

Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the Bhadrakalpikasūtra

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Introduction

The *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (or **Bhadrakalpikasamādhi*, cf. Skilling 2010: 216) presents, in the form of a dialogue between the bodhisattva **Prāmodyarāja* and the buddha Śākyamuni, a compendium of the six perfections under 350 different aspects,¹ and of the 1,004 buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa (our present ‘Fortunate Aeon’) from which the text takes its name. In the opening part of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (hereafter Bhk) set in Vaiśālī, **Prāmodyarāja* asks the Buddha about the bodhisattva path and, in reply, is told about the existence of a samādhi called 了諸法本三昧 (‘samādhi that reveals the essence of all dharmas’) in the Chinese translation, and *chos thams cad kyi tshul la nes par ston pa zes bya ba’i tiñ ñe ’dzin* (“definitive instruction on the method of all phenomena,” Skilling 2010: 215–216) in the Tibetan. The Buddha describes the samādhi in detail, and **Prāmodyarāja* declares his dedication to practising it. The opening so far resembles a Mahāyāna sūtra in its own right, and a concluding chapter title occurs at this point, leading Skilling (2010: 217–218) to suggest that it may have originated as an independent samādhi text and that the Bhk as we have it in Chinese and Tibetan thus underwent a process of textual amalgamation. It is noteworthy in this connection (cf. Skilling 2010: 216) that another samādhi text, the *Sarvapūnyasamuccayasamādhi-sūtra*, is preserved among the Bamiyan Gāndhārī fragments and edited in the present volume.

The Buddha goes on to explain how the buddha Amitāyus practised this samādhi in a previous birth as a king, and that the one thousand sons of Amitāyus in this birth, who likewise studied the samādhi, will be reborn as the thousand future buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa. This sets the scene for the main part of the Bhk. The Buddha adds a number of jātaka stories about the samādhi being practised in the past and finally, after being entreated by a long succession of his listeners, emerges from the samādhi himself, concluding the opening section.

**Prāmodyarāja* next asks about the perfections that can be obtained by means of the samādhi, and the Buddha first lists and then describes in detail the 350 groups of six perfections,

¹ An overview section at the beginning of the text has, by our count, 203 items in the Chinese translation and 225 items in the Tibetan, several of which, however, cover multiple groups of six perfections. Just before and after this overview, the Buddha states that the total number of perfections is *rgya ñi śu rtsa gcig*. While at first sight, this appears to mean ‘121’ (and was so taken by Skilling 2010: 216), it is actually ambiguous and can also mean ‘twenty-one times hundred’ = 2,100 perfections = 350 groups of six perfections (we thank Brandon Dotson for pointing this out), and is translated as such in Dharma Publishing 1986. The Chinese translation has 二千一百 in both places, confirming the latter interpretation of the Tibetan. The detailed treatment of the perfections (parts of which are quoted as parallels below) contains, again by our count, 333 sections in the Chinese translation and 329 sections in the Tibetan. Following the detailed treatment, the Buddha speaks of a total of 二千一百 / *ñis ston chig brgya*, i.e., unambiguously 2,100 perfections = 350 groups of six perfections.

again illustrating many of them with jātaka stories. The Perfections Section concludes with the prediction that the total of 2,100 perfections will turn into 8,400 and finally 84,000.

In the second main part of the text, the Buddhas Section, the Buddha recounts to *Prāmod-yarāja the 1,004 buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa, starting with Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni himself, and continuing with 1,000 buddhas of the future from Maitreya up to a buddha called *Roca. As was the case with the Perfections, the names of the buddhas are first summarized, here in verse form, and then a description of the biographical parameters of each buddha (see below) is given in turn, in alternating blocks of approximately 100 prose and verse descriptions each. The Buddhas Section ends with an account of the first resolution to reach enlightenment of each future buddha under a buddha of the past, as part of which 1,000 buddhas of the past are named (Skilling and Saerji 2014).

The Bhk concludes with the Buddha returning to the topic of the samādhi named in its opening, and recounts further previous lives of the buddha Amitāyus and his thousand sons as well as of the buddhas Dīpaṃkara and Vipāśyin. The 800,000 listeners become irreversible on the bodhisattva path, scatter flowers and praise the Buddha.

The text of the Bhk was until recently not preserved in any Indian language, apart from short quotations in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (before 6th c. CE), *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (8th c. CE) and by Daśabalaśrīmitra (12th–13th c. CE; cf. Skilling 2010: 198–199). The identified Gāndhārī and Sanskrit fragments that have now become available are all from the Perfections and Buddhas Sections and thus unfortunately do not tell us anything about the frame structure of the Indian text as it existed in early Gandhāra and Khotan. The ultimate geographical origin of the Bhk also remains unresolved by the new discoveries. The use of the mystical Arapacana alphabet (originally the order of the letters of the Kharoṣṭhī script; cf. Skilling 1996b) can be due either to a northwestern origin, or to later redactional processes. The use of writing and the copying of texts are mentioned in the Bhk, but not with reference to any particular regional script (Skilling 2010: 224).

The fifty-eight Bamiyan fragments of the Gāndhārī Bhk now kept in the Schøyen Collection, the Hirayama Collection and the Hayashidera Collection make it the best-represented Gāndhārī text in this manuscript find. Additional fragments of the manuscript were photographed in a private collection in Pakistan in 1996. Some of these subsequently entered the Hirayama Collection, while the current location of others (additional fragments A1, A2, A3, A4, A5 and N1, N2) remains unknown. The Kharoṣṭhī fragments in the Schøyen Collection were first transcribed by Richard Salomon, Collett Cox, Andrew Glass and Stefan Baums in August 2001. The text of the Bhk fragments was identified by Kazunobu Matsuda in October 2003 on the basis of the formulaic description of the Buddhas, their families, attendants and other characteristics. Andrew Glass located the text of eleven of these fragments (MS 2179/29a, 33, 36, 116, HG 45, HI 3, 4, 7, 13, 22 and AF A3) in the Tibetan translation of the Bhk. Seven additional fragments (MS 2179/28, 31, 34, 106, 130t, HG 46 and AF A2) were located by Stefan Baums between May 2010 and February 2016. The identification of the fragments of the Bhk held special significance since it was the first discovery of a Gāndhārī version of a text that came to be regarded as a Mahāyāna sūtra in the Buddhist traditions of China and Tibet (Glass 2004: 141, Matsuda 2009: 8).

The age of the Bhk manuscript has been broadly determined on the basis of radiocarbon

dating conducted by the Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organisation (ANSTO) using a sample from one of the fragments (MS 2179/116). The results were published in volume III of this series (Allon, Salomon, Jacobsen and Zoppi 2006: 284). The sample yielded a calibrated date range (2σ) of 210–417 CE.

This coincides neatly with the period of the early Chinese translations in general, and in particular with the translation of the Bhk (*Xiánjié jīng* 賢劫經, T. 14 no. 425) made by Dharmarakṣa (Zhú Fǎhù 竺法護), most likely in Luòyáng 洛陽 in 300 CE (Boucher 2006: 28). The possibility of a Gāndhārī background of Dharmarakṣa's translation receives support from the *Chū sānzàng jì jí* (出三藏記集, T. 55 no. 2145 p. 48c4) which reports that his source manuscript was obtained from a monk from Jībīn 罽賓, which apart from its usual association with Kashmir may also refer to Gandhāra when used in early Chinese sources (Boucher 2006: 31 n. 71). Unfortunately the usefulness of Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Bhk is reduced by the fact that his text is abridged, and it thus does not include parallels to many of the Gāndhārī fragments. About one hundred years after Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva (344–413 CE) retranslated the Bhk into Chinese. Unfortunately, his translation is lost, with the exception of a single small fragment from Khara Khoja near Turfan that can be dated to before 518 CE (Li 2015: 245–248). The Bhk is also cited in Kumārajīva's translation or compilation *Dà zhìdù lùn* 大智度論 (Skilling 2010: 199).

Two Sanskrit fragments of the Bhk from Khotan have recently been identified and published in Duan 2009, 2010, 2013a and Li 2015: 237–245. They belong to the same folio and correspond to the end of chapter 17 and the beginning of chapter 18 in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Perfections Section, but do not overlap with any of the Gāndhārī fragments. Duan used two peculiar readings in the Sanskrit fragment to argue that it was copied from an exemplar in Kharoṣṭhī script (2009: 18–19, 38). The first of these, *ṣṭa* for expected *ṣaṭ* 'six,' has been reinterpreted as regular *ṣaṭ* (with virāma) by Li, but could in our opinion also be read *ṣū* (cf. Sander 1968: Tafel 34) and thus possibly preserves at least a trace of a Gāndhārī substrate. The second, *ākīr[ṇṇa]vihārida*, was taken by Duan as a Gāndhārī-influenced instrumental of the agent noun **ākīrṇavihāriṇā*, but has been reinterpreted by Li (probably correctly) as the abstract noun **ākīrṇavihāritā* in compound with following *aparihāni*.

A Sanskrit Bhk thus evidently circulated in the Khotan area in the mid-first millennium CE, and a Khotanese-language literature on the buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa (a 'Bhadrakalpika cycle') appears to have grown up around it. One Khotanese text listing 1,005 buddha names, preserved in a manuscript dated to 943 CE (Konow 1929, Emmerick 1992: 20–22, Skjærvø 2002: 542–550), betrays a distinct Middle Indo-Aryan (and probably Gāndhārī) linguistic background (Bailey 1946: 775–778).

A Tibetan translation of the Bhk (*bsKal pa bzai po pa*, D no. 94) was prepared by Vidyākaraśiṃha and Dpal dbyaṅs and subsequently revised by Ska ba dpal brtsegs in the 9th century (Ui, Suzuki, Kanakura and Tada 1934: 23). This translation is complete, taking up an entire volume in the Derge Kanjur, and is our best witness for the Indian text of the Bhk.² It has served as our main basis for identifying parallel passages for the Gāndhārī fragments. The Tibetan

² Skilling 2010: 198: calls it "the primary source for *a* (I dare not say the) full text of the sūtra." Skilling 2011, 2012 and Skilling and Saerji 2014 continue his investigation of the Bhk through its Tibetan translation.

text has been translated into English in Dharma Publishing 1986. This translation, while intended for a popular audience and often not very precise, is nonetheless valuable as the only rendering of the text into a Western language and provides useful indices (cf. the review in Skilling 1992b).



The Manuscript

The fact that the Gāndhārī fragments have parallels in almost all parts of the Perfections and Buddhas Sections of the Tibetan translation makes it very likely that they represent the remains of a once complete Gāndhārī manuscript of the Bhk. It is also remarkable that all of the fragments are the work of a single scribe (Bamiyan Scribe 18 in Baums and Glass 2002b), rather than of several scribes sharing the labor of producing the manuscript. Since this hand is not associated with any other known text in Gāndhārī, it is likely (though by no means certain) that all the fragments in this hand formed part of the Bhk manuscript, and they are accordingly included in this edition even where, due to their state of preservation, no parallel could be identified. The manuscript had five lines per folio throughout, with each line containing approximately 81 akṣaras. Based on a comparison with the Tibetan translation, we estimate the size of the complete Gāndhārī text—if it contained all the same material—at approximately 390–400 folios.

Paleography, Orthography and Language

As mentioned above, radiocarbon dating of a sample from one of the fragments of our manuscript yielded a calibrated date range of 210 to 417 CE. This range is the youngest produced by any of the radiocarbon tests performed on Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts to date. The lateness of this range relative to other Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts and, in particular, the lack of evidence for Kharoṣṭhī script in general in the fourth and fifth centuries, suggest that our manuscript should belong to the earlier end of the range, namely the third century CE. As such, this hand contributes to the emerging picture of the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script (see Glass 2007: 106), but further study, particularly of the Bamiyan material, is necessary in order to increase the value of paleographic analysis in dating materials without proper archeological context.

At this point, the basic forms of the Kharoṣṭhī script are fairly well documented (cf. Glass 2000). Remarks in the remainder of this section focus on distinctive features of this scribe's work rather than attempting a comprehensive study of his hand of the kind attempted elsewhere (such as Glass 2007: 85–106).

The hand of Bamiyan Scribe 18, who produced the Bhk manuscript, is easily recognized from the short and neat letter forms written with strongly contrasting thick and thin strokes. He used a broad-edged pen with the nib cut flat and held so that the thin stroke is parallel to the writing line (e.g., ) . This technique is common among the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī scribes (compare, for instance, MS 2179/22) but less common in manuscripts from other regions. The letter stems clearly illustrate the mix of slanting and vertical strokes that is typical of Kharoṣṭhī (e.g., the stem of *ka* is slanted, whereas the stem of *ṇa*  is vertical). The stem strokes terminate consistently with a neat hook to the left (i.e., a leftward footmark, cf. Glass 2009: 90, table 1).

Our scribe writes forms of a few letters that are typical of the Bamiyan fragments but are less common or unknown elsewhere in the Kharoṣṭhī area. Namely, the triangular style of *kha* 𑖕 (Glass 2000: 53–6), the elongated type of *ba*, e.g., 3v2 *bu* 𑖃 (Glass 2000: 85–6) and the fourth type of *bha* (Glass 2009).

The shapes of *ya* (𑖚) and *śa* (𑖛) have merged so that it is impossible to distinguish them consistently. This phenomenon is well attested in Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts and other documents from the second century CE onwards (Glass 2000: 94). Several rare conjuncts are attested, such as 2r1 *tma* 𑖔𑖚, 7Ac *ṣka* 𑖛𑖕, 2r1 *smi* 𑖛𑖓, 32B2 *sya* 𑖛𑖙 and 22A4 *hma* 𑖛𑖕. The scribe sometimes writes the number signs for 1 to 3 horizontally, e.g., 15v3 𑖀 (so-called ‘Brāhmī style’), and sometimes vertically (e.g., 27Aa).

The language of the Gāndhārī Bhk is more archaic than that of the Gāndhārī *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* from the same findspot (cf. Allon and Salomon 2000: 266–271). It is basically a middle-period Gāndhārī, corresponding to the language of the first- to third-century CE birch-bark manuscripts from Gandhāra proper, with only very few and moderate orthographic Sanskritizations. Examples include the genitive singular ending *-sya* (rather than *-sa*) and the gerundive suffix *-vya-* (rather than *-va-*) throughout, and the spellings 2r1 *(bra)hmalokaḥhidasya* (rather than *brahma-*), 2r1 *mahasamudrasmi* (rather than *-ammi*), 2r1 *atma(ṇa)* (rather than *atvaṇa*), 2v5 *samadhi* (rather than *samasi*), 3r3 *(a)ṭhamabhumistidasya* (rather than *-ḥhida-*), 7Ac *ṣka* (in an unclear word) and 15r2 *sadharmavasthiti* (rather than *-ḥhidi-*). The morphology of the text is entirely Middle Indo-Aryan.

There are some indications that the Indian original of Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese translation of the Bhk was in a very similar type of Middle Indo-Aryan (and probably Gāndhārī) rather than Sanskrit, though a comprehensive study from the side of the Chinese text still has to be undertaken. In Dharmarakṣa’s presentation of the Arapacana abecedary, for instance, item no. 16 is 燒 *shāo* ‘to burn’ (T. 5a3), which together with its correspondent *ḍha* in the Tibetan translation (D 11a3) points to a MIA original *ḍah-* ‘to burn’ ← OIA *dah-* (Baums 2009: 195; the Sanskrit *Pañca-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* uses *ḍamara* in place of *ḍah-*, Brough 1977: 88). Similarly, item no. 14 is 已 *yǐ*, which in light of the corresponding item no. 31 己 *jǐ* in Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the *Lalitavistara* (*Pūyào jīng* 普曜經, T. 3 no. 186, prepared in 308 CE) should be taken as a corruption of 己 *jǐ* ‘self.’ Together with corresponding *pa* in the Tibetan translation (D 11a3) this points to a Gāndhārī original *spaya* ‘self’ < OIA *svaya*.³ A Gāndhārī original receives further support from the phonetic shape of 1v3 *kokuca-* in our manuscript. Dharmarakṣa’s 懷狐 *huáihú* clearly corresponds to our Gāndhārī term (= Skt *kaukṛtya*) since in his text as in general it forms a group with 疑永 *yíyǒng* (= Skt *vicikitsā*) and 猶豫 *yóuyù* (= Skt *kāṅkṣā*). Its reconstructed Old Northwest Chinese pronunciation *yuēiyo* (Coblin 1994) corresponds very closely to the likely Gāndhārī pronunciation of *kokuca-*, namely [ko:kuc:ə] or [ko:juc:ə]. But here, as always with arguments from technical terms, one has to keep in mind that Dharmarakṣa may well have been using an established translation equivalent rather than deriving his own phonetic description based on his own Indian exemplar. In the end, the strongest evidence for a Gāndhārī source of Dhar-

³ Interestingly, the Sanskrit version of the *Lalitavistara* preserves in its corresponding form *sma* a trace of the Gāndhārī intermediate pronunciation [smə] proposed in Baums 2009: 176–177 on independent grounds (the Sanskrit *Pañcasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* uses *smaraṇa* in place of [sməjə]; Brough 1977: 92).

marakṣa's translation derives from observation of a series of puzzling mistranslations throughout the passages edited here, at least some of which can be explained well on a Gāndhārī linguistic background. Examples include the strange term *talunajivhada* (5v4) and its translations and the case of the buddha Aṅgaja (15r1–2), all explained in detail in the commentary below.

Following the standard format of BMSC editions, we do not here provide a glossary for the Bhk fragments. For full lexicographic coverage the reader is instead referred to the *Dictionary of Gāndhārī* (Baums and Glass 2002a).

The Perfections Section

At least fourteen fragments (nos. 1–14) belong to the Perfections Section of the Bhk. Five of these (nos. 1–5) can be assigned to specific passages on the basis of the Chinese and Tibetan translations, and four of the five (nos. 1–4) belong to five consecutive folios of the manuscript (with the second of these folios missing). The following gives an overview of the twenty-five groups of six perfections covered by the identified fragments. Each entry starts with the number of the group in the manuscript where this is preserved or can be inferred, followed by a translation of the name of the group (based on the Gāndhārī, where preserved, Tibetan and Chinese in that order of relevance) and the Chinese and Tibetan sequential numbers and names of the group.

Fragment 1 (folio 60?)

- (92) The perfections (of having gone forth / of having attained renunciation) (Chin. 94 出家來度無極, Tib. 91 *nes par 'byuñ ba bsgrub pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)
- 9(3) *The perfections of having attained great learning (Chin. 95 愍哀博聞來度無極, Tib. 92 *mañ du thos pa bsgrub pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)
- 94 The indestructible perfections of the virtue (of one who has gone forth) (G (*pravrayidaśi*)*laanachejaparamida*, Chin. 96 出家不斷戒度無極, Tib. 93 *rab tu byuñ ba'i dan tshul rgyun mi 'chad pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)
- (95) The perfections (of one who abides in the recognitions) (Chin. 97 住神通度無極, Tib. 94 *mñon par śes pa la gnas pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)

Fragments 2–4 (folios 62–64?)

- *The perfections of many maturations (Chin. 102 眾報應度無極, Tib. 99 *rnam par smin pa mañ po'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)
- *The perfections without maturation (Chin. 103 無報度無極, Tib. 100 *rnam par smin pa med pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)
- *The perfections without joy (Chin. 104 無樂度無極, Tib. 101 *mñon par dga' ba med pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)
- (The perfections associated with) timely (generosity) (Chin. 105 時進度無極, Tib. 102 *dus su byin pa dan mtshuñs par ldan pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)
- *The perfections of light (Chin. 106 光明度無極, Tib. 103 *'od kyi pha rol tu phyin pa*)
- *The perfections of unlimited light (Chin. 107 無量光度無極, Tib. 104 *'od mtha' yas*)

pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)

*The perfections of joyful maturation (Chin. 108 報安光度無極, Tib. 105 *rnam par smin pa bde ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

The perfections (of not turning back) (Chin. 109 不迴還度無極, Tib. 106 *phyir mi ldog pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

*The perfections of happiness (Chin. 110 為娛樂度無極, Tib. 107 *dga' ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

*The perfections of purity (Chin. 111 鮮潔度無極, Tib. 108 *rnam par dag pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

*The perfections that transcend the worldly dharmas (Chin. 112 成世法度無極, Tib. 109 *'jig rten pa'i chos las 'das pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

*The perfections of the array of births (Chin. 113 淨俗度無極, Tib. 110 *skye ba bkod pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

*The perfections of family fortune (Chin. 114 成種度無極, Tib. 111 *phun sum tshogs pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

*The perfections of attaining fortune of the retinue (Chin. 115 來成眷屬度無極, Tib. 112 *'khor phun sum tshogs pa sgrub par byed pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

Fragment 5

⟨2⟩(40) *The perfections of escape through meditation (Chin. 240 寂度無極, Tib. 237 *bsam gtan las nes par byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

⟨2⟩41 The perfections of escape through understanding (*(prañā)ñiryaḍaparamida*) (Chin. 241 智慧度無極, Tib. 238 *śes rab las nes par byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

⟨2⟩(42) *The perfections of maturation of the eyes (Chin. 242 眼報度無極, Tib. 239 *rnam par smin pa mig gi pha rol tu phyin pa)*

⟨2⟩(43) *The perfections of maturation of the ears (Chin. 243 耳報度無極, Tib. 240 *rnam par smin pa rna ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

⟨2⟩(44) *The perfections of maturation of the nose (Chin. 244 鼻報度無極, Tib. 241 *rnam par smin pa sna'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

⟨2⟩(45) The perfections of maturation of the tongue (*jivhavipagaramida*) (Chin. 245 舌報度無極, Tib. 242 *rnam par smin pa lce'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

⟨2⟩(46) *The perfections of maturation of the body (Chin. 246 身報度無極, Tib. 243 *rnam par smin pa lus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa)*

The sequential position of the seven groups with preserved or inferred numbering (in fragment nos. 1 and 5) corresponds quite closely with that of the corresponding groups in the Chinese and Tibetan translations⁴ if one makes the reasonable assumption that in each of the Gāndhārī sections of fragment 5 the number signs for 200 (2 100) are omitted by way of abbreviation. The numbers of the Gāndhārī groups in fragment 1 are lower by two than the corresponding sequential position in the Chinese translation, and higher by one than the corresponding sequential position in the

⁴ The Taishō and Derge editions do not explicitly number the groups of six perfections, and we arrived at the above figures by a manual count.

Tibetan translation. The Gāndhārī numbers in fragment no. 5 agree exactly with the Chinese sequential positions, but are higher by three than the Tibetan sequential positions.

The internal structure of the descriptions of the groups is as follows (Sanskrit according to the fragments edited in Duan 2009 and Li 2015: 237–245):

tatra kadara ... paramida ṣo °	tattra katamaḥ ... pāramita ṣaṭ	何謂 ... X 度無極有 六事 °	de la ... pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na
ya ... ayaṃ daṇa °	ya ... aya dāna	... ° 是曰布施 °	... gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o
ya ... ayaṃ śīla °	ya ... aya śīla	... ° 是曰持戒 °	... gañ yin pa de ni tshul khrims so
ya ... ayaṃ kṣati °	ya ... aya kṣānti	... ° 是曰忍辱 °	... gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o
ya ... ayaṃ virya °	ya ... aya vīrya	... ° 是曰精進 °	... gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so
ya ... ayaṃ jāṇa °	ya ... aya dhyāna	... ° 是曰一心 °	... gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no
ya ... ayaṃ prañā °	ya ... aya prajña	... ° 是曰智慧 °	... gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste
ime ... paramida ṣo (<i>number</i>) °	ime ... pāramita ṣaṭ	是為六 °	'di dag ni ... pha rol tu phyin pa drug go

The Sanskrit and Tibetan versions on the one hand and the Chinese on the other differ in that the former repeat the name of the group at the end of its description, whereas the latter does not do so. The Gāndhārī fragments preserve one instance each of the name of a group occurring at the beginning and at the end of their section (2v3–4 (*tatra*) *kadara kalaṇa* ? ?, 5r3 (*ime prañā*)-*ṇīryadaparamida ṣo 20 20 1*), suggesting that the Gāndhārī text sides with the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions in this regard. In the body of the descriptions of groups, the preserved fragments attest two variants for the simple naming of the perfections: 2v2 (*ayaṃ daṇa*) *ñatavya*, 5v5 *ayaṃ daṇada*, and at least once the simple expository pattern is interrupted by what appears to be a brief excursus: 3v1 *aya {da} < jāṇa ° paṃcaṇa kaṃṇaṇa rayadhidaraṇaṃ*.

The Buddhas Section

At least twenty fragments (nos. 15–34) belong to the Buddhas Section of the Bhk. Six of these (nos. 15–20) can be assigned to specific passages on the basis of the Chinese and Tibetan translations, all of them belonging to different folios of the manuscript. The following gives an overview of the thirty-one buddhas covered by the identified fragments. Each entry starts with the number of the buddha, where this is preserved or can be inferred, followed by his name (preserved or reconstructed on the basis of W = Weller 1928⁵ and the Tibetan and Chinese Bhk translations in that order of weight) and by his sequential number and name in the Chinese and Tibetan translations. Since Dharmarakṣa only covers the first ninety-nine buddhas in his translation, Chinese parallels are only available for fragment no. 15. Only seven buddha names (Ra(ś)m(i), Driḍhabra-da, Maṃgali, Uraḍa(garbha), Giriṇaṃ +, Guṇateya and Ugama) are directly preserved in the Gāndhārī fragments; the identity of the other buddhas is inferred from their descriptions and relative position in the text.

⁵ This polyglot (Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu) list of the buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa contains, from Krakucchanda to Roca, a total of only 1,000 entries.

Fragment 15

- <8>(9) *Aṃgaya (Chin. 88 虛空, Tib. 89 Yan lag skyes; cf. W 88 Aṅgaja/Aṅgada)
 90 *Amidabudhi (Chin. 89 無量覺, Tib. 90 Blo mtha' yas; cf. W 89 Amitabuddhi)
 <9>(1) *Suruva (Chin. 90 善顏, Tib. 91 gZugs bzañ; cf. W 90 Surūpa)
 <9>2 *Ñaṇi (Chin. 91 聖慧, Tib. 92 mKhyen ldan; cf. W 91 Jñānin)
 <9>3 Ra(ś)m(i) (Chin. 92 光明, Tib. 93 'Od zer; cf. W 92 Raśmi)
 <9>(4) Driḍhabrada (Chin. 93 堅誓, Tib. 94 brTul śugs brtan; cf. W 93 Dṛḍhavrata)
 <9>(5) Maṃgali (Chin. 94 吉祥, Tib. 95 bKra śis; cf. W 94 Maṅgalin)

Fragment 16

- *Sihaseṇa (Tib. 596 Seṇ ge'i sde; cf. W 597 Siṃhasena)
 *Vasava (Tib. 597 Nor lha'i bu; cf. W 598 Vāsava)
 *Yaśa (Tib. 598 Grags pa; cf. W 599 Yaśas)
 *Jaya (Tib. 599 rGyal ba; cf. W 600 Jaya)
 Uraḍa(garbha) (Tib. 600 rGya chen sñiñ po; cf. W 601 Udāragarbha)

Fragment 17

- (627) *Sacaraśi (Tib. 630 bDen pa'i phuñ po; cf. W 629 Satyarāśi)
 <62>8 *Susvara (Tib. 631 dByaṅs sñan; cf. W 630 Susvara)
 (629) Giriṇaṃ + (Tib. 632 Ri dbaṅ mtshuṅs; cf. W 631 Girīndrakalpa)
 (630) *Dharmakuḍa (Tib. 633 Chos brtsegs; cf. W 632 Dharmakūṭa)
 (631) *Mokṣateya (Tib. 634 Thar pa'i gzi byin; cf. W 633 Mokṣatejas)
 (632) *Śobhida (Tib. 635 Legs mdzad; cf. W 634 Śobhita)

Fragment 18

- <72>(1) *Maṃjughoṣa (Tib. 718 dByaṅs dag sñan pa; cf. W 714 Mañjughoṣa)
 <72>(2) *Supakṣa (Tib. 719 Nos bzaṅs; cf. W 716 Supakṣa/Supārśva)
 <72>3 *Īthidārtha (Tib. 720 Don la gnas pa; cf. W 717 Sthitārtha)
 <72>4 Guṇateya (Tib. 721 Yon tan gzi brjid; cf. W 718 Guṇatejas)
 <72>(5) *Asamañāṇi (Tib. 722 mKhyen ldan zla med pa; cf. W 719 Asamajñānin)

Fragment 19

- *Praśaṃtamala (Tib. 788 Dri ma rab ŷi ba; cf. W 785 Praśāntamala)
 *Deśamuḍha (Tib. 789 Phyogs ma bslad pa; cf. W 786 Deśāmūḍha/Deśitāmūḍha)
 *Laḍida (Tib. 790 mDzes pa; cf. W 787 Laḍita)

Fragment 20

- <80>(9) *Guṇacuḍa (Tib. 812 Yon tan gtsug; cf. W 810 Guṇacūḍa/Guṇakūṭa)
 (810) *Aṇuvamaśiri (Tib. 813 dPal rdzogs; cf. W 811 Anupamaśrī)
 <8>11 *Sihagadi (Tib. 814 Seṇ ge'i stabs; cf. W 812 Siṃhagati)
 <8>12 Ugama (Tib. 815 Gyen du 'phags; cf. W 813 Udgata)
 <8>13 *Puṣpadata (Tib. 816 Me tog byin; cf. W 814 Puṣpadatta)

As in the case of the Perfections Section, the sequential position of the 23 buddhas with preserved or inferred numbering (in fragment nos. 15, 17, 18 and 20) corresponds quite closely with that of the corresponding buddhas in the Chinese and Tibetan translations,⁶ under the assumption that the number signs for 620 (4 2 100 20), 710 (4 3 100 10) and 800 (4 4 100), respectively, are omitted by way of abbreviation. The numbers of the Gāndhārī buddhas in fragment no. 15 are higher by one than those in the Chinese translation, and correspond exactly to those in the Tibetan translation. As explained below, our manuscript appears to have contained only one single section corresponding to the two buddhas *Suruva and *Ñañi, but the preserved numbers (90 followed by <9>2) suggest that both of these buddhas were part of the exemplar of our manuscript, and that in copying they were by accident telescoped into a single section. The reconstructed numbers in fragment nos. 17 and 18 are slightly more speculative since only three units and no decades are preserved. As reconstructed, the numbers in fragment no. 17 are lower by three than those in the Tibetan translation; as explained above, the Chinese translation does not contain the buddhas in question. One could alternatively, though perhaps less likely, reconstruct the numbers as (637) to (642), in which case they would be higher by seven than those in the Tibetan translation. Similarly, the numbers in fragment no. 18 as reconstructed are higher by three than those in the Tibetan translation. Here too, one could alternatively reconstruct the numbers as <71>(1) to <71>(5), in which case they would be lower by seven than those in the Tibetan translation. The numbers reconstructed for fragment 20, however, are quite secure thanks to the presence of the decad in <8>11 to <8>13. They are lower by three than the corresponding numbers in the Tibetan translation, which is somewhat surprising since it means a reversal of the direction of difference between fragments 17 and 18, only to return to the original direction and amount of difference in fragment 20.

The internal structure of the prose descriptions of buddhas (fragment nos. 15, 17 and 20) is as follows:

...sya tathagadasya ... ṇama jadabhumi °	...如來所生土地城名... °	de bzin gśegs pa ... skye ba'i yul ni ... žes bya'o
... yoviṇa / yoviṇasāda / yoviṇasahasra prabha °	其佛光明照...里/百里/千里 °	rigs ni rgyal rigs so / bram ze'o
kṣatriyo / brahmaṇo jadiye °	君子/梵志種 °	'od ni dpag tshad ... 'o brgya'o stoñ ño
... ṇama pida °	父名... °	yab ni ... žes bya'o
... ṇama mada °	母字... °	yum ni ... žes bya'o
... ṇama putro °	子曰... °	sras ni ... žes bya'o
... ṇama vaṭṭhaya °	侍者曰... °	rim gro pa ni ... žes bya'o
... ṇama pramāṇamantaṇa agro	上首智慧弟子曰... °	śes rab can rnams kyi mchog ni ... žes bya'o

⁶ Also as in the Perfections Section, the Taisho and Derge editions do not explicitly number the buddhas, and we again arrived at the above figures by a manual count.

... ṇama irdhimamtaṇa agro °	神足弟子曰... °	rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni ... žes bya'o
... varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo °	一會說經...億。二會...億。三 會...億。皆得道證。	'dus pa daṅ po la ni ṇan thos ... 'o gñis pa la ni ... 'o gsum pa la ni ... 'o OR dus pa ṇan thos 'dus pa dgra bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan ... ste thams cad la yaṅ ... 'o
... koḍi / koḍisāda / koḍisahasra prathamo saṃṇipado ° ... dudiyo ° ... tridiyo ° OR ... saṃṇipada / śravagasamṇipada / arahasaṃṇipada ° ...- ṇayudaga / ...-koḍisātiya / ...- koḍisahasraga sarve °	(佛在世時)人壽...千/萬歲。	sku tshe'i tshad ni lo ... 'o
... varṣa / varṣasāda / varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭhidi °	舍利普流遍布十方 OR 并合興一大寺。	dam pa'i chos kyaṅ lo ... bar du gnas so
vestariga śarira ° OR ekaghaṇa śarira ° eko thubo °	正法存立...千/萬/億歲。	sku gduṅ ni rgyas par 'gyur ro OR sku gduṅ ni ril po gcig tu 'dug go mchod rten yaṅ gcig tu zad do

The relative order of the two last items (*sadharmavaṭhidi* and *śarira*) reverses between fragment nos. 15 and 17. The Chinese translation follows the reversed order (舍利 and 正法存) already for the buddhas of fragment no. 17 and throughout for the selection of buddhas that it covers, whereas the reversal does not occur in the Tibetan translation. Both the Chinese and the Tibetan translations consistently give 說經 / 'dus pa and 人壽 / sku tshe'i tshad in opposite order to the corresponding Gāndhārī items *saṃṇipado* and *ayupramaṇo*, and in addition the Tibetan translation consistently gives *rigs* and 'od in opposite order to corresponding *jadi* and *prabha*.

The verse descriptions of buddhas (fragment nos. 16, 18 and 19) vary more widely in structure. At the beginning of each description, for instance, the buddha is not always referred to as *tathagada*, but we find variations in word order and choice such as 16v4 *budhasya ur(u)ga(r-bhasya)* and 18v2 *guṇateyamahidasya jinasya*. At the same time, the verse sections also draw on recurring building blocks and patterns. Particularly noticeable is a strong inclination to end verse pādas with the word form *jinasya*; in addition to the preceding example we can cite 16r3 *ṇakṣatraraja mada jinasya*, 16r5 *yaśapuyida mada jiṇa(sya)* and 18r3 ? *kuṇaṭhala mada jinasya*, as well as 16r4 *ekaghaṇo thubo jinasya* and even 18r5 *p(r)abha yoviṇa pa(m)ca ji(na)sya*. An example that extends over two pādas is 18v4 ... (va)rṣasahasra ° *triśa ṭhahiśati dharma jinasya*. A preference for analytic expression is visible in the fragmentary pādas 16v1 *ayu ṇaraṇa aśiti ṇiy(uda)* and 18v1 *ayu ṇaraṇa ? .u + ? ṇi ?*, eschewing the rhythmically comparable compound *ayupramaṇa* of the prose descriptions.

Verse divisions are marked by punctuation: *pādas* are separated by dots, half-stanzas and stanzas by *daṇḍas*, and just as in the prose sections, the final stanza of a particular buddha's description terminates in a number sign. All stanzas occurring in our fragments are translated into Tibetan using nine-syllable verse, suggesting that the Indian text used one of the longer meters, and certainly not *anuṣṭubh*. One immediately suspects *triṣṭubh* meter, which would fit well with the rhythmic tendency observed above of *pādas* ending in trochaic cadences (*-jīnasya*) and also match closely the number of missing akṣaras estimated on physical grounds. The situation is rather more complicated, however. As the following table shows, among the sixteen *pādas* that are preserved completely or securely reconstructed, four have nine syllables, five have ten syllables, and seven have eleven syllables. *Pādas* of different syllable count are freely mixed with each other in verses. Among eleven-syllable *pādas*, only two (16v3 *ayu naraṇa aśiti (sahasra)* and 18v4 *triśa śhahiśati dharma jīnasya*) fit the *triṣṭubh* metrical scheme disregarding caesuras (◡ – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡). Generally, the metrical patterns of Gāndhārī (cf. Baums 2009: 402) as well as Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Edgerton 1946) verses cannot simply be parsed from their written form since in principle each word-final vowel can be pronounced either short or long, as the (unknown) meter requires. We can at this point only say that overall a *triṣṭubh*-like pattern appears to have been intended in the Bhk verses, and suspect that the requirement of fitting the buddhas' names and other parameters into the verses caused a high degree of license.

Pādas	Syllables
16r4 <i>ekaghaṇo thubo jīnasya</i>	9
16v2 (<i>jayasya logaṇa</i>) <i>thasya</i>	
16v2 <i>durjaya nāma jadabhumi</i>	
16v4 <i>budhasya uraḍa(garbhasya)</i>	
16r3 <i>nakṣatraraja mada jīnasya</i>	10
16r5 <i>yaśapuyida mada jīna(sya)</i>	
18r2 (<i>dhar</i>) <i>ma satati varṣasahasra</i>	
18r5 <i>p(r)abha yoviṇa pa(m)ca ji(na)sya</i>	
18v2 <i>sarvagunodasa ja(dabhumi)</i>	
16v1 <i>ayu naraṇa aśiti ṇiy(uda)</i>	11
16v3 <i>ayu naraṇa aśiti (sahasra)</i>	
18r4 <i>koḍiśatiya sarve te ṇipada</i>	
18v2 <i>guṇateyamahidasya jīnasya</i>	
18v3 (<i>marapra</i>) <i>mardaṇo irdhimadaṇa</i>	
18v4 <i>triśa śhahiśati dharma jīnasya</i>	
19r4 (<i>sa</i>) <i>rv(e) kileśamaramaṇthaṇaṇa</i>	

The following fifty-eight fragments are in the hand of the Bhk scribe:

Naka photographs (AF) N1, N2.

5 śravagasya a[ve] ///

5 /// [a]yam danada ° va bahuja[nə]loca[ni]va ///

6) MS 2179/29b; A

- a /// ? .idaparamida ///
- b /// ? yathabhipraya[do] ///
- c /// aṇachejasvati [a] ///
- d /// [ra]moṣa aya [pra] ///

B

- a /// yas[y]a [a]bhaśa ///
- b /// [pra]caya ci[ta upa] ///
- c /// [a]ya praña ime du[ṣ]. ///
- d /// [ṇa] ° ya pratipakṣa ///

7) MS 2179/30c; A

- a /// praṇihi[d]. ///
- b /// ga citasya [a] ///
- c /// .[e]ṣkara a ? ///

B

- a /// [st]i ti pa ? ///
- b /// ? ayam virya [°] ///
- c /// ñaa[ṇa]che[ja] ///

8) MS 2179/30e; A

- a /// [r]ihaṇaparami ///
- b /// praña ° [i] ///

B

- a /// rvatra u.[e] ///
- b /// 20 10 1 1 tatra ka ///

9) MS 2179/130j; A

- a /// ? + ? ///
- b /// [pa]ramida ṣo ° ya [sa].[va] ? ///

B

- a /// ? [im]. [sarva] ///
- b /// ? ? ? ? da ayam kṣati ? ///

10) MS 2179/130k; A

- a /// [ra]mida [u] ? ṇ[e] °
- b /// ? ñaṇaüpatikṣ[e]tre ca

B

- a /// sarva kamaguṇa sagradhi
- b /// śamo ayam virya
- c /// ? /// + + + /// ? ? ///

11) MS 2179/uf3/2e; A

- a /// ? ṣo [g]. ? gata[s]. ? ///
- b /// [yam] kṣati peyalo ° ? ///

B

- a /// + + + ? ? ? ///
- b /// + + + ? parami ///

12) MS 2179/uf3/2f; A

- a /// ? ? da [śa lo °] ? ///

B

- a /// .[i]da ayam pra ///
- b /// ? ///

13) AF A1; A

- a /// ? ? go va ? ///
- b /// ga ayam praña ° i[me] ///
- c /// ? ? ///

B

- a /// paṃcavarṣi daṇa ma ? ///
- b /// ? [ṇiye pravi] ///

14) AF A4; A

- a /// ° 10 4 ///
- b /// ? ? ///

B

- a /// ? ? ? ///
- b /// ? [kṣati] ///

15) MS 2179/29Aa; recto

- 1 /// [tro] ° prañacuḍo ṇama va[ṭha] ///
- 2 /// [rṣa]sahasra sadharmavasthiti ° [vestha] ///
- 3 /// [ṭha]ya citarudo ṇama prañamamṭaṇa ///
- 4 /// vestariga śarira 20 20 20 20 [10] ///
- 5 /// ma prañamam[ta] ///

verso

- 1 /// .u[b]o [2 ra].[m]. ///
- 2 /// [a]gro ° datamitro [ṇa] ///
- 3 /// śarira 3 [driḍh]abradasya ta[thaga] ///
- 4 /// [ṇa] agro ° masura ṇama irdhimamta ///
- 5 /// mamgalisya tathagadasya p.i[ya] ///

16) HG 45; recto

- 2 /// ? [ve]stha[ri] ///
- 3 /// [dro] | ṇakṣatraraja mada [jiṇasya] ///
- 4 /// [e]kaghaṇo thubo jiṇasya ° [ra] ///
- 5 /// rdha | yaśapuyida mada ji[ṇa] ///

verso

- 1 /// sra ° ayu ṇaraṇa aśiti ṇi[y]. ///
- 2 /// [thasya] ° durjaya ṇama jadabhu[mi] ///
- 3 /// hasra ° ayu ṇaraṇa aśi[ti] ///
- 4 /// [4 1] budhas[y]a [uraḍa] ///
- 5 /// ? ///

17) HI 4, 7, MS 2179/36, 130t; recto

- [illegible]

verso

- [illegible]

18) HI 22, AF A3; recto

- 1 /// [sva]ro mat[i]ma[m̐]to ° lokavihara [da] ? ///
- 2 /// no [y]u ? ? [sa ye] ° + .[ma] satati varṣasahasra ° ʔha ///
- 3 /// ? [k]unathala mada jinasva ° putro mahata[vo na] ///

- 4 /// [ko]ḍiṣatiya sarve te ṇipada ? vestari[ga dha] ///
- 5 /// ye ṇama ° p.abha yoviṇa [pa].[ca ji] + [sya] + ? [ra]ti[ś]ekṣa ? ///

verso

- 1 /// [a]yu ṇa[raṇa] ? .u + ? ṇi ? + a ? ? a ma maruda ? ///
- 2 /// 3 guṇateyamahidasya jñasya ° sarvaguṇodasa j[a] ///
- 3 /// [ma]rdaṇo irdhimadaṇa [°] ? viṣati varṣasaha[sra] ///
- 4 /// ? [va]rṣasahasra ° triśa ṭhahiṣati dharma jñasya [4] ///
- 5 /// .[uñ].ṇo vaṭṭhaya ° ṇaṇesvaro ? ? [mido ṇama] ° irdhi[mada] ///

19) MS 2179/28; recto

- 3 /// ? daṇ te ///
- 4 /// [rv]. [kile]śamara[maṇ]thaṇ[a]ṇ[a] ///
- 5 /// [ṇameṇa] ° ekaviṣati yoviṇa ///

verso

- 1 /// ? .i[d]o ṇama ° irdh[i]ma[daṇa] pra ? ///
- 2 /// ? ṇivride varṣasahasra ° satati ? ///
- 3 /// ? + ? ? [°] pratimaṇ[ṭid]. ///

20) HG 46, HI 3; recto

- 1 /// irdhimamṭaṇa agra ° paṇcaīśa varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° troda[śa sa]ṇ
- 2 /// jadabhumi ° yoviṇasahasra prabha brahmaṇo jatiye ° brahma[de]vo ṇama pida °
- 3 /// [va]rṣasahasra ayu[pra]maṇ[o] ° caturaṣīti sa[ṇ]ṇipada ° daśaṇayudaga sa
- 4 /// [daśa yoviṇa]śada prabha ° kṣat.iyo jatiye ° achabivikramaṇ ṇama
- 5 /// [ma i]rdhimamṭaṇa [agro] ° aṣīti varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° sata

verso

- 1 /// [sa]hasra sadharmavaṭṭh[i]ti 10 1 ugamasa tathagadasa ° aṇaṇṭa
- 2 /// putro ° ṇaṇakusuma ṇama [vaṭṭha]yo ° praṇaprabhaso ṇama praṇamaṇṭa
- 3 /// [gha]ṇa śarira ek[o] thubo ° ṇavati varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭṭhiti 10 2
- 4 /// [va]pu[ṣpa] ṇama mada ° [a]mridagaṇdho ṇama putro ° gaṇdhaprabhaso ṇama vaṭṭha
- 5 /// sarve ° vestariga śarira ° daśa varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭṭhiti 10 3

21) MS 2179/32a, 32b; A

- 1 /// ? .o [a] ? ? ? ° prabha ke[du] ///
- 2 /// .[ub]o jñasya ° ekaghaṇo prithu [ra] ? ///
- 3 /// [ṇ].maṇṭida mada jñasya ° maṇṭido putro ///
- 4 /// ? ? ? [y]. ? ? ? ° [y]a tri [y]o [dh]e [ṇ]i [y]. ? ///
- 5 /// ? ///

B

- 2 /// ? ? ? ? ? [ṇ]. ma ? ? ? + + .u ? ///
- 3 /// [a]yupramaṇo ° traye koḍiśada prathama [śra] ///
- 4 /// ? yoviṇa prabha ° kṣatriyo jatiye ° ///
- 5 /// [sa].ṇipa[da] k.[ḍ]iṣatiya [sa] ///

22) MS 2179/32c; A

- 1 /// [va]rṣasahasra ayupra[ma] ///
- 2 /// [ṇa] prabha kṣatriyo jatiye ° vi ///
- 3 /// [śatasaha]sra ayupramaṇo ° sata ///
- 4 /// sro prabha brahmaṇo jatiye ° viyu ? ///
- 5 /// ? + + .[śasaha]sra ayupramaṇ. ///

23) MS 2179/35; A

- 1 /// ? ? ? ///
- 2 /// su[rya]prabha te ? ///
- 3 /// da ° daśakoḍisa ///
- 4 /// ? raṭha ṇama pi ///
- 5 /// [sahasra ay]. ///

24) MS 2179/105; A

- a /// ? pida sude[vo] ° devi [mu] ///
- b /// ? ° sarve rahaṃta aṣa ///

25) MS 2179/130s; A

- 1 /// du ṇama vaṭha[y]. ///
- 2 /// ? hagamhasy[a] ///
- 3 /// [ray]o ? ///

26) MS 2179/uf2/6e; A

- a /// ? ? r. ? ? ///
- b /// ? ṇa ta ma ti ///
- c /// ? ? ? ? ///

27) MS 2179/uf3/1a; A

- 1 /// arahaṇa 1 1 1 [k]. ///
- 2 /// ? ° brahmaṇo jati[ye] ///
- 3 /// ? ? [ti] ? + ? ///

28) MS 2179/uf3/1c, uf3/1e; folio /// 20 [1 1] ///

recto

- a + + ? ? ? ? [v].haro ///
- b sa jīṇasya ° jatiye iṇa ///
- c ti varṣas[ahas].[a] ° [ay]. ///

B

- 1 /// .[maṇo ja]ti[ye citra] ? ///
- 2 /// rṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° masthi ? ///
- 3 /// ṇa prabha brahmaṇo jatiye ° a[ṇ]. ///
- 4 /// sahasra ayupramaṇo ° ekuṇa ///
- 5 /// [kṣa]triyo jatiye sudar[śa] ///

B

- 1 /// ? r. ? ? ? ///
- 2 /// ? ṇatirthara[y]i ṇa ///
- 3 /// ? ma [praṃ]ṇamaṃtaṇa ///
- 4 /// [sa]dharmavaṭhiti ? ///
- 5 /// [p].[t].[o] ° akh. ///

B

- a /// ? ? ///
- b /// mada ° varṇilo putro ///
- c /// ? ///

B

- 3 /// r[śa]sa[ha] ///
- 4 /// [ṇa]ma praṃ[ṇa] ///
- 5 /// [y]a śarira ° ṣ. ///

B

- a /// [sya] jīṇa[sya] ///
- b /// irdhimadaṇa ? ///

B

- 4 /// [maṃ]ta [vic]. ? ///
- 5 /// [ji]ṇasya ° saṇa[śo] ///

verso

- a ṇo mati [śa] ? ? ? ? ///
- b ṇa abha ° brahmaṇo jati[ye] ///
- c + + [catu]viṣati koḍi ///

29) MS 2179/uf3/1d; A

- a /// ? [šo a] ? ///
- b /// [kša]triyo [ja] ///
- c /// [ko]ḍīśa[t]. ///

B

- a /// ? samaṇa ? ///
- b /// .[iya] ṇipa[da] ///
- c /// jatiye [°] ///

30) MS 2179/uf3/2a; A

- a /// ? ? da [saṇipa] ///
- b /// brahmaṇo ja[tiye] ///

B

- a /// ? kha 3 tra[y]. ? ///
- b /// [ma]da jīṇ[a]s[ya] ° [r]. ///

31) MS 2179/uf3/2b; A

- a /// ? ? ? + ? ? ///
- b /// ? ṇivrade varṣasahasra ° [ṭha] ///

B

- a /// ? ? ? ? [yo °] .u ? ? ? ///
- b /// ? [to ra ṇa mu ti vidāno] ° [p]. [ri] ///

32) MS 2179/uf3/3a; A

- a /// [g].[o] ° ṣaṭhi [va].[ṣa] ///

B

- a /// [prabha] + .[ra]hm[a] ///

33) AF N1; A⁷

- a /// [bh]umi [kṣatri]yo [ja] ///
- b /// [ṇa]ma [i]dhimaṃtaṇa agro ° [tr]. ///

34) AF N2; A⁸

- a /// capariśa ° paṃca ? ///
- b /// saṃ ? [va] ? [ña] ///
- c /// praṇama ///

35) MS 2179/107; A

- a /// gado ° yatra [a]ridam[e]ṇa ta[thaga] ///
- b /// [r]eṇa 1 1 bhagir[a]si ṇa ? ///
- c /// [ṇ]ido ? ? ? ? ? ///

B

- a /// ? ///
- b /// ? ? [ka]reṇa 4 [oya] ///
- c /// .o prekṣitva ludhagadarake[ṇa] ///

36) MS 2179/130Q; A

- a /// ? ///
- b /// [pra]thamaṃ bodh[a] ? ///
- c /// [tha]gado ° ///

B

- a /// .o [ṇama] ? ///
- b /// ? śi[ṇ]o da ? ///
- c /// ? ? ? ? ? ///

37) MS 2179/uf2/3c; A

- a /// ? [šo] ? ///
- b /// ? ? ? ///

B

- a /// v. ṣya m. ///

38) MS 2170/uf3/1b; A

- a /// .o pa ma [mi kri] ? ///
- b /// ? [jad]. gami ? ? [°] .[e] ///
- c /// ? ? [mu] ? ///

B

- a /// ? ? ? ///
- b /// ? rtha vahañ. ///
- c /// [dharme]ṣu suviṇi ? ///

⁷ Only one side of this fragment is visible in the available photograph.

⁸ Only one side of this fragment is visible in the available photograph.

39) MS 2179/uf3/3b; A

a /// [śa] .[u kr]. ///

b /// ra vi kr. ///

B

a /// ? ///

b /// .o da ṇa a ? ///

40) MS 2179/uf4/2b; A

a /// [ti] ° su [vi] ///

b /// [yo] karma ? ///

c /// ? ///

B

a /// [saṃ]sriṭha pr. ///

b /// ? [bhi ṇ]. ? ///

41) MS 2179/uf4/2c; A

a /// ka ca [ṇi] ///

b /// ? ° ? ? ///

B

a /// v[a]ti ? ///

42) MS 2179/uf4/2d; A

a /// varṣa ///

B

a /// ? ? ///

b /// ? [m]. ///

43) MS 2179/uf4/4b; A

a /// ? [ṇa] pa [ra] ///

b /// ? ///

B

a /// [ca y]e pra ///

b /// ? ///

44) MS 2179/uf4/4f; A

a /// ? [ya] bhumi ? ///

b /// ? ? ///

B

a /// ? pariṇa ? ///

45) MS 2179/uf5/2a; A

a. /// [abhi] ? ///

B

a. /// [rma t]. ? ///

46) MS 2179/uf5/2c; A

a /// ? ///

b /// vekṣida ///

c /// ? ? ///

B

a /// ? davya ///

b /// davya [°] ///

47) MS 2179/uf5/4b; A

5 /// [pa]raga ? ///

B

1 /// su vimu ///

2 /// ? ? ? ///

48) HI 21; A

a /// ? vakṣati budho bheṣe [taṃ] ? ///

b /// ? spe 10 4 śruda teṇa bh[u]da[m eṣ]a ///

c /// ? daridra p[ra]ṇa[h]iṇa ° ? ? ? ? ? ///

B

a /// ? [t]. ? ? ? ? ? ///

b /// riprichati ca sarv[e] sarv. ? ///

c /// ? [c]. [bh]ogaṇe pi sokha ° ṇa ///

B

a */// ?? ///*

b */// ?? ///*

Our textual reconstructions are based primarily on text-internal patterns, especially the formulaic structures of the Perfections and Buddhas Sections, and secondarily on the Chinese and Tibetan translations (in which we highlight in bold those words corresponding to the Gāndhārī fragments). Another important concern for us was to provide as precise as possible an indication of the amount of missing text between preserved snippets on each fragment, since in the Bhk more than many other texts the distances between preserved expressions and the way that these do (or do not) match up with the locations of corresponding expressions in the Chinese and Tibetan parallels form an important part of the argument for each textual identification. Based on the average reconstructed line length of 81 akṣaras as well as (in verse passages) an expected pāda length of 10–11 syllables, we thus indicate missing material by the approximate number of crosses. The reader is asked to take these as intended: guidance rather than precise measurements. As a matter of principle, we do not attempt to back-translate proper names from the Chinese or Tibetan except where these are independently attested (usually in Weller’s list of buddhas names).

[illegible]

何謂出家來度無極有六事。若有所施與心俱合致無漏行。是曰布施。其以謹慎令護身口合於滅度。是曰持戒。若以仁和厭於三界而無所著。是曰忍辱。勤修政行歸四意止而生道意。**是曰精進**。所以禪思遵四等心。患厭周旋生死之難。是曰一心。若以聖明而放遠捨愁感之思遵修至真。是曰智慧。是為**六**。

de la ñes par 'byuñ ba bsgrub pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | zag pa med pa'i sbyin pa
dañ ldan pa ma yin pa'i sems kyī sbyin pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || mya ñan las 'das pa dañ
ldan pa'i tshul khrims gañ yin pa de ni tshul khrims so || khams gsum gyis yid byuñ ba'i bzod pa
gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o || dran pa ñe bar g'zag pa las ñes par byuñ ba'i brtson 'grus gañ yin pa
de ni brtson 'grus so || byams pa la gnas śin srid pa la smod par gnas pa'i bsam gtan gañ yin pa de
ni bsam gtan no || yid mi bde bas rab tu phye ba'i śes rab gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni
ñes par 'byuñ ba bsgrub pa'i **pha rol tu phyin pa drug go** |

The Chinese and Tibetan translations differ in their names for this group of perfections. Chinese 出家來度無極 points to **pravraj-* (cf. 1v2 (*pravrayidaśi*)*laaṇachejaparamida* = 出家不斷戒度無極, *rab tu byuñ ba'i dañ tshul rgyun mi 'chad pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*), whereas Tibetan *ñes par 'byuñ ba bsgrub pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa* suggests **niryā-* (cf. 5r3 (*praña*)*ñiryadaparamida* = 智慧度無極, *śes rab las ñes par byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa*). The two translations do, however, agree in the content of this section, which would seem to favour **niryā-* rather than **pravraj-*. Unfortunately, the Gāndhārī fragment does not help decide the question because the name is very heavily abraded, and what remains does not fit either one of the expected words. The first preserved akṣara suggests a *ha*, but seems to have an overlong foot that may in fact be the result of part of a preceding letter extending to the left. The next akṣara is almost certainly either a *ya* or a *śa*, and ink traces on the bottom left suggest a vowel mark *u*. The third akṣara would appear to be a two-stroke *ka* with subscript *ra*, apparently yielding the word *śukra*. This is followed by two indecipherable akṣaras, the second of which has left almost no trace and is followed in turn by what appears to be a *ve* and another illegible akṣara. The next word is clearly *paramida*. It would thus appear that the Gāndhārī section bore a different title from both the Chinese and the Tibetan translations. This in turn raises the possibility that the content of the Gāndhārī section also differed from the corresponding section in the Chinese and Tibetan sequences, but the meagre remains of the Gāndhārī text do not allow us to state so unequivocally.

| de la mañ du thos pa bsgrub pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | gdams ñag dañ ldan pa'i sbyin pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || **chos yoñs su gzuñ ba'i don du lus dañ srog gtoñ ba'i** tshul khrim s gañ yin pa **de ni** tshul khrim s so || dam pa'i chos nub pa'i dus kyi tshe chos yoñs su gzuñ ba'i don du gañ byañ chub sems dpa' bdag ñid yoñs su gtoñ ba'i bzod pa gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o || gzuñs dañ ldan pa'i brtson 'grus gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so || rten ciñ 'brel bar 'byuñ bas rab tu phye ba'i bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no || so so yañ dag par rig pas rab tu phye ba'i śes rab gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni mañ du thos pa bsgrub pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

No less problematic is the concluding heading of this section. The Chinese and Tibetan translations (博聞 and *mañ du thos pa*) point to a compound containing **bahuśruca* ‘learning’ that should, as usual, have concluded with *paramida ṣo*, but instead our fragment preserves a clear *riga*, preceded by a less certain *ha* and followed by the section-concluding number sign 20 20 20 20 10 (3). This in turn, however, is followed by an ink trace that cannot be interpreted as part of the number, but very well fits the punctuation mark ≪. As the following section shows, this punctuation mark did not invariably conclude each group of perfections, raising the possibility that here a special function word or summary followed the last words (presumably *paramida ṣo*) of the section proper.

⁹ The Taisho edition adds: (上文第十二幅初六度無極下丹本有注云准標文脫佛興盛度無極。神通品第十佛告喜王菩薩。)

The fragment preserves only part of the description of patience and of the overall title of the section. Corresponding to Chinese 不自大 and Tibetan *lhag pa'i ña rgyal med pa*, describing persons, we have what appears to be a Gāndhārī abstract noun *ñiradhimāṇada* (Skt *niradhi-mānatā*) ‘state of being without arrogance.’ At the end of the section, corresponding to Chinese 出家不斷戒度無極 (at the beginning of the section only) and Tibetan *rab tu byun ba'i dan tshul rgyun mi 'chad pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa* (at the beginning and end, with slightly different internal syntax) we can reconstruct (*pravrayidaśi*)*laaṇachejaparamida* (Skt *pravrajitaśīlānāchedya-pāramitāḥ*) ‘the indestructible perfections of the virtue of one who has gone forth.’

tatra (1v3)(kadarā) ++++++
 ++++(ayam śīla ° ya kṣati a)**kokucasya aya kṣati ° ya virya**
prañidha(1v4)(na)++++++
 .idaparamida ṣo (20 20 20 20 10 4 1)

T. 22b22-c1.

何謂住神通度無極有六事。若有所施至於重財不以貪吝。奉於道法而受真教。是曰布施。行無所著不徇邪正志于大道。是曰持戒。其以仁和**不懷狐疑**永無猶豫。**是曰忍辱**。志在勤修建立**弘誓**不違本願。是曰精進。所以禪思光明所照通於遠近。是曰一心。聖明所遵應於道地。事事有緣牢堅受持。是曰智慧。是為六。

D 52b4-6.

| **de la** mñon par śes pa la gnas pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ že na | rje sa dañ ma bral žiñ sloñ
ba la yoñs su gtoñ bas gzuñ ba'i sbyin pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || mi gnas pa'i tshul khrims
gañ yin pa de ni tshul khrims so || **'gyod pa med pa'i** bzod pa gañ yin pa **de ni bzod pa'o** || **smon**
lam gyis rnam par 'phrul pa'i **brtson 'grus gañ yin pa** de ni brtson 'grus so || snañ bas rnam par
dpyad pa'i bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no || sbyor ba'i sa'i rnam pa la dmigs pas legs par
yoñs su bzuñ ba'i śes rab gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni mñon par śes pa la **gnas pa'i pha**
rol tu phyin pa drug go |

This section is one of two that preserve part of the introductory phrase *tatra kadara* and together confirm it: 1v2–3 *tatra (kadara)* and 2v3–4 (*tatra*) *kadara*. In the passage on patience, the reconstruction 1v3 (*a*)*kokucasya* (Skt *akauṛtyasya*) ‘without regret’ is supported by Chinese 不懷狐 (see the introduction for the phonetic implications of this transcription) and Tibetan *’gyod pa med pa*. The following passage on bravery is only partly preserved, and we cannot be certain about the further reconstruction of 1v3–4 *praṇidha(ṇa)*. The Tibetan translation *smon lam gyis rnam par ’phrul pa* suggests *praṇidha(navikurvīdasya)* ‘transformed by a resolution,’ but *vikurvita* is only attested as a noun in the meaning ‘miracle’ in Buddhist Sanskrit (BHSD s.v.). At the end of this section, one should probably reconstruct (*abhiṃñavihar*)*idaparamida* or a variant thereof, corresponding to Chinese 住神通度無極 and Tibetan *mñon par śes pa la gnas pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa*.

The right margin of fragment no. 2 contains partially preserved folio numbering, separated from the text block by a vertical line. The numbering presents several problems of interpretation. It commences with a small circle that does not resemble any number sign (such as that for 100, which consists of two strokes touching each other at an angle) and has therefore been interpreted as a leading punctuation mark setting off the folio number proper. It is followed by three clear number signs 20 20 20. These in turn are followed by what appear to be two separate number signs 1 1, slightly curved to the bottom left. After this there is a gap in the margin that could have contained one or two more number signs, followed by a trace of ink and a horizontal line. The trace of ink is puzzling since the general syntax of Kharoṣṭhī number signs means that at most one further number sign could have followed the sequence 20 20 20 1 1, namely another number sign 1 that would have been lost in the gap. While the interpretation of the trace of ink remains thus uncertain, we interpret the final horizontal line as another punctuation mark framing the folio number together with the leading small circle. The folio number on this fragment could thus have been either 62 or 63, and we somewhat arbitrarily chose the former of these possibilities. Accordingly, fragment nos. 1, 3 and 4 belonged either to folios 60, 63 and 64 or to folios 61, 64 and 65 of the manuscript.

The reconstructed textual flow of this fragment suggests that the folio number was placed in the right margin of the verso, in contrast to the Brāhmī manuscripts from Bamiyan, which carry their folio numbers in the left margin of the recto. Unfortunately, there is no independent textual evidence to determine the recto and folio of the other Bhk fragment with preserved folio number (fragment no. 28), but the *Ekottarikāgama* fragments edited in this volume (in particular MS 2179/82) confirm that the usual placement of folio numbers in Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts from Bamiyan was, in fact, on the verso.

(tatra kadara) ++++++
 ++++++ (bra)(2r1)**hma****lokaḥidasya
ja(mbudvipa)** ++++++
 ++++++ (ya)**tha mahasamudrasmi atma(ṇa)** ++++++ (ṇa) **(2r2)**
savasati ayam kṣati (° ya) ++++++
 ++++++ **ñatavya ayam virya ° ya jaṇa** ++++++ (āṣiti) **(2r3)**
varśasaahasra met(r)a ++++++
 ++++++ ? .i jī ? ++++++ **(2r4) ayam praña °
i(me)** ++++++

何謂眾報應度無極有六事。若愍世人有所救濟。猶如離垢化眾行淨。是曰布施。所奉至行住於梵天。為閻浮利人造立德本令得入法。是曰持戒。所行仁和加於眾生不惜身命。猶如在海見其船壞自殺其身以度眾人。是曰忍辱。所行精進開化無數多所成就。猶如導師名曰福事。採海眾寶以濟窮匱。是曰精進。所以禪思愍傷他人而行勸助。猶如童子名曰意義。

¹⁰ We thank Thomas Cruijsen and Anne Kuyvenhoven for their assistance in the interpretation of this fragment.

於八萬歲奉行慈心用安眾生。是曰一心。若以聖明了解現世度世智慧。以是智慧覺了空無。如須菩提解空識喻。眾塵樹葉悉能分別。其勸助者報應過是。是曰智慧。是為六。

D 53b5–54a3.

| de la rnam par smin pa mañ po'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | 'jig rten la phan par bya ba'i sbyin pa ni dper na 'bel ma'i lta bu gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || **tshañs pa'i 'jig rten la gnas te 'dzam bu'i gliñ** gi mi rnams las bya ba la 'jug par byed pa'i tshul khirms gañ yin pa de ni tshul khirms so || sems can gyi phyir bdag yoñs su gtoñ ba'i bzod pa ni dper na rgya mtsho ni śi ba'i ro dañ mi **gnas pas** sems can rnams dgrol ba'i don du **rgya mtsho chen por bdag ñid** yoñs su gtoñ ba lta bu gañ yin pa **de ni bzod pa'o** || skye bo mañ po yoñs su smin par 'gyur ba'i brtson 'grus ni dper na rgya mtshor ded dpon bsod nams khyim lag rkyal gyis rgal ba las rig par bya ba lta bu gañ yin pa **de ni brtson 'grus so** || gzan la phan par yoñs su bsños pa'i bsam gtan ni dper na bram ze'i bu nor gyi blo gros kyis sems can rnams bde ba la sbyar ba'i phyir **lo stoñ phrag** brgyad cur byams pa bsgoms pa gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no || 'jig rten pa dañ 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos rnams las śin tu rnam par gdon mi za ba'i śes rab ni dper na rgyal po blo bzañs kyis sñon gyi tshul śiñ loñ las rig par bya ba lta bu gañ yin pa **de ni śes rab ste** | **'di dag ni** rnam par smin pa mañ po'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

This section contained several interesting references to Buddhist stories (cf. Skilling 2010: 219 for such narrative references in general) from which just enough is preserved to ascertain their presence in the background of the Chinese and Tibetan translations: (1) A dweller of the Brahmaloka (2r1 (*bra*)*hmalokañhidasya* = Skt *brahmalokasthitasya*) takes rebirth as a human in Jambudvīpa (*ja(mbudvipa)-*), illustrating the perfection of virtue. This appears to be a general statement of an ideal rebirth pattern rather than a reference to a particular story. (2) The Buddha (in the first person) in a previous life sacrifices himself (2r1 *atma(ṇa)* = Skt *ātmānam*) for travellers on the great ocean (2r1 *mahasamudrasmi* = Skt *mahāsamudre*), saying that the ocean 'does not stay with' (2r1–2 (*na*) *savasati* = Skt *saṃvasati*, Chin. 不惜, Tib. *mi gnas pas*) dead bodies for long. This is probably a reference to a jātaka story of the *Mahāvastu* (*paṃcakānāṃ bhadravargikānāṃ jātaka*, Mvu III 353.14–356.19) in which the Buddha in a former life as a seafaring merchant saves the lives of his shipwrecked fellow travellers by telling them to cling to his corpse after he kills himself because the deity of the ocean does not like to stay with corpses (*mṛtakuṇapena sārđhaṃ na prativasati*, Mvu III 354.7 [prose], *mṛtakuṇapena na saṃvasati* Mvu III 355.9–10 [verse]) and will wash his body ashore together with them.¹¹ (3) A young brahman called *Ratnamati (Tib. Nor gyi blo gros) meditates for a long time on benevolence (2r3 *met(r)a* = Skt *maitrā*, Chin. 慈心, Tib. *byams pa*). The Chinese and Tibetan translations specify the duration of his meditation as 80,000 (八萬歲, *stoñ phrag brgyad cu*) years, matching the remains of the Gāndhārī text (2r2–3 (*aśiti*) *varṣasahasra* = Skt *aśītiṃ varṣasahasrāṇi*). While we have not been able to identify a clear parallel for this story, the name Ratnamati occurs at least twice in Buddhist Sanskrit literature: in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* (19.3) as one of eight princes who follow their father, the buddha Candrasūryapradīpa, into renunciation, and in the *Avadānaśataka* (1.12.18) as a future buddha.

¹¹ We thank Vincent Tournier for pointing us to this parallel.

In 2r2 *ñatavya ayam virya*, *ñatavya* (Skt *jñātavya*-) appears to conclude a preceding expression, and *ayam virya* alone to constitute the conclusion of the passage on *virya*. This stands in contrast to 2v2 (*ayam dana*) *ñatavya* below.

T. 23a20–23b2.

D 54a3–6.

The only distinctive expression preserved in this passage is *śravagasya ave(vatiga)* (Skt *śrāvakasyāvaivartikasya*), broken off in the middle of the second word. (In principle, one could also read *śravagasya aśe*, but the lack of any visible left leg favours the adopted reading.) Interestingly, neither the Chinese nor the Tibetan translation of this passage contain any mention of a disciple, but they reflect the second word in 不退轉 and *phyir mi ldog pa*. The Tibetan further suggests that it is the dwindling of negative influxes (*zag pa zad pa*) that is irreversible. The application of *ave(vatiga)* (Skt *avaivartika*) to disciples rather than bodhisattvas remains, however, unusual (see BHSD s.v.).

[illegible]

[illegible]

T. 23b13–23b23.¹²

何謂時進度無極有六事。若得止處次第惠救眾厄難。是曰布施。所行謹慎如生鱉中。其為鱉王時將護己身又濟他人。是曰持戒。所志仁和親近眾行歸護身口。猶如人賢所行慈忍。斷其諸節不抱傷害。是曰忍辱。所修精勤。佛興世時所在見佛。如來平等其三昧印於一切行。三千歲未曾休懈。是曰精進。所曰禪思在於中宮妓嫖女間。常修清白而不放逸。是曰一心。順智慧時在於生死。在在所至將護諸我使了無我。是曰智慧。是為六。

D 54b3–6.

| de la **dus su** byin pa dañ mtshuñs par ldan pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug **gañ ze na** | sdug bsñal bar 'gyur ba rnams la sbyin pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || ru sbal gyi skyes pa'i rabs kyi tshul khirms gañ yin pa **de ni tshul khirms so** || mñon du sdug bsñal bas lus dañ ñag la gnod pa med pa'i **bzod pa ni** dper na bzañ brtsams yan lag bcañ kyañ 'khrug pa med pa'i **bzod pa** gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o || sangs rgyas 'byuñ ba na brtson pa ni dper na sañs rgyas mñon sum du byed ciñ de bzin gsegs pa'i **tiñ ñe 'dzin** rgya mtsho la **lo sum khri**'i bar du rmugs pa dañ gñid ma 'byuñ ba gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so || btsun mo'i 'khor na gnas pa'i bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no || 'khor ba na gañ dus dañ mtshuñs par ldan pa'i śes rab gañ dañ gañ du bdag dañ gzan la phan par 'gyur ba'i śes rab gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni dus su sbyin pa dañ mtshuñs par ldan pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

The name of this group of six perfections is partially preserved, but not entirely clear. The first member is *kala*, corresponding to Chinese 時 and Tibetan *dus su*. The following punctuation dot is unexpected. Gāndhārī scribes did occasionally use dots to set off members of complex compounds (for instance *vedaīda°uaśamapayīṭhi* ‘search for calming of feelings’ in British Library verse commentary II, cf. Baums 2009: 674), but simple *kala* in our manuscript does not seem to call for such a treatment. Nonetheless, there is no reason not to think that the Gāndhārī name of this group of perfections was given in the form of a compound. The following three akṣaras are, however, only partially preserved, and while the interpretation of the first as *ñā* is certain enough, the following traces can be taken as either the remnants of two separate akṣaras, or possibly as one (in which case it would have contained subscript *ya*). In either case, the Gāndhārī does not appear to match either the Chinese (進 suggesting \sqrt{gam} or a synonym) or the Tibetan (*byin pa* suggesting $\sqrt{dā}$). We can only suggest that paleography may be partly to blame for this situation, since Kharoṣṭhī *ñā* (as in our manuscript) and *daṇa* (as suggested by the Tibetan) are often similar and sometimes confused in cursive writing.

The passage on *kṣati* evidently consists of two parts, each of them starting with *ya kṣati*. The first of these probably corresponds to the general statement of the parallels (‘patience is not to do harm even when suffering,’ Chin. 所志仁 ... 身口, Tib. *mñon du sdug bsñal bas ... bzod pa ni*), the second to the exemplification (‘the patience of a certain forest-dweller as his limbs were cut off,’ Chin. 猶如 ... 傷害, Tib. *dper na ... bzod pa gañ yin pa de ni*). It remains unclear how to interpret the akṣara *mi* at the end of the first statement (a locative ending seems most likely) and the word fragment *agache* near the beginning of the second (an optative form of \bar{a} - \sqrt{gam} seems most likely, but does not appear to be reflected in the Chinese or Tibetan translations).

¹² We thank Lin Qian 林倩 for his assistance in identifying the Chinese parallel for the right half of this fragment.

[illegible]

何謂報安光度無極有六事。若至魔徑臨壽終時。其功報應。猶兜術天忽沒來下。**開化鐵鬼除其飢厄**。是曰布施。降伏魔徑所奉愍哀。**放捨身縛**亦脫罪厄。猶如往古國王太子名曰須賴。所脫苦患,是曰持戒。其行仁和在於魚中。安諸鼃鼃隱**樂得食**。**是曰忍辱**。所勤修行諸王女等。而在恐懼危厄艱難愍傷濟之。是曰精進。所修禪思。在疾疫劫以藥療之。猶如往古童子所作長益。以五頭首救寂闍浮提諸非邪惡。**是曰一心**。以此聖明救濟一切。猶往古喻五百賈客。以**五百玉女**及諸玉女。就為導師護五億人一心宿衛。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la rnam par smin pa bde ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | ši ba la thug pa'i sbyin pa gañ gi rnam par smin pas dga' ldan nas ši 'phos pa na **yi dags rnams kyi bkres pa phyid pa** gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || **ši ba la thug pa rnams** bcins pa las dgrol ba'i phyir bdag ñid gtoñ ba'i **tshul khrims** ni dper na rgyal po'i bu legs byin gyi sñon gyi tshul **gañ** yin pa de ni tshul khrims so || bzod pa ni dper na ña'i skyes pa'i rabs las grog sbur de dag gis bdag gi ša **zos** nas bde bar gyur na legs so žes bya ba gañ yin pa **de ni bzod pa'o** || rta'i rgyal po rñog ldan sdug bsñal ba rnams la sñiñ brtse ba'i phyir **brtson pa gañ** yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so || nad kyi bar gyi bskal pa'i bsam gtan ni dper na bram ze'i bu de bi dha 'dzam bu'i gliñ du reg pa lña ži bar byed pa lta bu gañ yin pa **de ni bsam gtan no** || tshoñ pa lña brgya dañ **rgyal po'i sras mo bu mo lña brgya** dag thar par byas pa dañ | srin mo bye ba phrag lña mir byas pa'i šes rab ni ded dpon gyi sñon gyi tshul las šes par bya ba gañ yin pa de ni šes rab ste | 'di dag ni rnam par smin pa bde ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

[illegible]

何謂不迴還**度無極有六事**。既有所濟不樂**聲聞緣覺**之業。願求無上正真之道。是曰布施。所奉謹慎觀於至義而不懈廢。是曰持戒。所遵仁和能暢究竟不中懷恨。是曰忍辱。所行遵修**執權方便**。有所救濟使不放逸。是曰**精進**。所修禪定顯明章句而不迷憤。是曰一心。所謂聖明得至七住不退轉地。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la phyir mi ldog pa'i **pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ** ze na | **ñan thos dañ rañ sañs rgyas** kyí
 theg pa la re ba med ciñ mi dmigs pas bla na med pa'i byañ chub tu yons su bsños pa'i **sbyin pa**
gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || mi blta ba'i tshul khrims gañ yin pa de ni tshul khrims so || de'i no bo
 ma yin pa'i bzod pa gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o || **thabs mkhas pa'i** brtson 'grus gañ yin pa **de ni**
brtson 'grus so || **rig pa skyed pa'i** bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no || mñam pa ñid kyí
 sa'i šes rab gañ yin pa de ni šes rab ste | 'di dag ni phyir mi ldog pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

The section provides abstract definitions of the six perfections, three of which are partially preserved. Giving is the giving of one seeking enlightenment who does not observe the practices (Chin. 業, but Tib. *theg pa*) of the disciples or individually awoken ones. It is unclear whether the word in question (3v2 *śravagapracegabudha-* = Skt *śrāvaka-pratyekabuddha-*) carried a genitive plural case ending or formed the prior member of a compound. It is interesting to note that while some Gāndhārī texts clearly interpreted the word as containing G *pracaya* (Skt *pratyaya*) ‘condition’ (e.g., Nird¹² 9·150 *ṣavagapracegabudhaṇa*; Baums 2009)—an understanding also reflected in Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese translation 緣覺—the spelling of our Gāndhārī manuscript sides with the understanding as G *pracega* (Skt *pratyeka*) ‘individual’ (so for instance also Anav^s 7 *pracegabudhaṣa*; Salomon 2008).

Bravery is the bravery of skillfulness in means: 3v3 (*upayako*)*śalasya* (Skt *upāyaukaśalyasya*). The definition of meditation begins with 3v3 *viḥupati*, followed by the remnants of another akṣara strongly suggestive of a reading [*ga*]. If our manuscript did indeed read *viḥupati[ga]* (Skt *vidyotpattikam*), then its meaning ‘that arises from knowledge’ differed from that of at least the Tibetan translation *rig pa skyed pa* ‘that gives rise to knowledge’ (the interpretation of the Chinese translation being less certain).

[illegible]

何謂為娛樂度無極有六事。有所給與以開難化眾令發道意。**是曰布施**。若眷屬羸護奉行業。其有人來節節解之。不生毒心慈勸道法。如射獵師心懷怨結。若有人來節節解之。獵師心悅不以懷害。**是曰持戒**。若以仁和宣善義理。投之於火欲危其身不以懷結。**是曰忍辱**。所以勤修竟至滅度。觀於有為如火熾然。消之以法。**是曰精進**。所謂禪思除一切塵獨樂一處。若以戒法救眾人愚。**是曰一心**。慧無所樂而等其心。猶國王子施得土地。令其無罪而有勢力。**是曰智慧**。**是為六**。

| de la dga' ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | **sañs rgyas 'byuñ ba na sems can** thams cad
la sbyin pa gañ yin pa **de ni sbyin pa'o** || sañs rgyas 'byuñ ba'i dus su rnam par smin pa'i tshul
khrims ni dper na g'zon nu dpal mthu'i sñon gyi tshul lta bu'o || bzod pa ni dper na rgyal po bsod
nams rgya chen gyis bdag 'ba' žig bde bar ma gyur cig || bdag kyañ bde bar gyur la gañ g'zan yañ
bde bar gyur cig ces gañ smras pa lta bu gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o || gzuñs rab tu thob par 'gyur
ba'i brtson 'grus gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so || sems can rnams kyi rnam par smin pa bde bar
yoñs su bsños pa'i bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no || sa brgyad pa phyir mi ldog pa'i šes
rab gañ yin pa de ni šes rab ste | 'di dag ni dga' ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

[illegible]

何謂鮮潔度無極有六事。若有所興無所依倚。亦不相報加於眾生。是曰布施。所修謹慎常抱篤信。懷來七覺覺諸不覺。是曰持戒。所修仁和慈念眾生。不貪其身亦不惜命。是曰忍辱。所志勤修選擇諸法。合會至行致諸覺意。是曰精進。若以禪思無所想念而不放逸。是曰一心。所以聖明致得佛道而度一切。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la rnam par dag pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | mñon par zen pa med pa'i sbyin pa
gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || śin tu sbyaṅs pa byaṅ chub kyī yan lag bsgrub pa'i tshul khirms gañ
yin pa de ni tshul khirms so || lus la mi lta ba dañ | srog la mi lta ba'i bzod pa gañ yin pa de ni bzod
pa'o || chos rnam par 'byed pa byaṅ chub kyī yan lag dañ mtshuṅs par ldan pa'i brtson 'grus gañ
yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so || rtog pa med pa'i bsaṃ gtan gañ yin pa de ni bsaṃ gtan no || byaṅ
chub bsgrub pa'i śes rab gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni rnam par dag pa'i pha rol tu phyin
pa drug go |

[illegible]

何謂成世法度無極有六事。若以所濟報應無數。致於永安無復眾難。是曰布施。所以謹慎慕求道法。八正之業至平等慧。是曰持戒。所念仁和不疑道義決壞羅網。是曰忍辱。所行勤修於現在法長得安隱。是曰精進。所謂禪思精進本行滅寂正受。是曰一心。其遵聖明所作已辦受四意止。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la 'jig rten pa'i chos las 'das pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | rnam par smin pa 'dus
ma byas dañ lam bde ba sgrub pa'i sbyin pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || lam la zugs pa'i tshul
khrims gañ yin pa de ni **tshul khrims so || byañ chub la the tsom med pa'i bzod pa gañ yin pa**
de ni bzod pa'o || mthoñ ba'i chos la bde ba sgrub pa'i brtson 'grus gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so
|| 'gog pa'i sñoms par 'jug pa dañ mtshuñs par ldan pa'i bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no ||
dran pa ñe bar gźag pa yoñs su sbyañ ba byas śiñ | **bden pa yoñs su bzuñ ba bya ba byas pa'i** śes
rab gañ yin pa **de ni śes rab ste** | **'di dag ni** 'jig rten pa'i chos las 'das pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa
drug go |

Among the ‘perfections that transcend the worldly dharmas,’ patience is the patience of one without doubt concerning awakening: 4r3 *bodhiṇiśaśagas(y)a* (Skt *bodhinirsaṃśayasya*). The right tip of the *s* is preserved, making the reconstruction of the genitive ending (further supported by the Tibetan translation) very likely. The word shows a type of sibilant assimilation typical of Gāndhārī (Baums 2009: 187–188) and writes *g* instead of *y* as a hyperetymological spelling. Understanding is the understanding in which the foundations of mindfulness have been practised and the truths acquired. While the Tibetan translation suggests a construction involving *bahuvrīhi*

[illegible]

何謂淨俗度無極有六事。其以所行救三千世界從始至終無有異心。是曰布施。從始生來普安一切。周旋往來三界眾生。是曰持戒。發意以來教化群黎。至無所至使無處所。是曰忍辱。使三千世界一切眾生精進滅度。猶初發意出家學故其心難當。是曰精進。所謂禪思令諸眾生得攝其意。專惟經法而不放逸。是曰一心。其以聖明至於地獄。救濟危厄適生墮地。口有所宣論講經道逮得法典。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la skye ba bkod pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | skyes pa tsam gyis stoñ gsum du
sbyin pa sbyin par byed pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || skyes pa tsam gyis sems can thams cad
bde bar gyur pa gañ yin pa **de ni tshul khrims so** || skyes pa tsam gyis sems can gnod sems can
rnams gnod par mi byed pa gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o || skyes pa tsam gyis sems can stoñ phrag
rnams mya ñan las 'das pa la brtson pa ni dper na 'od sruñ ñan por rab tu byuñ ba gañ yin pa de ni
brtson 'grus so || skyes pa tsam gyis sems can rnams **dran pa thob pa'i** bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni
bsam gtan no || skyes pa tsam gyis sems can dmyal bar gyur pa chos brjed pa rnams tha na kun tu
brjed ciñ mñon par brjed pa'i śes rab gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni skye ba bkod pa'i pha
rol tu phyin pa drug go |

Understanding, according to the Tibetan translation, is the understanding of one who through his mere birth thoroughly explains the dharma to those who were reborn as hell beings and forgot it. The Gāndhārī passage begins with what can be quite clearly read as *a*, but it remains unclear, even with the help of the translations, what the word in question could have been.

D 79a6–b1.

| de la bsam gtan las ñes par byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | byams pa gtso bo'i bsam gtan sems can la phan pa dañ ldan pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o || sems can la phan pa'i 'du śes can gyi bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni tshul khirms kyi'o || 'jig rten la phan par sems spro ba gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o || ñe bar ži ba'i phyir ñes par 'byuñ ba gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o || chos kyi sbyin pa legs par bsams nas smra ba gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o || **rañ bžin gyis gnas pa'i ñes pa'i tshig gañ yin pa de ni śes rab kyi ste** | 'di dag ni bsam gtan las ñes par byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

The 'perfections of escape through meditation' include, under the heading of understanding, what we can read securely as *pragrititathadañiruti*, which can only correspond to Skt *prakṛtitathatā-nirukti* and appears to mean something along the lines of 'explanation of the true essence of nature.' Of particular interest is the inclusion of the term *tathada*, the more so as it is not clearly reflected in the Chinese translation (清淨 'purity,' coming after 志性 'mental nature' = *prakṛti*, may be a reflection) or the Tibetan (*gnas pa*, coming between *rañ bžin* = *prakṛti* and *ñes pa'i tshig* = *nirukti*, may be a weak correspondence). The usual translations of *tathatā* in its technical sense are 真如 and *de bžin ñid*, maybe suggesting that in the context of the Bhk passage as understood by its Chinese and Tibetan translators it was not used in this sense.

(tatra kadara prañāṇiryadaparamida śo ° ya) +++ **(5r2)** ++++++
+++++ **da ° ya aparikhed** <i>da dharmadañada ayaṃ kṣa</i>(ti ° ya) ++++++
+++++ **(5r3)** ++++++
+ (ayaṃ prañā ° ime prañā)**ñiryadaparamida śo 20 20 1**

T. 36a28–36b7.

何謂智慧度無極有六事。若以經典法施於人使發道心。是曰布施。若有所說離於衣食不貪利養。是曰持戒。若以法施不徇俗業不用懈倦。是曰忍辱。入於一切總持諸法。無所不攝各令亘然。是曰精進。以諦思惟三世大難敷演法施。是曰一心。若以本淨本無之義宣布道教有所導示不失其原。是曰智慧。是為六。

D 79b1–3.

| de la śes rab las ñes par byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | chos kyi sbyin pa rab tu sbyin par byed pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o || chos kyi sbyin pa zañ ziñ med par smra ba gañ yin pa de ni tshul khirms kyi'o || **chos kyi sbyin pa la yoñs su skyo ba med pa gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o** || dad pas ñes par 'byuñ ba gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o || chos kyi sbyin pa legs par bsams nas smra ba gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o || **rañ bžin gyi de bžin ñid dañ ñes pa'i tshig śes pa gañ yin pa de ni śes rab kyi ste** | 'di dag ni śes rab las **ñes par byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go** |

The heading of this section is partially preserved in its concluding occurrence and can be securely reconstructed as (*prañā*)*ñiryadaparamida* 'the perfections of escape through understanding.' We

giving the title of a section on the perfections (ending in Skt *-pāramitāḥ*). Judging from the general style of these titles, the first member of the compound is likely to be either a past participle or an abstract noun. The akṣara preceding *da* could be read as *vi* or, more likely in view of the shape of the left arm, as *li*. As per the general pattern, this word could belong either to the introduction or to the conclusion of the passage.

The expression 6Ab *yathabhiprayado* appears to be a rare example of a noun (in ablative case) in vowel sandhi with another word, corresponding to Skt *yathābhiprāyataḥ* ‘according to intention.’

We tentatively take *aṇachejasvati* as a compound word corresponding to Skt *anāchedyasmṛtiḥ* or *anāchedyasmṛtim* ‘unseverable mindfulness,’ though an interpretation as two separate words (noun with dependent adjective) is also possible. The following akṣara *a* may well be the beginning of *a(yam)*, concluding a particular subpassage of the section.

In the next line (6Ad), we can maybe reconstruct *(apa)ramoṣa* (Skt *aparāmarśa*) ‘non-clinging.’ We are reminded of the passage Nird^{L2} 9°34 (Baums 2009) *a[ṇa]chejada va ° aparamoṣado va*, conjoining these two terms. The following expression on our fragment is certainly *aya pra(ṇa)*, concluding a passage on understanding.

On the other side of the fragment, 6Ba *yasya* is a word or part of a word in the genitive singular, quite possibly the relative pronoun. There is some doubt about the reading of the following word since our scribe does not distinguish *śa* and *ya*. We tentatively read *abhaśa* (Skt *abhyāśam*) ‘proximity,’ to yield a phrase ‘into whose proximity’ Not much less likely, however, would be a reading *abhaya* (Skt *abhaya-*) ‘fearless.’

In line 6Bb, *pracaya* (Skt *pratyaya-*) seems likely; only the left side of the first akṣara is preserved, but it does have the bend typical of *pra*. The second syllable of *cita* and the first of *upa* are both abraded and indistinct, but if the reading is correct, then the first word is certainly Skt *citta* ‘mind,’ and the second possibly Skt *upa-pad-* or **ut-pad-* (or another word with the prefix *upa-*).

The next line contains the conclusion of a passage on understanding (*aya praṇa*), followed by the repetition of the title of the section introduced by *ime*. It is regrettable that not much of this title is preserved, since in combination with the other fragmentary title in 6Aa it might have helped locate the fragment in the overall text. As it is, all that can be read clearly is initial *du*, followed by what appears to be a consonant *ṣ*, but with an unusual bend to the right and then left at the foot of the stem that may be an anusvāra.

The last line of the fragment (6Bd) starts with part of a single akṣara that in light of what follows must be the conclusion of a passage on one of the first five perfections. The remains of the akṣara most closely resemble a *ṇa*, suggesting either *daṇa* ‘giving’ or *jāṇa* ‘meditation.’ The following section (which would then be either on virtue or on understanding) contains introductory *ya* followed by the word (or first member of a compound) *pratipakṣa* (Skt *pratipakṣa*) ‘opposed.’

7) MS 2179/30c

The first word on this fragment, partially preserved, can be read as 7Aa *praṇihid*. and will correspond either to Skt *praṇihita* ‘purposeful’ or to Skt *apraṇihita* ‘without purpose.’ In the next

line (7Ab), the genitive *citasya* (Skt *cittasya*) ‘of the mind’ is certain, but it remains unclear whether the word stood on its own or formed the posterior member of a compound. The last line on this side of the fragment (7Ac) contains the sequence of akṣaras *.[e]ṣkara*. One immediately thinks of the word Skt *duṣkara* ‘difficult’ (as the deeds of a bodhisattva), but the first, partially preserved akṣara looks distinctly like a *te* or the top of *se*, the vowel mark being quite clear. No other likely word fitting this pattern suggests itself.

On the other side of the fragment, the first line (7Ba) does not resolve into words, though the fairly clear akṣara *sti* at least suggests *asti* (Skt *asti*) or *ṇasti* (Skt *nāsti*). In the next line (7Bb), we have the conclusion of a passage on bravery (*ayaṃ virya*). The last line contains an apparent compound whose last member can probably be reconstructed as *aṇacheja(da)* (Skt *anāchedyatā*) ‘unseverability’, and the whole probably as either (*prañā*)*aṇacheja(da)* (Skt *prajñānāchedyatā*) ‘unseverability of understanding’ or (*puñā*)*aṇacheja(da)* (Skt *punṇānāchedyatā*) ‘unseverability of merit.’ As such, the term gives the impression of being the title of a particular section on the perfections.

What is more, the occurrence of *cita-* and of *aṇacheja(da)-* appears to provide a connection of content between this fragment and fragment no. 6, although they are no immediate physical fits and the surface structure of the palm leaf suggests that they belonged to two different (though possibly consecutive) folios. The two fragments may possibly be associated, in the Tibetan translation, with perfection groups no. 287 (*dran pa yoṅs su ṅams pa med pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa* ‘the perfections of the non-diminution of mindfulness’) and no. 289 (*śes rab yoṅs su ṅams pa med pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa* ‘the perfections of the non-diminution of understanding’), though *yoṅs su ṅams pa* usually translates Skt *pari-hā-* ‘diminish’, not *anāchedya*, and *aṇacheja* (Skt *anāchedya*) is in fact translated *rgyun mi ’chad pa* in the Tibetan parallel of fragment no. 1. (See also the discussion of the following fragment.)

8) MS 2179/30e

This fragment begins (in line 8Aa) with another partially preserved title for a group of perfections. A likely partial reconstruction would be *-(apa)rihaṇaparami(da)* (Skt *-aparihāṇapāramitāḥ*) ‘the perfections of the non-diminution of ...’, which would make this fragment another candidate for one of the sections corresponding to sections no. 285 to 291 in the Tibetan translation (see discussion of the preceding fragment). The second line on this side of the fragment (8Ab) clearly contains the end of a passage on understanding and the beginning of the concluding phrase of a section, and can be reconstructed as (*ayaṃ*) *prañā* ° *i(me)*.

On the other side of the fragment, we can with some certainty reconstruct 8Ba (*sa*)*rvatra*. The interpretation of the following akṣaras is less certain, but *upe(kṣa)* (Skt *upekṣā*) ‘equanimity’ is one of several possibilities. The second line (8Bb) contains part of the concluding numbering of a section on the perfections. It is tempting to reconstruct (20 20 20) 20 10 1 1, interpret the number as 92 and associate this fragment with fragment no. 1, but the two are not a good fit either physically or in content. In view of the possible parallels for the partial title on the other side of this fragment, it may be better to interpret the same reconstruction (20 20 20) 20 10 1 1 as 292 with (regularly) omitted hundreds.

9) MS 2179/130j

One side of this fragment preserves the end of the title of a section, but since everything before 9Ab *paramida ṣo* is lost we have no means to attempt an identification. The following passage on giving begins with what should probably be reconstructed as *ya sa(r)va* (Skt *ya-sarva-*). The other side of the fragment contains the lower halves of what can quite confidently be read 9Ba *im(e) sarva* (Skt *ime sarve*), presumably the beginning of the concluding formula of a section. This agrees well with the following line, which contains the concluding formula of a passage on patience in 9Bb *ayaṃ kṣati*, i.e., approximately the middle of the following section.

10) MS 2179/130k

The shape of this fragment suggests that it is from the left edge of a folio. In its first line (10Aa), we can securely reconstruct *(pa)ramida* (Skt *pāramitāḥ*). More puzzling is what follows: the next akṣara is almost certainly *u* (with *lu* as a less likely alternative), which means that we are not in the title of any of the perfections sections since there *paramida* is invariably followed by *ṣo*. What is more, the akṣara after *u* remains entirely obscure, and the last akṣara, here tentatively read as *ṇe*, features a placement of the vowel mark that, for this base consonant, is highly unusual. The next line, after one partially preserved unclear akṣara, has the word (or tail end of a compound) 10Ba *ñāṇaūpatikṣetre* (Skt *jñānotpattikṣetre*) ‘in the field where knowledge arises,’ followed by what is either the conjunction *ca* (Skt *ca*) ‘and’ or the beginning of another word continued in the next line.

On the other side of this fragment, we have the clear reading and likely reconstruction 10Ba *sarva kamaguṇa sagradhi(da)* (Skt *sarve kāmaguṇāḥ saṃgrathitāḥ*) ‘all strands of desire are entwined.’ It is also possible to read a compound *sarvakamaguṇasagradhi(da)* ‘entangled by all strands of desire,’ the matter not being decided by *sarva* (rather than *sarve*), which is a legitimate nominative plural form in Gāndhārī. The next line (10Bb) contains the end of a passage on bravery that should probably be reconstructed *(upa)śamo ayaṃ vīrya* (Skt *upaśamo ’yaṃ vīryam*) ‘... calming, this is bravery.’ The uninterpretable tops of three akṣaras from a third line are preserved at the lower edge of the fragment.

11) MS 2179/uf3/2e

The first line of this fragment (11Aa) remains obscure. Its first completely preserved akṣara is *ṣo*, but here it clearly is not part of a title containing *paramida ṣo* since it is neither followed by *ya* (as in the introductory part of a section) nor by a number (as in the concluding part). The scant traces preceding it are compatible with *do*, so one may at least suggest the very uncertain reading *doṣo* (Skt *dveṣaḥ*) ‘hate.’ Following this we appear to have a compound consisting of a two-syllable unclear prior member and possibly *-gatas(y)a* (Skt *-gatasya*) ‘gone’ as posterior member; since the subscript *ya* is not preserved, we can, however, not rule that *-gata-* was followed by a third compound member commencing with *sa*. The second line (11Ab) contains the concluding formula of a passage on patience: *(a)yaṃ kṣati*, followed by what appears to be the abbreviatory device *peyalo* (BHS *peyāla*, P *peyyāla*) ‘and so on.’ An alternative interpretation as Skt *peśala* ‘amiable’ is paleographically equally possible, but not likely in this position immediately following the end

of a passage. The likely use of abbreviatory devices in our manuscript has implications for our calculations of the distances between preserved text fragments, the length of lines and the overall size of the manuscript, but since this is the only instance of preserved *peyala*, and since it occurs in a position where it appears to abbreviate only the end of the section in question, i.e., three perfections filling a total of approximately one line, we still believe our calculations to be quite accurate. We suggest that the use of *peyala* in this passage was triggered by exceptional repetitive-ness of the descriptions of the six perfections, and that overall *peyala* was not regularly used in the manuscript.

The other side of the fragment is not completely visible in the available photographs: in each of the two preserved lines, approximately the first three akṣaras are obscured by a folded-over piece of palm leaf at the right edge of the fragment. The only expression that is visible, in the second of the two lines (11Bb), can be reconstructed as *parami(da)* (Skt *pāramitāḥ*).

12) MS 2179/uf3/2f; A (CKM 358)

Line 12Ba of this fragment can be reconstructed as *.ida ayaṃ pra(ñā)*, with a typical abstract noun in *-da* (Skt *-tā*) preceding *ayaṃ*.

13) AF A1

The first line of this fragment (13Aa) remains completely obscure. In the second line (13Ab), we have the clear conclusion of a passage on understanding and the beginning of the conclusion of the overall section: *ayaṃ prañā ° ime* (of the vowel mark on *me*, only the very base is visible where it attaches to the left arm of the *ma*).

On the other side of the fragment, the first line (13Ba) preserves two recognizable word elements, but their exact relation to each other (separate words or compound) and the rest of the clause remain unclear. The numeral *pañca* (Skt *pañca*) ‘five’ is followed by what is either *varṣi* or *varṣe*. We prefer the former reading as it allows us to read the Gāndhārī form *pañcavarṣi* of a fairly common compound Skt *pañcavarṣika* or *pañcavarṣiya* ‘five years old’ or ‘occurring every five years.’ Whether this in turn should be joined to the following akṣara to give *pañcavarṣida* (Skt *pañcavarṣikatā*) ‘state of being five years old or occurring every five years’ and then *ṇama* (Skt *nāma*) ‘indeed,’ or whether we should rather separate *pañcavarṣi daṇa* (Skt *pañcavarṣikaṃ dānam*) ‘gift on a fifth anniversary’ or *pañcavarṣi daṇama* with incomplete second word is quite uncertain. The second line contains five akṣaras of unclear meaning that seem to belong to two separate words, one ending in *ṇiye*, the other starting with *pravi*.

14) AF A4

The first line on one side of this fragment (14Aa) carries the remains of a number sign *10 4* which could have formed any number between 14 (*10 4*) and 19 (*10 4 4 1*) and, by regular omission of hundreds, could have signified this number added to any multiple of one hundred. The number sign appears to be preceded by a punctuation sign in the form of a small circle. The other side of the fragment contains, in its second line (14Bb), what we very tentatively read as *kṣati*. The identity of the preceding akṣara remains unclear, but it appears to carry a vowel mark *i* or *e* and, in any case, cannot be interpreted as common *ya* or *ayaṃ*.

15) MS 2179/29a

This is the first preserved fragment from the Buddhas Section of our Bhk manuscript. Nothing remains of the descriptions of the first eighty-eight buddhas.

(aṃgayasya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° traye yoviṇa prabha ° kṣatriyo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama pu)(15r1)tro ° **prañacuḍo ṇama vaṭṭha**(ya °) + + + + (ṇama pramāṇamantaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamantaṇa agro ° varṣasahasro ayupramaṇo ° ṇavadi koḍi śravagaṇa prathame saṃnipade ° aśiti koḍi dudiye ° satadi koḍi tridiye ° duvadaśa va)(15r2)**rṣasahasra sadharmavasthiti ° vestha**(riga śarira 4 4 1)

“89: The native country of the tathāgata Aṃgaya is called + + + + His radiance extends three yojanas. He is a kṣatriya by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Prañacuḍa. The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is a thousand years. Nine hundred million listeners are in his first assembly; eight hundred million in the second; seven hundred million in the third. The duration of the good dharma is twelve thousand years. His relics are dispersed.”

T. 57c4–57c10.

虛空如來所生土地。城名愛居。其佛光明照百二十里。君子種父名根施母字天豪。子曰水天。侍者曰智結。上首智慧弟子曰上意。神足弟子曰法首。一會說經九十億弟子集。二會八十億。三會七十億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽千歲。正法存立萬二千歲。舍利普流遍布十方。

D 119a6–b1.

| de bzin gśegs pa yan lag skyes skye ba'i yul ni gnas dga' zes bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so || 'od ni dpag tshad gsum mo || yab ni dbaṅ po'i mtshon cha zes bya'o || yum ni lha mo'i dbaṅ phyug ces bya'o || **sras ni chu lha'i lha zes bya'o || rim gro pa ni śes rab gtsug ces bya'o || śes rab can rnam kyī mchog ni blo gros bla ma zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnam kyī mchog ni chos dpal zes bya'o || 'dus pa daṅ po la ni ṇān thos duṅ phyur phrag dgu'o || gñis pa la ni duṅ phyur phrag brgyad do || gsum pa la ni duṅ phyur phrag bdun no || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoṅ ṇo || **dam pa'i chos ni lo khri** ṇis stoṅ gi **bar du gnas** so || sku gduṅ ni **rgyas par** 'gyur ro |**

The buddha that forms the subject of this section has two name variants in Weller's list (see introduction): Aṅgaja and Aṅgada. The former of these variants is supported by the evidence of the Tibetan (Yan lag skyes) and, indirectly, the Chinese: 虛空 is a translation equivalent of Skt *ākāśa* 'space.' The Gāndhārī pronunciation of this word, after regular voicing of medial consonants, would have been [a.ja.jə], with the possible spelling *agaśa* (so attested in Nird^{L2}; Baums 2009). Since anusvāras are commonly omitted in Kharoṣṭhī orthography and *ya* and *śa* came to assume an identical shape (both properties of the Bhk hand), the name spelling *Agaya (Skt Aṅgaja) could thus easily have been mistaken for *Agaśa (Skt Ākāśa). We therefore reconstruct (*aṃgayasaya*) (with anusvāra for clarity).

The name of the attendant is given as Prañacuḍa (Skt Prajñācūḍa), which agrees well with the Tibetan translation Śes rab gtsug, but less well with the Chinese translation 智結. It is difficult to find semantic agreement between G *cuḍa* and Chin. 結, and it is worth considering whether the Chinese syllable (Old Northwest Chinese pronunciation *kêt; Coblin 1994: 346–347) was not meant as a transcription of the Gāndhārī sound. For the form 15r1 *vaṭha(ya)* (Skt *upasthāyakaḥ*) with apheresis and contraction of the termination compare *vaṭhayaga* and *vaṭhaye* in the Central Asian Gāndhārī documents (Burrow 1937: 118), but *uvaṭhayaga* in the story collection Av^{L1} (Lenz 2010).

The ‘persistence of the dharma’ (15r2 *sadharmavastīti*, Skt *saddharmāvasthitiḥ*) is translated into subject-predicate constructions in the Chinese (正法存立) and the Tibetan (*dam pa'i chos ni ... gnas so*). In this passage, the translations agree that the dharma will persist for twelve thousand years, and we accordingly reconstruct 15r1–2 (*duvadaśa va*)*rṣasahasra*.

Out of the two general possibilities, the relics of the buddha *Aṃgaya are ‘scattered’ (Tib. *rgyas par 'gyur ro*) or ‘completely scattered everywhere in the ten directions’ (Chin. 普流遍布十方). The partially preserved Gāndhārī expression can be reconstructed as 15r2 *vesta(riga śarira)* (Skt *vaistārikāṇi śarīrāṇi*).

(amidabudhisya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° sata yoviṇa prabha ° brahmaṇo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro °) + + + + (ṇama va)(15r3)ṭhaya <°> **citarudo ṇama prañamamṭaṇa** (agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamṭaṇa agro ° varṣakoḍi ayupramaṇo ° satadi koḍi śravagaṇa prathame samṇipade ° paṃcaśa koḍi dudiye ° capariśa koḍi tridiye ° ṣo varṣakoḍi sadharmavaṭhidi °) (15r4) **vestariga śarira 20 20 20 20 10**

“90: The native country of the tathāgata Amidabudha is called + + + + His radiance extends seven yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called Citaruda. The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is ten million years. Seven hundred million listeners are in his first assembly; five hundred million in the second; four hundred million in the third. The duration of the good dharma is sixty million years. His relics are dispersed.”

T. 57c11–57c17.

無量覺如來所生土地。城名善蓋。其佛光明照三百八十里。梵志種父名生明眼母字龍施子曰妙好。侍者曰賢天。上首**智慧弟子曰心音**。神足弟子曰大枝步。一會說經七十億。二會五十億。三會四十億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽億歲。正法存立六十億歲。**舍利普流遍布十方**。

D 119b1–4.

| de bzin gśegs pa blo mtha' yas skye ba'i yul ni me tog gi gdugs zes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni dpag tshad bdun no || yab ni mig dmar zes bya'o || yum ni klus byin zes bya'o || sras ni mdzes pa zes bya'o || **rim gro pa** ni lha bzañs zes bya'o || **śes rab can rnams kyi** mchog ni **sgra sñan zes bya'o** || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni dal 'gro zes bya'o || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan

thos duñ phyur phrag bdun no || gñis pa la ni duñ phyur phrag lña'o || gsum pa la ni duñ phyur
phrag bzi'o || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo bye ba'o || dam pa'i chos ni lo bye ba phrag drug gi bar du gnas
so || **sku gduñ ni rgyas par** 'gyur ro |

Our reconstruction of the buddha name as Amidabudhi is directly supported by Weller's form Amitabuddhi as well as the Chinese (無量覺) and Tibetan translations (Blo mtha' yas).

The follower of the buddha 'foremost among those in understanding' is expressed as 15r3 *prañamaṃtaṇa* (*agro*) (Skt *prajñāmatām agraḥ*) in our manuscript. Both the Tibetan and the Chinese translate this quite literally as *śes rab can rnams kyi mchog* and 上首智慧弟子 'most excellent student of wisdom.' In the case of this buddha, his name is given as Citaruda. The Chinese and Tibetan translations reflect two different interpretations of this name, 心音 corresponding to Skt Cittaruta, sGra sñan apparently to Citraruta. The spelling of our manuscript favors the former interpretation.

The section ends with the number signs 20 20 20 20 10, breaking off at the left edge of the fragment. We cannot be entirely sure that no further number signs followed, but since the general convention of the manuscript is to only write whole decades in full and abbreviate all intermediate number signs to the units, it is very likely that the intended number is indeed 90, agreeing with the sequential position of this buddha in the Tibetan translation.

++++ (tathagadasya) ++++ (ṇama jadabhumi °) ++++ (yoviṇa prabha °) +++ (jadiye °) +
+++ (ṇama pida °) ++++ (ṇama mada °) ++++ (ṇama putro °) ++++ (ṇama vaṭhayo °) +++
+ (ṇa)(15r5)ma **prañamaṃta**(ṇa agro °) ++++ (ṇama irdhimamṭaṇa agro °) +++++
(ayupramaṇo °) +++++ (prathame samṇipade °) +++++ (dudiye °) ++++ (tridiye °) ++++
++ (sadharmavaṭhidi ° ekaghaṇa śarira ° eko) (15v1) (th)ubo 2

T. 57c18–57c24.

善顏如來所生土地。域名威氏。其佛光明照五百二十里。君子種父名樂音母字樂氏。子曰
所在吉。侍者曰上與。上首智慧弟子曰福慧。神足弟子曰無懼。一會說經七億弟子集。二
會九億。三會十億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽三千歲。正法存立萬六千歲。舍利并合興一
大寺。

T. 57c25–58a2.

聖慧如來所生土地。域名善清白。其佛光明照五百六十里。梵志種父名伊師檀母字離塵。
子曰勇猛。侍者曰名阿難。上首智慧弟子曰意行。神足弟子曰須達。一會說經二十二億弟
子集。二會二十一億。三會二十億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽二萬八千歲。正法存立六萬
歲。舍利并合興一大寺。

D 119b4–6.

| de bzin gśegs pa gzugs bzañ skye ba'i yul ni gzi brjid can zes bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so || 'od ni
dpag tshad bcu gsum mo || yab ni dga' ba'i dbaṇ phyug ces bya'o || yum ni dga' ldan ma zes bya'o
|| sras ni 'gro don grub ces bya'o || rim gro pa ni bla mas byin zes bya'o || **śes rab can rnams kyi**

mchog ni bsod nams rgya chen **žes bya'o** || rdzu 'phrul can rnam ki mchog ni bag mi tsha ba žes bya'o || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos duñ phyur phrag bdun no || gñis pa la ni duñ phyur phrag dgu'o || gsum pa la ni ther 'bum mo || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo sum khri'o || dam pa'i chos ni lo khri drug stoñ gi bar du gnas so || sku gduñ ni ril po gcig tu 'dug go || **mchod rten** yañ gcig tu zad do |

D 119b6–120a2.

| de bzin gsegs pa mkhyen ldan skye ba'i yul ni bde ba bkod pa žes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni dpag tshad bcu bzi'o || yab ni drañ sroñ byin žes bya'o || yum ni rdul bral žes bya'o || sras ni dpa' bo žes bya'o || rim gro pa ni kun dga' bo žes bya'o || **šes rab can rnam ki mchog ni** spyod pa **žes bya'o** || rdzu 'phrul can rnam ki mchog ni des pa žes bya'o || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos duñ phyur phrag gñis dañ bye ba phrag gñis so || gñis pa la ni duñ phyur phrag gñis dañ bye ba phrag gcig go || gsum pa la ni duñ phyur phrag gñis so || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo ñi khri brgyad stoñ ño || dam pa'i chos ni lo drug khri'i bar du gnas so || sku gduñ ni ril po gcig tu 'dug go || **mchod rten** yañ gcig tu zad do |

Judging from the available space, here the scribe of our manuscript either accidentally skipped section *91 (on the buddha *Suruva), or he skipped from within that section to the next section (that on the buddha *Ñañi) and in effect amalgamated the two. The fact that the section that we have, coming immediately after section 90 in our manuscript, carries the number <9>2 (which on the Chinese and Tibetan evidence belonged to *Ñañi) rather than adjusted *91, shows that our scribe was working from a written exemplar that already contained section numbering.

The conclusion of the section agrees with the information given by the translations for both of the two buddhas in question: they each had a single stūpa. The Chinese expression is 興一大寺 'they raised one large stūpa,' and the Tibetan *mchod rten yañ gcig tu zad do* 'the stūpa also was in one piece.' On the basis of these translations and with the support of 19v3 *eko thubo*, we reconstruct 15r5–v1 (*eko th*)*ubo* (but compare also 16r4 *ekaghaṇo thubo* in a metrical passage).

ra(ś)m(isa tathagadasya veḍuryaprabha ṇama jadabhumi ° triaṣīti yoviṇa prabha ° kṣatriyo jadye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro °) + + + + (ṇama vaṭhayo °) + + + + (ṇama praṇamaṇṭaṇa) (15v2) **agro** ° **datamitro ṇa**(ma irdhimamṭaṇa agro ° aṣīti varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° duvaṣīti koḍi śravagaṇa prathame samṇipade ° sataaṣīti koḍi dudiye ° ṣaaṣīti koḍi tridiye ° triṃśa varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭhidi ° vestariga) (15v3) **śarira 3**

“93: The native country of the tathāgata Raśmi is called + + + + His radiance extends eighty-three yojanas. He is a kṣatriya by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is eighty thousand years. Eight hundred and twenty million listeners are in his first assembly; eight hundred and seventy million in the second; eight hundred and sixty in the third. The duration of the good dharma is thirty thousand years. His relics are dispersed.”

T. 58a3–58a9.

光明如來所生土地。城名琉璃光。其佛光明照三千三百二十里。君子種父名愛敬母字意樂。子曰愛光。侍者曰園觀。**上首**智慧弟子曰樂愛。神足弟子曰**調友**。一會說經八十二億弟子集。二會八十七億。三會八十六億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽萬歲。正法存立三千歲。**舍利**普流遍布十方。

D 120a2–5.

| de bzin gśegs pa 'od zer skye ba'i yul ni bai dūrya'i 'od ces bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so || 'od ni dpag tshad brgyad cu rtsa gsum mo || yab ni phan par dga' zes bya'o || yum ni yid dga' zes bya'o || sras ni yid smon zes bya'o || rim gro pa ni chog dga' zes bya'o || śes rab can rnams kyi **mchog ni** 'phags dgyes dga' zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni **dul ba'i bśes gñen zes bya'o** || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos duñ phyur phrag gñis dañ bye ba phrag brgyad do || gñis pa la ni duñ phyur phrag brgyad dañ bye ba phrag bdun no || gsum pa la ni duñ phyur phrag brgyad dañ bye ba phrag drug go || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo brgyad khri'o || dam pa'i chos ni lo sum khri'i bar du gnas so || **sku gduñ** ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |

Our reconstruction of the partially preserved buddha name Ra(ś)m(i) is directly supported by Weller's list (Raśmi) as well as the Chinese (光明) and Tibetan translations ('Od zer).

The follower of the buddha 'foremost among those in supernormal power' is expressed as 15v2 (*irdhimamṭaṇa agro*) (Skt *ṛddhimatām agraḥ*) in our manuscript. The literal Tibetan translation is *rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog*, the Chinese translation 神足弟子 '(most excellent) student of spiritual power.' His name is preserved as Datamitra. The Chinese (調友) and Tibetan (Dul ba'i bśes gñen) translations show that this should be interpreted as Skt Dāntamitra (rather than Dattamitra, another possibility of the Kharoṣṭhī orthography).

driḍhabradasya tathaga(dasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° yoviṇo prabha ° brahmaṇo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro °) + + + + (ṇama vaṭhayo °) + + + + (ṇama praṇamaṃta)(15v4)**ṇa agro ° masura ṇama irdhimamṭa**(ṇa agro ° varṣakoḍi ayupramaṇo ° koḍiśado śravagaṇa prathame saṃṇipade ° sataṇavadi koḍi dudiye ° paṃcaṇavadi koḍi tridiye ° capariśa varṣakoḍi sadharmavaṭhidi ° vestariga śarira 4)

“94: The native country of the tathāgata Driḍhabhadra is called + + + + His radiance extends a yojana. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called Masura. His lifespan is ten million years. One billion listeners are in his first assembly; nine hundred and seventy million in the second; nine hundred and fifty million in the third. The duration of the good dharma is four hundred million years. His relics are dispersed.”

T. 58a10–58a16.

堅誓如來所生土地。城名日遊。其佛光明照四十里。梵志種父名天愛母字善意音。子曰尊

寶。侍者曰柔音。上首智慧弟子曰言施。神足弟子曰柔軟。一會說經百億弟子集。二會九十七億。三會九十五億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽一億歲。正法存立四十億歲。舍利并合興一大寺。

D 120a5–120b1.

| **de bzin gsegs pa brtul ūgs brtan** skye ba'i yul ni ñi ma 'dod ces bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni dpag tshad gcig go || yab ni lha dga' zes bya'o || yum ni ña ro yid bzañ zes bya'o || sras ni dbañ phyug byin zes bya'o || rim gro pa ni yid 'oñ ña ro zes bya'o || šes rab can rnams kyi **mchog ni** ñi mas byin zes bya'o || **rdzu 'phrul can rnams** kyi mchog ni **sbrañ rtsi zes bya'o** || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos ther 'bum mo || gñis pa la ni duñ phyur phrag dgu dañ bye ba phrag bdun no || gsum pa la ni duñ phyur phrag dgu dañ bye ba phrag lña'o || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo bye ba'o || dam pa'i chos ni lo duñ phyur phrag bzi'i bar du gnas so || sku gduñ ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |

The preserved buddha name *Driḍhabrada* agrees with Weller's list (*Dṛḍhavrata*) as well as the Chinese (堅誓) and Tibetan translations (if the Derge text is adjusted to *brTul ūgs brtan*). His follower foremost among those in supernormal power is called *Masura* (Skt *Madhura*), agreeing in principle with both the Chinese (柔軟) and Tibetan (*sBrañ rtsi*) translations. We note, however, that the Chinese more commonly translates Skt *mṛdu* 'soft,' and that a certain confusion or conflation of Skt *madhu* and *mṛdu* has been previously observed in connection with the Buddhist Sanskrit plant name *madhugandhika* / *mṛdugandhika* (BHSD s.v.).¹³ It has been suggested that a (partial) phonetic merger of these terms in *Gāndhārī* may be at the root of the confusion (von Hinüber 1985: 72–73). In general, however, intervocalic *dh* [dʰ] > *s* [z] and *d* [d] > *d* [ḍ] remain distinct in *Gāndhārī*—as also in this name in our manuscript—and if indeed the Buddhist Sanskrit confusion does go back to Middle Indo-Aryan, then another dialect than *Gāndhārī* would seem to have formed the basis.

(15v5) **maṃgalisya tathagadasya p(r)iya** + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° satadi yoviṇa prabha ° brahmaṇo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro °) + + + + (ṇama vaṭhaya °) + + + + (prañamaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (irdhimamaṃtaṇa agro ° paṃcaīśa varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° paṃcaīśa koḍi śravagaṇa prathame saṃṇipade ° aṭhacapariśa koḍi dudiye ° śacapariśa koḍi tridiye ° vestariga śarira 4 1)

“95: The native country of the tathāgata Maṃgali is called Priya + + His brilliance extends seventy yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is fifty thousand years. Five hundred million listeners are in his first assembly; four hundred and eighty million in the second; four hundred and sixty in the third. His relics are dispersed.”

¹³ Also the Indian tradition connected the two words, cf. *Harivaṃśa* 42.18c: *mṛdus tv ayaṃ madhur nama*. (We thank Oskar von Hinüber for bringing this passage to our attention.)

T. 58a17–58a23.

吉祥如來所生土地城名母愛。其佛光明照二百八十里。梵志種父名錦王母字華元。子曰無量手。侍者曰養友。上首智慧弟子曰法事。神足弟子曰勝友。一會說經五十億弟子集。二會八十二億。三會八十六億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽五萬歲。正法存立億歲。舍利普流遍布十方。

D 120b1–3.

| de bñin gśegs pa bkra śis skye ba'i yul ni dga' 'dul źes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni dpag tshad bdun cu'o || yab ni sems kyi rgyal po źes bya'o || yum ni me tog 'od ces bya'o || sras ni mtha' yas lag ces bya'o || rim gro pa ni bśes gñen rgyal po źes bya'o || śes rab can rnams kyi mchog ni chos kyi 'byuñ gnas źes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni rnam par rgyal ba'i bśes gñen źes bya'o || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos duñ phyur phrag lña'o || gñis pa la ni duñ phyur phrag bñi dañ bye ba phrag brgyad do || gsum pa la ni duñ phyur phrag bñi dañ bye ba phrag drug go || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo lña khri'o || dam pa'i chos ni lo bye ba'i bar du gnas so || sku gduñ ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |

The preserved buddha name Maṃgali agrees with Weller's list (Maṅgalin) as well as the Chinese (吉祥) and Tibetan (bkra śis) translations. This is one of only two passages (the other being 19v2 *ugamasa tathagadasa*) preserving the buddhas' title *tathagadasya* (Skt *tathāgatasya*).

This fragment also preserves part of the specification of Maṃgali's birthplace. The term in question—reconstructed here, but preserved in 16v2 and 19r2—is *jadabhumi* (Skt *jātabhūmiḥ*), rather than expected **jadibhumi* (Skt *jātibhūmiḥ*). For this use of *jāta-* in compound, cf. Buddhist Sanskrit *jātamaha* in place of *jātimaha* (BHSD s.v.). The name of the birthplace is partially preserved, and the Chinese (母愛) and Tibetan (dGa' 'dul) translations allow us to reconstruct its prior member as *p(r)iya* (Skt *priya-*). The lost second member remains obscure as its translations do not appear to agree with each other.

16) HG 45

This fragment contains the remains of five buddha sections in verse, all of which are also in verse in the Tibetan translation. From here onwards, the Chinese translation is no longer available and we have to rely on the Tibetan alone for our reconstructions. The verse passages do employ some recurring building blocks (see introduction), but are overall much less rigidly formulaic than the prose passages, and thus further limit our ability to restore lost text.

++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) (16r1) ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 (16r2) ++++++ (°) ++++++ (|)

++++++(◦) + ? **vesthari(ga)** +++++(◦)
 +++++++(◦) +++++++(◦)

D 212a7–212b3.

de bzin gśegs pa señ ge'i sde dag gi		skye ba'i yul ni bzod par dka' zes bya
rgyal ba'i rigs ni bram ze 'od kyi tshad		dpag tshad brgyad yod mchod sbyin bzañ po yab
'phags pa'i 'od ces bya ba rgyal ba'i yum		sras po 'brug sgra tog ni rim gro pa
dpa' stobs can zes bya ba mkhas pa ste		señ ge'i stabs kyis 'gro ba rdzu 'phrul can
'dus pa lan grañs drug cu drug kun la'añ		mchod pa mchog gis mchod par 'os pa po
dgra bcom tha spañs ther 'bum ther 'bum yod		mi tshe lo grañs sum khri drug stoñ yin
gzuñ ba med par phyin pa'i dam chos dag		lo grañs ñi khri bži stoñ bar du gnas
rgyal ba'i sku gduñ dag ni **rgyas** 'gyur la		mchod rten bye ba 'bum phrag dgu bcu dgu

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved. On the basis of Weller's list (Siṃhasena) and the Tibetan translation (Señ ge'i sde) we can reconstruct *Sihasena, but the placement of this name in the verse remains uncertain. The only preserved word from what appears to have been a sequence of four stanzas is 16r2 *vesthari(ga)*, indicating (in agreement with the Tibetan translation) that the relics of the buddha *Sihasena were scattered. The minute tip of a foot preceding this may (or may not) have belonged to a *ra* (as in the word *śarira*).

++++++(◦) (**16r3**) +++++++(◦)
 +++++++(◦) +++++++(camdrim)**dro** |
ṇakṣatraraja mada jñasya (◦) +++++++(◦)
 +++++++(◦) +++++++(◦)
 (**16r4**) +++++++(◦) +++++++(◦)
 +++++++(◦) +++++++(◦)
ekaghaṇo thubo jñasya ◦ **ra(dāṇa)** +++++++(◦)
 +++++++(◦) (**16r5**) +++++++(◦)

D 212b3–6.

sems can sñiñ po nor lha'i bu skye ba'i		yul ni gzi brjid 'byuñ ba zes kyañ bya
rigs ni bram ze yin te 'od dpag tshad		sum cu rtas gñis **zla ba'i dbaṇ po** yab
rgyu skar rgyal po rgyal yum sras po ni		legs 'oñs pañ nas skyes pa rim gro pa
lha yi 'od ces bya ba mkhas pa ste		lha yi mig ces bya ba rdzu 'phrul can
'dus pa lan grañs dgu bcu kun la yañ		dgra bcom bsod nams 'bras bu mchog thob pa
bye ba phrag ni bdun cu gñis gñis yod		mi tshe lo grañs dgu khri bži stoñ yin
srid pa ži bar phyin pa'i dam chos dag		lo grañs dgu khri ñis stoñ bar du gnas
rgyal ba'i sku gduñ mchod rten gcig yin te		dpag tshad lña pa **rin po che** yis spras

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Vāsava) and the Tibetan translation (Nor lha'i bu) we can confidently reconstruct, though not place in its

pāda, *Vasava. The last akṣara of the first stanza (marked by a daṇḍa punctuation mark) is 16r3 *dro*, and the Tibetan translation makes it likely that this belonged to the name of the father of this buddha (Zla ba'i dbaṅ po) which can then be reconstructed as (Caṃdrim)dro.

The beginning of the second stanza provides the name of the mother: 16r3 *ṇakṣatrarāja mada jīnasya* (Skt *nakṣatrarājā mātā jīnasya*) 'the mother of the conqueror was called Nakṣatrarāja.' The Tibetan translation confirms this, but curiously gives the name of the mother the masculine form rGyu skar rgyal po, presumably misled by the well-known buddha and bodhisattva name Skt Nakṣatrarāja (BHSD s.v.). If our reconstruction of the preceding passage on the buddha's father was correct, then this passage on his mother shows that in the verse passages, even the word order of such parallel formulations was not fixed, but rather obeyed the (obscure) metrical requirements of its position in the verse.

The beginning of the fourth stanza informs us that the stūpa of the buddha was in one mass: 16r4 *ekaghaṇo thubo jīnasya* (Skt *ekaghaṇaḥ stūpo jīnasya*). This agrees precisely with the third pāda of the fourth stanza of the Tibetan translation (*rgyal ba'i sku gduñ mchod rten gcig yin te*), supporting our reconstruction of this section's division into verses and pādas. It seems likely that the following akṣara *ra* corresponds to *rin po che* in the Tibetan, leading us to tentatively reconstruct 16r4 *ra(daṇa)* at the beginning of pāda b. We noted, however, that as a rule pādas have trochaic cadences, making a Sanskrit form *ra(tna)* a plausible alternative.

+++++ (◊) ++++++ (◊)
 ++++++ (◊) ++++++ (maha)rdha |
yaśapuyida mada jīṇa(sya ◊) ++++++ (◊)
 ++++++ (◊) ++++++ (|)
(16v1) ++++++ (◊) ++++++ (◊)
 ++++++ (koḍisaha)sra ◊ **ayu ṇaraṇa aśīti ṇiy**(uda |)
 ++++++ (◊) ++++++ (◊)
 ++++++ (◊) **(16v2)** ++++++ (|)

D 212b6–213a1.

mtshuṅs pa med pa grags pa skye ba yi		yul ni mchod pa dag gis brgyan ṅes bya
rgyal ba'i rigs ni rgyal rigs 'od kyi tshad		dpag tshad dgu yod yab ni **'byor ldan** yin
grags mchog ma ṅes bya ba rgyal yum		sras po skar ldan legs byin rim gro pa
mthu rtsal zla ba ṅes bya mkhas pa ste		mtha' yas 'od ces bya ba rdzu 'phrul can
'dus pa dag ni lan graṅs brgyad cu ste		kun la'aṅ chags pa med par gyur de dag
bye ba phrag ni stoṅ stoṅ 'dus par 'gyur		**mi tshe lo** graṅ bdun khri sum stoṅ yin
'gro la phan phyir dam pa'i chos dag kyaṅ		lo graṅs dgu khri'i bar du gnas par 'gyur
rgyal ba yoṅs su mya ṇan 'das nas kyaṅ		sku gduñ rgyas 'gyur mchod rten bye ba stoṅ

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Yaśas) and the Tibetan translation (Grags pa) we can reconstruct *Yaśa. Just as the preceding section, this section gives the name of the father at the very end of the first stanza, and the name of the mother

(also using the same formulation as in the preceding section) at the beginning of the second stanza. On the basis of the Tibetan translation 'Byor ldan, we can reconstruct the Gāndhārī name of the father as (Maha)rdha (Skt Maharddha). The mother's name is preserved as Yaśapuyida (Skt Yaśaḥpūjitā), differing in its second element from her name in the Tibetan translation (Grags mchog).

Each of the assemblies of the buddha Yaśa according to the beginning of the third stanza contained a thousand times ten million followers, expressed as 16v1 (*koḍisaha*)*sra* (Skt *koṭisahasram*) in the Gāndhārī and as *bye ba phrag ni stoṅ stoṅ* in the Tibetan. The following pāda specifies the lifespan of men, and we very tentatively reconstruct 16v1 *ayu ṇaraṇa aśiti ṇiy(uda)* (Skt *āyur narāṇām aśītir ṇiyutāni*). One problem is that the value of Skt *niyuta* is not well-defined, but one million is a common interpretation (MW, BHS s.v.). The other problem is that the Tibetan translation in any case specifies the much lower number *bdun khri sum stoṅ* = 73,000. Keeping further in mind that *ṇiyuda* is in fact nowhere unambiguously preserved in our fragments, the degree of uncertainty of our reconstruction becomes clear. The fact remains, however, that no other numeral exists that starts with the required syllable *ṇi* and would fit into the pāda.

(jayasya logaṇa)*thasya* ° **durjaya ṇama jadabhumi** (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) **(16v3)** + + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + + (sa)**hasra** ° **ayu ṇaraṇa aśiti** (sahasra °)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) **(16v4)** + + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (4) **4 1**

D 213a1–4.

| 'jig rten mgon po rgyal ba skye ba yi || yul ni rgyal bar dka' ba zes kyañ bya |
 | rigs ni rgyal rigs yin te 'od kyi tshad || dpag tshad ñi khri dbaṅ po chen po yab |
 | rgyags sred ma zes bya ba rgyal ba'i yum || sras po rnam ñes zla ba rim gro pa |
 | chos kyi 'gros zes bya ba mkhas pa ste || phyir zin legs par sems pa rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan graṅs **brgyad cu** rtsa bzi ste || kun la'añ dgra bcom legs par tshogs pa'i graṅs |
 | bye ba phrag ni 'bum 'bum 'dus par 'gyur || **mi tshe lo** graṅs dag ni dgu khri yin |
 | dam chos lo graṅs bdun khri drug stoṅ gnas || rgyal ba'i sku gduñ mchod rten gcig yin te |
 | dpag tshad gsum pa gser gyi bla rer ldan || rta babs bye ba stoṅ phrag bcu yañ |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Jaya) and the Tibetan translation (rGyal ba) we can reconstruct *Jaya. The title 16v2 (*logaṇa*)*thasya* (Skt *lokanāthasya*) 'protector of the world' occurs only here among our fragments, but is confirmed by the Tibetan translation 'jig rten mgon po. The name of the birthplace of the buddha is specified in the second pāda: 16v2 *durjaya ṇama jadabhumi* (Skt *durjayā nāma jātabhūmiḥ*) 'the birthplace is called Durjaya,' in agreement with the Tibetan translation (rGyal bar dka' ba).

The beginning of the third stanza gives the number of assemblies of the buddha Jaya. The number word is only partially preserved and ends in 16v3 (*sa*)*hasra*. This does not agree with the Tibetan, which gives the much lower number eighty-four (*brgyad cu rtsa bži*). In the following pāda, we reconstruct the lifespan of men as 16v3 *aśiti* (*sahasra*) (Skt *aśītiḥ sahasrāṇi*) with some support from the number in the Tibetan translation which, even though it does not agree precisely (*dgu khri*), is in the same general range.

budhasya uraḍa(garbhasya °) + + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) **(16v5)** + + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + ? + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)
(r1) + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)

D 213a4–7.

| **de bzin gsegs pa rgya chen sñiñ po** yi || skye ba'i yul ni mchod pa mtha' yas yin |
 | rigs ni bram ze yin te 'od dpag tshad || ñi śu rtsa gñis yab ni legs rtogs yin |
 | thar 'dod ma zes bya ba rgyal ba'i yum || sras po legs grol rnam grol rim gro pa |
 | sa yi 'od ces bya ba mkhas pa ste || bdud mams phuñ bar byed pa rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan grañs brgyad cu kun la yañ || mkha' dañ mtshuñs pa'i sems thob drañ sroñ dag |
 | bye ba phrag ni dgu bcu gñis gñis yod || mi tshe lo grañs ñi khri bži stoñ yin |
 | dam pa'i chos dag lo grañs chig 'bum dañ || ñi khri chig stoñ bar du gnas par 'gyur |
 | sku gduñ mchod rten dpag tshad lña pa gcig || gtsug gi nor bu stoñ phrag sñed kyañ sbyañs |

Weller's list and the Tibetan translation agree in giving the name of the buddha of this section as Udāragarbha and rGya chen sñiñ po, respectively. The remains of the name in our manuscript do not allow us to reconstruct **udara-*, but are consistent with a reading *uraḍa-*. This is in fact the attested spelling of the word in verses 24 and 32 of the Gāndhārī *Khaḍgaviṣṇasūtra* (ed. Salomon 2000), and fragment 20, line 6 of the Senior collection similarly has *oraḍi* (Skt *audārika-*; cf. Marino 2015: 94). The consonant pattern *-r-ḍ-* is thus regular in the Gāndhārī reflexes of this word family (though not exclusive, cf. *odariaṇa* in British Library verse commentary II, ed. Baums 2009, and cf. further the different but similarly irregular development in Pali *uḷāra*, *oḷārika*). In this section, the title of the buddha is quite simply 16v4 *budhasya* (Skt *buddhasya*). The remainder of the section is lost.

17) HI 4, 7, MS 2179/36, 130t

(17r1) (sacaraśisya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° sata yoviṇaśada prabha ° kṣatriyo jadye ° vimalakirti ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro ° dha)**rmaghoṣo**
ṇama vaṭhayo ° akhali(tacito ṇama prañamamṭaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamṭaṇa agro °

pañcaśaṭhi varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° pañcaśa arahasamṇipada ° pañcaśada gasasahasra sarve ° vesta)(17r2)riga śarira ° ṣaṭhi varṣasahasra (sadharmavaṭhidi 4 3)

“627: The native country of the tathāgata Sacaraśi is called + + + + His brilliance extends seven hundred yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called Vimalakirti. His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Dharmaghoṣa. The foremost in understanding is called Akhalitacita. The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is sixty-five thousand years. He has fifty assemblies of arhats; five hundred thousand verses are in each. His relics are dispersed. The duration of the good dharma is sixty thousand years.”

D 218a2–5.

| de bzin gsegs pa bden pa'i phuṇ po skye ba'i yul ni bden pa'i tog ces bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so || 'od ni dpag tshad bdun brgya'o || yab ni dri ma med par grags pa zes bya'o | yum ni chos mthoṅ ma zhes bya'o || sras ni rnam par snaṅ byed ces bya'o || **rim gro pa ni chos dbyaṅs zes bya'o** || śes rab can rnam kyī mchog ni **'khrul med sems** zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnam kyī mchog ni mñam pa daṅ mi mñam pa lta ba zes bya'o || dgra bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan lña bcu ste | thams cad la yaṅ lña 'bum lña 'bum mo || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo drug khri lña stoṅ ño || dam pa'i chos ni **lo** dgu khri ñis **stoṅ** gi bar du gnas so || **sku gduṅ ni rgyas par** 'gyur ro |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Satyarāśi) and the Tibetan translation (bDen pa'i phuṇ po) we can reconstruct *Sacaraśi. The name of his attendant can be reconstructed 17r1 (*dha*)rmaghoṣo (Skt Dharmaghoṣa), and that of his foremost in understanding as 17r1 *akhali(tacito)* (Skt Askhalitacitta), both supported by the Tibetan translations (Chos dbyaṅs and 'Khrul med sems). The relics of the buddha *Sacaraśi are scattered as in the Tibetan translation: 17r1–2 (*vesta*)riga. In the duration of the dharma, however, our manuscript differs from the Tibetan: the Gāndhārī number is completely preserved as 17r2 *ṣaṭhi varṣasahasra* (Skt *ṣaṣṭir varṣasahasrāṇi*) 'sixty thousand years,' whereas the Tibetan has *dgu khri ñis stoṅ* 'ninety-two thousand years.' This difference of numbers, while staying in the same general range, reminds us of the situation in the fourth section on fragment no. 16.

(susvarasya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° ṣoḍa)śa **yoviṇa** (prabha ° kṣatriyo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama) (17r3) **putro** <°> **sudarśaṇa ṇama vaṭhay**(o °) + + + + (ṇama praṇamaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamṭaṇa agro) ° **aśiti varṣa**(sahasra ayupramaṇo ° satadi arahasamṇipada ° daśa koḍi gasaṇa sarve ° vestariga śarira ° a) (17r4)śiti varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭh(id)i 4 4

“628: The native country of the tathāgata Susvara is called + + + + His brilliance extends sixteen yojanas. He is a kṣatriya by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Sudarśana. The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is eighty thousand years. He has

seventy assemblies of arhats; one hundred million verses are in each. His relics are dispersed. The duration of the good dharma is eighty thousand years.”

D 218b5–7.

| de bzin gśegs pa dbyaṅs sñan skye ba'i yul ni yul 'khor yul bzaṅs źes bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so
|| 'od ni **dpag tshad bcu drug go** || yab ni mthu rtsal spyod ces bya'o || yum ni chos ldan ma źes
bya'o || **sras** ni ston dga' źes bya'o || **rim gro pa ni legs mthoñ źes bya'o** || śes rab can rnams kyi
mchog ni tog chen źes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni blo mchog ces bya'o || dgra
bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan bdun cu ste | thams cad la yañ duñ phyur duñ phyur ro || sku tše'i tshad ni
lo brgyad khri'o || **dam pa'i chos kyañ lo brgyad khri'i bar du gnas so** || sku gduñ ni rgyas par
'gyur ro |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Susvara) and the Tibetan translation (dByaṅs sñan) we can reconstruct *Susvara. The brilliance of this buddha *Susvara extends (as reconstructed with the help of the Tibetan) for sixteen yojanas: 17r2 (*ṣoḍaśa yoviṇa* (*prabha*) (Skt *ṣoḍaśa yojanāni prabhā*). It is not entirely clear whether we should read two words (*ṣoḍaśa yoviṇa* (the brilliance 'is' sixteen yojanas) or a bahuvrīhi compound (*ṣoḍaśayoviṇa* (the brilliance 'has' sixteen yojanas). We opted for the former alternative because its simplicity seems more in line with the general style of the text and also because it agrees with the construction of the Tibetan (though of course cross-linguistic syntactic comparison carries limited weight). A peculiarity of the word *yoviṇa* here and elsewhere in our text is its medial *v*. The basis of an explanation are the regular Gāndhārī sound changes *j* [j] > [j] and palatalization of following *a* [ə] to [i], which would lead us to expect a spelling **yoyiṇa*. It seems, however, that between a labial and a palatal vowel, the notation of either a labial or a palatal glide is orthographically equivalent, and that our scribe chose the former of these options to write *yoviṇa*.

The name of the attendant is preserved as 17r3 Sudarśaṇa (Skt Sudarśana), agreeing with the Tibetan translation Legs mthoñ. The lifespan of men is expressed as 17r3 *aśiti varṣa* (*sahasra ayupramaṇo*) (Skt *aśītir varṣasahasrāṇy āyupramāṇam*), a number that agrees with the Tibetan, as does the following specification of the duration of the dharma as, likewise, 17r3–4 (*aśiti varṣa-sahasra*. The section concludes with a preserved number 17r4 4 4, which in view of the position of this buddha in the Tibetan translation and in Weller's list we probably have to interpret as <62>8 with omitted hundreds and tens.

giriṇaṃ + (sya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi °) **yoviṇasahas**(ra prabha ° brahmaṇo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama) (17r5) (p)**utro** ° **śrudasaṃcayo ṇamo vañhaya** ° **ñāṇasaṃca**(yo ṇama prañamantaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimam)**taṇa agro** ° **cadura**(śiti varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° aśiti arahasaṃnipada ° ekaghaṇa śarira ° ekaghaṇo thub)(17v1)o ° **caturaśiti varṣasahasra sadharmavañhiti** (4 4 1)

“(629:) The native country of the tathāgata Giriṇaṃ + is called + + + + His brilliance extends a thousand yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + +

+ His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Śrudasaṃcaya. The foremost in understanding is called Ñanasaṃcaya. The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is eighty-four thousand years. He has eighty assemblies of arhats. His relics are in one mass. There is one stūpa. The duration of the good dharma is eighty-four thousand years.”

D 218b7–219a3.

| de bzin gśegs pa **ri dbaṅ mtshuṅs** skye ba'i yul ni sna tshogs rjes su || 'brel ba zes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni **dpag tshad stoṅ ṅo** || yab ni bkod pa'i rgyal po zes bya'o || yum ni bkod pa mtha' yas ma zes bya'o || **sras** ni bkod pa chen po zes bya'o || **rim gro pa ni thos pa bstags zes bya'o** || śes rab can rnams kyi mchog ni ye **śes bstags** zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi **mchog** ni nor sbyin gsal zes bya'o || dgra bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan brgyad cu'o || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo brgyad khri **bzi** stoṅ ṅo || **dam pa'i chos** kyaṅ **lo brgyad khri bzi stoṅ gi bar du gnas so** || sku gduṅ ni ril po gcig tu 'dug go || mchod rten yaṅ gcig tu zad do |

In this section, Weller's list (Girīndrakalpa) and the Tibetan translation (Ri dbaṅ mtshuṅs) agree on the name of the buddha, but the remains of the name in our manuscript cannot be made to match this information. While the first member of the compound name is, as expected, *giri*, the second part begins with what we can only read as *ṇaṃ* and then breaks off. We somewhat arbitrarily assume that the name consisted of a total of four syllables and read *giriṇaṃ* + (*sya*). As a very tentative further reconstruction we propose *Giriṇaṃda.

The brilliance of this buddha extends a thousand yojanas: 17r4 *yoviṇasahas(ra prabha)* (Skt *yojanasahasram prabhā*). His attendant is called 17r5 Śrudasaṃcaya (Skt Śrutasaṃcaya), and his foremost in understanding Ñanasaṃca(ya) (Skt Jñānasaṃcaya). The lifespan of men and the duration of the good dharma are both eighty-four thousand years (17r5 *cadura(śiti) varṣasahasra*, 17v1 *caturaśiti varṣasahasra*; Skt *caturaśītir varṣasahasrāṇi*). All of these values agree with those of the Tibetan translation.

(dharmakuḍasya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama ja)**dabhumī** ◦ **ṇava yo**(viṇa prabha ◦ brahmaṇo jadye ◦) + + + + (ṇama pida ◦) + + + + (ṇama mada ◦) + + + + (ṇama) (17v2) **putro** ◦ **ukadhari** **ṇama vaḥhaya** ◦ **guṇasacayo ṇama** (praṇamaṃtaṇa agro ◦) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamṭaṇa a)**gro** ◦ **aṭhatriśa va**(rṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ◦ duvatrimśa arahasamṇipada ◦ trimśa koḍi gasaṇa sarve ◦ vestariga śari)(17v3)**ra** ◁▷ **aṭhatriśa varṣasahasra** (sadharma)**vaḥhi(d)i** (20 10)

“(630:) The native country of the tathāgata Dharmakuḍa is called + + + + His brilliance extends nine yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Ukadhari. The foremost in understanding is called Guṇa + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is thirty-eight thousand years. He has thirty-two assemblies of arhats; three hundred million verses are in each. His relics are dispersed. The duration of the good dharma is thirty-eight thousand years.”

D 219a3–5.

| de bzin gsegs pa chos brtsegs **skye ba'i yul ni** bkod pa sna tshogs bzañ po zes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni dpag tshad **dgu'o** || yab ni spobs pa mdzes zes bya'o || yum ni gzi brjid bkod pa zes bya'o || **sras ni** lta ba gsal zes bya'o || **rim gro pa ni skar mda' 'chañ zes bya'o** || ses rab can rnams kyi mchog ni **yon tan gyi tshogs zes bya'o** || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni bden pa'i mthu rtsal zes bya'o || dgra bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan sum cu rtsa gñis te | thams cad la yañ duñ phyur phrag gsum gsum mo || sku tshe'i tshad ni **lo sum khri brgyad** stoñ ño || dam pa'i chos kyañ **lo sum khri brgyad stoñ gi bar du gnas so** || **sku gduñ** ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Dharmakūṭa) and the Tibetan translation (Chos brtsegs) we can reconstruct *Dharmakuṭa. His brilliance extends nine (17v1 *ṇava*, Skt *nava*) yojanas, as in the Tibetan. The name of his attendant is preserved as 17v2 Ukadhari (Skt Ulkādhārī) and loosely translated into Tibetan as sKar mda' 'chañ. The name of his foremost in understanding 17v2 Guṇasacaya (Skt Guṇasaṃcaya) is translated into Tibetan as Yon tan gyi tshogs, using the common word *tshogs* for the second part of the compound rather than the more obscure *bstsags* in the translations of the names Śrudasaṃcaya and Ñaṇasaṃca(ya) in the preceding section. Both the lifespan of men and the duration of the good dharma are thirty-eight thousand years (17v2 *aṭṭhatriśa va(r)ṣasahasra*), 18v3 *aṭṭhatriśa varṣasahasra*; Skt *aṣṭātriṃśad varṣasahasrāṇi*) as in the Tibetan.

(mokṣateyasya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi °) **cadudaśa yovi**(ṇa prabha ° brahmaṇo jadye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama) (17v4) **putro ° aryamardana ṇama vañhay(o °)** + + + + (ṇama prañamaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamṃtaṇa agro °) **ṣaṭhi varṣasa**(hasra ayupramaṇa ° ṇavapaṃcāśa arahasamṇipada ° śada koḍisahasra gasaṇa sarve ° vestariga śa)(17v5)**rira ° ṣaṭhi varṣasahasra sadharmava**(ṭhidi 20 10 1)

“631: The native country of the tathāgata Mokṣateya is called + + + + His brilliance extends fourteen yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Aryamardana. The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is sixty thousand years. He has fifty-nine assemblies of arhats; one trillion verses are in each. His relics are dispersed. The duration of the good dharma is sixty thousand years.”

D 219a5–219b1.

| de bzin gsegs pa thar pa'i gzi byin skye ba'i yul ni gzi byin bkod pa zes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni **dpag tshad bcu bzi'o** || yab ni gzi byin mtha' yas zes bya'o || yum ni bkod pa mtha' yas ma zes bya'o || **sras ni** dge bar sems zes bya'o || **rim gro pa ni 'phags 'dul zes bya'o** || ses rab can rnams kyi mchog ni chos grags zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni mthu rtsal dri med ces bya'o || dgra bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan lña bcu rtsa dgu ste | thams cad la yañ bye ba phrag 'bum 'bum mo || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo drug khri drug stoñ ño || **dam pa'i chos kyañ lo drug khri drug stoñ gi bar du gnas so** || **sku gduñ** ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Mokṣatejas) and the Tibetan translation (Thar pa'i gzi byin) we can reconstruct *Mokṣateya. The buddha's brilliance extends fourteen yojanas (17v3 *cadudaśa yovi(ṇa)*, Skt *caturdaśa yojanāni*), and his attendant is called Aryamardana (Skt *Āryamardana*), both as in the Tibetan. Unlike the Tibetan, in which the duration of the good dharma is sixty-six thousand (*drug khri drug stoṅ*) years, the Gāndhārī gives its duration as only sixty thousand years (18v5 *ṣaṭhi varṣasahasra*, Skt *ṣaṭtir varṣasahasrāṇi*).

(śobhidasya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° duve yoviṇaśada) **p(r)abha** (° kṣatriyo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama pu)(**r1**)(tro °) + + + + (ṇama vaṭhaya °) + + + + (ṇama praṇamaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (varṣasahasro ayupramaṇo ° ṣo arahasaṃṇipada ° koḍisahasra gasaṇa sarve ° ekaghana śari)(**r2**)(ra ° eko thubo ° varṣasahasro sadharmavaṭhidi 20 10 2)

“632: The native country of the tathāgata Śobhida is called + + + + His brilliance extends two hundred yojanas. He is a kṣatriya by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is a thousand years. He has six assemblies of arhats; ten billion verses are in each. His relics are in one mass. There is one stūpa. The duration of the good dharma is a thousand years.”

D 219b1–3.

| de bzin gśegs pa legs mdzad skye ba'i yul ni mya ṇan daṅ bral ba ṇes bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so || 'od ni dpag tshad ṇis brgya'o || yab ni legs mthoṅ ṇes bya'o || yum ni kun mthoṅ ma ṇes bya'o || sras ni zil mi non ṇes bya'o || rim gro pa ni yon tan gyi tshogs ṇes bya'o || śes rab can rnam kyī mchog ni śes rab 'od ces bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnam kyī mchog ni mthu rtsal rdo rje ṇes bya'o || dgra bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan drug ste | thams cad la yaṅ bye ba phrag stoṅ stoṅ ṇo || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoṅ ṇo || dam pa'i chos kyaṅ lo stoṅ gi bar du gnas so || sku gduṅ ni ril po gcig tu 'dug go || mchod rten yaṅ gcig tu zad do |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Śobhita) we can tentatively reconstruct *Śobhida. The Tibetan translation Legs mdzad is rather vague, but consistent with our reconstruction. The rest of this section is lost, with the exception of the single word 17v5 *p(r)abha* in the passage on the extent of the buddha's brilliance.

18) HI 22, AF A3

This fragment contains another set of five sections in metrical form. It is in a worse state of preservation than fragment no. 16, exacerbating the problems of reconstruction and interpretation that applied there.

+ + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (◊)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) **(18r1)** + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (◊)
 + + + + .(i)**svaro matimaṃto** ◊ **lokavihara da ?** + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (◊)
(18r2) + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + **ṇo yu ? ? sa ye** ◊
(dhar)ma satati varṣasahasra ◊ **ḥha(hiśati)** + + + + + + (1)
 | mi yi 'dren pa dbyaṅs dag sñan pa yi || skye ba'i yul ni dbyaṅs kyi yan lag yin |

D 235a7–235b3.

| rgyal ba'i rigs ni rgyal rigs 'od kyi tshad || dpag tshad brgya yod yab ni dbyaṅs sñan yin |
 | gdaṅs sñan ma ni rgyal yum sras po ni || mchog ma śin tu rgyal dka' rim gro pa |
 | yon tan grags pa'i **dbaṅ phyug blo can te** || **'jig rten** dag gis mi 'jigs rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan graṅs bdun cu drug kun la'aṅ || rigs ni 'od ldan luṅ na mtshuṅs pa po |
 | bye ba phrag ni dgu bcu dgu dgu yod || mi tshe lo graṅs dag ni drug khri yin |
 | dños po med par phyin pa'i dam **chos dag** || **lo graṅs bdun khri'i bar du gnas par 'gyur** |
 | mi mchog mya ṇan 'das nas sku gduṅ ni || mchod rten dpag tshad sum cu pa gcig 'byuṅ |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Mañjughoṣa) and the Tibetan translation (dByaṅs dag sñan pa) we can reconstruct *Mañjughoṣa.

The first preserved words of the fragment occur in the second stanza and identify the foremost in understanding, here designated as 18r1 *matimaṃto* (Skt *matimān*) 'having intelligence.' Only the last two akṣaras of his name are preserved, and following the Tibetan we can read the last element of the name as 18r1 *-(i)svaro* (Skt *-īśvaraḥ*). The Tibetan translation Yon tan grags pa'i dbaṅ phyug further suggests that the name started with Skt Guṇa- and contained Skt -kīrti-, -yaśa- or the like as middle element, but we resist the temptation to reconstruct a speculative complete Gāndhārī form. The following pāda identifies the foremost in supernormal power, whose name is translated into Tibetan as 'Jig rten dag gis mi 'jigs. We recognize the first element of his name in 18r1 *lokavihara da ?*, but are unable to connect the following element (apparently derived from Skt *vi-√hr*) with the Tibetan name.

The fourth stanza contains a number of unintelligible akṣaras in pāda b, followed in pāda c by the duration of the dharma, expressed as 18r2 *(dhar)ma satati varṣasahasra* ◊ *ḥha(hiśati)* (Skt *dharmāḥ saptatiṃ varṣasahasrāṇi sthāsyati*) 'the dharma will remain seventy thousand years,' agreeing with the Tibetan translation.

+ + + + + + + + + (◊) **(18r3)** + + + + + + + + + (◊)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (|)
? kuṇaḥhala mada jīṇasya ◊ **putro mahatavo ṇa(ma)** + + + (◊)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (|)
(18r4) + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (◊)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) **koḍīśatiya sarve te ṇipada ?**

vestariga dha + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (2)

D 235b3–6.

| de bzin gśegs pa ños bzañs skye ba yi || yul ni gzi brjid snañ bar byed ces bya |
 | rigs ni bram ze yin te 'od dpag tshad || ñi śu rtsa gñis yab ni lha bzañ yin |
 | **ril ba** stobs brtan **rgyal yum sras po ni** || **dka' thub chen po** mthoñ ldan rim gro pa |
 | phyogs nmams nam par lta ba mkhas pa ste || 'jig rten sgron ma 'byin pa rdzu 'phrul can |
 | '**dus pa** lan grañs bdun cu **kun la yañ** || dri gsum dri med **ther 'bum ther 'bum yod** |
 | mi nmams dag gi tshe yi tshad dag kyañ || lo grañs bdun khri sum stoñ tham pa yin |
 | yoñs su mya ñan 'das nas dam chos dag || lo grañs bdun khri tshañ ba'i bar du gnas |
 | rgyal ba'i **sku gduñ dag ni rgyas 'gyur la** || lha mi dag gis bstod ciñ mchod par 'gyur |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved. Weller's list gives two phonetically and semantically similar names: Supakṣa and Supārśva. The Tibetan translation Ños bzañs does not help us decide between these two alternatives, and we somewhat arbitrarily follow the first of Weller's alternatives and reconstruct the Gāndhārī name as *Supakṣa.

The second stanza of the section gives the name of the mother of this buddha: 18r3 ? *kunañhala*. Her name in the Tibetan translation is Ril ba stobs brtan, the first part (*ril ba*) of which appears to correspond with *-ñhala* (Skt *-sthālā*) of the Gāndhārī. The second part (*stobs brtan*), however, remains unrecognized in the remains of the Gāndhārī. (It is possible that more than one akṣara preceded *kuna* in the name of the mother.) The following pāda names the buddha's son: 18r3 *putro mahatavo ña(ma)* (Skt *putro mahātāpo nāma*) 'the son is called Mahatava,' agreeing with the Tibetan dKa' thub chen po.

From the third stanza our fragment preserves a passage specifying the size of each assembly of this buddha: 18r4 *koḍisatiya sarve te ñipada* (Skt *koḍisatikāḥ sarve te nipātāḥ*), corresponding to Tibetan '*dus pa ... kun la yañ ... ther 'bum ther 'bum yod*. The use of *ñipada* in place of *saññipada* is peculiar and may be due to metrical requirements, unless we are to reconstruct *⟨sañ⟩ñipada*. This word is followed by what looks like the unexpected number sign 3, or possibly one or two daṇḍa punctuation marks.

The final stanza of this section concerns the relics of this buddha, which are said to be scattered in agreement with the Tibetan translation. An akṣara *dha* appears to follow the word 18r4 *vestariga* in the photograph of this fragment, but it remains somewhat unclear whether it really belongs to the same writing surface. If it does, we may here have either **dhadu* (Skt *dhātavaḥ*) or **dhaduśarira* (Skt *dhātuśarīrāṇi*) as an alternative for simple *śarira*.

(18r5) + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + **ye ñama** ° **p(r)abha yoviṇa pa(m)ca ji(ṇa)sya** (|)
 ? **ratiśekṣa** ? + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + (°) (18v1) + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (°)
ayu ñaraṇa ? .u + ? **ñi** ? (°) **a** ? ? **a ma maruda** ? + + (|)

++++++(°)++++++(°)
(18v2)++++++(°)++++++**3**

D 235b6–236a1.

| mi yi 'dren pa don la gnas pa yi || skye yul don ston blo gros zes kyañ bya |
 | rgyal ba'i **rīgs** ni rgyal rigs 'od **kyi tshad** || **dpag tshad lña yod** yab ni don byas yin |
 | don sgra zes ni bya ba rgyal ba'i yum || sras po mchog ma 'gros ldan rim gro pa |
 | 'gro don skyoñ zes bya ba mkhas pa ste || 'jig rten sgron ma 'byin pa rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan grañs sum cu drug kun la'añ || dgra bcom ñar mi 'dzin pa sdig sbyañs pa |
 | legs gnas de dag ther 'bum ther 'bum yod || **mi tshe** lo grañs ñi khri ñis stoñ yin |
 | rgyal ba mya ñan 'das nas dam chos dag || lo grañs sum khri'i bar du gnas par 'gyur |
 | rgyal ba'i sku gduñ dag ni rgyas 'gyur la || mchod rten 'bum phrag sñed kyis brgyan par 'gyur |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Sthitārtha) and the Tibetan translation (Don la gnas pa) we can reconstruct *Ṭhidārtha. The first preserved part of the first stanza is 18r5 *ye ṇama* in pāda c. We expect here a specification of the buddha's family background (kṣatriya according to the Tibetan), and on the model of the prose passages should maybe reconstruct (*jadi*)*ye ṇama* (Skt *jātyā nāma*) 'by birth indeed.' The final pāda of this verse states in agreement with the Tibetan: 18r5 *p(r)abha yoviṇa pa(m)ca ji(ṇa)sya* (Skt *prabhā yojanāni pañca jinasya*) 'the brilliance of the conqueror extends five yojanas.'

The second stanza should start with the name of the father of the buddha—Don byas in the Tibetan—but the sequence of akṣaras visible in the photograph (18r5 ? *ratiśekṣa* ?) does not correspond at all. It is unclear how to explain this situation, unless the photograph is misleading and these akṣaras do not in fact belong to the same surface as the rest of the fragment.

The third stanza specifies the lifespan of men (18v1 *ayu ṇaraṇa*), but we are unable to recognise the actual number (twenty-two thousand) in the string of disjointed and damaged akṣaras that follows. Pāda b appears to contain the word *maruda*– (Skt **marut*–), suggesting a name, but we expect the duration of the dharma to be specified in this part of the passage. We had some doubt whether the corresponding corner of the recto belonged to the fragment, but there is no physical indication on the verso that it does not.

From the last stanza, only the concluding number of the whole section is preserved: 18v2 3, which on the basis of the Tibetan numbering we should probably understand as <72>3 with omitted hundreds and tens.

guṇateyamahidasya jinasya (°) **sarvaguṇodasa ja**(dabhumi °)
 +++++++(°)++++++(°)
 +++++++(°) **(18v3)**++++++(°)
 +++++++(°) (marapra)**mardaṇo irdhimadaṇa** |
 ? **viśati varṣasahasra** +++++(°)++++++(°)
 +++++++(°)++++++(°)
(18v4)++++++(°)++++++(°)
 +++++++ ? **varṣasahasra** ° **triśa ṭhahiśati dharma jṇasya** **4**

D 236a1–4.

| de bzin gśegs pa **yon tan gzi brjid dpal** || **skye yul yon tan thams cad 'byuñ** zes bya |
 | rigs ni rgyal rigs yin te 'od dpag tshad || ñi śu rtsa bzi yab ni gzugs bzañ yin |
 | gzi brjid 'od ni rgyal yum sras po ni || gzi byin yon tan gzi brjid rim gro pa |
 | phyogs mchod pa zes bya ba mkhas pa ste || **bdud rab 'joms zes bya ba rdzu 'phrul can** |
 | 'dus pa lan grañs sum cu drug kun la'añ || dgra bcom bye ba bcu drug bcu drug yod |
 | mi rnams dag gi tshe yi tshad dag kyañ || **lo grañs ñi khri bdun stoñ** tham pa yin |
 | rgyal ba mya ñan 'das nas dam chos dag || **lo grañs sum khri'i bar du gnas par 'gyur** |
 | rgyal ba'i sku gduñ dag ni rgyas 'gyur la || pad ma 'bum phrag sñed kyis brgyan par 'gyur |

The name of the buddha of this section is given as Guṇatejas in Weller's list and as Yon tan gzi brjid in the Tibetan translation. Both of these agree with our manuscript's Guṇateya, whose name in the context of its verse is embedded in a compound and phrase *guṇateyamahidasya jinasya* (Skt *guṇatejamahitasya jinasya*) 'the conqueror celebrated as Guṇateya.' Pāda b of this stanza identifies the birthplace of the buddha as 18v2 Sarvaguṇodasa. On the basis of Tibetan Yon tan thams cad 'byuñ we should have expected Sarvaguṇodaya (Skt Sarvaguṇodaya), and the Gāndhārī spelling remains unexplained.

The next preserved passage is from the second stanza of this section, naming the foremost in supernormal power as 18v3 (Marapra)mardaṇa, reconstructed with the help of the Tibetan bDud rab 'joms. This is followed by a stanza-final daṇḍa punctuation mark.

At the beginning of the third stanza, we appear to have the specification of the lifespan of men, which according to the Tibetan should be twenty-seven thousand (*ñi khri bdun stoñ*) years. Our manuscript has 18v3 *-viśati varṣasahasra* (Skt *-viṃśatir varṣasahasrāṇi*), preceded by a large shape that may correspond to one or to akṣaras and has defied interpretation. We can only assume that one way or another, possibly by miswriting, it corresponds to the expected *sata-* (Skt *sapta-*).

The fourth stanza states in pādas c and d that 'the dharma of the conqueror will remain for thirty thousand years' (18v4 *varṣasahasra* ° *triśa śhahiśati dharma jīṇasya*, Skt *varṣasahasrāṇi triṃśat sthāsyati dharmo jinasya*), in agreement with the Tibetan. The stanza concludes with the final numbering for the section: 18v4 4, probably to be interpreted as <72>4 with omitted hundreds and tens.

++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) (18v5) ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ .uñ.ṇo vaṭhayo °
 ñaṇesvaro ? ? mido ṇama ° irdhimada(ṇa) ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (|)

D 236a4–7.

| de bzin gśegs pa mkhyen ldan zla med pa || skye yul śes ldan snañ bar byed ces bya |
 | rigs ni bram ze yin te 'od dpag tshad || bdun cu rtsa gsum mchod sbyin bzañ po yab |
 | ye śes can ni rgyal yum śes ldan byin || sras yin legs pa'i mchod sbyin **rim gro pa** |
 | **ye śes dbaṅ phyug ces bya mkhas pa ste** || chags med rnam par grol ba **rdzu 'phrul can** |
 | 'dus pa lan graṅs ñi śu gñis kun la'añ || sred phyogs dri ma dag ni bral ba po |
 | bye ba phrag ni ñi śu gñis gñis yod || mi tshe lo graṅs dag ni stoñ yañ yin |
 | dam chos lo graṅs bdun khri drug stoñ gnas || rgyal ba'i sku gduñ mchod rten dpag tshad graṅs |
 | bcu gsum pa ste gcig cig 'byuñ 'gyur la || gser gyi bla re brgya phrag sñed kyis brgyan |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Asama-jñānin) and the Tibetan translation (mKhyen ldan zla med pa) we can reconstruct *Asamañāṇi.

The first preserved passage, in the second stanza, names the attendant of the buddha. The name is badly damaged, but nonetheless a reading 18v5 .uñ.ṇo (or similar) seems likely, which does not match the name given in the Tibetan translation (Legs pa'i mchod sbyin). The stanza continues with the identification of the foremost in understanding, whose name 18v5 Ñaṇesvara (Skt Jñāneśvara) agrees with the Tibetan translation Ye śes dbaṅ phyug. What remains unclear is the following word 18v5 ? ? *mido*, evidently a variant or synonym of 18r1 *matimaṇṭo*. The stanza concludes by naming the foremost in supernormal power, whose name—like the rest of the section—is lost.

19) MS 2179/28

The identification of this fragment is based on the following: (1) the expression 19r4 *kileśamaramaṇṭhaṇa* occurs in the description of one buddha; (2) the brilliance of the following buddha extends twenty-one yojanas, and his dharma will last seventy-thousand years; (3) the description of the next following buddha contains the word (or part of a compound) 19v3 *pratimaṇṭid*. (Skt *pratimaṇḍita*). The only sequence of three buddhas in the Tibetan translation meeting these requirements is nos. 788–790.

++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (19r3) ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ ? **dam te** (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (19r4) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (° sa)rv(e) **kileśamaramaṇṭhaṇa** (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)

D 248b2–5.

| de bzin gśegs pa dri ma rab źi ba'i || skye ba'i yul ni źi ba'i 'od ces bya |
 | rigs ni bram ze yin te 'od dpag tshad || ñi śu rtsa bži rab tu źi ba yab |

| dbaṅ po dul žes bya ba rgyal ba'i yum || sras po mdzes pa legs ži rim gro pa |
 | yon tan tshogs žes bya ba mkhas pa ste || thar par gžol žes bya ba rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan graṅs drug cu gñis **kun la'aṅ** || **bdud daṅ ñon moṅs rab tu 'joms pa po** |
 | de dag ther 'bum gñis gñis 'dus par 'gyur || mi tshe lo graṅs bdun khri bdun stoṅ yin |
 | mya ṇan 'das pa de yi dam chos dag | lo graṅs chig khri sum stoṅ bar du gnas |
 | rgyal ba'i sku gduṅ mchod rten gcig yin te || dpag tshad brgyad pa kun nas mdzes par byas |

The recto of this fragment contains the scant remains of a first preserved line with the akṣaras 19r3 *dam te*, possibly representing a third-person singular verb form. At the beginning of the next preserved line, we can securely reconstruct 19r4 *(sa)rve* (Skt *sarvasmin*), followed by 19r4 *kileśamaramamṭhanaṇa* (Skt *kleśamāramanṭhanānām*). The only point of uncertainty is the peculiar shape of what we read as single-stroke *maṃ*, with a loop on the right representing the anusvāra rather than the usual floating hook underneath separate *ma*. While Sanskrit has both *manthana* and *mathana*, the latter is usually used in the requisite sense of 'crushing.' There is also a partial Pali parallel in Ap 496.19–20 *namo te māmamathana*, also without *n*.¹⁴ Nonetheless, an anusvāra seems to us the only way to account for the loop on our Kharoṣṭhī akṣara, and we suggest that in Gāndhārī at least, forms of this word with and without the nasal alternated freely, the requirements of the metre prompting the particular choice in our verse. The sentence in question states, then, that the assemblies of this buddha are made up of 'those who crush Defilement Māra' (i.e., Māra as an allegory for defilement, cf. BHSD s.v. *māra*). The Tibetan translators misunderstood the first part of the compound as a dvandva and translated *bdud daṅ ñon moṅs* 'Māra and the defilements.'

(19r5) + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + **ṇameṇa** °
ekaviśati yoviṇa + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + (19v1) + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + ? **.ido ṇama** ° **irdhimadaṇa pra** ? + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + (19v2) + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + ? **ṇivride varṣasahasra** ° **satati** ? + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + +

D 248a4–7.

| de bžin gśegs pa phyogs ma bslad pa yi || skye yul ku mu da yi gzi brjid yin |
 | rigs ni bram ze yin te 'od **dpag tshad** || **ñi śu rtsa gcig** chos kyi skar mda' yab |
 | phyogs lta rgyal yum sras po gzi brjid can || gi mi la žes bya ba rim gro pa |
 | **yon tan mthu rtsal** žes bya mkhas pa ste || **spaṅ spobs žes ni bya ba rdzu 'phrul can** |
 | 'dus pa lan graṅs bdun cu kun la yaṅ || sred pa kun la chags bral yid ldan pa |

¹⁴ Interestingly, the Pali Text Society edition notes the variant readings *māramaraṇa*, *māramasana*. Neither of these can be explained on Pali grounds, but in Kharoṣṭhī script *ra* and the younger type of *sa* can be confused, and in Gāndhārī intervocalic *th* developed into *s*. It is thus at least possible that the Pali variants reflect a Gāndhārī background of this *Apadāna* verse.

| bye ba phrag ni bcu bži bcu bži yod || mi tshe lo graṅs bdun khri drug stoṅ yin |
 | **mya ṇan 'das pa de yi** dam chos dag | **lo graṅs bdun khri'i bar du** gnas par 'gyur |
 | 'gro la phan phyir rgyal ba'i sku gduṅ dag | žiṅ nams rgyas śiṅ nam par gaṅ bar 'gyur |

The last preserved line on the recto commences with 19r5 *ṇameṇa* (Skt *nāmnā*) ‘by name,’ which from context must conclude the identification of the birthplace of the buddha. This is followed by the beginning of a description of the extent of his brilliance: 19r5 *ekaviṣāti yoviṇa* (Skt *ekaviṃśatir yojanāni*). The description of the same buddha continues on the verso with the end of the phrase naming his foremost follower in understanding and the beginning of the phrase naming the one foremost in supernormal power. The first name (Tib. Yon tan mthu rtsal) evidently ended in 19v1 *do*; the akṣara preceding that is damaged, but could among other things be a *ka*, a *to* or, maybe most likely, a *ti*. What appears to be the second name (Tib. sPaṅ spobs) starts with 19v1 *pra*, followed by what looks like the right half of a *ma*. It remains unclear how these names should be reconstructed. In order for the verse division between the sections on the birthplace and that on the followers to agree with that of the Tibetan (as it does elsewhere), we have to assume that line 19r5 was approximately 24 akṣaras shorter than regular lines in this manuscript. In general, the shape of the raw material often means that palm-leaf folios are not perfectly rectangular, but sometimes taper toward one end or the other, leading to slightly shorter first and last lines. While no such tapering is directly observable in the Bhk fragments, it is apparent in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* fragments edited in BMSC I, and we feel it provides the best explanation for the required shorter line length in our fragment.

The next line contains part of a dating formula: 19v2 *ṇivride varṣasahasra ° satati* (Skt *nirvṛte varṣasahasrāṇi saptatim*) ‘seventy thousand years after (the buddha) had become extinguished.’ Only a small corner of the next akṣara is preserved, but it would at least be consistent with a reconstruction *’h(ahiśadi dharma jīṇasya)* ‘the dharma of the conqueror will remain’ (cf. 18v4), yielding a twelve-syllable pāda. In order for the verse division between the section on the followers and that on the duration of the dharma to match the Tibetan, either line 19v1 (the solution adopted here) or line 20v2 had to be approximately 12 akṣaras shorter than normal, again presumably due to the shape of the palm-leaf folio.

++++++ (°) **(19v3)** ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ ? + ? ? ° **pratimaṃṭid.** ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ **(19v4)** ++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ **(19v5)** ++++++ (°) ++++++

D 236a4–7.

| mi yi 'dren pa mdzes pa skye ba yi || yul ni **rnam par brgyan pa'i mchod** ces bya |
 | rgyal ba'i rigs ni rgyal rigs 'od kyi tshad || dpag tshad brgya yod yab ni lha dbaṅ yin |
 | 'jig rten 'od ces bya ba rgyal ba'i yum || sras po gtso bo thar 'byor rim gro pa |
 | rab tu brgyan ces bya ba mkhas pa ste || mthu rtsal gnas žes bya ba rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan graṅs brgyad cu kun la yaṅ || lta ba phal chen ma lus spoṅ ba po |
 | bye ba phrag ni dgu bcu dgu dgu yod || mi tshe lo graṅs dgu khri bži stoṅ yin |
 | dam chos lo graṅs bdun khri drug stoṅ gnas || mchod rten dpag tshad bcva lña pa gcig ste |
 | gser daṅ nor bu kun gyi lda ldi bśams || gdugs graṅs brgya sñed dag gis 'khor bar bskor |

The third line contains, after a number of indistinct tops of akṣaras, what appears to be a past participle 19v3 *pratimaṇḍita-* (Skt *pratimaṇḍita-*) 'adorned.' In the Tibetan translation, this can correspond either to rNam par brgyan pa'i mchod (the name of the birthplace of the third buddha in sequence) or to Rab tu brgyan (the name of his foremost in understanding). The position of this word close to the beginning of the passage is in favour of the former identification. The phonetic correspondence of Skt *-ṇḍ-* (with voiced stop) to Gāndhārī *-ṇṭ-* (with voiceless) is unexpected and may be a hypercorrection based on a merger of voiced and voiceless stops after nasals (as observed in the Khotan *Dharmaṇḍita* and the Central Asian documents). The comparatively large empty vertical space at the bottom of the verso of this fragment may suggest a string-hole (in which case the placement of our fragment would most likely have been in the right third of its folio), but a similarly large space without string-hole occurs between the third and fourth lines of fragment no. 22.

20) HG 46, HI 3

The identification of subfragment HG 46 was based on the following considerations: (1) The name of the mother in line v4 ends in *-[va]puṣpa* or, possibly, *-[ta]puṣpa*; (2) the relics of this buddha are dispersed; (3) the relics of the buddha preceding him are in one mass. This leaves only two candidates: buddha no. 678 in the Tibetan translation (whose mother's name is bDud rtsi'i me tog = Skt Amṛtapuṣpā) and buddha no. 816 (whose mother's name is lHa'i me tog = Skt Deva(tā)puṣpā). We can decide between these two on the grounds that the extent of the brilliance of the buddha three positions before the one in line 20v4 is said (in line 20r2) to be *yoviṇa*-... with no preceding word, i.e., possibly a full yojana, a full hundred of yojanas, or a full thousand of yojanas, but certainly no multiple thereof. For buddha no. 675 it is twenty-two yojanas, but for buddha no. 813 it is one thousand yojanas, which latter thus fulfills the condition. In principle, the assignment of recto and verso of this fragment could also be the other way around, in which case the buddha two positions after the one whose mother's name is partially preserved would have to fulfill our condition on the extent of his brilliance. Since, however, for buddha no. 680 the extent is nine hundred yojanas, and for buddha no. 818 it is eighty thousand yojanas, this leaves us only with the identification presented below. The physical joining of the two subfragments HG 46 and HI 3 fully supports this conclusion.

Chinese and Tibetan translations given under fragment no. 16: 一會說經 ... 弟子集 and 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos The next line contains, from the beginning of a new section, the end of the extent of the brilliance of a buddha (value lost) and the statement that he was a kṣatriya by birth. The last line of the recto is badly damaged in its first half, but on the basis of 18r4 *koḍīṣatiya sarve te nīpada* (compare the discussion above) we can confidently reconstruct *sa(m)nīpada* <◦> *k(o)ḍīṣatiya sa(rve)* (Skt *saṃnīpātāḥ* ◦ *koṭīṣatikāḥ sarve*) '(There are ...) assemblies. Each (of these assemblies) had ten million followers.'

22) MS 2179/32c

The size of this fragment is substantial, but it consists almost entirely of formulaic elements shared by all prose descriptions of buddhas. The only distinct features of side A are the following: The lifespan under one particular buddha is one or several thousands of years (22A1 *varṣasahasra ayuprama(ṇo)*). The following buddha is a kṣatriya by birth (22A2 *kṣatriyo jadye*), and the name of his father starts with 22A2 *vi*. The lifespan under this buddha is, probably, one or several hundred thousands of years (22A3 *śatasahasra ayupramaṇo*), and the duration of his dharma in years or multiples thereof begins with 22A3 *sata* 'seven.' The extent of the brilliance of the third buddha on this fragment is one or several thousands (22A4 *(saha)sro*) of yoyanas. He is a brahman by birth and, similarly to the preceding buddha, the name of his father starts with 22A4 *viyu*. The lifespan under this third buddha is one or several thousands of years (22A5 *(var)ṣasahasra*).

From side B of the fragment we learn that the name of the father of a particular buddha began with 22B1 *citra-* (Skt *citra-*). The lifespan under this buddha was one or several thousands of years (22B2 *(va)rṣasahasra ayupramaṇo*). Strangely, this is immediately followed by the clear syllables *masthi*, which can hardly form part of the expected description of the assembly or assemblies of the buddha. The beginning of line 22B3 can be securely reconstructed as *(yovi)ṇa prabha*, so the extent of the brilliance of the following (second) buddha on this side is less than a hundred yojanas. He is a brahman by birth, the name of his father starts with 22B3 *aṇ*.. The lifespan under this buddha is one or several thousands of years (22B4 *sahasra*), and the number of his assemblies (or, less likely, the size of one or more of his assemblies) begins with 22B4 *ekuṇa-* (Skt *ekona-*). The third buddha on side B of the fragment is a kṣatriya by birth, and the name of his father starts with 22B5 *sudarśa*. The reconstruction *sudarśa(ṇo)* (Skt *sudarśanaḥ*) suggests itself, but as far as we can tell from the Tibetan translation, there is no buddha whose father bears this name.

23) MS 2179/35

The first intelligible akṣaras on side A of this fragment are 23A2 *suryaprabha*, which probably corresponds to a name starting with Skt *Sūryaprabha-*. If the name is complete, it should then be followed by a relationship term specifying who in the surroundings of the buddha in question bears the name, but the next akṣara is a clear *te* that cannot form part of any of the usual terms. We therefore have to consider the possibility that the name, complete as it sounds, had a third element after *-prabha-*. The beginning of line 23A3 can with some likelihood be reconstructed as *(saṃṇi-pa)da*, and the following words would then probably be *daśakoḍisa(hasraga sarve)* (Skt *daśakoṭi-sahasrakāḥ sarve*), specifying that each assembly of this buddha numbered one hundred billion.

Line 23A4 ? *raṭha ṇama pi(da)* tells us that the name of the father of the next buddha ended in -*raṭha* (Skt -*rāṣṭra*). The lifespan under this second buddha was one or several thousands of years (23A5 *sahasra ay(upramaṇo)*). We were able to find one passage in the Tibetan translation that has names corresponding to those on side A of our fragment at a suitable distance: D 150a2 *Ñi ma'i sgron ma* (possibly Skt *Sūryaprabha*, name of the son of a buddha) and D 150a4 *Yul 'khor bzang po* (Skt *Surāṣṭra*, name of the father of the following buddha), but feel that in view of the tentative interpretation of the *Gāndhārī* fragment this is not sufficient for a secure identification.

On side B, after an almost completely lost first line, we tentatively read and divide 23B2 ? *ñatirtharayi ṇa*. For *y*, the handwriting of our scribe would also allow us to read *ś*, but Skt *tīrtharājī* is lexicographically attested as a name for the city *Vārāṇasī* (MW s.v.), suggesting that we have to do with a similar place name and thus the native country of a buddha. What appears to be the first of three parts of the name ends in *ṇa*, and in view of Skt *punyaṭīrtha* (MW s.v.), we tentatively propose a complete reconstruction of the name as *(pum)ñatirtharayi*, followed by the usual *ṇa(ma jadabhumī)*. From line 23B3 we learn that the name of the foremost in wisdom of this buddha ended in *ma*. The last line of side B of the fragment preserves what is probably the beginning of the name of the attendant of the next buddha in 23B5 *p(u)t(r)o ° akh..*

24) MS 2179/105

The wording of this fragment suggests that it belonged to a verse passage. The first line of side A names the father of a buddha as 24Aa *Sudeva* (Skt *Sudeva*), matching buddhas 193 (verse), 242 (prose) and 349 (verse) in the Tibetan translation of the text. The damaged name of the mother begins with what looks like *mu*. The second line contains part of the description of the assembly or assemblies of this buddha, and appears to say that all contained therein were arhants, though the precise interpretation of *aṣa* remains uncertain.

Side B of this fragment contains, after an almost completely lost first line, the end of the specification of the mother of a buddha in 24Bb *mada* (the name itself being lost), followed by the name of the son *Varṇila* (Skt *Varṇila*), matching buddha 188 (a verse passage) in the Tibetan translation. Taken together with the matches for the name of the father on side A, this appears to suggest a placement of this fragment in the verse passage covering buddhas nos. 188 to 193. But even if we were to take side B of this fragment to cover lines 1–3 of the recto, and side A to cover lines 3–4 of the verso, there would not have been sufficient space between the two to accommodate buddhas nos. 189 to 192. The identification of this fragment thus remains unresolved.

25) MS 2179/130s

Line 25A1 of this fragment gave the name of the attendant of a buddha, which ended in *du*. The interpretation of the next line, which we read as 25A2 ? *hagadhasya*, remains entirely unclear, though apparently it contains a genitive form. The last line of side A contains what should likely be read as *rayo* (although *raśo* would also be possible), and probably corresponds to Skt -*rājah* as part of a name.

Line 25B3 can be reconstructed as *(va)rṣasaha(sra)* and thus indicated either the lifespan under a particular buddha or the duration of his dharma. The following line gave the name of his

foremost in understanding (25B4 *ṇama praṇṇā(maṃtaṇa agro)*), now lost. The last line appears to describe the relics (25B5 *śarira*) of the same buddha, but it remains unclear what to make of preceding *śa* (or *ya*). Following *ṣ.*, occurring after a punctuation dot at the beginning of a word, with some likelihood belonged to a number word starting with *ṣa-* (Skt *ṣaṭ-*) ‘six,’ even though in the usual pattern the passage on the relics is the very last of a buddha section.

26) MS 2179/uf2/6e

Side A of this small fragment does not preserve any intelligible words. The phrasing of side B suggests a verse passage, starting with what appears to be the genitive ending of the name of the buddha in question followed by his title 26B1 *jīṇasya*. The next line was on the foremost in supernormal power, but all identifying characteristics are lost.

27) MS 2179/uf3/1a

Line 27A1 of this fragment contains the genitive plural *arahāṇa* (Skt *arhatām*) ‘of arhants’, followed by three short vertical lines that we can only interpret as three numeral signs *1* indicating the number 3. We evidently have to do with the description of the assembly or assemblies of a buddha. Line 27A2 states that the following buddha was a brahman by birth (*brahmaṇo jatiye*). The last line of side A, like the first line of side B, remains unclear. Line 27B5 contains the beginning of a buddha section in verse, giving the name of this buddha’s native country which started with *sañāso* (more likely than *sañayo*).

28) MS 2179/uf3/1c, uf3/1e

This fragment contains contains a partially preserved folio number consisting of the number sign 20 followed by two vertical lines. Even though these lines are straight, not curved as in the folio number on fragment no. 2, there can be little doubt that they represent a sequence of number signs *1 1*. This could have been followed by at most one more number sign *1*, so that the overall folio number must have been $x + 22$ or $x + 23$.

The wording of the fragment does not allow an identification, but 28r2 *jīṇasya* immediately followed by *jatiye* suggests a verse description. The meaning of the following two akṣaras *ina* remains unclear. Line 28rc specifies the lifespan under this buddha and can be reconstructed as (*sata*)*ti varṣasahas(r)a ° ay(upramaṇo)*. The word order in line 28vb is very similar to that of a prose description, but the line contains the word *abha*, apparently preceded by (*yovi*)*ṇa*, rather than the usual prose formulation *yoviṇa prabha*, suggesting that the block of verse descriptions may have continued from the recto onto the verso. The same buddha is said to have been a brahman by birth (28rb *brahmaṇo jatiye*). The last line contained one of the numbers 240 million, 24 billion or 240 billion (*catuviśati koḍi*, *catuviśati koḍi(śata)* or *catuviśati koḍi(sahasra)*, or any of these as bahuvrīhi compound), referring most likely to the size of the assembly or one of the assemblies of this buddha.

29) MS 2179/uf3/1d

In line 29Ab, we can reconstruct *kṣatriyo ja(tīye)*. The single preserved word in line 29Ac will

have been either *koḍīśata* or *koḍīśat(iya)*. It is possible though not certain that 29Ba *samaṇa* is the present participle Skt *samāna*. In line 29Bb, we should probably reconstruct *(koḍīśat)iya ṇipada* (cf. 18r4 *koḍīśatiya sarve te ṇipada*). Following the usual pattern, the word 29Bc *jatiye* must have been preceded either by *brahmaṇo* or by *kṣatriyo*.

30) MS 2179/uf3/2a

In line 30Aa, we can probably reconstruct *saṇipa(da)*. Line 30Ab states that the following buddha was a brahman by birth. On side B of the fragment, in line 30Ba we appear to have the number sign 3, followed possibly by the number word *tray(o)*, indicating in all likelihood the end of a buddha section. Line 30Bb contained the name of the mother of the following buddha (now lost) in wording typical of a verse passage.

31) MS 2179/uf3/2b

The reading 31Ab *ṇivrade* does not make any sense as it stands and should almost certainly be emended to *ṇivr(i)de*. In comparison with 18v4 *varṣasahasra ° triśa ḥhahiśati dharma jñasya* and 19v2 *ṇivride varṣasahasra ° satati ḥh(ahiśadi)*, we can then reconstruct this line as *ṇivr(i)de varṣasahasra ° ḥhahiśadi* and in all likelihood assign it to a verse passage. The interpretation of line 31Bb remains regrettably unclear, even though most of the akṣaras are legible.

32) MS 2179/uf3/3a

Line 32Aa can be reconstructed as *(irdhimamṭaṇa a)g(r)o ° ṣaṭhi va(r)ṣasahasra* (or *varṣa* or *var-ṣasāda*) *ayupramaṇo*. In line 32Ba, we can read *prabha (° b)rahma(ṇo jatiye)*. Both expressions most likely belonged to prose passages.

33) AF N1

Only one side of this fragment is visible in the available photograph, which is moreover so blurry that our readings can only be taken as approximate. The beginning of line 33A1 can be reconstructed as *(jada)bhumi*, and the end, less securely, as *kṣatriyo ja(diye)*. If this is correct, then an empty space approximately four akṣaras wide separated the two phrases at the upper edge of the fragment. It is likely that this space was due to a string-hole, and thus that line 33Aa was the third line of the folio (if the string-hole space interrupted only a single line) or the fourth line (if it interrupted three lines). In line 33Ab, the secure formula for the foremost in supernormal power (whose name is lost) is followed by what appears to be *tr.* and thus may belong to a number word containing ‘three’ and introducing the passage on the lifespan under the buddha in question.

34) AF N2

This fragment is known from the same low-resolution photograph as fragment no. 33, and the same caveats concerning our readings apply. Line 34Aa appears to contain two number words, first *capariśa* (Skt *catvāriṃśat*) ‘forty,’ then *paṃca* (Skt *pañca*) ‘five,’ separated by a punctuation dot. It is unclear why these two words would have occurred next to each other. After a completely illegible second line, line 34Ac preserves a fairly clear *prañama(mṭaṇa)* specifying the foremost in understanding of a buddha.

35) MS 2179/107

We now begin our discussion of the last group of fragments: those that contain no clear textual indication of belonging to the Bhk, but are written in the hand of the Bhk scribe.

The first of these is very different in style from the formulaic Perfection and Buddha sections and appears to recount a story. Line 35Aa begins with *gado*, presumably either Skt *gataḥ* ‘he went’ or Skt *āgataḥ* ‘he came.’ The following phrase would then indicate the destination of the movement and can be reconstructed as *yatra aridameṇa tathaga(deṇa)* (Skt *yatra arimḍamena tathā-gatena*) ‘where the tathāgata Arimḍama (carried out some action).’ Line 35Ab begins with an unclear word, possibly in the instrumental, followed by the number sign *1 1* probably concluding a section. The next word is clearly the river name Bhagirasi (Skt Bhāgīrathī). It is tempting to read the following two akṣaras either as *ṇadi* (Skt *nadī*) ‘river’ or as *ṇama* (Skt *nāma*) ‘called,’ but the second of the two does not have quite the right shape for either interpretation. It is possible that *bhagirasiṇa* should be taken as an instrumental, or that *bhagirasi* was part of a compound with unclear posterior member. The only legible word in line 35Ac is *ṇido*, which may correspond either to Skt *nītaḥ* ‘was led’ or to Skt *ānītaḥ* ‘was brought.’

On the other side of the fragment, unclear 35Ba *kareṇa* (apparently an instrumental) is followed by the number sign *4* (probably again concluding a section) and what we tentatively read as *oya* (with *ośa* and *aśra* as alternative readings). If this reading is correct, we may here have the common Gāndhārī word *oya* (Skt *avacat*) ‘said’ introducing direct speech. Line 35Bb contains, after one unclear akṣara, the gerund *prekṣitva* (Skt *prekṣitvā*) ‘having seen.’ This is followed by *ludhagadarakeṇa*, apparently corresponding to Skt *lubdhakadārakena* ‘by the son of a hunter.’

While the Bhk does contain a section for a buddha Arimḍama (no. 259, dGra ’dul, in the Tibetan translation), here we clearly do not have the usual description of a buddha. If the fragment belongs to the Bhk at all, it most likely hails from a part of the text outside the Perfections and Buddhas Sections.

36) MS 2179/130Q

In line 36Ab, *prathamam* appears to be adverbial (‘for the first time’). The following *bodha-* (Skt *bodha-*) may be the first part of a compound. In the following line, we can reconstruct 36Bc *(ta)thagado*. The reading *ṇama* in line 36Ba is tentative. In line 36Bb, *daśiṇo* (Skt *darśiṇaḥ*, either genitive singular or nominative plural) is a possible reading, and the word may then have formed the posterior member of a compound.

37) MS 2179/uf2/3c

No legible words remain on this fragment.

38) MS 2170/uf3/1b

The first line of this fragment does not yield any unambiguous readings, but it is possible that it contained the word *opama* (Skt *aupamya*) ‘simile.’ The following letter can be read as either *mi* or *ga*. In line 38Ab, *aṇagami-* (Skt *anāgami-*) ‘non-returner’ is a likely reading, even though its first letter (which has a crack running through it) at first glance looks more like a *ja* or *ḍa*. In line 38Bb,

the reconstruction *sarthavaha-* (Skt *sarthavāha-*) ‘merchant leader’ suggests itself, and it is possible that this formed a compound with a posterior member starting with *ñā-* and belonging to the word family of Skt *jñā-* ‘to know.’ In line 38Bc, *dharmeṣu suviñīc(ita)* ‘well convinced with regard to the dharmas’ is a tempting reconstruction, but it is not clear how the trace of ink after *ṇi* could belong to *cā*. The overall tenor of this passage is didactic.

39) MS 2179/uf3/3b

No legible words remain on this fragment.

40) MS 2179/uf4/2b

This fragment appears to contain the words 40Ab *karma* (Skt *karman*) ‘action’ and 40Ba *saṃsriṭha* (Skt *saṃsṛṣṭa*) ‘combined,’ but in the absence of context their significance remains unclear.

41) MS 2179/uf4/2c

No legible words remain on this fragment.

42) MS 2179/uf4/2d

The only legible word on this small fragment is 42Aa *varṣa*, which might have formed part of one of the expressions for duration in the Bhk’s Buddhas Section, but could of course also occur in any number of other contexts.

43) MS 2179/uf4/4b

Line 43Ba appears to contain the words *ca ye* (Skt *ca ye*) ‘and ... which.’

44) MS 2179/uf4/4f

Line 44Aa contains the word *bhumi*, but here it is preceded either by *ya* or by *śa* and thus clearly does not form part of the common compound *jadabhumi* in the Buddhas Section.

45) MS 2179/uf5/2a

The handwriting on this fragment is unusually large, but appears to be by the Bhk scribe. Line 45Aa appears to contain part of a word with the prefix *abhi-* (Skt *abhi-*).

46) MS 2179/uf5/2c

Line 46Ab could possibly be reconstructed as *(a)vekṣida* (Skt *apekṣita*) ‘considered.’ Lines 46Ba and 46Bb both appear to contain gerundives ending in *-davya* (Skt *-tavya*).

47) MS 2179/uf5/4b

The writing on this fragment is somewhat larger than that of most of the other fragments, but otherwise consistent with the hand of the Bhk scribe and therefore included here. One side of the fragment (line 47A5) reads *paraga*, presumably corresponding to Skt *pāraga* ‘going to the far side.’ The first line on the other side (47B1) reads *su vimu*, probably containing the beginning of

either *vimuta* (Skt *vimukta*) ‘liberated’ or *vimuti* (Skt *vimukti*) ‘liberation.’ The preceding *su* could be part of the same word (‘properly liberated’ or ‘proper liberation’) or possibly the termination of a preceding word or compound member.

48) HI 21

It is not clear that fragment no. 48, comparable in size to fragment no. 35, belonged to the Bhk. Where fragment no. 35 was narrative in tone, the wording of fragment no. 48 suggests a didactic dialogue.

Line 48Aa starts off with the verb *vakṣati* (Skt *vakṣyati*) ‘he will say,’ introducing direct speech consisting of (or beginning with) *budho bheṣe* (Skt *buddho bhaviṣyāmi*) ‘I will become a buddha.’ Line 48Ab contains the number signs *10 4*, presumably again signalling the end of a section. The following sentence begins with *śruda teṇa* (probably Skt *śrutam teṇa* ‘he heard’), which is followed by less clear *bhudaṃ eṣa* (possibly Skt *bhūta eṣa* ‘he has become’). Line 48Ac contains the two words *daridra prañahiṇa* (Skt *daridrāḥ prajñāhīnāḥ*) ‘poor and devoid of understanding.’

In line 48Bb on the other side of the fragment, we can surely reconstruct *(pa)riprichati ca* (Skt *paripṛcchati ca*) ‘and he asks.’ If our interpretation as singular verb is correct, then the following *sarve* (Skt *sarve*) ‘all’ must be part of the content of the question. It is in turn followed by another form of *sarva-* with unclear case ending. In line 48Bc, *bhogaṇe pi sokha* will correspond to Skt *bhojane ’pi saukhyam* ‘also in eating there is enjoyment,’ with hypercorrect *g* for *j*. In light of *na* at the beginning of the following sentence, it is possible that also this sentence was negated, in which case we would wish to read *ṇa ca* at the beginning of the line.

49) AF A5

A possible reconstruction for line 49Aa is *(ṇi)vride* (Skt *nirvṛte*) ‘having become extinguished.’

Concordance of Fragment and CKM Numbers

The following table provides a concordance between fragment numbers as used in this article and the corresponding entries in the *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts* (Baums and Glass 2002b).

| Fragment no. | CKM no. | | |
|--------------|------------------|----|-----|
| 1 | 128, 131 | 25 | 401 |
| 2 | 130, 203 | 26 | 350 |
| 3 | 213 | 27 | 351 |
| 4 | 373 | 28 | 353 |
| 5 | 62 | 29 | 354 |
| 6 | 317 | 30 | 355 |
| 7 | 319 | 31 | 356 |
| 8 | 321 | 32 | 359 |
| 9 | 392 | 33 | 409 |
| 10 | 393 | 34 | 410 |
| 11 | 357 | 35 | 204 |
| 12 | 358 | 36 | 399 |
| 13 | 372 | 37 | 349 |
| 14 | 375 | 38 | 352 |
| 15 | 126 | 39 | 360 |
| 16 | 44 | 40 | 361 |
| 17 | 53, 56, 133, 402 | 41 | 362 |
| 18 | 71, 374 | 42 | 363 |
| 19 | 125 | 43 | 364 |
| 20 | 45, 52 | 44 | 365 |
| 21 | 129, 322 | 45 | 412 |
| 22 | 323 | 46 | 413 |
| 23 | 132 | 47 | 414 |
| 24 | 202 | 48 | 70 |
| | | 49 | 376 |

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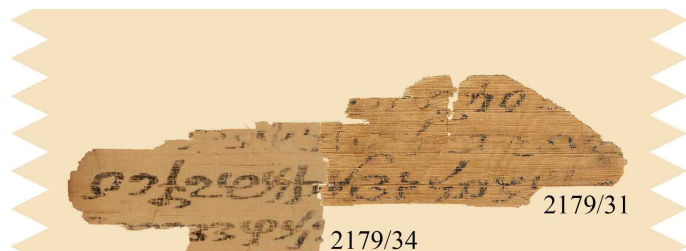
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5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

Plate XVIII

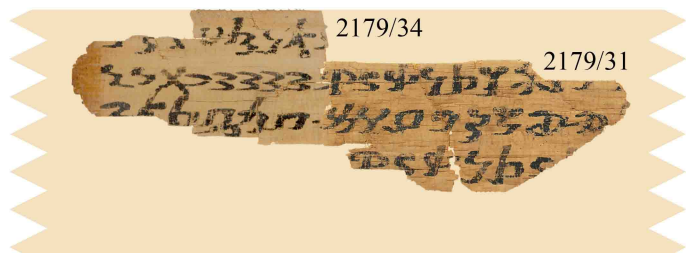
1) recto



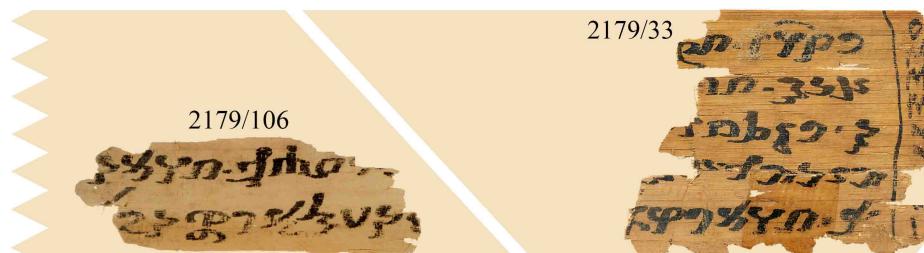
2) folio 62 (?) recto



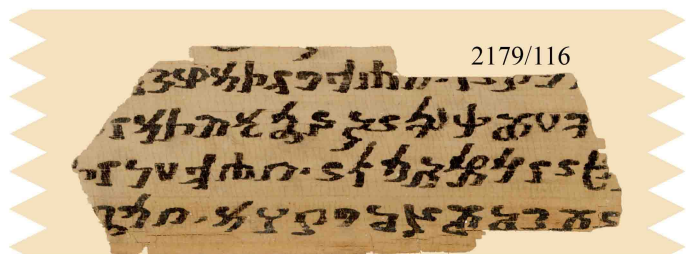
verso



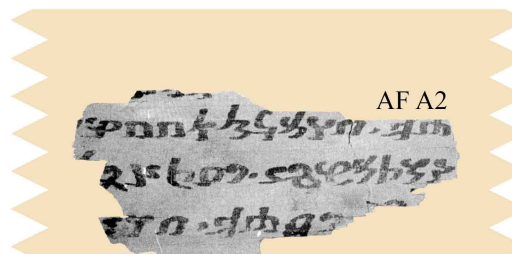
verso



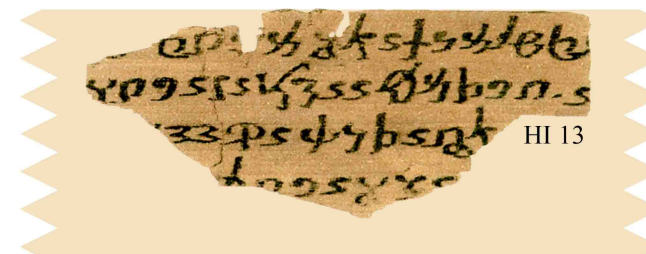
3) recto



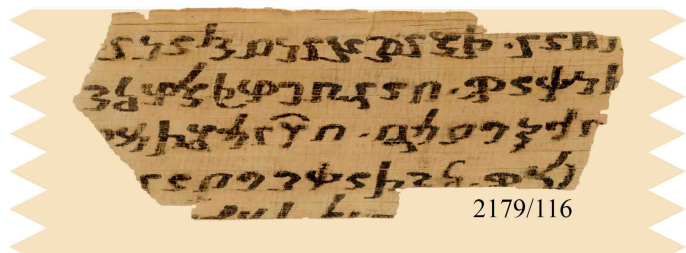
4) recto



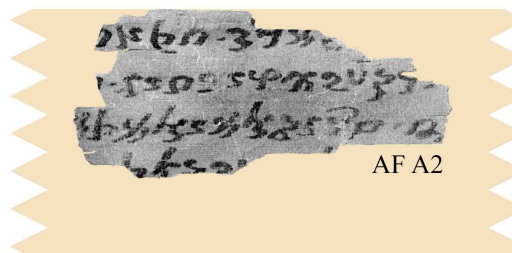
5) recto



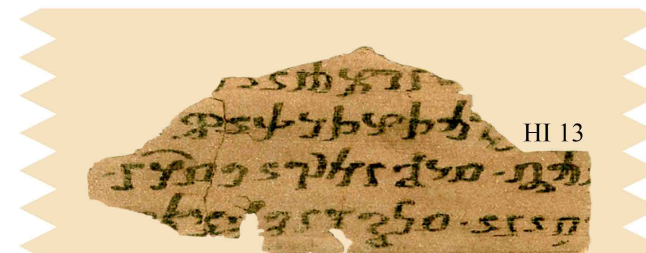
verso



verso



verso



5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

Plate XIX

6) A



2179/29b

B

assembled
from 3 pieces



2179/29b

7) A



2179/30c

B



2179/30c

8) A



2179/30e

B



2179/30e

9) A



2179/130j

B



2179/130j

10) A



2179/130k

B



2179/130k

11) A



2179/uf3/2e

B



2179/uf3/2e

12) A



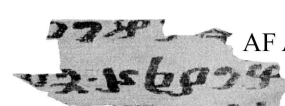
2179/uf3/2f

B



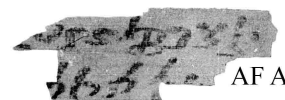
2179/uf3/2f

13) A



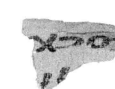
AF A1

B



AF A1

14) A



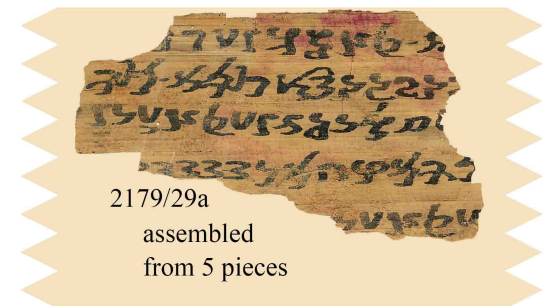
AF A4

B



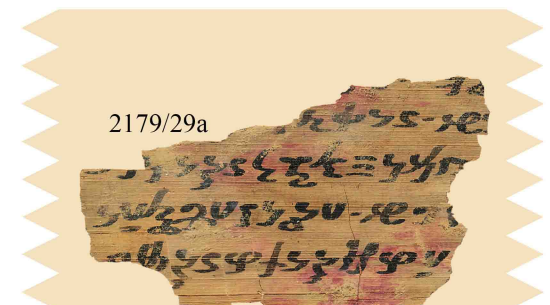
AF A4

15) recto



2179/29a
assembled
from 5 pieces

verso

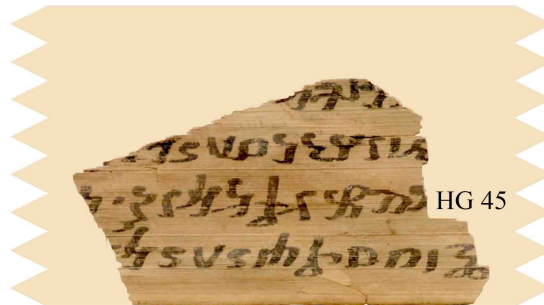


2179/29a

5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

Plate XX

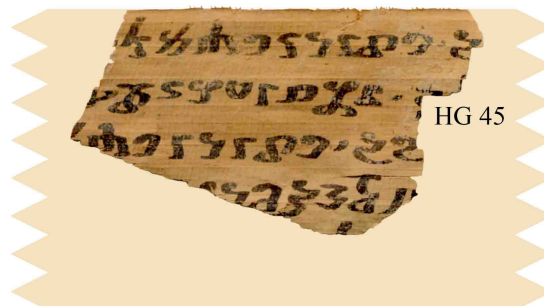
16) recto



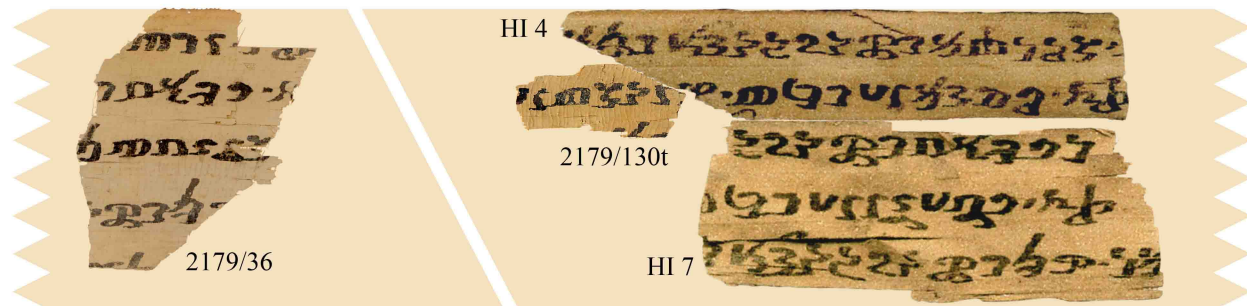
17) recto



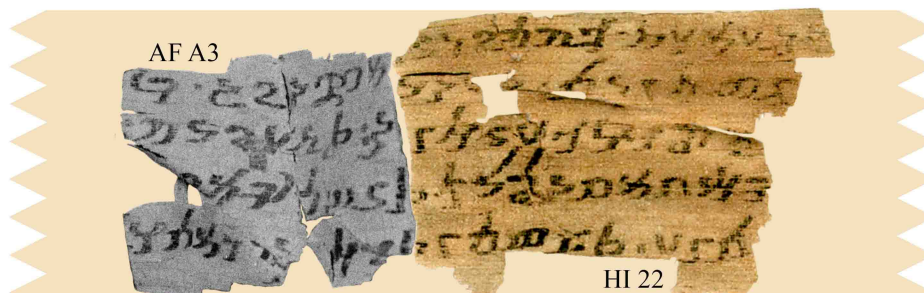
verso



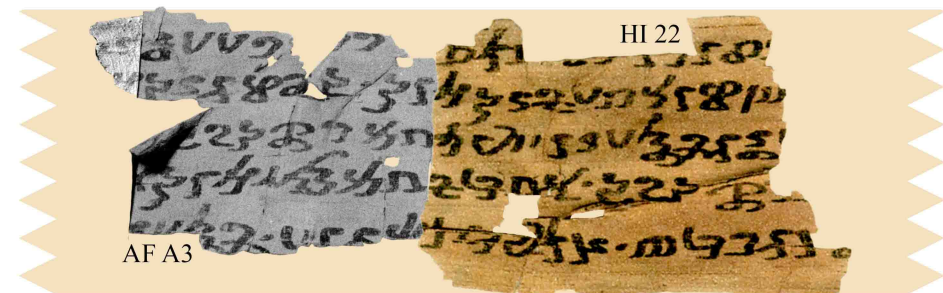
verso



18) recto



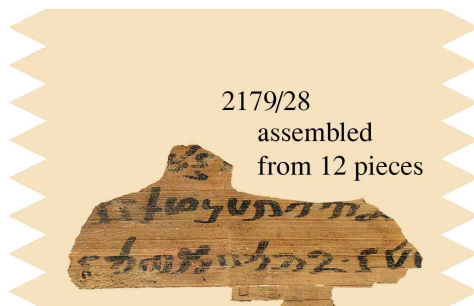
verso



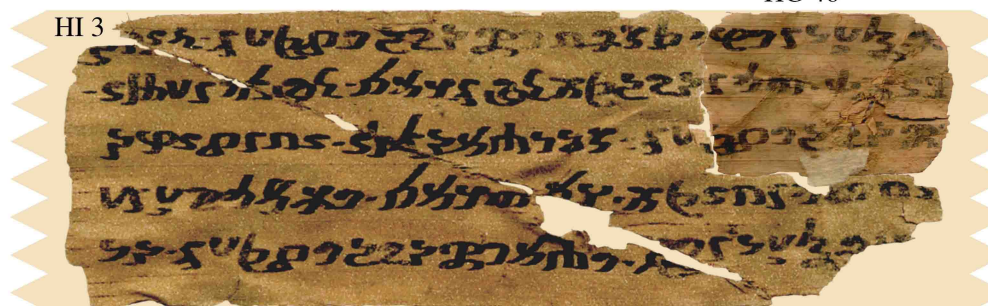
5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

Plate XXI

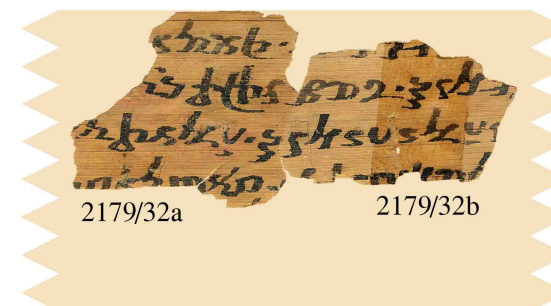
19) recto



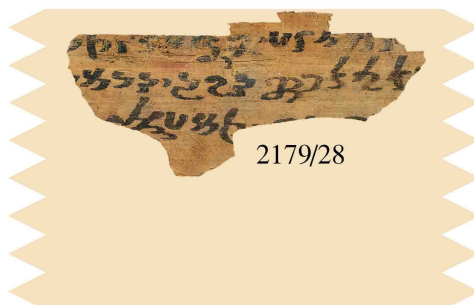
20) recto



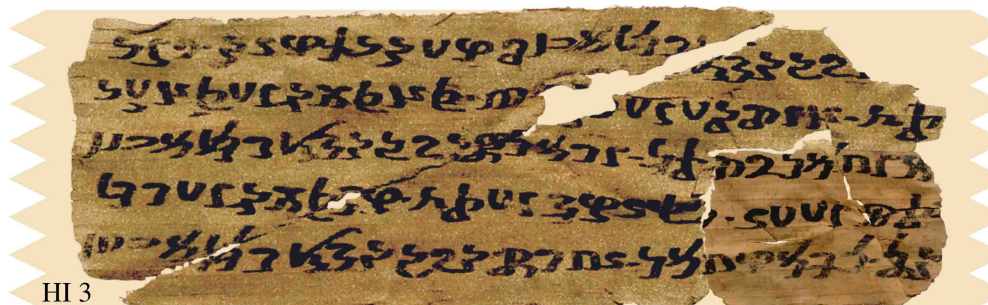
21) A



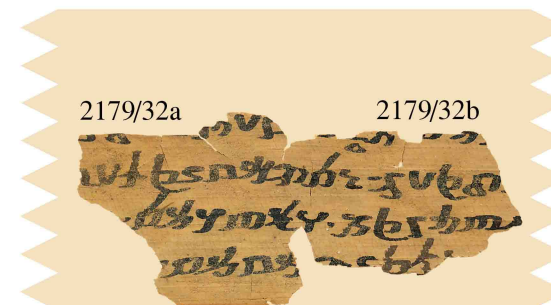
verso



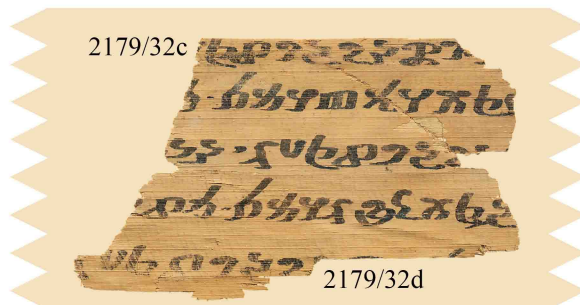
verso



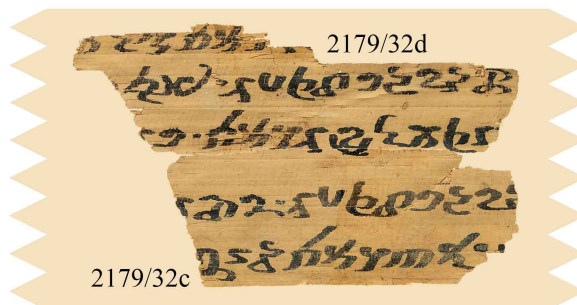
B



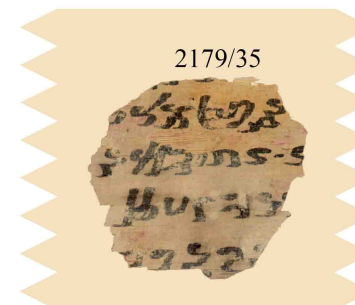
22) A



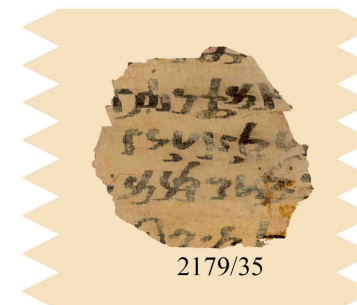
B



23) A



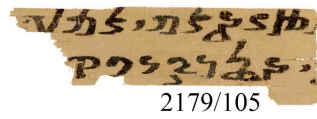
B



5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

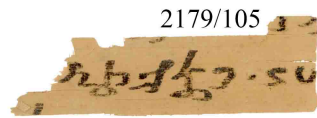
Plate XXII

24) A



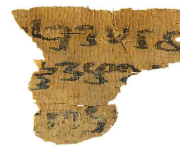
2179/105

B



2179/105

25) A



2179/130s

B



2179/130s

26) A



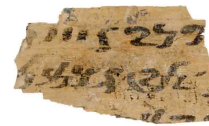
2179/uf2/6e

B



2179/uf2/6e

27) A



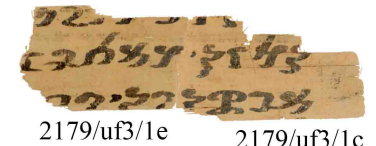
2179/uf3/1a

B



2179/uf3/1a

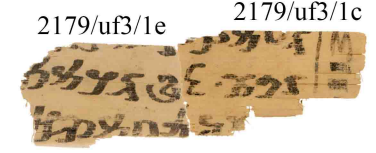
28) folio /// 20 [1 1] /// recto



2179/uf3/1e

2179/uf3/1c

verso



2179/uf3/1e

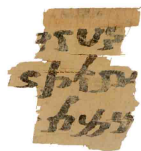
2179/uf3/1c

29) A



2179/uf3/1d

B



2179/uf3/1d

30) A



2179/uf3/2a

B



2179/uf3/2a

31) A



2179/uf3/2b

B



2179/uf3/2b

32) A



2179/uf3/3a

B



2179/uf3/3a

33) A



AF N1

34) A



AF N2

5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

Plate XXIII

35) A



2179/107

B



2179/107

36) A



2179/130Q

B



2179/130Q

37) A



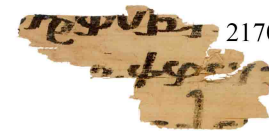
2179/uf2/3c

B



2179/uf2/3c

38) A



2170/uf3/1b

B



2170/uf3/1b

39) A



2179/uf3/3b

B



2179/uf3/3b

40) A



2179/uf4/2b

B



2179/uf4/2b

41) A



2179/uf4/2c

B



2179/uf4/2c

42) A



2179/uf4/2d

B



2179/uf4/2d

43) A



2179/uf4/4b

B



2179/uf4/4b

44) A



2179/uf4/4f

B



2179/uf4/4f

5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

Plate XXIV

45) A



2179/uf5/2a

46) A



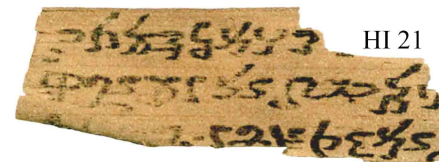
2179/uf5/2c

47) A



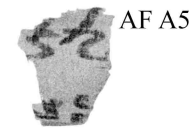
2179/uf5/4b

48) A



HI 21

49) A



AF A5

B



2179/uf5/2a

B



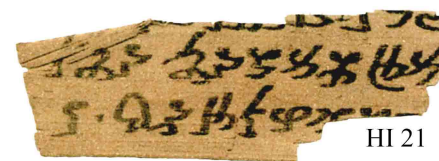
2179/uf5/2c

B



2179/uf5/4b

B



HI 21

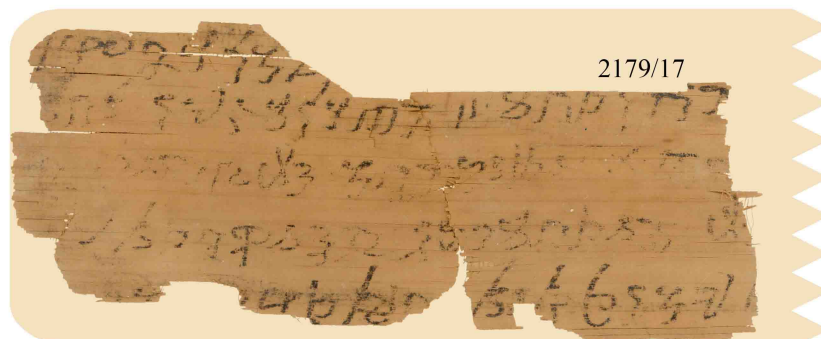
B



AF A5

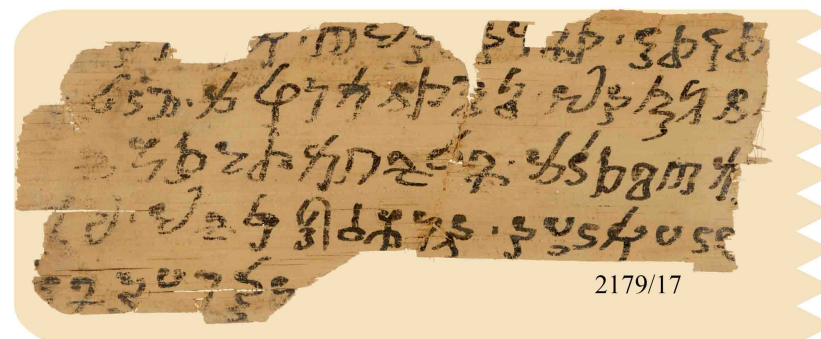
6. The *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* in Gāndhārī

recto



2179/17

verso



2179/17

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HERMES PUBLISHING · OSLO

2016

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

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ISBN 978-82-8034-203-4

*Printed in Norway
by
RK Grafisk AS Oslo*