled before and after the letter *r*: (*upasaṃ*)*kkṛāntaḥ* (3v3/4), *upasaṃkkram(ya)* (3v4), *pravarttate* (1v5). Hypersanskritic *r* is written for *ri* in *kṣatryadārako* (1r2, 1r4, 1v4, BHS 3.95).

In the realm of sandhi, we find *o* for *au* in *janoghasaṃvṛtaḥ* (1r5, BHS 3.78); however, this can also be due to scribal omission of the third stroke of the *au* mātrā. Clearly a Buddhist Sanskrit feature is the use of the sandhi (or hiatus) consonants *m* and *r* in *kṣata-m-upahato* (2v1, BHS 4.59 f.) and *grhapate-r-ayaṃ* (2v3, BHS 4.61–63).

A morphological characteristic would be the employment of the *-ā-* suffix for an adjectival feminine where Classical Sanskrit requires *-ī-* in *divya{.}mānuṣāṃ* (1v1, BHS 11.2). But once again it is possible that this is to be attributed to scribal dilemma: there was little room between the

<sup>3</sup> Fragments MS 2381/196a and 2382/146/4a were identified subsequently to these calculations, and confirm their validity. The originally calculated line-breaks on 3r, e.g. were (*śrīs ta*(3r3)*smād*), (*mañin a*(3r4)*pahartum*), and (*te 'ntahpurikayā uparī*(3r5)*prāsādatalagatayā*). The actual line-breaks turn out to be (*śrīs*) (3r3) *tasmād*, (*mañin apa*)(3r4)*hartum*, and (*te 'ntahpurika*)(3r5)*yā prāsādatalagatay(ā)*.

line and the upper margin of the folio, some of which was taken up by the anusvāra, so the scribe may have been compelled to squash the *ī* mātrā. Usually, though, *ī* is attached to the right arm of *ṣ* in this script, not the left as here, cf. (*divyamānu*)[*ṣ*]*īm* in 1r1. *Vyākṛtāḥ* in line 1v1 has an additional visarga (BHSG 9.10), while *samāptaśikṣā* in 2r1 is lacking expected visarga or *s* (BHSG 9.82–85); both these cases are in the twilight zone between grammatical feature and scribal insufficiency.

### Punctuation

Our scribe is sparing but at the same time precise in his use of punctuation. Whenever a syntactic break is already signalled with sufficient clarity by the absence of otherwise expected sandhi he did not apparently consider it necessary to add punctuation. Only when no such “natural” indicator of a syntactic break was present did he add one of the three marks in his repertoire: centred dot, daṇḍa, or double daṇḍa. To illustrate, in *bhagavāṃś ca rājagr̥hāṃ nirgataḥ adrāksīt kṣatṛyadārako bhagavaṃtaṃ* (1r4) the sentence boundary is indicated clearly enough by non-application of sandhi between *nirgataḥ* and *adrāksīt*. However, in *nirgranthānām eva mukhaṃ vyavalokayati | te kathayanti* (2v3) a daṇḍa had to be inserted to prevent confusion. Words of speaking, hearing and thinking introducing a quotation are as a rule not followed by punctuation; verses never contain punctuation. An examination of all the preserved portions of the text shows that the scribe is highly consistent in following this rationale.

In the textual reconstruction, daṇḍas have been added liberally for the convenience of the modern reader alone. Occurrences of <.> and <|> in the reconstruction should therefore not be taken to suggest scribal lapses. For the same reason, also in parenthesised reconstructed passages all such punctuation owing its existence to considerations of user-friendliness is inside angle brackets.

### Scribal errors

While on the whole very careful, the scribe did commit some errors. Parts of akṣaras are occasionally forgotten. Apart from the possible instances noted above, this happens most frequently in the case of anusvāras (2r1, 2r5, 2r6, 2v6). A subscript *v* is left out in *t<v>aṃ* (2v4), an *i* mātrā in *v<i>gāhya* (2r6), an *ā* in *nirgranth<ā>* (2r3), and an *o* in *dārak<o>* (2v6). There is a superfluous anusvāra in *citāyā{ṃ}s* (2v5). An *e* mātrā is falsely written for an *i* in *gr̥hapatem* (2v2), and an *ā* mātrā has intruded in *prāsādata<sub>l</sub>agat{ā}y(ā)* (3r5). Grammatical mistakes are the use of *mahān* instead of *mahad* or *mahā-* in line 1v3, and of *jinaprabhāvo* instead of *jinaprabhāvān* in 2r6.

### Prosody

Our passage contains five verses. Four of them (1r2/3, 1r5/6, 1v4/5, 2r6/v1) are in the Vamśastha metre, with two irregularities: *hi* is scanned as a light syllable preceding *śreṇyo* in 1v4/5 pāda a; and 2r6/v1 pāda b needs to be emended to *pragr̥hṇataś cāgnigataṃ kumāra<ka>m* (the diminutive is supported by the *Divyāvadāna* text). Verse 1r5 is in the Rucirā metre, with one heavy syllable (*tye*) irregularly standing in for two lights in *vrajaty eṣa* in pāda b. Since the Rucirā metre does not allow for such substitution this probably has to be considered a textual corruption, but it is unclear how to emend.

*Improvements on the Divyāvadāna text*

The Schøyen fragments of the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna*, in spite of corresponding to just three and a half printed pages in Cowell and Neil's edition, offer several clear textual improvements over the *Divyāvadāna* version, many of them supported by the Tibetan translation. *Vaineyakāryaṃ* in line 1v3 is (according to BHSD) a more usual expression for "deed of conversion" than *vineyakāryaṃ*. In line 1v4, *māgadhaṃ śreṇyaṃ* is the normal epithet for King Bimbisāra, as opposed to the *Divyāvadāna*'s awkward compound *māgadhaśreṇyaṃ* (itself probably due to no more than a case of omitted anusvāra, of the sort noted above). Calling the unborn Jyotiṣka *satvo* "being," "embryo" in line 1v6 fits the context better than the *Divyāvadāna* embellishment *bodhisattvo*. In line 2r5, the *yad* that is missing in the *Divyāvadāna* does much to clarify the syntax. A great improvement is the fragments' *nihatamadamānaprabhāvāḥ* in line 2r3 instead of the *Divyāvadāna*'s *nipātamadamānā na ca prabhāvāḥ*. This is an interesting case, because the *Divyāvadāna*'s sorry state seems to go back a long way to a confusion that is easily made in the Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I script, where the akṣaras *ha* and one form of *pā* look virtually identical. The Tibetan confirms *nihata* and the use of a three-member dvandva, though apparently reflecting a different last member: *rgyags pa dan | ṇa rgyal dan | kheṇs pa dag ṇams*. Jīvaka's epithet appears in the two forms *kumārabhṛtam* (2v1) and *kumārabhṛtyam* (2r5). The former is usual in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (BHSD s. v.), occurs in the recently discovered "Gilgit" *Ādīśāgama* manuscript (in the "rājā" sūtra, the equivalent of the *Sāmaññaphalasutta*),<sup>4</sup> and is translated into Tibetan as *gžon nus gsos*; the latter corresponds to the Pāli form *kumārabhacca*. The *Divyāvadāna*'s *kumārabhūta*, on the other hand, seems to be a later corruption of the name (cf. BHSD s. v.). Finally, *anyam upāyam* in 3r4 has the proper gender agreement missing from *anyad upāyam* in the *Divyāvadāna*.

In 2r1, however, both the fragments' *samāptaśikṣā* ("who have completed their studies") and the *Divyāvadāna*'s *śamāttaśikṣās* have to be considered corruptions of an original *samāttaśikṣa*—"who have undertaken vows" (see note on the reconstruction below). In line 2v4, the fragments' reading *uddāyādaṃ bhavati* is probably not to be preferred over the *Divyāvadāna*'s equally problematic *utsādaṃ bhaviṣyasi* (emended to *utsādayan bhaviṣyasi* by the editors). The Tibetan has *tshig*, which seems to point to \**uddāhayan*. In line 1r3, the *Divyāvadāna*'s *savanā* is confirmed by Tibetan *nags bcas* over the fragments' tautological *sanagā* coming after (*saśai*)*lā*. In 3r6/v1 the sentence fragment (...) *mam upekṣyata iti te* (...) holds promise because of its apparent agreement with the Tibetan against the *Divyāvadāna* text (see note in the reconstruction), but it remains unclear how to complete it.

The fragments also provide some valuable improvements metrically: *asaṃśayaṃ* instead of the *Divyāvadāna*'s *niḥsaṃśayaṃ* makes the Vamśastha in 1r5/6 regular, and *pragrṇataś* instead of *pratigrṇataś* is part of the solution to the metrical problems of verse 2r6/v1.

*Conclusions*

The relative primacy of the *Divyāvadāna* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* has been much debated (Huber 1906, Lévi 1907, Przyluski 1929), but a cautious consensus seems to have emerged that the *Vinaya* is the older collection. Satoshi Hiraoka (1991, cf. also 1994) has offered convincing formal

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hartmann 2002 for more information about this manuscript.

arguments to this effect for *Divyāvadāna* chapter 31. What is the Schøyen fragments' place in the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna*'s textual history?

As compared with the fragments' text, the *Divyāvadāna* is characterised by not infrequent superficial embellishments of the kind *satva* to *bodhisattva* and *śmaśāna* to *mahāśmaśāna*. The Tibetan translation often shows syntactic rearrangements in comparison to the Sanskrit, in both the verse and the prose parts. Most of these will be due to exigencies of the translation process.

Both the *Divyāvadāna* and the fragments' text have their share of corruptions of single words, the former more so than the latter. The two Sanskrit versions never agree in their corruptions, and the Tibetan usually has a sensible text in these places. This seems to indicate that the corruptions happened independently in the branches of the textual tradition that terminate in the *Divyāvadāna* text and the Schøyen fragments, respectively. At least one *Divyāvadāna* corruption (*nipātamadamānā na ca prabhāvāḥ*, cf. above) seems to indicate that these two branches diverged at an early date, maybe while the Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I script still was in use.

On the question of when some of the avadāna material was extracted from the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* to form independent story collections, one of which came to be known as *Divyāvadāna*, the fragments do provide some new information. As the Gilgit manuscripts demonstrate (cf. von Hinüber 1979: 342–344, but see also footnote 2), this process seems to have been well underway at the time and in the general geographical area of the Schøyen *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* fragments, and this is confirmed by the new fragments in that the partially preserved folio numbers do not allow us to assign them conclusively to either a *Divyāvadāna* or a *Vinayaḥśudrakavastu* manuscript: The amount of text contained in 222 folios of our manuscript would fill about 320 pages in Cowell and Neil's edition of the *Divyāvadāna*, which would put us near the beginning of the *Candraprabhāvadāna* (no. 22) instead of the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* (no. 19). If we prefer the less likely folio number readings [1]30 and hence (122), then we would end up around page 175 near the beginning of the *Svāgatāvadāna* (no. 13), which fits even worse. It seems safe to say that our manuscript did not contain the *Divyāvadāna* in the form we know it. Similarly, 222 folios of our manuscript's text would fill about 95 folios of Tibetan text in the Peking Kanjur, while in reality the manuscript's folio 122 corresponds to the Tibetan *Vinayaḥśudrakavastu*'s first volume, folios 14 and 15 in that Kanjur. In the light of both these negative results, it is most likely that the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* fragments are from an avadāna collection not identical to the *Divyāvadāna*, such as those preserved among the Gilgit manuscripts.

Below, the fragments of the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* are first presented in transliteration. Then an attempt is made to reconstruct the passages from which they come with the help of the *Divyāvadāna* (D) and the Tibetan translation of the *Vinayaḥśudrakavastu* (V). Whenever the former differs from the fragments' text this is indicated (except in pure matters of orthography and sandhi); the Tibetan variant is given only when it clearly sides with one of the two Sanskrit versions or differs from both. It should be emphasised that this is a reconstruction of the text of the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* as contained in our sixth- or seventh-century manuscript, not of the "original" version of the story, which of course is much older, as witnessed by the Gandhāran reliefs published in Härtel 1981. An attempt has been made to imitate the scribe's orthography in the reconstructed passages, especially in the case of repeated phrases, which are spelled consistently in the attested form. Indications of line-breaks in the middle of reconstructed stretches are of necessity approximate, but should not be off the mark by more than two or three akṣaras.<sup>5</sup> The reconstruction is followed by an English

<sup>5</sup> See footnote 3.

translation which aims to be literal with the exception of translating the Sanskrit's mix of historic present and various past tenses as past tense throughout. The article concludes with a presentation of the Tibetan parallel on the basis of the Peking and the sTog Palace Kanjur. The latter is meant as a corrective for the often problematic text of the former, but in the context of this article the intent was not exhaustive textual criticism of the Tibetan *Jyotiṣkāvadāna*, but only the presentation of a fairly reliable Tibetan text that the Sanskrit versions could profitably be compared with.

### Transliteration

#### 1) MS 2382/254, 125, 118, uf8/4c, uf19/5b; folio (222) recto

- 1 /// .. [sya] bhagavatā subhadrasya gr̥hapateḥ patnī vyākṛtā putram janayiṣyati kulam udyota[y]i  
+++++ [ṣ]īm śriya[m] pratyānubhaviṣyati [mama śā] .. [pra]vrajya .. ///
- 2 /// + + .. tīti · sā ca mṛtā kālagatā śītavanam śmaśānam abhinirhṛtā mā haiva bhagava + + +  
+++ [th]am syād iti kṣatryadārako gāthām bhāṣate || [sa] .. + ///
- 3 /// + + + [l]ā sanagā nabho vrajet\* mahoda ○ dhīnām udakam kṣayam vrajet\* maharṣa[y].  
+++ .ābhidhāyin. [i]ti sa brā .. + + + + + + + ///
- 4 /// + + .. [nam śma]śānam gacchāmo vayasya [○] .. ā .ḥ tau samprasthitau bhagavām .. + ..  
r[hān ni]rgataḥ adrākṣit kṣatr[y]. + + + + + + + ///
- 5 /// + .. anuddhato vi[ga]takutūhalo munir ya .. + + + + .. noghasamvṛtaḥ asaṁśayam  
paraṅga .. imardano nadiṣyate .. ... tin[ā]dam u .. + ///
- 6 /// + .. āḥ pravāṁti vā[t]ā himapamkaśītalāḥ .. + + + ..[m] bahavo divaukasā [n]i .. + ..[m]<sup>6</sup>  
śākyamuner vikur[vitam i]ti · rāj[ñ]ā bimb[is]. ///

#### verso

- 1 /// + .. + .. teḥ patn[i] vyā[k]ṛtāḥ putram janayiṣyati .. + + + + [yi]ṣyati divya · mānuṣām + +  
pratyānubhaviṣya[t]i [mama śāsan]. p[r]avraj[y]a [s]. + ///
- 2 /// + [ṣya]tīti sā ca mṛ[t]ā kālagatā śītavanam .. + + + + .. rhṛtā bhagavāmś ca saśrāvakaśamghaḥ  
śītavanam śmaśānam sampra[sthita] iti śrut[v]ā ca pu + + ///
- 3 /// + + + ..m [ś]m[aśā]nam gacchati nūnam bhaga .. [○] .u .. .[ras]ya gr̥hapateḥ pa[tñim  
ā]gamyā mahān vaineyakāryam kartukām[o bha] + + + + + + + + ///
- 4 /// + + + + .. [g]r[hām] n[ir]gantum ārabdh[o] drākṣi ○ t\* kṣatryadārako rājānam māgadham  
śreṇyam [b]im[b]i[s]ā[r]am [dū]rād eva drṣtvā ca puna[r gā] + + + + + + + + ///
- 5 /// + + + .. [g]r[hāt sabāndhavaḥ pravarttate me hṛdi niścītā matir mahājanasyābhyudayo  
bha[v]i[ṣyat]i[t]i janakāyena bhaga[v]am[t]am [d]r[ṣ]tv[ā] [v]. [v]. [r]. [m]. [nup]radatta. [bh].  
+ ///
- 6 /// .[r]. .th. bhagavamtam smit[o]nmukham d[r]ṣ[t].ā samlakṣayamti yathā śramaṇo gautamaḥ  
smitonmukho mahājanama[dhy].. .[r]. + + .[ūn]am ayam satvo na kālagataḥ tais [s].bhadro  
gr̥ha[pa] ///

#### 2) MS 2382/56, 2381/uf2/3d, 196a; folio (22)[3]<sup>7</sup> recto

<sup>6</sup> See the explanation on page 82 for the abnormally wide gap in the manuscript corresponding to only three missing akṣaras here.

<sup>7</sup> Only the bottom stroke of the 3 is preserved; the unit could therefore also be read as 1 or 2, but the calculated number of missing folios between this one and no. [1]30 suggests the reading adopted.

verso

<sup>11</sup> Ink splashes in left margin.

4 kkrāntaḥ upasaṃkkra[m]. ///

5 [vr]. [j].[ā] [m]. [p]. [s].m ///

### Reconstruction

As explained in the introduction, the reconstruction of the manuscript's text is based on the version of the story found in the *Divyāvadāna* and in the Tibetan translation of the *Vinayakṣudrakavastu*.

(rājagrḥhād dvau bāladāarakau brāhmaṇadāraḥ kṣatryadāraś ca bahir nirgatya kṛḍataḥ <|> tayoh kṣatryadāraḥ 'vagāḍhaśrāddho brāhmaṇadāraḥ na tathā | sa brāhmaṇadāraḥ kṣatryadāra(1r1)ka-sya kathayati <|> vasya bhagavatā subhadrasya gr̥hapateḥ patnī vyākṛtā <|> putram janayiṣyati <|> kulam udyotayi(ṣyati divyamānu)ṣīm śriyaṃ pratyānubhaviṣyati mama śā(sane) pravrajya (sarvakleśa(1r2)prahāṇād arhattvaṃ sākṣātkariṣya)tīti · sā ca mṛtā kālagatā śītavanam śmaśānam abhinirhṛtā<sup>1</sup> <|> mā haiva bhagava(tā bhāṣitaṃ vita)thaṃ syād iti kṣatryadāraḥ<sup>2</sup> gāthāṃ bhāṣate ||

(1) *abhinirhṛtā*: *nirhṛtā* D; (2) *kṣatryadāraḥ*: *sa kṣatriyadāraḥ* D, *rgyal rigs kyi khye'u des* V.

sa(candratāraṃ prapa(1r3)ted ihāmbaram  
mahī saśai)lā sanagā<sup>1</sup> nabho vrajet  
mahodadhīnāṃ udakaṃ kṣayaṃ vrajet  
maharṣay(aḥ syur na mṛṣ)ābhidhāyin(a) iti

(1) *sanagā*: *savanā* D, *nags bcas* V.

sa<sup>1</sup> brā(hmaṇadāraḥ kathayati <|> vasya yady evaṃ ga(1r4)cchāmaḥ | śītava)nam śmaśānam<sup>2</sup> gacchāmo<sup>3</sup> vasya (paśy)ā(ma)h<sup>4</sup> <|> tau saṃprasthitau bhagavāṃ(ś ca rājag)ṛhān nirgataḥ <|> adrākṣīt<sup>5</sup> kṣatry(adāraḥ<sup>6</sup> bhagavaṃtaṃ dūrād eva dṛṣṭvā ca punar gā(1r5)thāṃ bhāṣate)

(1) *sa*: *sa ca* D; (2) *śmaśānam*: *mahāśmaśānam* D, *dur khrod* V; (3) *gacchāmo*: *paśyāmaḥ* D; (4) *(paśy)ā(ma)h*: *gacchāmaḥ* D; (5) V mistakenly starts new sentence after *adrākṣīt*; (6) *kṣatry(adāraḥ)*: *sa kṣatriyadāraḥ* D, *rgyal rigs kyi khye'us* V.

anuddhato vigatakutūhalo munir  
ya(thā vrajaty eṣa ja)noghasaṃvṛtaḥ<sup>1</sup>  
asaṃśayaṃ<sup>2</sup> paragaṇa(vād)imardano  
nadiṣyate<sup>3</sup> (mṛgapa)tinādam u(ttamam

yathā hy amī śītavano(1r6)nmukhotsuk)āḥ  
pravāṃti vātā himapaṃkaśītalāḥ  
(prayāṃti nūna)m bahavo divaukasā<sup>4</sup>  
ni(rīkṣitu)m śākyamuner vikurvitam iti ·

(1) *(ja)noghasaṃvṛtaḥ*: *janaughasaṃvṛtaḥ* D; (2) *asaṃśayaṃ*: *niḥsaṃśayaṃ* D, *the tshom med par* V; (3) *nadiṣyate*: *nadasyate* D, *sgrogs* V; (4) *divaukasā*: *divaukaso* D.

rājñā bim̐bis(āreṇa śrutam <|> bhagavatā subha(1v1)drasya gr̥hapa)teḥ patnī vyākṛtāḥ<sup>1</sup> <|> putram janayiṣyati <|> (kulam udyota)yiṣyati divya{·}mānuṣāṃ<sup>2</sup> (śriyaṃ) pratyānubhaviṣyati mama śāsan(e) pravrajya s(arvakleśaprahāṇād arha(1v2)ttvaṃ sākṣātkari)ṣyatīti sā ca mṛtā kālagatā śītavanam (śmaśānam abhini)rhṛtā bhagavāṃś ca saśrāvakaṃghaḥ śītavanam śmaśānam<sup>3</sup> saṃprasthita iti



śrutvā ca pu(nar asyaitad abhavat <|> na bhaga(1v3)vām nirarthakam śītavana)m śmaśānam<sup>4</sup> gacchati  
<|> nūnam bhaga(vām s)u(bhad)rasya grhapateḥ patnīm āgamyā mahad<sup>5</sup> vaineyakāryam<sup>6</sup> kartukāmo  
bha(viṣyati | paśyāmīti so 'py antaḥpurakumārāmātya(1v4)paurajānapadaparivṛto rāja)grhām  
nirgantum ārabdho <|> 'drākṣīt<sup>7</sup> kṣatṛyadārako<sup>8</sup> rājānam māgadham śreṇyam<sup>9</sup> bim̐bisāram dūrād  
eva dr̥ṣṭvā ca punar gā(thām bhāṣate

(1) (vyā)kṛtāḥ: vyākṛtā D; (2) divya{·}mānuṣām: divyamānuṣīm D; (3) śmaśānam: om. D, dur khrod du V; (4) śmaśāna(m): om. D, dur khrod du V; (5) mahad D: mahān ms. (which could alternatively be corrected to mahā-), chen po (referring to object) V; (6) vaineyakāryam: vineyakāryam D; (7) ārabdho 'drākṣīt: ārabdhaḥ | adrākṣīt D, soñ ba dan | ... mthoñ nas V; (8) kṣatṛyadārako: sa kṣatriyakumārako D, rgyal rigs kyi khye'u des V; (9) māgadham śreṇyam: māgadhaśreṇyam D, bzo sbyaṅs V.

yathā hi śreṇyo magadhā(1v5)dhipo hy ayam  
viniryayau rāja)grhāt sabāndhavaḥ  
pravarttate me hr̥di niścītā matir  
mahājanasyābhyudayo bhaviṣyatīti

janakāyena bhagavaṃtam dr̥ṣṭvā v(i)v(a)r(a)m (a)nupradatta(m) <|> bha(gavām smitonmu(1v6)kho  
mahājanamadhyam praviṣṭaḥ <|> nirg(ran)th(ā) bhagavaṃtam smitonmukham dr̥ṣṭ(v)ā saṃ-  
lakṣayānti <|> yathā śramaṇo gautamaḥ smitonmukho mahājanamadhy(am p)r(aviṣṭo n)ūnam ayam  
satvo<sup>1</sup> na kālagataḥ <|> tais s(u)bhadro grhapa(tir uktaḥ <|> grha(2r1)pate nanv ayam satvo  
mandabhāgyo na kālagata iti | sa kathayati <|> ārya yady evaṃ katham atra pratipattavyam i)ti | te  
kathayānti <|> grhapate vayam samāptaśikṣā<sup>2</sup> <|> tvam eva jñāsyasīti | sa tām patnī<m> ci((2r2)tāyām  
āropya dharmāpayitum ārabdhaḥ <|> tasyāḥ sarvaḥ kāyo dagdhaḥ sthāpayitvā kukṣisāmantakam |  
tathāsau kukṣiḥ sphu)ṭitaḥ padmam prādurbhūtam | tasya coparipadmakarmikāyām kumāro niṣaṃṇo  
'bhirūpo ((2r3) darśanīyaḥ prāsādikāḥ <|> tam dr̥ṣṭvānekāni prāṇisatasahasrāṇi param vismayam  
upaga)tāni | nirgranth<ā> nihatamadamānaprabhāvāḥ<sup>3</sup> saṃvṛttāḥ <|> tatra bhagavām subhadram  
grha((2r4)patim āmaṃtrayate <|> grhapate grhā)ṇa kumāram i(ti<sup>4</sup> | sa nirgran)th(ānām m)ukham  
avalokayitum<sup>5</sup> ārabdhaḥ <|> te kathayānti <|> grhapate yadi prajvalitām etām<sup>6</sup> pravekṣyasi  
sarve(2r5)ṇa sarvaṃ na bha(viṣyasīti | sa na pratigr)hṇāti | tatra bhagavām jivaka(m) kumārabhr̥tyam<sup>7</sup>  
āmaṃtrayate <|> grhāṇa jivaka kumāram<sup>8</sup> iti | sa saṃlakṣayaty <|> asthānam anavakāśo yad<sup>9</sup>  
bhagavā<m> (2r6) mām asthāne (n)i(yokṣyati grhṇāmiti tena) nirviśaṃkena citā<m> v<i>gāhya  
grhitaḥ <|>

(1) satvo: bodhisattvo D, sems can V; (2) samāptaśikṣā: samāttaśikṣās D – both readings should be considered corruptions of an original samāttaśikṣa- “who have undertaken vows”, cf. BHSD s.vv. samātta and samādatta and note the Tibetan translation: bslab pa'i gzi yañ dag par blaṅs pa V; (3) nihatamadamānaprabhāvāḥ: nipātamadamānā na ca prabhāvāḥ D, rgyags pa dan | ṇa rgyal dan | kheṅs pa dag ṇams V; (4) iti: om. D; (5) avalokayitum: avalokitum D; (6) etām: etām citām D, me phuñ rab tu 'bar ba'i nañ du V; (7) kumārabhr̥tyam: kumārabhūtam D, gžon nus gsos la V; (8) kumāram: kumārakam D; (9) yad: om. D.

vigāhataḥ tasya jinājñayā citām  
pragrṇataś<sup>1</sup> cāgnigatam kumāra<ka>m<sup>2</sup>  
jinaprabhāvān<sup>3</sup> mahato hutāśa<naḥ>  
(2v1) kṣaṇena jāto himapaṃkaśīt(a)l(aḥ

(1) pragrṇataś: pratigrṇataś D; (2) kumāra<ka>m: kumārakam D; (3) jinaprabhāvān D: jinaprabhāvo ms., rgyal ba'i mthu yis V.

tato bha)gavām<sup>1</sup> jivakam kumārabhr̥tam<sup>2</sup> idam avocat <|> jivaka māsi kṣata-m-upahato veti | sa  
kathayati rājakule 'ham (2v2) bhadanta jāto rājakule v(r)d(dh)o (n)ā(bh)ijā(nāmi go)śīrṣacandana-

syāpīdṛṣaṃ śaityaṃ yathā<sup>3</sup> bhagavatādhiṣṭhitāyāś citāyā{m}s<sup>4</sup> <|> tatra bhagavāṃ subhadraṃ grhapatem<sup>5</sup> āmaṃtrayate | grhānedānīm grha((2v3)pat)e (kumāram iti | sa mithyādarśanavihata)s tathāpi na saṃ(pratipadyate ni)rg(ra)n(th)ānām eva mukhaṃ vyavalokayati | te kathayaṃti grhapate-r-ayaṃ<sup>6</sup> kumāro<sup>7</sup> 'tīva mandabhāgyo yo hi ((2v4) nāma sarvabhakṣeṇāpy agninā na dagdhaḥ | kiṃ bahunā | yady evaṃ grhaṃ praveśayasi niyataṃ te) g(r)haṃ uddāyādaṃ bhavati<sup>8</sup> t<v>am<sup>9</sup> ca prāṇair viyujyasa iti <|> nāsty ātmasamam premeti || tenāsau ((2v5) na pratigrhītaḥ <|> tatra bhagavāṃ rājānam bimbisāram āmaṃtrayate <|> grhāṇa mahārāja kumāram iti |) tena saṃbhramaṇa hastau saṃprasārya<sup>10</sup> grhītaḥ <|> tataḥ samam tato nirikṣya kathaya((2v6)ti <|> bhagavaṃ kiṃ bhavatu asya dārakasya nāmeti | bhagavān āha <|> mahārāja yasmād ayaṃ dārako jyotirmadhyāḥ labdha)ḥ tasmād bhavatu<sup>11</sup> dārak<o><sup>12</sup> jyotiṣka iti nāma<sup>13</sup> · tasya jyotiṣka iti nāmadheya<m><sup>14</sup> vyavasthāpitaṃ |

(1) (bha)gavām: om. D, bcom ldan 'das kyis V; (2) kumārabhṛtam: kumārabhūtam D, gzon nus gsos la; (3) yathā: yad D; (4) citāyā{m}s: citāyāḥ D; (5) grhapatim D: grhapatem ms., khyim bdag la V; (6) grhapate-r-ayaṃ: grhapate 'yam D, khyim bdag (voc.) V; (7) kumāro: sattvo D, gzon nu V; (8) uddāyādaṃ bhavati: utsādayan bhaviṣyasi D (ed.), utsādaṃ bhaviṣyasi D (mss.), tshig bar (\*uddāhayan?) nes V; (9) t<v>am: tvam D, khyod V; (10) saṃprasārya: prasārya D; (11) bhavatu: bhavati D, gdags V; (12) dārak<o>: dārakasya D; (13) nāma: nāmeti D; (14) nāmadheya<m>: nāmadheyaṃ D (this clause not in V).

(six folios missing)

(jyotiṣko 'py ajātaśatror grhaṃ gataḥ | sā śrīs) (3r3) tasmād grhād anta(r)h(itā yatra jyotiṣkas tatraiva gatā <|> e)va(m) yāvat saptavārān anta(rhita prādurbhūtā ca <|> ajātaśatruḥ saṃlakṣayate <|> evaṃ api mayā na śakitaṃ<sup>1</sup> jyotiṣkasya mañin apa)(3r4)hartum <|> anyam<sup>3</sup> upāyam kar(omi | tena dhūrtapurūṣaḥ) prayuktā <|> gaccha<sup>2</sup> jyoti(ṣkasya grhān mañin apaharateti | te hi śitākarkatakaprayogenābhiroḍhum ārabdhāḥ <|> te 'ntaḥpurika)(3r5)yā prāsādatalagatay(ā<sup>4</sup> drṣṭāḥ <|> tayā dhūrtadhūrtakā iti nādo mu)k(t)ah <|> jyotiṣkeṇ(a śrutam <|> tenāsayato vāg niścāritā <|> tiṣṭhantu dhūrtakā iti | teṣāṃ yo yatrābhirūḍhaḥ sa tatraivāsthito) (3r6) yāvat prabhātā raj(anī saṃvṛttā <|> mahājanakāyena drṣṭāḥ <|> te kathayaṃti <|> bhavanto 'nena kalirājena pitā dhārmiko dharmarājo jīvitād vyavaropita <|> idānīm grhāṇy api moṣayati <|> ... )(3v1)mam upekṣyata iti te ( ... <|><sup>5</sup> ajātaśatruṇā jyotiṣkasya dūto 'nupreṣito <|> muñcata mamāyam khalikāra iti | jyotiṣkenāsayato vāg niścāritā gacchantu dhūrtakā iti | te gatāḥ <|> jyotiṣkaḥ saṃlakṣayate yena) (3v2) nāma pitā dhārmiko (dharmarājo jīvitād vyavaropitaḥ sa mām na praghātayiṣyati | kuta etat | sarvathāhaṃ bhagavatā vyākṛto <|> mama śāsane pravrajya sarvakleśaprahāṇād arhattvaṃ sāksātkariṣyati)(3v3)ti | gacchāmi pravrajā(mīti tena sarvaṃ dhanajātaṃ dīnānāthakṛpaṇebhyo dattaṃ <|> adhanāḥ sadhanā vyavasthāpitāḥ <|> atha jyotiṣko grhapatiḥ suhrtsaṃbandhibāndhavān avalokya yena bhagavāṃs tenopasaṃ)(3v4)kkrāntaḥ <|> upasaṃkkram(ya bhagavataḥ pādau śirasā vanditvaikānte niṣaṃṇaḥ <|> ekāntaniṣaṃno jyotiṣko grhapatiḥ bhagavantam idam avocat <|> labheyāhaṃ bhadanta svākhyāte dharmavinaye pra)(3v5)vr(a)j(y)ām (u)p(a)s(a)m(padam bhikṣubhāvaṃ <|> careyam ahaṃ bhagavato 'ntike brahmacaryam iti |)

(1) śakitaṃ ex conj. Vaidya: śaṅkitaṃ D, nus V; (2) gaccha: gacchata D, deñ la V; (3) anyam: anyad D; (4) prāsādatalagatay(ā): prāsādatalagatāy(ā) ms., upariprāsādatalagatayā D, steñ gi khañ bzañs kyi gñir gtogs pa na V; (5) This sentence is highly problematic. D has *tat kiṃ na me mūṣiṣyata iti | purakṣobho jātaḥ* |. V has *de ci'i phyir bdag cag gis dan du blañ bar bya* |. While the latter agrees more closely with our manuscript's reading, the beginning and the end of the sentence remain unclear. Only very few akṣaras appear to be missing in either case.

## Translation

Two young boys, a brahman boy and a kṣatriya boy, went outside Rājagṛha and played. Of the two, the kṣatriya boy was immersed in the faith, but not so the brahman boy. The brahman boy said to the kṣatriya boy: “Friend, the Lord has prophesied to the wife of the householder Subhadra: ‘She will give birth to a son, he will make the family shine, experience semi-divine happiness, enter my discipline and through the abandoning of all impurities realise arhatship.’ And she has died, passed away, and been carried down to the Śītavana funeral ground. But what is said by the Lord may not be false!” The kṣatriya boy spoke a verse:

“The sky with moon and stars may come falling down,  
the earth with rock and mountains may rise to the sky,  
the water of the great oceans may dry up,  
but the great sages would not speak lies.”

The brahman boy said: “Friend, if that is so, let’s go to the Śītavana funeral ground. Let’s go, friend, let’s see.” They set out together. And the Lord left Rājagṛha. The kṣatriya boy saw the Lord from far away, and seeing him spoke another verse:

“Since this calm saint free from passion  
walks surrounded by a crowd of people  
doubtless, crushing the teachers of rival groups,  
he will raise the highest roar of the king of the beasts.

Since these restless winds facing the Śītavana  
blow forth with the coolness of snow  
many heaven-dwellers must be coming forth  
to watch the miracle of the Śākya sage.”

King Bimbisāra heard: “The Lord has prophesied to the wife of the householder Subhadra: ‘She will give birth to a son, he will make the family shine, experience semi-divine happiness, enter my discipline and through the abandoning of all impurities realise arhatship.’ And she has died, passed away, and been carried down to the Śītavana funeral ground. And the Lord with the community of disciples has set out for the Śītavana funeral ground.” On hearing this the following occurred to him: “The Lord does not without reason go to the Śītavana funeral ground. Surely the Lord, coming to the wife of the householder Subhadra, will wish to perform a great act of conversion. Let’s see.” And surrounded by his household of women, the princes and ministers,<sup>12</sup> city and countryside dwellers, he began leaving Rājagṛha. The kṣatriya boy saw the King of Magadha, Śreṇya Bimbisāra, from far away, and seeing him spoke another verse:

<sup>12</sup> Agrawala 1966: 70 suggests that *kumārāmatya* should be taken as a unit with the technical meaning it has in Gupta inscriptions (“a personal title conferred on the highest dignitary by the king like a minister, a commander, a member of the royal household”). This does not seem advisable, because the compound rather seems to express that the king left Rājagṛha surrounded by everybody who stands in any relation to him at all, from the closest to the most remote: his family (*antahpura*, *kumāra*), his officials (*amātya*), and his subjects inside (*paura*) and outside (*jānapada*) town boundaries. Cf. also the Tibetan translation: *btsun mo dan* | *g’zön nu dan* | *blon po dan* | *pho bran* | *’khor dan* | *ljoṅs kyi mis yon̄s su bkor*.

“Since this Śreṇya, ruler of Magadha,  
has come forth from Rājagṛha together with his friends  
the certainty arises in my heart:  
the uplift<sup>13</sup> of many people is about to happen.”

When the assemblage of people saw the Lord, they made an opening. The Lord entered the middle of the great crowd with a smile on his face. When the Nirgranthas saw the Lord with a smile on his face, they reflected: “Judging from how the mendicant Gautama entered the middle of the great crowd with a smile on his face, surely this being has not passed away.” They said to the householder Subhadra: “Householder, surely this ill-fated being has not passed away.” He said: “Good man, if that is so, what is to be done here?” They said: “Householder, we have undertaken vows,<sup>14</sup> you’ll have to find out yourself.” He placed his wife on the funeral pyre and began burning her. Her whole body was burned except for the area around the womb. Then this womb burst open, a lotus appeared, and in its upper lotus protuberance there sat a boy, beautiful, handsome, and graceful. Seeing him many hundreds of thousands of living beings were struck by utter amazement. The Nirgranthas got humbled in their pride, arrogance, and dignity. Then the Lord addressed the householder Subhadra: “Householder, take the boy!” He began looking at the Nirgranthas’ faces. They said: “Householder, if you enter this blazing pyre,<sup>15</sup> you will completely and totally cease to exist.” He did not take him. Then the Lord addressed Jīvaka Kumārabhṛtya: “Take the boy, Jīvaka!” He reflected: “It is a complete impossibility that the Lord will charge me with the impossible. I’ll take him.” Without hesitation he plunged into the funeral pyre and took him.

As he plunged into the pyre at the Jina’s command  
and took the boy lying in the flames,  
from the great power of the Jina the fire  
in an instant became cold as snow.

Then the Lord said this to Jīvaka Kumārabhṛta: “Jīvaka, aren’t you hurt or injured?” He said: “I was born in a royal family, master, and have grown up in a royal family, but do not know such a coolness as that of the funeral pyre controlled by the Lord, not even of Gośirṣa sandal paste.” Then the Lord addressed the householder Subhadra: “Now take the boy, householder!” Afflicted by false views, he however did not go near, but it was the Nirgranthas he looked to. They said: “Householder, this boy is extremely ill-fated, because he has not been burned by the all-consuming fire. What more do you need? If you let him enter your house in this way, inevitably your house becomes heirless<sup>16</sup> and you lose your life.” There’s no love like self-love. Therefore he did not take him. Then the Lord addressed King Bimbisāra: “Take the boy, great king!” He excitedly stretched out his hands and took him. Then looking all around he said: “Lord, what shall be this boy’s name?” The Lord said: “Great king, because this boy has been obtained from the middle of fire, therefore the boy shall be called ‘Jyotiṣka’.” He was given the name ‘Jyotiṣka.’

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Nāgārjuna’s *Ratnāvalī*, in the first chapter of which *abhyudaya* (= *sukha*) is contrasted with and seen as a first step towards *naiḥśreyasa* (= *mokṣa*) (Hahn 1982b: 2, Lindtner 1982: 164).

<sup>14</sup> This translation takes *samāptaśikṣa* in the meaning of *samāntaśikṣa*, the term it probably stands for.

<sup>15</sup> *Citām* is implicit, or maybe accidentally omitted, in the fragments’ text.

<sup>16</sup> Or read *uddāhayan* and translate “inevitably he will cause your house to burn down” on the evidence of the Tibetan?

...

And Jyotiṣka went to Ajātaśatru's house. The wealth disappeared from that house and went wherever Jyotiṣka did. In this way it disappeared and reappeared as many as seven times. Ajātaśatru reflected: "I can't carry off Jyotiṣka's jewels this way either. I'll use another method." He instructed rogues: "Go carry off the jewels from Jyotiṣka's house." They began climbing by means of ropes and hooks.<sup>17</sup> They were seen by one from the womens' quarters who had gone to the top of the palace. She raised a cry of "Rogues, rogues!" and Jyotiṣka heard it. Out of his heart<sup>18</sup> he uttered the words: "Stop, rogues!" All of them stopped still, exactly where they had climbed up, until night turned into morning. A great crowd of people saw it. They said: "Sirs, this evil king has deprived his father, the righteous dharma king, of his life. Now he also robs houses. Why should we put up with this?"<sup>19</sup> Ajātaśatru sent Jyotiṣka a messenger: "Release them! This is ill-treatment of me." Out of his heart Jyotiṣka uttered the words: "Go, rogues!" They went. Jyotiṣka reflected: "He who indeed has deprived his father, the righteous dharma king, of his life, will not kill me. Why is that? It has by all means been prophesied to me by the Lord: 'He will enter my discipline and through the abandoning of all impurities realise arhatship.' Let's go and enter the ascetic life." With that he gave his wealth of all sorts to the miserable, the helpless, and the poor. The penniless were made wealthy. Then the householder Jyotiṣka said farewell to his friends, relatives, and family and went where the Lord was. Having gone there, he did homage to the Lord's feet with his head and sat down on one side. Having sat down on one side, the householder Jyotiṣka said this to the Lord: "May I, master, obtain entry in the well-taught dharma and vinaya, ordination, and the life of a monk. May I live the religious life at the Lord's side."

*Tibetan translation of the Vinayakṣudrakavastu*

rgyal rigs kyi khye'u zig dan | bram ze'i khye'u byis<sup>1</sup> pa gñis śig rgyal po'i khab nas phyi rol tu byuñ ste  
rtse<sup>2</sup> žiñ 'khod do || de gñis las rgyal rigs kyi khye'u ni dad pa dan ldan pa yin | bram ze'i khye'u ni de lta<sup>3</sup>  
ma yin no || bram ze'i khye'u des |<sup>4</sup> rgyal rigs kyi khye'u la smras pa | grogs po bcom ldan 'das kyis khyim  
bdag śin tu bzañ po'i chuñ ma'i bu khye'ur<sup>5</sup> skye bar 'gyur te |<sup>6</sup> rigs 'bar bar 'gyur žiñ |<sup>7</sup> lha dan mi'i dpal  
yañ myoñ bar gyur nas |<sup>8</sup> na'i bstan pa la rab tu byuñ ste | ñon moñs pa thams cad spañs pas | dgra bcom pa  
ñid mñon sum du byed par 'gyur ro žes luñ bstan na |<sup>9</sup> de ni 'chi ba'i dus byas nas bsil ba'i<sup>10</sup> tshal gyi dur  
khrod du khyer na | bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa<sup>11</sup> brdzun du ma gyur grañ | rgyal rigs kyi khye'u des  
tshigs su bcad pa smras<sup>12</sup> pa |

Q 14b6–15a1, S 23b3–7. (1) *byis* S: *gbyis* Q; (2) *rtse* S: *rtsa* Q; (3) *de lta* S: *de ltar* Q; (4) | S: om. Q; (5) *khye'ur* S: *khye'u bar* Q; (6) | S: om. Q; (7) | S: om. Q; (8) | S: om. Q; (9) *na* | S: *pa* Q; (10) *ba'i* Q: *ba* S; (11) *pa* S: *pa* | Q; (12) *smras* Q: *smas* S.

zla ba skar ma'i tshogs bcas sa la ltuñ yañ srid ||<sup>1</sup>  
sa 'di ri dan nags bcas mkha' la 'gro yañ srid ||<sup>2</sup>  
rgya mtsho chen po'i chu ni skam<sup>3</sup> par 'gyur<sup>4</sup> srid kyi ||  
drañ<sup>5</sup> sroñ chen po brdzun gzuñ 'gyur ba srid pa min ||

<sup>17</sup> Edgerton s. v. *karkaṭaka* suggests the meaning "tongs" instead of "hook." The latter, however, would seem a more useful implement for scaling a wall. The Tibetan text has *skas dan* | *ya gad dan* | *kyo ba tañ dag gis*, indicating two sorts of ladder (?) and hooks.

<sup>18</sup> Or "from his bed"? (The Tibetan, however, has *yid la yañ bsams* | *tshigs tu yañ brjod*.)

<sup>19</sup> This sentence translates the Tibetan (*de ci'i phyir bdag cag gis dan du blañ bar bya*). See the reconstruction above for the Sanskrit text's problems.

Q 15a1–2, S 23b7–24a1. (1) || S: | Q; (2) || S: | Q; (3) *skam* Q: *bskam* S; (4) 'gyur S: *gyur* Q; (5) *drañ* S: *dañ* Q.

bram ze'i khye'u des grogs po de lta<sup>1</sup> na bsil<sup>2</sup> tshal gyi dur khrod lta žiñ 'doñ ño žes smras nas |<sup>3</sup> de gñis doñ ba dañ |<sup>4</sup> bcom ldan 'das rgyal po'i khab nas gśegs pa mthoñ ño || rgyal rigs kyi khye'us bcom ldan 'das thag riñ po kho nas mthoñ nas |<sup>5</sup> yañ tshigs su bcad pa smras pa |

Q 15a2–3, S 24a1–3. (1) *lta* S: *ltar* Q; (2) *bsil* S: *bsil ba'i* Q; (3) | S: om. Q; (4) | S: om. Q; (5) | S: om. Q.

thub pa the tshom<sup>1</sup> bral žiñ rgod pa mi mña' ba ||  
ri dags rgyal po lta bu'i sgra skad mchog sgrogs śiñ ||<sup>2</sup>  
the tshom<sup>3</sup> med par pha rol smra bas mi brdzi ba ||<sup>4</sup>  
'di ltar skye bo'i tshogs kyis yoñs su bskor žiñ gśegs ||<sup>5</sup>

bsil tshal phyogs su kha ba'i tshogs lta bu'i ||<sup>6</sup>  
bsil ba'i ñad<sup>7</sup> can rluñ ni lañs par gyur pa na ||<sup>8</sup>  
śākya thub pa'i rdzu 'phrul brtag pa'i don gyi phyir ||<sup>9</sup>  
lha tshogs mañ po gnas nas 'oñs pa ñid du ñes ||<sup>10</sup>

Q 15a3–4; S 24a3–5. (1) *tshom* S: *tsom* Q; (2) || S: | Q; (3) *tshom* S: *tsom* Q; (4) || S: | Q; (5) || S: | Q; (6) || S: | Q; (7) *ñad* S: *dañ* Q; (8) || S: | Q; (9) || S: | Q; (10) || S: | Q.

rgyal po gzugs can sñiñ pos |<sup>1</sup> bcom ldan 'das kyis khyim bdag śin tu bzañ po'i chuñ ma'i bu khye'ur skye bar 'gyur te | rigs 'bar bar 'gyur žiñ |<sup>2</sup> lha dañ mi'i dpal yañ myoñ bar gyur nas |<sup>3</sup> ña'i bstan pa la rab tu byuñ ste |<sup>4</sup> ñon moñs pa thams cad spañs pas |<sup>5</sup> dgra bcom pa ñid mñon sum<sup>6</sup> du byed par 'gyur ro<sup>7</sup> žes luñ bstan na |<sup>8</sup> de ni 'chi ba'i dus la bab nas bsil tshal gyi dur khrod du phyuñ žiñ | bcom ldan 'das kyañ ñan thos kyi dge 'dun dañ thabs cig<sup>9</sup> tu bsil tshal gyi dur khrod du gśegs so<sup>10</sup> žes thos so ||<sup>11</sup> thos nas kyañ de 'di sñam du sems te | bcom ldan 'das ni don med par bsil tshal gyi dur khrod du mi gśegs pas |<sup>12</sup> bcom ldan 'das kyis khyim bdag śin tu bzañ po'i chuñ ma las brten te |<sup>13</sup> gdul ba'i don chen po žig mdzad par 'gyur gor ma chag gis |<sup>14</sup> bltar<sup>15</sup> 'gro'o sñam nas |<sup>16</sup> de btsun mo dañ | gžon nu dañ | blon po dañ |<sup>17</sup> pho brañ 'khor<sup>18</sup> dañ | ljoñs kyi<sup>19</sup> mis yoñs su bskor nas |<sup>20</sup> rgyal po'i khab nas<sup>21</sup> soñ ba dañ | rgyal rigs kyi khye'u des |<sup>22</sup> rgyal po bzo<sup>23</sup> sbyañs gzugs can sñiñ po thag riñ po kho nas<sup>24</sup> mthoñ nas |<sup>25</sup> yañ tshigs su bcad pa smras pa |

Q 15a4–8, S 24a5–b4. (1) | S: om. Q; (2) | S: om. Q; (3) | S: om. Q; (4) | S: om. Q; (5) | S: om. Q; (6) *sum* S: om. Q (at line-break); (7) *ro* S: *ro* || Q; (8) | S: om. Q; (9) *cig* S: *gcig* Q; (10) *so* S: *so* || Q; (11) || S: | Q; (12) | S: om. Q; (13) | S: om. Q; (14) | S: om. Q; (15) *bltar* S: *ltar* Q; (16) | S: om. Q; (17) | Q: om. S (at end of line); (18) 'khor S: 'khor ba Q; (19) *kyi* S: *kyis* Q; (20) | S: om. Q; (21) *nas* Q: *tu* S; (22) | S: om. Q; (23) *bzo* S: *gzo* Q; (24) *nas* Q: *na nas* S; (25) | S: om. Q.

ma ga dha yi<sup>1</sup> mña' bdag rgyal po'i gtso bo 'di ||  
'di ltar 'khor bcas rgyal po'i khab nas byuñ ba las ||<sup>2</sup>  
skye bo'i tshogs kyi 'byor pa phun sum tshogs par ni ||<sup>3</sup>  
bdag gi sñiñ la ñes<sup>4</sup> pa'i blo dag skyes par<sup>5</sup> gyur ||

Q 15a8–15b1, S 24b4–5. (1) *ma ga dha yi* S: *ma ga dhī'i* Q; (2) || S: om. Q; (3) || S: | Q; (4) *ñes* S: *des* Q; (5) *par* S: *bur* Q.

skye bo'i tshogs nmams kyis bcom ldan 'das mthoñ nas |<sup>1</sup> gśegs śul phye ba dañ | bcom ldan 'das žal 'dzum pa mdzad ciñ |<sup>2</sup> skye bo nmams kyi guñ la bžugs so || bcom ldan 'das žal 'dzum pa mdzad pa gcer bu pa dag gis mthoñ nas bsams pa | 'di ltar dge sbyoñ go'u ta ma<sup>3</sup> bžin 'dzum pa byed ciñ |<sup>4</sup> skye bo mañ po'i guñ la 'dug pa las na |<sup>5</sup> sems can 'di ma śi bar ñes<sup>6</sup> so sñam nas | des khyim bdag śin tu bzañ po la smras<sup>7</sup> pa | khyim bdag sems can skal ba chuñ nu 'di ni ma śi'o || des smras pa | 'phags pa de ltar gyur na |<sup>8</sup> skabs 'di la ji ltar bsgrub par bya | des smras pa | khyim bdag kho bo ni bslab pa'i gži<sup>9</sup> yañ dag par blañs pa yin gyis | khyod ñid śes par gyis śig || des bud śiñ bcer te chuñ ma'i ro de<sup>10</sup> me'i phuñ po'i nañ du bcug ste bsregs pa dañ | de'i lus thams cad tshig na lto'i ñe 'khor<sup>11</sup> de bžin du 'dug go || de nas lto'i ñe 'khor<sup>12</sup> de rdol nas padma<sup>13</sup> byuñ ste | padma<sup>14</sup> de'i sñiñ po las gžon nu gzugs bzañ ba |<sup>15</sup> blta<sup>16</sup> na sdug pa | mdzes pa žig byuñ

no || de srog chags brgya stoñ dag gis mthoñ nas |<sup>17</sup> mchog tu ño mtshar chen po skyes par gyur pa dan |<sup>18</sup> gcer bu pa dag gi rgyags pa dan | ña rgyal dan |<sup>19</sup> kheñs pa dag ñams so ||<sup>20</sup> de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis | khyim bdag śin tu bzañ po la bka' stsal pa | khyim bdag gžon nu loñ žig<sup>21</sup> || des gcer bu pa'i gdoñ du bltas pa dan | des smras pa | khyim bdag me phuñ rab tu 'bar ba'i nañ du žugs na<sup>22</sup> thams cad kyis thams cad du tshig par mi 'gyur ram | de skad smras pa dan |<sup>23</sup> des ma blañs so | de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis |<sup>24</sup> 'tsho byed gžon nus gsos la bka' stsal pa | 'tsho byed gžon nu loñ žig<sup>25</sup> || des bsams pa | bcom ldan 'das kyis gnas ma yin |<sup>26</sup> skabs ma yin par bdag mi bskos kyis |<sup>27</sup> blañ ño sñam nas |<sup>28</sup> des<sup>29</sup> the tshom<sup>30</sup> med par me phuñ gi nañ du žugs<sup>31</sup> te blañs so ||

Q 15b1–8, S 24b5–25a7. (1) | S: om. Q; (2) | S: om. Q; (3) *go'u ta ma* S: *gau ta ma* Q; (4) | S: om. Q; (5) | S: om. Q; (6) *ñes* S: *des* Q; (7) *smras* Q: *smas* S; (8) | S: om. Q; (9) *gzi* S: *bzi* Q; (10) *de* S: om. Q; (11) *ñe 'khor* S: *ñen kor* Q; (12) *ñe 'khor* S: *ñen kor* Q; (13) *padma* S: *pad ma* Q; (14) *padma* S: *pad ma* Q; (15) | S: om. Q; (16) *blta* Q: *lta* S; (17) | S: om. Q; (18) | S: om. Q; (19) | S: om. Q; (20) || S: | Q; (21) *žig* S: *sig* Q; (22) *na* S: *can* Q; (23) *pa dan* | S: *bas* Q; (24) | S: om. Q; (25) *žig* S: *sig* Q; (26) | S: om. Q; (27) | S: om. Q; (28) | S: om. Q; (29) *des* S: *de* Q; (30) *tshom* S: *tsom* Q; (31) *žugs* S: *bžugs* Q.

rgyal ba'i bka' yis me yi phuñ por žugs<sup>1</sup> gyur te ||<sup>2</sup>  
de yis gžon nu me yi nañ nas blañs pa na ||<sup>3</sup>  
rgyal ba'i mthu yis me ni ži ba ñid gyur ciñ ||<sup>4</sup>  
kha ba'i tshogs ltar bsil ba'añ skad cig de la byuñ ||

Q 15b8–16a1, S 25a7–b2. (1) *žugs* S: *bžugs* Q; (2) || S: | Q; (3) || S: | Q; (4) || S: om. Q.

de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis |<sup>1</sup> 'tsho byed gžon nus gsos<sup>2</sup> la bka' stsal pa | 'tsho byed khyod ñams pa'i<sup>3</sup> gnod pa dag tu ma gyur tam | des gsol pa | btsun pa bdag rgyal po'i pho brañ du btsas śin<sup>4</sup> |<sup>5</sup> rgyal po'i pho brañ du skyes par gyur kyañ |<sup>6</sup> 'di ltar bcom ldan 'das kyis byin gyi<s> brlabs<sup>7</sup> kyis žugs kyis phuñ po tsan dan sa mchog pa lta bur bsil bar gyur ba 'di lta bu ni sñon chad ma myoñ lags so ||<sup>8</sup> de'i tshe bcom ldan 'das kyis |<sup>9</sup> khyim bdag śin tu bzañ po la bka' stsal pa |<sup>10</sup> khyim bdag gžon nu 'di loñ žig || de log par lta ba la phyogs pas re žig len par mi byed ciñ | gcer bu pa<sup>11</sup> de ñid kyis gdoñ du lta bar byed do || des smras pa | khyim bdag mañ du smra ci dgos | mes ni thams cad 'tshig pa yin na | gžon nu śin tu skal ba chuñ ba 'di ma tshig pa las na | 'di khyod kyis khyim du khyer na khyod kyis khyim yañ tshig ciñ |<sup>12</sup> khyod kyis srog gi bar chad du yañ 'gyur bar ñes so || des bdag las gces pa med do sñam nas |<sup>13</sup> de ma blañs pa dan | de'i tshe bcom ldan 'das kyis |<sup>14</sup> ma ga dha'i rgyal po bzo<sup>15</sup> sbyañs gzugs can sñiñ po la bka' stsal pa | rgyal po chen po gžon nu loñ žig<sup>16</sup> || des gus par bsgrim<sup>17</sup> pa dan<sup>18</sup> bcas pas lag pa brkyañ<sup>19</sup> ste | de blañs nas kun tu brtags te gsol pa | bcom ldan 'das khye'u 'di'i miñ cir gdags | bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | rgyal po chen po khye'u 'di<sup>20</sup> 'di ltar me'i<sup>21</sup> nañ nas skyes pas |<sup>22</sup> de'i phyir khye'u 'di'i miñ me skyes žes<sup>23</sup> bya bar gdags so ||

Q 16a1–6, S 25b2–26a2. (1) | S: om. Q; (2) *nus gsos* S: *nu* Q; (3) *pa'i* S: *pa 'am* | Q; (4) *śin* S: *žin* Q; (5) | S: om. Q; (6) | S: om. Q; (7) *brlabs* S: *rlabs* Q; (8) || S: | Q; (9) | S: om. Q; (10) | S: om. Q; (11) *gcer bu pa* S: *gcer pu ba* Q; (12) | S: om. Q; (13) | S: om. Q; (14) | S: om. Q; (15) *bzo* S: *gzo* Q; (16) *žig* S: *sig* Q; (17) *bsgrim* Q: *sgrim* S; (18) *dan* S: *dan* | Q; (19) *brkyañ* S: *rkyañ* Q; (20) 'di S: om. Q (at line-break); (21) *me'i* S: *mi'i* Q; (22) | S: om. Q; (23) *žes* S: *śes* Q.

...

me skyes ni ma skyes dgra'i khyim du 'phos pa dan | dpal dan ldan pa'i khyim de mi snañ bar gyur<sup>1</sup> ciñ me skyes ga la ba de ñid du byuñ ño || de ltar lan bdun gyi bar<sup>2</sup> du mi snañ bar gyur ciñ byuñ ba dan |<sup>3</sup> me skyes dgras bsams pa | 'di ltar me skyes kyis nor bu dag bdag gis 'phrog<sup>4</sup> par ma nus kyis |<sup>5</sup> thabs gžan žig bya'o sñam nas | des chom rkun pa dag bskos te | den<sup>6</sup> la me skyes kyis khyim nas nor bu dag rkus śig ces bsgo nas | de dag gis skas dan | ya gad dan | kyo ba tañ dag gis 'dzeg par brtsams<sup>7</sup> pa dan | steñ gi khañ bzañs kyis gžir gtogs pa na chuñ ma'i 'khor 'khod pas de dag mthoñ nas |<sup>8</sup> de dag gis rkun po byuñ ño<sup>9</sup> rkun po byuñ ño žes bya ba'i sgra phyuñ ño || me skyes kyis de thos nas |<sup>10</sup> chom rkun pa dag 'dug par gyur cig ces |<sup>11</sup> yid la yañ bsams |<sup>12</sup> tshig tu yañ<sup>13</sup> brjod pa dan |<sup>14</sup> de dag gañ nas ji ltar 'dzegs pa de ñid na de bžin 'khod par gyur to<sup>15</sup> || ji tsam na mtshan mo 'das te |<sup>16</sup> nam nañs pa dan |<sup>17</sup> skye bo phal po che'i tshogs dag gis mthoñ nas |<sup>18</sup> de dag gis smras pa |<sup>19</sup> śes ldan dag rgyal po sdig can 'dis |<sup>20</sup> pha chos kyis rgyal po chos dan ldan pa srog dan

phral nas |<sup>21</sup> da<sup>22</sup> yañ khyim 'joms par byed pa de ci'i phyir bdag cag gis dañ du blañ<sup>23</sup> bar bya | ma skyes dgras me skyes kyis gan du pho ña<sup>24</sup> btañ ste | ña la skyon du 'gyur bas de dag thoñ zig<sup>25</sup> ces byas pa dañ | me skyes kyis chom rkun pa 'di dag 'doñ<sup>26</sup> bar gyur cig ces |<sup>27</sup> yid la yañ bsams |<sup>28</sup> tshig tu yañ brjod nas | de dag doñ ño || me skyes kyis bsams pa | gañ gis 'di ltar pha chos kyis rgyal po chos dañ ldan pa srog dañ phral ba des bdag gsad par<sup>29</sup> 'gyur gor<sup>30</sup> ma chag gis | bdag ni bcom ldan 'das kyis ña'i bstan pa la rab tu byuñ ste ñon moñs pa thams cad spañs pas |<sup>31</sup> dgra bcom pa ñid mñon sum du byed par 'gyur ro zes luñ bstan pa yin pas |<sup>32</sup> rnam pa thams cad du der soñ la rab tu 'byuñ ño sñam nas | des nor gyi rnam pa thams cad phoñs pa dag dañ | mgon med pa dag dañ | dbul bo dag dañ | nañ pa dag la byin te | nor med pa rnams nor dañ ldan par byas te bzag go || de nas khyim bdag me skyes mdza' bśes dañ | rtsa lag dañ |<sup>33</sup> ñe du dañ | phu nu dag gi ño bltas nas |<sup>34</sup> bcom ldan 'das ga la ba der soñ ste phyin nas | bcom ldan 'das kyis žabs<sup>35</sup> gñis la mgo bos phyag 'tshal te |<sup>36</sup> mtha' gcig tu 'dug go || mtha' gcig tu 'dug nas |<sup>37</sup> khyim bdag me skyes kyis |<sup>38</sup> bcom ldan 'das la 'di skad ces gsol to || btsun pa bdag legs par gsuñs pa'i chos 'dul ba la rab tu 'byuñ žiñ bsñen par rdzogs pa dge sloñ gi dños po thob pa dañ<sup>39</sup> | bcom ldan 'das kyis spyar sñar bdag tshañs par spyod par 'tshal lo ||

Q 22a5–b6, S 35a7–36a7. (1) *gyur* S: 'gyur Q; (2) *bar* S: *par* Q; (3) | S: om. Q; (4) *'phrog* S: *dbrog* Q (gap between *dbro* and *g*); (5) | S: om. Q; (6) *deñ* S: *ded* Q; (7) *brtsams* S: *bsams* Q; (8) | S: om. Q; (9) *ño* S: *no* || Q; (10) | S: om. Q; (11) | S: om. Q; (12) | S: om. Q; (13) *yañ* Q: om. S (at line-break); (14) | S: om. Q; (15) *to* S: *tau* Q; (16) | S: om. Q; (17) | S: om. Q; (18) | S: om. Q; (19) *pa* | S: om. Q (at page-break); (20) | S: om. Q; (21) | S: om. Q; (22) *da* S: *de* Q; (23) *blañ* S: *blañs* Q; (24) *ña* S: *ña* | Q (| shorter than normal); (25) *žig* S: *šig* Q; (26) *'doñ* S: *'dod* Q; (27) | S: om. Q; (28) | S: om. Q; (29) *gsad par* S: *bsañ bar* Q; (30) *gor* S: *gañ* Q; (31) | S: om. Q; (32) | S: om. Q; (33) | S: om. Q; (34) | S: om. Q; (35) *žabs* S: *žabs la* Q; (36) | S: om. Q; (37) | S: om. Q; (38) | S: om. Q; (39) *dañ* S: *lta na* Q.



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verso

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2) fol. (22)[3] recto

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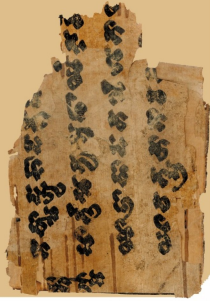
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3) fol. [2]30 recto

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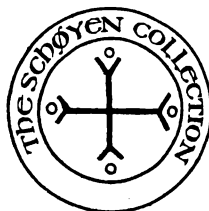
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verso

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