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Publication Date

2019

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Goods that Cannot Be Stolen:

Mercantile Faith in Kumāralāta's

Garland of Examples Adorned by

Poetic Fancy

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Diego Loukota Sanclemente

2019

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2019

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Goods that Cannot Be Stolen:
Mercantile Faith in Kumāralāta's
*Garland of Examples Adorned by
Poetic Fancy*

by

Diego Loukota Sanclemente

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Gregory Schopen, Co-chair

Professor Stephanie J. Watkins, Co-chair

This dissertation examines the affinity between the urban mercantile classes of ancient India and contemporary Buddhist faith through an examination of the narrative collection *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapañkti* (“*Garland of Examples*,” henceforth Kumāralāta’s *Garland*) by the 3rd Century CE Gandhāran monk Kumāralāta. The collection features realistic narratives that portray the religious sensibility of those social classes. I contend that as Kumāralāta’s 3rd Century was one of crisis for cities and for trade in the Indian world, his work reflects an urgent statement of the core values of

Buddhist urban businesspeople. Kumāralāta's stories emphasize both religious piety and the pursuit of wealth, a concern for social respectability, a strong work ethic, and an emphasis on rational decision-making. These values inform Kumāralāta's religious vision of poverty and wealth. His vision of religious giving conjugates economic behavior and religious doctrine, and the outcome is a model that confers religious legitimation to the pursuit of wealth but also an economic outlet for religious fervor and a solid financial basis for the monastic establishment, depicted by Kumāralāta in close interdependence with the laity and, most importantly, within the same social class.

These thematic findings have required that Kumāralāta's *Garland* be examined in the context of the Indian society of his time by considering the broader genre of Buddhist narrative literature but also the archeological, literary, and epigraphic material that tells us about the competing social groups depicted in the stories. Such competing currents include the orthodox brahmanical establishment, the military aristocracy, and the hedonistic urban upper class depicted in the *Kāmasūtra*.

My examination also required that I reconsider Kumāralāta's text in its extant versions in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Tangut and Chinese, all except one in Chinese being fragmentary. This philological survey has provided a number of discoveries. I have edited a number of already known but unedited fragments of one of the Sanskrit manuscripts and identified four previously unknown Sanskrit manuscripts from Bāmiyān. I have also assessed the Tangut version and proposed a new translator for the main Chinese version.

There was great interest in Kumāralāta's work in the 19th and early 20th centuries, but it has since dwindled. An ancillary aim of my dissertation is bringing Kumāralāta and his work back into the scholarly conversation.

The dissertation of Diego Loukota Sanclemente is approved.

Robert E. Buswell

James Benn

Gregory Robert Schopen, Committee Co-chair

Stephanie J. Watkins, Committee Co-chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

पराहितैषुः

parahitaiṣibhyaḥ

To the well-wishers

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Acknowledgments

Let these be concise and sweet.

The project came together thanks to my committee, all of whose members were mentors to me. Gregory Schopen and Stephanie Jamison are the scholars I want to be: old-school philologists with an eye to the humanity behind the words. Prof. Schopen met me once every week for three years to read Tibetan texts, and with Stephanie I was lucky enough to catch her deluxe cruise all-inclusive: Old Iranian, Vedic, and Middle Indic over those same three years. Those hours spent trying to elucidate the meaning of one ancient word or phrase through every available tool were for me hours of pure, undiluted happiness. And yet their scholarly virtuosity makes up only half of my appreciation of them. The other half goes to their unsparing generosity, to their sheer good nature and sense of humor, and to their sincere concern for others. Robert Buswell provided through the years thoughtful advice, offprints of his own and others' work whenever they were relevant to my interests, and countless letters of reference. James Benn has been the best mentor I could have wished for in the mysteries of the practical side of life as a scholar; he is also a constant source of the best and driest humor. And Alice, although not in the committee, was always welcoming and opened for her husband's student her house and her delightful garden of Eden, where the hours of joyful philology I spoke about mostly took place.

My wife Steph is not only the love of my life, but also a professional colleague. An acquaintance once asked us if, say, over Saturday breakfast we jump from deciding the grocery shopping list to debating questions of early Chinese epigraphy. We do, and the fact that we do is one of those undeserved pieces of luck for which I am always grateful. But I have different reasons for gratitude. Saying that she has been supportive throughout this process would not just be an unforgivably bland thing to say, but an essentially false one: what she has done is bailing me out

of a thousand pickles, covering for me in the house whenever I have been lost in Sanskrit mazes, and loving me in ways uncountable through my absent-mindedness, my disorganization and my occasional bad tempers.

Remedios, *la niña de mis ojos*, now four, is a year younger than this project, and while she hasn't made things easier, she has made them more meaningful and more fun. Fig. 1 below is included mainly to comply with her feedback on my dissertation: "A book should at least have *one* picture!"

My talented parents, Pilar and Pedro, who gave me life, have nourished it ever since, and always with the same gusto. They have always cheered for my most inexplicable choices, trusting that I must have my reasons. And besides that, who else would have managed to procure for me Sanskrit manuscripts and antique guitars in a small town on the Colombian Andes? My brother Juan and my lovely sister-in-law Audrey have been accomplices, confidants, and great hosts over the years in spite of the geographical distance that now separates us. *Y a Leo, que es mi segunda madre, un gran abrazo.*

Bhikṣu Dukil 徳日, aka Lee Seongryong is a true *bodhisattva* that fell short only of literally giving me one of his hands or eyes: he housed me, fed me, clothed me, and entertained me through various visits to L.A. while I was writing the dissertation from Canada. I treasure his complete and unreserved friendship. My goddess-named friend Anahita Hoose, on the other hand, has provided excellent conversation, inspired dream-interpretation, juicy gossip, and delightful decipherments of Greek puns in the illustrations of 17th Century music-treatises—who besides her would have instantly understood that the little butterfly, *psychē*, hovering over the lyre means that the soul, *psychē*, is drawn to music? Karen Muldoon-Hules and Yun Sungha were also good friends and great company over the years: thank you both.

The department staff was always helpful and available. I owe however a special debt of gratitude to Fatin Zubi, who helped me navigate several knotty administrative issues, aggravated by my own incompetence, always with a cheerful attitude. I wish her a loquat tree laden with fruit.

Drs. Monika Zin (Leipzig), Satomi Hiyama (Kyoto), Tatiana Oranskaia (Hamburg), Jason Neelis (Wilfried Laurier, Canada) Chen Ruixuan 陳瑞翹 (Heidelberg)—the last also a good friend—have been bountiful in their responses to my scholarly queries in person and through correspondence. The staff members of the Potsdamer Straße Staatsbibliothek in Berlin were unreservedly helpful in helping me examine in the flesh the Kucha and Turfan manuscripts of Kumāralāta’s *Garland*. Holding those ancient books in my hands filled me with ripples of ineffable pleasure.

Drs. Jens Braarvig (Oslo) and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Munich) graciously allowed me to include in this dissertation my preliminary editions of yet unpublished fragments of Kumāralāta’s *Garland* from Bāmiyān now in the collection of the Schøyen collection in Norway, which they curate. Many thanks.

Lastly, all that has enriched me as a person and as a scholar these last five years, all the things I have learned and the people I have met would not have happened in my life without the money lavished on me by hands whose faces I have not seen with my own eyes. Life costs, scholarship costs, the permanence of antiquity in our collective memory costs, and so I thank UCLA, the Pauley Family, the Mellon Foundation, and the Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation for providing financial support at different stages of my degree. *Sarveṣāṃ kṛtajño ’smīti namaskaromi.*

Winnipeg, April 2019

Vita

Previous degrees:

- 2010 B.A. in History (Asia) from University of Bologna (Italy)
- 2014 M.A. in Sanskrit and Pāli from Peking University (Beijing, China)

Publications:

2020. “Marginalia to a Footnote: More on the *Tridaṇḍaka*.” Forthcoming in the Festschrift for Prof. Gregory Schopen edited by Shayne Clarke (McMaster University, Canada) and Daniel Boucher (Cornell University, USA) and to be published by Wisdom Publications
2019. “Made in China? Sourcing the old Khotanese *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍuryaprabhasūtra*.” Forthcoming, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (2019).
2018. “Mahāyāna Sūtras in Khotan: Quotations in Chapter VI of the *Book of Zambasta* (I).” With Chen Ruixuan, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 61, (2018): 131–175.
2016. “*Hétián bówùguǎn-cáng yuán yú Qiūcí guó de yǐjiàn qūlúwén mùdú* 和田博物館藏源於龜茲國的一件佉盧文本牘 [A New Kharoṣṭhī Tablet from Kucha in the Khotan County Museum],” (in Chinese), in *西域研究 Xiyu Yanjiu* (2016): 65–74; 143.

Invited talks:

- November 2018. “The Quandaries of an Undeciphered Script: The So-called ‘Formal Kharoṣṭhī’ Corpus from Kucha,” invited talk at the University of Heidelberg, Germany.
- January 2015. “How to Get Away with Murder on the Silk Road: The Life and Times of Sagamo in Documents from Niya” (<https://asian.washington.edu/events/2015-01-28/how-get-away->

murder-silk-road-life-and-times-sagamoi-documents-niya), invited talk at the University of Washington, Seattle, USA.

Professional memberships

American Oriental Society

International Association for Buddhist Studies

Canadian Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences



Fig. 1. A Buddhist preacher magically transforms a young prostitute (*ganikādārikā*) into a living skeleton on account of her attempts to distract his audience, the affluent men of town. Author's recreation of a very damaged ca. 6th Century fresco, originally from the so-called *Rotkuppelhöhle* grotto in Kizil (Kucha, Xinjiang, PRC), but now in the collection of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst in Berlin under reference number MIK III 8403. According to Lüders (1926, 132–133), the fresco is an artistic representation of a scene of story XX of Kumāralāta's *Garland* (T4.201.277c5–24; Huber 1908, 110). It is significant too that the Kucha manuscript of the *Garland* was found either in the *Rotkuppelraum* itself or in a neighboring grotto (see section 2.2.1.1).

0. A Few Notes on Conventions

0.1. Abbreviations

I have striven to use as few abbreviations as possible. The four bibliographic abbreviations used throughout are:

0.1.1. *Derge*=Facsimile of the Sde dge print of the Tibetan *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*=Barber 1991.

0.1.2. *Mahābhārata*=Electronic text of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*=Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 1999.

0.1.3. SHT=*Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*=Waldschmidt, Bechert, and Wille 1965–2017. All numbers prefixed by SHT are to be looked in this publication. The one exception is SHT 21, which always corresponds to Lüders 1926. Lüders used folio numbers in his edition, whereas I have used preferred SHT numbers followed by recto/verso and line number: the reader will have to consult the chart in appendix 4 to transform Lüders' folio numbers to SHT numbers and vice versa. The reader should also bear in mind that in Lüders' edition *V* and *R* are not v[erso] and r[ecto] but *Vorderseite* (recto) and *Rückseite* (verso)!

0.1.4. T=*Taishō Issaikyō* 大正一切經=Takakusu and Watanabe 1924–1932. References to passages in this edition are always in the following format T[aishō].volume.text.page.register (a=upper, b=middle, c=lower).line. T4.201.277c5–24 in p.2 above is then Taishō volume IV, Text 201, page 277, lower register, lines 5 to 24.

0.2. References to primary sources

Primary sources not covered by these abbreviations are usually given with full bibliographic information, with the internal reference numbers coupled with information on volume, page, and sometimes line of the edition used. To account for shorter references, an index has been included at the beginning of the bibliography with titles paired with editions. Titles in the original languages have often been translated into English but have also been generally paired with the original titles except for passages in which the text is repeatedly mentioned. In case of doubt, the same index should give the equivalences.

0.3. Sanskrit orthography

Sanskrit orthography in the body of the text (but not in the footnotes or appendices) has been normalized, especially in clusters involving *r* and the usage of anusvāra. Therefore *dhanurvakkrapṛṣṭhī* (“with the back bent as a bow,” SHT 21/8 r2) is normalized to *dhanurvakrapṛṣṭhī* in the body of the text.

0.4. Romanization of Chinese

Single words and short phrases in Chinese are generally preceded by their Mandarin pronunciations in Hanyu Pinyin romanization without tones. When the romanization is preceded by an asterisk, the pronunciation is not Mandarin but Middle Chinese according to the reconstructions in Pulleyblank 1991.

0.5. German and French

Passages in German have always been translated, but those in French mostly not. The corresponding passages of Huber’s 1908 French translation of Kumāralāta’s *Garland* are generally given in footnote for all substantial passages together with the original Chinese and my English translation.

1. Introduction

1.1. Urban businesspeople and Buddhism in Kumāralāta's *Garland*

That the rise of trade and the rise of the so-called “śrāmaṇic religions”—Jainism, Buddhism, and many others we know much less about—characterize the period of the “second urbanization of India”¹ is clear from a wealth of evidence: archeological, epigraphic, artistic, literary. The same material suggests that these two rises are intimately connected; however, the specific nature of this connection is debated.²

What I present here is a study on the affinity between the urban productive classes and Buddhism as portrayed in a specific text, Kumāralāta's 3rd Century CE narrative collection *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dr̥ṣṭāntapaṅkti* (perhaps “Garland of Examples Adorned by Poetic Fancy”),³ also known by the conjectural and in all likelihood incorrect Sanskrit title *Sūtrālamkāra* and traditionally attributed in China to Aśvaghōṣa.⁴ In the *Garland*, as I will refer to the collection from now on, this relationship is especially well explored. The moral actors of these stories are sometimes referred to explicitly as businesspeople of different sorts:⁵ in other cases, their social

¹ The period is usually understood to span between the 6th Century BCE and the 5th Century CE in broad terms, but perhaps 3rd Century BCE to 3rd Century CE for its most prosperous phase, on which see Sharma 1987, 178–85.

² For the most recent monographic treatment of this issue see Bailey and Mabbett 2003. Regarding the question of whether Buddhism in particular arose out of an urban mercantile milieu, or instead as a reaction against it, the authors embrace the thesis that Buddhist monastics had a mediatory role that allowed them to thrive in a period in which the growth of urbanism and a reaction to it were both driving social forces.

³ Please see p. 64 and n. 102 on the title of the work and on the rationale of my choice of translation.

⁴ On the fortune of Aśvaghōṣa see Young 2015, especially pp. 186–216.

⁵ See, however, on the challenges that early Indian sources pose for the study of the merchant section 3.1.1.

background must be inferred from their characterization within the text itself. The city instead of the village is the most frequent location of these stories, and their protagonists are urban folk who engage in business trips abroad.⁶ Kings and their court are portrayed in a very ambivalent fashion, often outright negative.⁷ The rural brahmanical aristocracy is a frequent target of criticism, cast in a relentlessly bad light:⁸ the urban servile class—the *cāṇḍālas* that the stories often refer to in enigmatically panegyric terms—are always carefully branded as such. What we are left with is a group of people that do business in the city and have the financial means to support the Buddhist monastic assembly through the bestowal of lavish donations.

The *Garland* contains ninety Buddhist moral tales that, unlike many texts from ancient India, can be located with relative precision in time and geography: the composition of the collection must postdate the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka (*floruit* in the later half of the 2nd Century) whom

⁶ The urban experience in the preindustrial past must have been very different to what we are used to in the present. Trying to apply modern standards of population size and density to antiquity is hardly useful, with the ensuing problem in defining the urban in a pre-industrial setting. Smith 2006 examines in detail this problem and proposes to eschew any single definition of “urban” for the early historic South Asian context and suggests instead a combination of criteria that include “functional definition, emphasizing the site’s externally specialized function,” “internal specialization,” and “demographic variables such as areal size, population size, and population density” (p.107). For our purposes, a working definition of city will be a center of population, trade, and occasionally administrative and political power described by the ancient texts as separate from the “village” or the “inhabited countryside” (*grāma*, *janapada*). See p. 173 below for some estimates of Kauśambī, an important urban center of the period known as “second urbanization” of India.

⁷ See for example stories XX, LXIII, and LXIX. This is, of course, not specific of this collection, but rather characteristic of contemporary Buddhist and Jaina narrative.

⁸ Especially representative of this animosity are stories II, VI, XXIV, XXVII, LXXIV, LXXVII.

it mentions⁹ and must predate the paleographical age of the earliest Sanskrit manuscript (300–350 AD);¹⁰ the toponyms that the text mentions suggest an origin in western or north-western India.¹¹

The work is highly unusual in a number of ways. From the literary point of view, it is interesting to note that it is written mostly in Classical Sanskrit, but combined with the language conventionally referred to as Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. The mixture is, however, deliberate and calculated: the excerpts of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit are all explicit quotations from canonical Buddhist texts, from which the Classical Sanskrit of the main narration seems thus to mark a clear difference. The *Garland* is therefore one of the earliest Buddhist texts composed in “mainstream” Classical Sanskrit. Although the collection does contain many stories set in the legendary time of the Buddha, most appear to be pieces of original Buddhist fiction set in contemporary times, as suggested by the mention of attested historical characters like king Huviṣka and his father Kaniṣka and by the fact that the locations of the stories are often not taken from the narratives of the Buddha’s life and are instead toponyms of the northwestern area of the Indian world, of Kumāralāta’s native Gandhāra. Kumāralāta aims at literary originality and sedulously eschews the “stenciled passages” that give their characteristic flavor to mainstream Jaina and Buddhist narratives from an earlier period: the style is, instead, sometimes closer to the artistic *kāvya* genre of ornate poetry, possibly representing a transitional form. The vivid portrayal of contemporary

⁹ Story LXXIII. Here the name Huviṣka—also attested epigraphically as Huvikṣa—is rendered phonetically as *?Uwjwiatgia 憂悅伽 (T4.201.340.c5), and was identified as such by Huber 1908, 423. On the numerous references to Huviṣka’s father, Kaniṣka, in the *Garland*, see Lévi 1896. On a different story with king Huviṣka as its protagonist from Bāmiyān, with a reference to story LXXIII of the *Garland*, see Salomon 2002.

¹⁰ Lüders 1926, 15; Sander 1968, 131–133.

¹¹ See pp. 38–39, 310–311.

society in the *Garland*, largely free from the literary tropes usually found in Buddhist legends and also from supernatural elements, makes the text especially suitable for analysis from the point of view of social history.

1.2. Kumāralāta's *Garland* as a Manifesto of a Social Class

The hypothesis I propose to test through an analysis of the *Garland* is that there is a definite affinity between a trend in the Buddhist message and the values and concerns of a social class of urban businesspeople who were the main supporters of the religion through its phase of greatest expansion in India. This was an affinity that required that the apparently world-denying message of what we presume was the early dogmatic core of the “śrāmaṇic movement” was interpreted in a way that provided urban businesspeople with an ideology, a system of values, and an effective means of legitimation: although the eremitic, ascetic spirit of the oldest doctrinal core remained a powerful rationale for the role of the monastic, sponsorship of the monastic institution through the religious gift was exalted in Buddhist discourse as an equally necessary role. At the same time, the Buddhist drive towards proselytism and general reluctance to engage in the discourse of caste, while certainly alienating many among the old elites, must have also attracted many more among the upwardly mobile, eager for a worldview that had a place for them.

I will also contend that the specific moral values advocated in the *Garland* speak about a particular historical juncture: if we can place the collection in the 3rd Century, this is precisely the time in which a long process of de-urbanization is starting to take place, and one when Indian trade is on its way to a slow demise. This process seems to have catalyzed other transitions, from a variety of Middle Indic written languages to the uniformity of Classical Sanskrit; an incipient hinduism centered around god-worship became assimilated with the older Vedic ritual tradition.

Likewise, the progressive normalization of the gift of land as the quintessential political reward, a process that benefitted both the brahmanical communities that furnished an ideological program to the ruling class and religious institutions like Buddhist monasteries, led to concentration of land ownership and fragmentation of political power. In such a changing world a strong statement of what, in old fashioned Marxist terms, would be called “class consciousness” would be especially vital. I hold that the *Garland* is concerned precisely with this moment of crisis. As mentioned already, the rural brahmanical gentry is one of the most frequent targets of criticism in the stories of the *Garland*. Capital tends to migrate towards land ownership whenever deurbanization is taking place: even in the absence of deurbanization, new money is often attracted by the most stable kind of investment—land—and to seek assimilation into the ways of the landed aristocracy. As such, the same circumstances that favored the ascent of brahmanical ideology may have been behind lingering anxieties among the Buddhist community.

In spite of the sustained panegyric of the dignity of the Buddhist community, the *Garland* sometimes reads like account of society written by the *bourgeois gentilhomme*: like the plea of those who feel that they are not allowed their rightful place in society. If my analysis is correct, some of the most peculiar features of the *Garland*—chief among which stands the adoption of a new linguistic and literary norm as well as the sustained polemic against the brahmanical establishment—reflect an attempt to claim the same dignity as the latter.

1.3. Conspectus of contents

By showing how the *Garland* bears eloquent testimony on a time of transition for Indian society and to an important transitional point in the historical trajectory of Buddhism in India, I hope also to bring the *Garland* back to the table, so to speak, as scholarly attention on this work has

waned since the early 20th Century when Sylvain Lévi (1896, 1897, 1908, 1927, 1928, 1929), Édouard Huber (1908), Heinrich and Else Lüders (1926, 1930, 1940), Jean Przyluski (1923, 1930, 1932), Entai Tomomatsu (1930), Johannes Nobel (1928) and other highly creative scholars devoted their scholarly energies to studying it. I also provide, then, a number of new textual resources that might make the *Garland* more accessible to whoever might want to investigate it.

Chapter I sets the question. What in the Buddha's message may have appealed to an urban mercantile population? What would be under threat if the world that allowed the very existence of that population was changing? I present here two case studies that illustrate the tension between the urban and the rural, and different takes on the social mobility that the urban order allowed: we will see, through their depiction in the *Garland* and other contemporary sources, how the urban mercantile classes and the brahmanical rural gentry envisioned their place in the world.

Chapter II momentarily takes a step aside from those issues to deal with the historical context of Kumāralāta, the troubled 3rd Century in northwestern India, his life, better known than that of most ancient Indian authors, and the text of the *Garland*. Through the survey of the text in its multiple versions in four different ancient languages (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Tangut) I aim to provide a toolkit that may make the text more easily—and hopefully more widely—referenced in research.

Chapter III begins by investigating the figure of the *grhapati*, a label that largely overlaps with the generally affluent, urban, mercantile class that we want to focus on. The chapter moves then towards exploring a few key points in what seems to have been the dominant ideology in this milieu: an emphasis on rational decision, a strong concern for respectability, and a robust work ethic that emphasizes industriousness and thrift.

Chapter IV focuses on the religious vision of wealth and of poverty embodied in the *Garland*. On the one hand, the doctrine of the cosmic requital of deeds necessarily gives a moral dimension to wealth and poverty; on the other, since wealth allows the religious gift that ensures positive requital, it might seem as if the *Garland* would be advocating a purely mechanical model of outward religious munificence. This is not so, because the text argues with equal vehemence that it is only through a path of self-cultivation that the pursuit of wealth can become also the pursuit of salvation.

Chapter V contains full annotated translations of three stories of the *Garland* that illustrate some of the topics explored here: lay economic behavior as a path of worldly asceticism, a lesson learned on the value of hard work, and a panegyric to the ambition and dignity of the trading profession.

Three appendices follow: Appendix 1 deals with some āgamic references in the *Garland*; Appendix 2 contains a preliminary edition of 24 previously unedited fragments of the Kucha manuscript of the *Garland*; Appendix 3 presents the preliminary edition of a series of fragments of the *Garland* from Bāmiyān in the Schøyen collection in Sweden that I have recently identified. This material is included as an appendix, but it was crucial for the work on the dissertation and should be considered as essential part of it.

1.4 The Social Background to the *Garland*

The vehemence with which the characters of the *Garland* defend their worldview against a society that is largely indifferent and often hostile to the Buddhist message evinces a vein of anxiety that runs through the entire collection. What was at stake in a world that was rapidly changing? Who would have been invested in accelerating those changes? We can at least be certain that the social

mobility that the urban mercantile economy allowed would have been an easily upset balance. We will see what answers for these questions we can obtain from the *Garland* by providing a vision of some of the central tensions in the collection: urban and rural, the upwardly mobile and the landed rural aristocracy, Śramaṇic religiosity and a nascent Hinduism.

1.4.1. Struggling Monastic and Lay Buddhists in the *Garland*: The Urban Parvenus.

The city is the backdrop for most of the stories of the *Garland*; most of their protagonists are urban folk. I would argue that an urban setting is implied for most of the stories, with the deviations from this pattern being clearly marked in the text itself. The rural village is the subject of a few memorable vignettes (Stories II, XVII, XXIII, XXIV, XXXIV). Wilderness is also the setting of two tales (XI, XII), but, as the reverse of the city, it is a place of great danger and uncertainty. Similarly, there is also another reverse of the human city: the frightful—but edifying—city of ghosts (*pretas*) in story XVIII. The stories that depict the internal dynamics of the monastic assembly and the life of the monastery (XIX, XXII, XXVI—with an interesting allusion to the para-judiciary functions of the monastery as a makeshift prison for an arrested thief—XXIX, XL, XLIV, LXI, XXIX) are the most significant exception for there are no hints here at an urban setting; however, this is in accordance with the canonical prescription on the extra-urban location of male monasteries—no nunneries are featured in the *Garland*. Such a statement that the ideal dwelling place for the Buddha, and by extension for his future followers in asceticism, should be neither too far nor too close to a settlement (*śrāvastyā nātidure nātyāsanne/ gāmato n'eva atidūre naccāsanne*) occurs at least in the *Code (Vinaya)* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin (*Śayanāsanavastu*, Gnoli 1978a,

18; *Samghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978b, 171; Schopen 2014, 35) and in the Pāli *Vinaya* (*Cūlavagga*, Oldenberg 1880, 166).¹²

In this aspect, the text is by no means unique: rather, it is fully representative of the narrative conventions of the Buddhist literature of the early centuries of the common era. In what might strike some as a contradiction with the eremitic ideals that the earliest Buddhist texts propound—or what we presume them to propound—the great bulk of the narrative portions of Buddhist texts from this period takes place in cities.¹³ The very image of the city plays an important rhetorical role within the literary conventions of this literature: even the highly abstract, immaterial, and supraconceptual realm of *nirvāṇa*—the final escape from the chain of death and rebirth that is allegedly neither a state of existence nor of non-existence—is metaphorically referred to as a city.¹⁴ The state of affairs that the textual record depicts is one in which the religious pursuits of the Buddhist monastic order are sustained by an urban network of support that includes the royal court, without the latter being characterized, though, as the most significant or loyal supporter.

The picture that one can thus extrapolate from the literary record is corroborated by epigraphic evidence. A phenomenon common to all the major repositories of donative inscriptions from this period is that whenever the origin of the donors is stated, this is typically the most significant neighboring city. Another way of stating this would be to say that these ancient

¹² For more on the location of Buddhist monasteries, but in an East Asian context, see Robson 2009.

¹³ Although this is, in my opinion, evident to anyone who has perused this literature, a statistical argumentation to this effect can be found in Gokhale 1982 for the Pāli corpus.

¹⁴ This metaphor occurs a few times in the *Garland*, XXX=T4.201.286b4=Huber 1908, 154; XLIV=T4.201.297b14–15=Huber 1908, 211. For a rich treatment of the metaphor of *nirvāṇa* as a city in Pāli literature, see Collins 1998, 224–227 and 2010, 88–90.

monastic residences, or at least the ones whose architecture has remained to our days, emerged in the proximity of important urban centers.

Let us take as an example of this Kaṇheri, a complex of rock-cut Buddhist shrines and monastic dwellings that often bear inscriptional records of those who paid for their creation. Most of the donors whose place of residence is specified come from the neighboring Kaliyāṇa/Kalyāṇa,¹⁵ two from Sopārā/Śurpāraka,¹⁶ and also two from Chemula.¹⁷ These toponyms correspond in all likelihood to the modern Kalyāṇ, Sopārā, and Chaul: the first two are each some 40 km. away from Kaṇheri, respectively to the east and to the north, approximately a day's travel by foot. The third is a bit further away, some 90 km. to the south. What is most interesting here is that these three cities might have been precisely the most important urban trading centers of this area in ancient times: The 1st Century Greek trade guide *Periplus of the Eythrean Sea* (*Periplous tēs Eruthras Thalassēs*, or *Periplus Maris Erythraei* in its customary Latin title) mentions precisely “Kalliena,” “Souppara,” and “Sēmulla” as noteworthy commercial cities (*emporía*) in its description of this section of the coast of modern Mahārāṣṭra, with the first of these three being the one on which the *Periplus*' author expatiates the most.¹⁸

The habits and behavior of urban people, and the contrast between these and the ways of the countryside, are a recurrent theme in the *Garland*: once in this collection the contact between

¹⁵ Lüders 1912, §1013, §1014 (a monastic donor), §986, §998, §1000–1001, §1024, §1032.

¹⁶ Lüders 1912, §995, §1005.

¹⁷ Lüders 1912, §996, §1033. These two donors are possibly sons of the same father, one Rohaṇimita.

¹⁸ Greek text and English translation in Casson 1989, 83–84, §52–53.

these two realities is portrayed as a deeply transformative moment in which the promise of city life leads to a change of heart. This narrative is found in story XXXIII wherein the sudden vision of the splendor of city life triggers a moment of epiphany in a peasant who has come for a visit:¹⁹

有一田夫聰明黠慧 與諸徒伴共來	[...] ... <i>ṇa nagaram āgatāḥ anyatamaś</i>
入城 時見一人 容貌端正 莊嚴衣服 種種	<i>ceśvaraḥ</i>
瓔珞 服乘嚴麗 多將侍從 悉皆嚴飾 瓌瑋	<i>śrīsobhāgyavibhavarūpakāntidyutiranvito</i>
可觀 彼聰明者語諸行伴 不好不好 同伴	<i>mahājanakṛtā... [...] kāntena veṣeṇā ti sma</i>
語言 如此之人威德端正 深可愛敬 有何	<i>atha yas teṣāṃ grā mavāsināṃ</i>
不好 聰明者言 我自不好亦不以彼用為不	<i>vidvatsammataḥ puruṣaḥ sa tam īśvaram</i>
好 由我前身不造功德致使今者受此賤身	<i>avekṣ... [...]</i>
[...]	<i>[sa]hāyair ²¹ anuyuktaḥ kim</i>
自從今以後 勤修施戒定	<i>atrabhavato na sādhy iti sa prāha na khalu</i>
必使將來生 種姓好眷屬	<i>mayātrabhavato 'bhihitam</i>
端正有威德 財富多侍從	[...]
眾事不可嫌 為世所尊敬	<i>tat kārtāsmi śama pradānaniyamair adya</i>
(T4.201. a25–b15)	<i>prabhṛty udyat[ah] [...]/</i>
	<i>- - - ~ ~ - ~ ~ ~ punar jjātasya vā me śato/</i>

¹⁹ As the Chinese version and the Sanskrit fragment are somewhat divergent in this case, I have opted for translating both: see section 2.2.3. for an examination of the relationship between Sanskrit and Chinese.

²¹ The restoration to *sahāyair* is mine.

There was a peasant (田夫 *tiánfu*), wise and clever who came with some of his fellows to the city. At some point he saw a man whose aspect was handsome, whose clothes were splendid; [he had] many jewels [and his] carriage (服乘 *fucheng*) was gorgeous and he led many servants, and they were all splendidly adorned, magnificent (瓌璋 *guiwei*), and striking. The clever man (=the peasant) said to his fellows: “Not good, not good...” His companions said: “Such a man (=the lord), so powerful and handsome, who deeply inspires love and respect, what does he have that is ‘not good’?” The clever man said: “It is myself the one who has not been good; it was not that man whom I said not to be good.

*rūpārogyakulaprabhāvavibhavabhramśo na
nirbhetsyati/*

(Hori 2011, 12–14)²²

[...] came to the city. A certain lord (*īśvara*), possessed of splendor, charm, wealth, beauty, loveliness, and luster [...] by a great number of people [...]

[...] with a lovely appearance.” Then the man among those peasants esteemed for being wise, [having] see[n] that lord [...]

[...] was asked by his companions: “What of the distinguished person here present²³ is ‘not good’?”

²² I have reproduced here the text as edited by Hori but without the information on side and line of the fragment, and have marked the gaps with an italicized omission mark (*[...]*). The non-italicized omission mark signals instead a portion of the text that I have omitted ([...]).

²³ The literal meaning of *atrabhavat* is ‘the one here present’, but what is difficult to convey in translation is that it is an honorific appellation.

Because in a past life I did not make merit,
now I have earned this lowly self.”

[...]

From today on, I will sedulously practice the
giving, the moral training, the
concentration.²⁰
That will make so that in the next life my
caste is good, my kin [too],/
That I be handsome and powerful, rich, with
many servants/
All will serve me and no one will afford to
shun me: I will be respected by the world./

[...]

That I will do through calm,
generosity, and restraint: [this] from today
onwards I have undertaken/
... or, when I be born again,/
Deprivation from beauty, health,
lineage, power, and wealth will not strike
[again]./

²⁰ Huber takes the compound *shi jie ding* 施戒定 to be a single specified object (*le commandement qui prescrit de faire la charité*) but I feel that its elements read much more naturally as an enumeration, namely ‘giving, moral training, concentration,’ which fits well with the three canonical types of meritorious acts (*dānamaya*, *śilāmaya*, *bhāvanāmaya*), on which see Rhys Davids and Stede 1921–1925, *sub puñña* and *puññakiriya* and Edgerton 1953, ii *sub puṇyakriyāvastu*. This, however, is unfortunately a red herring. The Sanskrit compound *śamapradānaniyama* ‘calm, generosity, restraint’ does not correspond to this canonical triad and is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, not used in a specific technical sense (see, however, the following epithet of the Bodhisattva in Āryaśūra’s *Jātakamālā*: *pradānadamanīyamasauratyādibhir* [...] *abhivardhamānaḥ*, Kern 1893, 41.3=‘forever surpassing himself in generosity, self-control, restraint, gentleness,’ Khoroché 1989, 47). Evidently, here, the Chinese translator, doing violence to the original, imposed a doctrinal reading in a passage that had originally no technical doctrinal content. See 2.2.3. on the idiosyncracies of the Chinese rendering.

There are many elements of interest in this short passage. One is that the reaction of the anonymous peasant to the opulence of the rich urbanite is not one of envy, but instead of introspection and realization that his present disenfranchisement is the result of his own past failure to carry out the Buddhist method of self-cultivation, of which wealth is at least one outcome: wealth is good, poverty is bad. There will be time to deal with this interesting issue in depth later on, but what I would like to highlight at this point is that the polished lifestyle of the urban rich is portrayed here as the consequence and confirmation of a pious path of action, a model to emulate, a source of inspiration.

One of the Pāli *Jātakas*, the *Kaṭāhajakajātaka*²⁴ tells a story that in some ways complements the one from the *Garland* just considered here. Kaṭāhaka, a slave that due to exceptional circumstances has become intimately acquainted with the skills and ways of the high mercantile class (writing, stock-taking,²⁵ business,²⁶ polite speech, and perhaps most importantly, insufferable connoisseurship and snobbery regarding food, dress, and perfumes) successfully concocts an elaborate plot that involves faked letters and identity theft, and that allows him to use those very same skills to forge a new life in a frontier town²⁷ where, on account of his perfect

²⁴ *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* no. 125, Fausbøll 1877–1899, i 451–455.

²⁵ The text says about Kaṭāhaka’s duty that he was *bhaṇḍāgārikakammaṃ karonto*, which Chalmers in Cowell 1895–1907, i 275 understands this as saying that “he was employed as private secretary,” but at least to me this reads more literally to mean that ‘he was doing the work of the warehouse’ and probably implies to some level accounting or stock-taking.

²⁶ The text says in the context of Kaṭāhaka’s education: *dve tayo vohāre akāsi* (Fausbøll 1877–1899, i 452.21). Chalmers in Cowell 1895–1907, i 275 renders this as “he learned two or three handicrafts,” but, again, a more literal reading of the clause would be “he made two or three business transactions.”

²⁷ The town is located *paccante* ‘in the frontier’ (Fausbøll 1877–1899, i 451.21) and its inhabitants are pejoratively referred to as *paccantavāsikā* ‘petty frontier dwellers’ (Fausbøll 1877–1899, i 452.15).

urban polish, everyone is completely convinced of his alleged identity as the son of the individual who is in truth his owner. Although in the story Kaṭāhaka receives a deserved lesson in modesty, the narrative does not imply a condemnation of his actions; rather, it seems to extol indirectly worldly *savoir faire* and to have as its secondary message a display of the reach of personal ambition and proper social skills in the world.

Both stories reflect on how urban sophistication can transform a life. In the story of the peasant in the *Garland* it is precisely the conjunction of a path of ethical self-cultivation with urban sophistication that would set apart this Buddhist—or ‘śramaṇic’—brand of urban culture from what Kaul (2009, 269) has described in an article that investigates the portrayal of the *nāgaraka* or ‘man about town’ in *kāvya* literature as “the city’s ethic of unfettered pleasure,” i.e. the somewhat *blasé* hedonism that one can find in much of the dramatic literature of the time, in the Sanskrit *Kāmasūtra* and the Prakrit *Sattasaī*.

In story II of the *Garland*, we are presented with a different mode of interaction between city and countryside: an urban brahmin, called Kauśika, visits his brahmin relatives in a village. Unusual for the *Garland*, this narrative is philosophically dense. Noteworthy is that Kauśika’s philosophical bent is well matched by the village brahmins; the village bustles with its own brand of intense intellectual activity, albeit the rather wooden forms of brahmanical scholasticism. Kauśika converts to Buddhism after casually reading a Buddhist book that had been destined to become a palimpsest for a brahmanical treatise, and he eventually succeeds in converting the village brahmins to Buddhism; however, one thing that the text implies is that Kauśika’s urban status—outside of the rural sphere where brahmanical orthodoxy rules—makes him more open-minded, more receptive to the message of the Buddha.

The urban brahmin is a slightly problematic figure because brahmanical prescriptive literature generally casts the city in a bad light,²⁸ even more so the typically urban occupations of crafts and business. The circa 2nd Century *Laws of Manu* (*Mānavadharmasāstra*), which I will take here as an example of a fully mature exponent of brahmanical prescriptive literature, is especially insistent on the fact that trade (*vāṇijya*, *vaṇikpatha*) should be strictly restricted to the *vaiśya* caste (1.90, 8.410, 9.326, 11.70, 11.236, ed. Olivelle 2005): the king is urged to keep a tight grip on trade, tax it heavily and appropriate the most profitable monopolies (8.398–403); those who derive their livelihood from various modes of sale (*nānāpanyopajīvinah*) are the “overt cheats” (tr. Olivelle 2005), almost on par in the scale of debasement with thieves, the “covert cheats” (9.257); good brahmin families are degraded by crafts and business (*śilpena vyavahāreṇa*, 3.64), and brahmins that engage in trade (*vāṇijikāms*) are to be treated like *śūdras* (8.102); trade makes a man an unsuitable recipient for a gift (10.79–80), and gifts to a ‘wretched little merchant’ (*vāṇijake*) are pointless (3.181); trade (*vāṇijya*), however, can be reluctantly taken up by a brahmin in dire need (4.6; 10.85–89).

According to this literature, a brahmin is not supposed to perform ritual recitation in the city,²⁹ an act which should theoretically constitute his livelihood. Although clearly some brahmins did in fact perform ritual recitation in cities, sources beyond this literature point to the existence

²⁸ See for example Olivelle 1993, 60ff. for references in the brahmanical prescriptive literature on this injunction and for more on the brahmanical dislike for the city.

²⁹ *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 1.32.21 (Bühler 1892, 43); *Gautamadharmasūtra* 16.45 (Stenzler 1876, 21); *Mānavadharmasāstra* 4.107 (Olivelle 2005, 525).

of brahmins engaged in trade,³⁰ in spite of the ominous threats of the prescriptive literature against this perceived transgression.

The point seems to be, though, that in his telling of this story, Kumāralāta has portrayed this urban brahmin not only as a person receptive to the Buddhist message, but also apt to convey it to the more refractory rural brahmanical establishment that seems to have regarded cities and their inhabitants with the greatest disdain. We might dwell for a moment on another inscription from Kaṇheri which records the donation of a citizen of Kalyāṇa:

Kaliyaṇato nadasa kamārasa patho deyadhamam

(Lüders 1912, §1032)

Of Nada (=Nanda?) the smith³¹ from Kalyāṇa, a path is [his] religious gift (*deyadhamam*).

³⁰ The ‘Yavanarajya’ inscription from Mathurā, dated to 69 or 70 BCE (Rhie Quintanilla 2007, 254–255) records the possession of a tank by the mother of one Vīrabala who is characterized as both a *brāhmaṇa* and a *sārthavāha* ‘caravan leader.’ Interestingly, the literary character Cārudatta, the brahmin merchant featured in the twin theatrical plays *The Little Clay Cart* (*Mṛcchakaṭikā*) and *Poor Carudatta* (*Daridrācārudatta*) is also said to be a *sārthavāha* in the first (Acharya 2009, 180–181) and a *sārthavāhaputra* ‘son of a caravan leader’ in the second (Esposito 2004, 149).

³¹ The meaning “smith” for *karmāra* is well attested, and from very early on (see, for example *R̥gveda* 10.72.2b, van Nooten and Holland 1994, 519; tr. Brereton in Jamison and Brereton 2014, iii 1500); the etymology of the word suggests though, only a connection with *karman* ‘work.’ The entry for the Pāli form *kammāra* in Rhys Davids and Stede (1921–1925 *sub voce*) is very informative (restorations of abbreviations are mine):

“The smiths in old India do not seem to be divided into black-, gold- and silver- smiths, but seem to have been able to work equally well in iron, gold, and silver, as can be seen e. g. from J[ātaka] iii.282 and V[imāna]v[atthu-]A[tt̥hakathā] 250, where the smith is the maker of a needle. They were constituted into a guild, and some of them were well-to-do as appears from what is said of Cunda at D[īghanikāya] ii.126; owing to their usefulness they were held in great esteem by the people and king alike J[ātaka] iii.281 [=Sūcijātaka, Fausbøll 1877–1899, iii 282–286].”

The Pāli *jātakas* are possibly most informative for an early Sri Lankan—rather than north Indian—context, but with that caveat in mind, we might remark that the young *karmāra* in the *Sūcijātaka* is himself poor, but desires—and eventually manages—to marry the daughter of the head of a neighboring community of smiths (*kammāragāma*); his father-in-law to be is described with the verbal cliché for wealth, *aḍḍho mahāddhano* ‘rich and with great wealth,’ with the interesting addition of *rājavallabha* ‘dear to the king.’ This specific well-to-do *karmāra* seems to derive his

Nada was not the wealthiest among the Kaṇheri donors: the “path” that he gave—if that is indeed what *patha* means here—was probably less expensive than a rock-cut monastic cell or a shrine, and also his inscription is written in a somewhat garbled fashion, which suggests that he was not able to hire the very best scribes and stone-cutters. In any case, he must have had enough of an income to show his devotion by paying for construction work in Kaṇheri and by having his gift recorded. However, the prestige that his religious gift likely awarded him within his community probably meant little for the rural brahmins who compiled the *Laws of Manu*. A long passage in this work (4.205–224) lists the *abhojyas* ‘people “whose food one is not permitted to eat” (tr. Olivelle 2005, 134–135)’—“one” is here, of course, the male rural brahmin for whom the *Laws of Manu* were conceived. Many of the *abhojyas* seem to be people devoted to urban occupations: prostitutes, musicians, carpenters, moneylenders, physicians, actors, tailors.³² In 4.215 we have:

karmārasya niṣādasya raṅgāvatāarakasya ca |
suvarṇakartur veṇasya śastravikrayiṇas tathā ||

“[He must also never eat the following: [...] food given by a [...]] smith (*karmāra*), a *niṣāda*, a theatrical performer, a goldsmith, a basket-weaver, an arms merchant.” (tr. Olivelle 2005, 135)

wealth from the fabrication of tools like knives, axes, rods and goads (*vāsīpharasuphālapācanādi*).

³² The *Gautamadharmasūtra*, which according to Olivelle might date from “the beginning of the third to the middle of the second centuries BCE” (1999, xxxiii–xxxiv) specifies in 17.6–7 that among the *bhojyas*, i.e. ‘people whose food a brahmin is permitted to eat’ is counted “also a merchant who is not an artisan (*vaṇik cāśilpī*).” Interestingly, the much later *Law Code of Manu* 4.253 recycle the theme and main elements of this *sūtra*, but fails to mention this exception made for merchants.

Although I am careful not to extrapolate too much from this small bit of information, it seems likely that in early 1st millennium Mahārāṣṭra, Nada’s trade—which in the city would have afforded him an affluent income and the social prominence of a donor—might have granted him only ritual ostracism from the elite of the rigidly stratified rural society.

An unnamed goldsmith (*suvarṇakāra*)³³ features in one of the stories of the *Garland* (XLII). Goldsmiths (*suvarṇakāra*) figure much more prominently in donative inscriptions from this period than *karmāras*; they were in all likelihood much wealthier. Our goldsmith here has entered the Buddhist monastic path and Ānanda, the great disciple of the Buddha, prescribes for him meditational breathing exercises that incorporate the skill necessary to kindle a furnace by blowing on it. Although nothing other than this is said about him, the real craftspeople that inspired this literary character might have shared a social milieu with Nada, and for them the city, then as also now, must have provided the right environment—fluid, fast-changing—to forge a new social identity outside of the more rigid social roles and the closely knit brahmanical communities of the countryside.

1.4.2. Brahmins in the *Garland*: The Rural Gentry

Brahmins are a staple of the Buddhist literature of the “Middle Period.”³⁴ They provide narrative counterpoint to the deeds of the Buddha and his followers, and the conversion of the brahmin is a

³³ SHT 21/47 r 3–4, *suvarṇa[kārah]*. The Chinese has here (T4.201.293b8–9) *duanjīnshī* 鍛金師, which is slightly ambiguous because *jin* 金 is primarily ‘gold,’ but also sometimes ‘metal.’ In any case, Huber’s *forgeron* ‘blacksmith’ (1908, 190) seems to be way off the mark.

³⁴ Brahmanical literature and, in general, non-Buddhist literature from this period, by contrast, mention *śramaṇas* only marginally; mentions therein to specifically Buddhist *śramaṇas* are non-existent up to, perhaps, the 3rd or 4th centuries CE, if this is indeed when literary works like the drama *Mṛcchakaṭikā* and the Prakrit lyrical collection

fairly stereotypical narrative climax that embodies the inexorable victory of the Buddha's religion.³⁵ Once again, in this the *Garland* is fully representative of these narrative conventions: The specific manner in which the *cliché* is handled is, however, revealing.

While, as discussed above, the background of most of the stories in the *Garland* and the people featured in them are mostly urban, many of the stories concerned with the encounter of the Buddhist hero with a group of brahmins are located, by contrast, in an extra-urban setting.³⁶ In story II, already mentioned above, Kauśika, an urban brahmin, decides to visit a relative in the

Sattasaī, that feature Buddhist monks, were composed. Both works have been placed by some scholars like G.H. Schokker and Herman Tieken at a much later date. Buddhist literature seems to be intensely concerned with the figure of the brahmin from its very inception, and although the significance of this asymmetry is debated, the most obvious inference would be that brahmanism represented the dominant cultural discourse and that Buddhism did not reach that same level of penetration into the Indian cultural consciousness until relatively late. That brahmanism did represent the dominant cultural discourse in the early historic period has been vigorously contested by Johannes Bronkhorst in a series of books (2007; 2011; 2016); likewise, McGovern 2019 has argued that strong competition—and therefore animosity—between brahmanical and śramaṇic religious professionals did not arise up until a relatively late date, in the first centuries of the common era.

³⁵ Gauging how often this actually did happen is difficult. For some elite Buddhist intellectuals, a brahmanical origin seems plausible: Aśvaghōṣa's cultural conversancy with brahmanical lore has lent credibility to the traditions that depict him as a brahmin, and the same applies to the philosopher Dharmakīrti (see Johnston 1936, xviii-ixi, xxii). One inscription from Kuṭā (Lüders 1912, §1050) records the gift of a 'monument-house' (*cetiyaḡhara*) by a brahmin woman (*baṃmanī*) called Bhayilā, identified as the wife of a brahmin (*baṃmhana*) lay follower (*upāsaka*), almost certainly Buddhist. One passage in the *Garland* (T4.201. 299.c28–300.a3, Huber 1908, 224) makes the claim—put in the mouth of the barber Upāli—that the followers of the Buddha come mostly from the two upper castes; the exact opposite claim, now spoken by Yaśas, the minister of king Aśoka (who is implied to be a brahmin), occurs in p. 274, a18–21; Huber 1908, 91. For this latter the Sanskrit text is not extant: the parallel text in the *Divyāvadāna* has "those little Buddhist novices have gone forth from all the four castes" (*santi hi śākyaśramaṇerakāś caturbhyo varṇebhyaḡ pravrajitā iti*, Cowell and Neil 1886, 382.9).

³⁶ The most significant deviation from this pattern is the great city of Mathurā, which is depicted as a stronghold of wealthy urban brahmins in stories I and LXXIV. This is, again, a portrayal that emerges not only from literary depictions of the city, but also from archeological and epigraphic evidence from Mathurā, on which see Srinivasan in Srinivasan 1989, xi-xv.

countryside but upon arrival discovers that his relative is engaged in affairs³⁷ and is therefore not home. The narrative does not dwell on a description of the house of this relative, but it says at least that it is endowed with books and that it has a garden suitable for leisurely reading.³⁸ The relative returns accompanied by a number of brahmins, presumably the ones with whom he was engaged in “affairs;” these people are, however, perfectly able to leave agrarian administration aside and switch gears to engage in a heated scholastic debate on the merits of the *vaiśeṣika* and *sāṃkhya* philosophical systems against the postulates of the Buddhist *sūtra* that Kauśika has been reading. The picture that emerges is that of an affluent and intellectually active rural gentry, in all likelihood engaged in the administration of the land and people that it owned but also in priestly theological debate.

The next story in the collection, III, is not set in the countryside nor does it deal specifically with brahmins, but it contains a clipped reference to a tale that does, in fact, illustrate well certain Buddhist attitudes towards the rural brahmin. The plot here involves a donor discriminating against novices at the moment of bestowing his religious gift. This initial situation evolves into the novices engaging in a long sermon devoted to the topic of the religious gift. When at some point the novices expound the fact that gifts made to the Buddha and gifts made to the assembly of monks are indistinguishable from each other and therefore equally meritorious,³⁹ they choose the following anecdote by way of an example:

³⁷ The Sanskrit text is not extant for this passage. 緣事 *yuanshi* is ‘affair’, or ‘business.’

³⁸ 林樹間閑靜之處 (T 201.4.258, c24) ‘a leisurely and quiet place among the grove trees.’

³⁹ These novices might have been at odds defending their position in front of a specialist in monastic discipline instead of a layman not versed in such matters. The *Vinayas* contain accounts of the property of the Buddha being exceptionally transferred to the monastic assembly, but the property of each of the “three jewels” (*buddha*, *dharmā*,

大姓婆羅門 厥名突羅闍

---[bhara]dvājo yāṃ dadau sarvadarśine |

毀譽佛不異 以食施如來

a --- ~ --- [trai]lokya sarva- ~ - ||

如來既不受 三界無能消

擲置於水中 烟炎同時起

[...]

(T4.201.262.a16–19)

(Lüders 1926,139)

A brahmin, a high-caste,

Called Bharadvāja⁴⁰

—honor and dishonor a Buddha does not

[...] which Bharadvāja gave to the All-Seeing

distinguish—⁴¹

[...] all [...] in the triple world

Gave food to the Tathāgata

The Tathāgata did not accept it [saying]

saṃgha) seems, at least according to these *Vinaya* accounts, to have been kept distinct in principle. See Schopen, 2004, 104–105, 114–115.

⁴⁰ Huber (1908, 27) was in all likelihood the victim of an ancient mistake. While accurately pointing to the *Suttanipāta* passage as a parallel, he failed to see that what Chinese text has here is in fact a phonetic rendering of the name Bharadvāja. The edition he used must have had, just as also the now standard Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist corpus, replaced the rare character 突 *bá* (=跋) for the much more common and graphically similar character 突 *tū*; the Korean print is here clear, and so is the Zhaocheng Canon version. The reconstructed Middle Chinese reading for the characters 突羅闍 would be **Bwatladzia*. Although the phonetic correspondence is somewhat loose, this same transcription is also found elsewhere, as in T1690, where it renders the name of the eponymous elder Piṇḍola Bharadvāja.

⁴¹ This insertion is odd, and although all extant versions of the Chinese text have the verses in this order, an ancient swap is, I believe, likely. Ogihara 1979 *sub varṇāvarṇaśabda* implies 毀譽 *hui-yu* ‘honor and dishonor’ as a possible rendering of Skt. *varṇāvarṇa*. If this is what the Sanskrit text had here, then ‘caste and its absence’ would be too a plausible rendering.

“In the triple world there is not one who can

digest this” /

And threw it into the water

Whence flames immediately arose.

The novices later explain that the point that they aimed to illustrate with this apparently irrelevant story—indeed, their listener seems to be as perplexed as we are—is that the omniscient Buddha, knowing that the food offered by Bharadvāja was unsuitable for his monks to consume, refused it for himself and revealed its harmfulness by throwing it in the water. As it stands, the story is puzzling. The Buddha is said to have accepted the meal that would cause his death,⁴² stating that it was in principle undigestible, although he is made to claim that he would be the exception,⁴³ and when accepting it he enjoined that the leftovers of the lethal dish should be buried in the ground, instead of given to his monks, using virtually the exact same words of this passage of the *Garland*.⁴⁴ As such, his reaction to Bharadvāja’s gift seems rather brash. A passage from

⁴² Barrels of ink have been spilled in trying to elucidate what exactly the Pāli hapax *sūkaramaddava* in the Pāli version of the *Mahāparinirvānasūtra* (Waldschmidt 1950–51, i. 256, 12ff.) means, with the two most likely candidates being a pork dish or one made with mushrooms: its undigestibility seems to be connected to the extreme ritual impurity imputed to both ingredients. For a summary of the problem see Wasson and O’Flaherty 1983.

⁴³ Perhaps one does not need to try to smooth out the contradictions in the text, but one way in which the Buddha’s statement and his actions would make sense would be assuming that, aware that the *sūkaramaddava* would bring an end to his body, he still claimed he could digest it for the sake of accepting Cunda’s gift. If this was the case, the moral would be that accepting a gift made in good faith is more important than even life itself. The related problem of the digestibility of monastic food leftovers recurs in the *Garland*, in stories IX and LXXVIII, on which see p. 296, n. 354.

⁴⁴ *Yan te Cunda sūkara-maddavaṃ avasiṭṭhaṃ, taṃ sobbhe nikhaṇāhi, nāhan taṃ Cunda passāmi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇiṇiṃ pajāya sadeva-manussāya yassa taṃ paribhuttaṃ sammāpariṇāmaṃ gaccheyya aññatra Tathāgatassāti.* (*Mahāparinibbānasutta*, *Dīghanikāya*, Rhys Davids and

the Pāli *Collection of Scriptures (Suttanipāta)* contains a fuller version of the story that elucidates this baffling vignette. Here, the Buddha reaches the field of the brahmin Kasī-Bharadvāja at the time of sowing, precisely when the latter is engaged in the distribution of food to his workers (*parivesanā*). When the Buddha begs for food, Bharadvāja replies: “I, ascetic, plough and sow; having ploughed and sown I eat” (*ahaṃ kho, samaṇa, kasāmi ca vapāmi ca; kasitvā ca vapitvā ca bhuñjāmi*). This statement should not, of course, be taken to mean that Bharadvāja himself should be imagined as doing all the physical toil: the text mentions that five hundred ploughs were being put to use that very morning (*pañcamattāni naṅgalasatāni payuttāni honti*). The Buddha explains with a sermon in verse that he does indeed plough and sow, albeit metaphorically—he ploughs with wisdom and other virtues, and so reaps “immortal fruit”—and Bharadvāja is convinced enough by this speech to offer him food. The Buddha, however, refuses it with this verse:

gāthābhigītaṃ me abhojaneyyaṃ
sampassataṃ brāhmaṇa n’esa dhammo
gāthābhigītaṃ panudanti buddhā
dhamme satī brāhmaṇa vutti-r⁴⁵ esā

(*Suttanipāta* verse 81, Andersen and Smith 1913, 14)

What is chanted with chants I should not eat;

This, brahmin, is not the Law (*dhamma*) of Those Who See Well.

What is chanted with chants the Awakened Ones (*buddhā*) reject

Carpenter 1889–1910, ii 127) “Whatever *sūkaramaddava* is left, Cunda, bury that in a pit. I do not see, Cunda, in the world with its gods and *māras* and *brahmas*, in its people with *śramaṇas* and brahmins, kings and men, he for whom this [dish], once eaten, would lead to good digestion, except for the Tathāgata.”

⁴⁵ The separation of the epenthetic *r* is mine.

Within [their] Law, brahmin, this is their livelihood.

In another variation of this same story within this same collection,⁴⁶ the Buddha speaks the very same stanza to explain his refusal to accept, once again, a gift of food from another Bharadvāja. This Bharadvāja, also a brahmin, is called Sundarika-Bharadvāja, and is an officiating priest in the midst of a fire sacrifice who attempts to offer to the Buddha the leftover oblations. Other than in these two presumably older instances, this stanza recurs in variations of these stories in a number of places in the Pāli canon,⁴⁷ and it must have proven puzzling enough to the later tradition to deserve a separate treatment in the *Questions of Menander (Milindapañha)*.⁴⁸ The Buddha’s message seems to be that he refuses to earn anything as payment from his recitation of religious verse, and this doubles as an indictment of Bhāradvāja’s offering, because recitation of ritual verse is, of course, one of the stipulated modes of livelihood for an orthodox Brahmin.⁴⁹ Similarly, in the case of Kasī-Bharadvāja, the Buddha implies that the field that Bharadvāja “ploughs and sows” is in some way or another ultimately the earning from such ritual performance. Moreover, textual sources and the epigraphic record agree that land is in fact the prescribed and typical compensation for the ritual services of a brahmin.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Suttanipāta* 3.4.

⁴⁷ *Kasībhāradvājasutta*, *Samyuttanikāya* 7.11, *Aggikasutta*, *Samyuttanikāya* 7.8, *Sundarikasutta*, *Samyuttanikāya* 7.9.

⁴⁸ *Milindapañha* 5.5.9 (Book 4, chapter 5, question 49), Trenckner 1880, 228, English tr. Rhys Davids 1894, ii 31ff.

⁴⁹ See, for example, *Mānavadharmasāstra* 1.88–90, the three upper castes are allowed to recite the Veda (*adhyāyana*) and offer sacrifices (*yajana/ījya*) but only the Brahmin is allowed to teach Vedic recitation (*adhyāpanam*) and to use it for officiating sacrifices (*yājana*).

⁵⁰ See Sircar 1969, 6, 23–29, 72–73 for a detailed examination of the *brahmadeya* or gift of tax-free land to the

A village of brahmins (*brāhmaṇagāma*) like the one where the Pāli Bharadvāja is said to live is the setting for story XXIV. We are told that this village was in the Gangetic plain (*zhong Tianzhu* 中天竺=Central India) but that the king had appointed a foreign village headman called Valkalin to it.⁵¹ Even the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, generally not appreciative of royal power, acknowledges that the village headman (*grāmika*) is entitled to usufruct the portion of the village produce due as tax to the king (7.116, 118).⁵² It seems that our foreign headman, living off the agrarian economy of the brahmin village, was in an extremely hazardous position as an outsider and a perceived parasite. In fact, the village brahmins devise a ploy to get him out of the way: By invoking passages of the epics *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* that extol the value of self-immolation as a way to achieve a heavenly rebirth, they convince our headman to burn himself alive in a pyre.⁵³

The Buddhist character in the story—a monk—thwarts the ruse by exhorting one of the officiating brahmins to jump in to the pyre to attain heaven too. When the latter refuses, the village headman realizes that the brahmins are not sincere in their exhortation, that they “had come to that meeting only for the sake of monetary wealth” (但為錢財來至會所, T4.201. 281a25). Dangerous as it is to trace parallels with the modern period—the accusation of practicing an orientalist

brahmins, and Bronkhorst 2010, 74–93 for a rich and up-to-date discussion of its the genesis and relevant sources.

⁵¹ See on Valkalin also pp. 61, 194ff.

⁵² On the *grāmika* see also p. 196, n. 237.

⁵³ This mention is in itself supremely noteworthy, as this would be a very early mention of the two epics side by side. See Martini 2014, 141–143 for a discussion of the polemic role of the epics in Buddhist texts, mostly in Chinese and Khotanese. Martini suggests that at least in this literature, the epics were “identified [...] with brahmanical ideology.” Many passages in the epic could be invoked to extol self-immolation, but an especially fitting one is the one that deals with the topic of *mahaprasthāna*, the ‘great journey’ of voluntary death, in which death in battle, death in fire, and drowning at a sacred place are mentioned as ways to attain heaven in the “Southern recension” of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, see Hildebeitel 2016, 109–110, 116n.16, 79n.12.

doctrine of the immutability of Asia being always looming, and rightfully so—it might be useful to note that in Victorian accounts of the suttee/*satī* rite there is the suggestion that the ample prospective earnings from officiating at a suttee commonly led brahmins to eagerly encourage the practice,⁵⁴ and what we have here seems to be a similar suggestion. Kumāralāta here presents this instance of Brahmanical ritual, or at least brahmanically sanctioned ritual—perhaps as perplexing in his own time as in ours—as both harmful and unreasonable.⁵⁵ In this he is in agreement with the general Buddhist tradition in its rejection of the brahmanical ritual system.

A word must be said too regarding the narrative treatment that Kumāralāta reserves for brahmanical asceticism. Ritual is a realm in which brahmins and śramaṇic ascetics may have partly settled for a complementary distribution of demand.⁵⁶ The case is somewhat different for asceticism: For Buddhist monastics, the brahmanical ascetic may have constituted a direct threat in the competition for overlapping networks of support. If brahmanical ideology represented the worldview of the rural elite of the time—one that derived its power from the possession of land and labor—the renunciation of property and ritual rights might seem incongruous or contradictory; however, under close examination this does not necessarily have to be so. Olivelle (1993, 200–201) points out that although the socio-economic factors that led to the rise of brahmanical

⁵⁴ See for example Butler 1872, 385 and du Bois 1897, 366–367.

⁵⁵ As Benn 2007, 11; 65–69 notes, although self-immolation/cremation is a frequent rhetorical device in the Indian Mahāyāna *sūtras*, and although there is abundant evidence of this practice among non-Buddhist groups in ancient and modern India as also in Buddhist medieval China, that this may have been a common practice among Indian Buddhists is unlikely, or at least not supported by evidence.

⁵⁶ The evidence presented in Muldoon-Hules 2017, 77–82 suggests that in the early centuries of the common era in the northwestern part of the Indian world brahmins may plausibly have officiated at weddings of Buddhist followers, there being not a specifically Buddhist marriage ceremony. Conversely, funerary rites have been a specialty of the Buddhist tradition throughout most of its history.

asceticism and the related claim that only brahmins were allowed to undertake this practice through the first millennium CE are still poorly understood, the general direction of this trend was discernible. According to Olivelle, “Brāhmaṇical renunciation had become at least by the eighth century C.E. de facto monasticism” (p.201). Although renunciation in old age facilitated the process of family partition (pp. 115–116; 120–121), in the original *āśrama* system renunciation was not reserved to the elderly (p. 117). This proposed role of brahmanical asceticism does not at all undermine Olivelle’s statement that in a contemporary brahmanical context, “for the authors of the Dharmasūtras” and “for Manu, marriage and family constitute the central religious institution” (p. 139): Such putative monasticism, just as śramaṇic monasticism—and, in fact, monasticisms in other cultures as well—provided the opportunity to continue the logic of the family beyond the sphere of the family property by allowing the old and the unmarriageable to take on a new social identity in which they could engage in prestigious, socially sanctioned religious practice.

It seems, indeed, that external observers may have perceived things in a similar manner. A curious compound that appears sporadically in Indian literature from this period, and one that is not specifically Buddhist, is *śramaṇabrāhmaṇa* ‘śramaṇas and brahmins.’ The compound appears in the very earliest written documents in Indian history, Aśoka’s inscriptions.⁵⁷ The grammarians took this compound as an example of a natural pair defined by opposition, along the same vein as *kākolūka* ‘crows and owls,’ imagined to be natural enemies just as we imagine dogs and cats to be.⁵⁸ And yet, the compound is attested in the corpus of Kharoṣṭhī documents from the Tarim

⁵⁷ See for example rock edicts III, IV, VIII, IX, XI, Hultzsch 1877, 187.2, 187.7, 198.2, 200.3, 204.1.

⁵⁸ See Patañjali’s *Mahābhāṣya ad Kātyāyana’s second varttika ad Pāṇini 2.4.12.*, Kielhorn 1880–1885, i 476.

Basin⁵⁹ in what was then—and is now—Chinese-controlled Central Asia, where brahmins in the Indian sense of the word are unlikely to have existed and are never mentioned in the corpus. This absence suggests that the compound simply designates religious professionals in general (i.e. religious professionals of different kinds), and that, from the point of view the state, and perhaps to the great exasperation of the two groups involved, there might have been little difference between them. All the instances of this compound in the *Garland* appear in speeches made to kings.⁶⁰ The following one, although aimed at making a general point about the method to transform wealth into merit, appears in fact in a speech addressed by a minister to the king:

當設何方令此珍寶得至後身 唯有施與沙門婆羅門貧窮乞兒

(T4. 201.273.b2–4)

How can all these treasures be taken to a future life? Only by giving to *śramaṇas* and brahmins, the poor, beggars.

The *Garland* is rich in its portrayal of ascetic practices that although rarely highlighted in mainstream brahmanical sources were likely part of the brahmanical religious repertoire. For example, in story LXXVI we see brahmins actually practicing religious suicide themselves, with fall from a cliff as an addition to the previous list,⁶¹ while we also find mentions of brahmanical

⁵⁹ See Boyer et al. 1920, §554 Obv.2. and Burrow 1940, §554.

⁶⁰ T 201.4.273b3–12; p.288b17; Huber 1908, 87, 164.

⁶¹ T 201.4.c18–21; Huber 1908,125. Thakur 1963,77–78 deals with the practice of religious suicide by jumping off cliffs at auspicious sites: his source is here, however, the late medieval miscellany *Kṛtyakalpataru*.

ascetic nudity,⁶² penance of the five fires,⁶³ a variety of penances that include extreme heat, cold, and the bed of thorns.

Kumāralata's views on these ascetic brahmins are, certainly, largely negative. Such brahmins are said, by Kumāralata, to aim for nothing higher than becoming kings in future lives, a judgement that might indicate, as hinted above, that they were vying with Buddhist monastics for the same bases of support. At some points in the text, however, it appears that some sort of in-house solidarity—of awareness of being faced with the same issues—shows through: The only truly sympathetic portrayal of a brahmin (excepting those who eventually convert to Buddhism) is precisely the one of a “naked brahmin,” in story XIX.⁶⁴

Again, although the precise economic functions of brahmanical asceticism are not clear, there is not any evidence to suggest that the ascetic brahmins depicted in the *Garland* came from a different social class than the well-to-do rural brahmins described at the beginning of this section. These two classes of brahmins might have been part of the same social milieu, and that might explain why, in the *Garland*, the rural order is portrayed as a nut particularly tough to crack.

Before we delve deeper into the world in transformation depicted in the *Garland*, it will be necessary to step back for a moment. We will consider more broadly the historical context of the work and what we know about the life of its author, Kumāralāta, as well as the text in its various

⁶² See Olivelle 1980,9. The practice of nudity for brahmanical renunciators seems to have been known to the author of the *Āpastambadharmasūtra*, but eventually discarded.

⁶³ T 201.4.c4; T 201.4.a17–c12; T 201.4.c20; T 201.4.a8; Lüders 1926,143.§42.V1, Huber 1908,51, 52, 125, 367. The *Law Code of Manu* (*Mānavadharmasāstra*) prescribes the ‘five fire penance’ (*pañcatapas*) for what Patrick Olivelle calls the “Vedic retiree” (*vanaprastha*) in 6.23.

⁶⁴ Another element of this story relevant to this discussion, is that these naked renunciator brahmins, are said to wander in a group against the injunction of the *Law Code of Manu* 6.42.

versions, all but one of which are fragmentary: in short, context and text, which will be the topic of the next chapter.

2. Context, Text, Language

In what follows we will consider the biographic and historical context of the questions we have set to explore: the life of Kumāralāta will be surveyed, as well as the turbulent 3rd Century in Gandhāra and in India an era marked by deurbanization and political fragmentation. Fittingly, the *Garland* is a text that survives only in splinters: although we have numerous fragments of it in four languages (its original Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, and Tangut), the only complete version is the Chinese *Treatise on the Great Ornament* (*Da zhuangyan lun* 大莊嚴論, T201), which, although apt, is much less literal than we would have wished. A consideration of all extant portions of the text is therefore essential in order to approach it. Focusing more narrowly on the Sanskrit text of the *Garland*, the collection is interesting in its mixture of linguistic registers—Classical Sanskrit, “Hybrid” Sanskrit, dramatic Prakrit—as also in its literary style, whose models and imitators also tell us much about the pivotal position that it occupies in the history of Indian culture.

2.1. The Context

2.1.1. The Narrow Context: The Life of Kumāralāta

In the context of ancient Indian literature, Kumāralāta affords us the rare luxury of something comparable to an author in the modern sense, i.e. one about whose life and times we can know something (as opposed to nothing at all, as regularly for ancient India). That little something which we might surmise, however patchy, can be fruitfully taken into account within an examination of Kumāralāta’s work. Although little of what I will say below about Kumāralāta is strictly new, the scattered notices that concern him have not been gathered in recent times,⁶⁵ and perhaps the

⁶⁵ The survey in Lüders 1926, 17–36 is excellent and can still be consulted to great profit, but it is outdated after almost a century.

composite picture that emerges from these precious splinters will tell us something new indeed about the remarkable polymath who composed the *Garland*: perhaps travelling monk, poet, grammarian, scholastic philosopher.

Kumāralāta's unusual name provides a good point of departure for our investigations. The Sanskrit form of the name is certain and regular throughout its attestations: It appears in the colophons of the main manuscript of the *Garland* and in the fragments of the grammar *Kaumaralāta* and it is also backed by the Chinese phonetic renderings of the name. Lüders (1926, 20) suggests that the form *Kumāralāta* must be a dissimilation of **Kumārarāta* 'Given by the Prince (*kumāra*).' The Vedic root $\sqrt{rā}$ 'give' is well attested from the very first monuments of the Sanskrit language, and, as Lüders points out, its participle *rāta* 'given,' appears frequently as the second member of personal names in the form "given by this or that god:" Devarāta, Brahmarāta, Bhagavadrāta. The Tibetan and Chinese translations of the name are respectively *Gzhon nu len* "Taken [by? from?] the Prince" and *Tong-shou* 童受 "Received [by? from?] the Prince," both of which make certain that what the ancient translators had in mind was a specific verbal root in the classical repertoire *Dhātupāṭha*, $\sqrt{lā}$, that is listed in that work with the conventionally minimal definition *ādāne* "in [the meaning of] taking." Whitney (1885,147) considers this verb and its occurrences "sporadic" and "probably artificial"; however, while this artificiality might hold true for Sanskrit, it seems that the verb, or at least its passive participle, may have had a real existence in Middle Indic,⁶⁶ and since cross-pollination between the former and Sanskrit took place

⁶⁶ For example, in the first of the twelve texts that integrate the *Uvaṃga* (= *Upāṅga*) in the Ardhamāgadhī-language canonical cycle of the Śvetāmbara Jains, the *Uvavāiṃya* (= *Aupapātika*), there occurs a description of the hundred and eight horses that the king of Campā takes in his pilgrimage to visit the *tīrthaṃkara* Mahāvīra in Puṇṇabhadda. One of the many epithets of the horses is *lalantalāmagalalāyavarabhūsaṇa* 'with excellent adornments received (*lāya*>Old Indo-Aryan **lāta*) [in their] lovely necks (*lāmagala*) [and in their] foreheads (*lalanta*)' (Leumann

throughout the recorded history of both, the etymology suggested by the Tibetan and Chinese translations should not be dismissed as pure fantasy.

In this connection, the name of the philosopher Śrīlāta, said, as we will see below, to have been a disciple of Kumāralāta, is interesting. On the one hand, the *r* in Śrī ‘[Goddess of] Fortune’ might lend support to Lüders’ dissimilation theory; on the other, the fact that these two supposedly connected individuals share the same unusual element *-lāta* would be too much of a random coincidence. As such, one feels inclined to think that the latter must deliberately have been given a religious name with an unmistakable resemblance to the one of the teacher. If these names are related, a further telling piece of information is that they share the same structure in that the names of deities are the first elements.

Leaving aside the vexing question of whether *Kumāralāta* means ‘given by’ or ‘received from’ the ‘boy/prince’ (*kumāra*)—which in semantic terms amounts largely to the same conclusion—the *kumāra* element of the name is somewhat startling as a name for a Buddhist author if *kumāra* here refers to Kumāra or Skanda or Kārttikeya, the god of war who appears in his armor on Kushan coinage and in Gandhāran sculpture (Srinivasan 1997–98; Rosenfield 1967, 16). According to a late Chinese biography which I will discuss below, Kumāralāta was a brahmin by birth; if this a true recollection and if, indeed, his name meant something like ‘Received from (or Given by) the God of War’, then this may have been his birth name. However, as much as Indian names seem to us often transparently laden with semantic meaning, names can often simply be just names. Just as the fervently Christian late-classical writer Isidore (AD 560–636) bore a

1883, 56.17–18). This would be a plausible examination of this passage at least if one relies on Ratnacandra 1923, s.v., iv 283, who glosses *lāya* as *grahīta*, *svīkṛta*. Leumann (1883, 115c) relies on the Sanskrit commentary and glosses *galalāya* as *kaṇṭhe nyastah*. *Lalanta* for **lalāta*>earlier *rarāta* is possible but conjectural.

name that meant in origin ‘Gift of the Goddess Isis’ in an apparent contradiction of terms, if ‘Received from the God of War’ is what *Kumāralāta* once really meant, it may not have anything definite to tell us about our author’s social background.⁶⁷

As for the date of Kumāralāta himself, it must be placed after the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka who should have ruled in the second half of the 2nd century and is mentioned in his *Garland* but before the paleographical age of the earliest manuscript of his work, which Lüders (1926, 15) places in the early 4th century. As such, then, our author can be placed reasonably well in the 3rd century CE. As for his birthplace, we have solid evidence all pointing in one single direction: the ancient city of Taxila, or Takṣaśilā in Sanskrit. The colophons of the main manuscript of the *Garland* (Lüders 1926, 22) agree on this as does the Chinese monk and traveller Xuanzang 玄奘 (AD 602–664). Taxila is a frequent backdrop for Kumāralāta’s stories and sometimes the stories set in Taxila bear references to local topography.⁶⁸ Beyond this, a number of toponyms from the “Greater Gandhāra” area occur in the *Garland* even as they are rare in Classical Sanskrit literature: **Hiagala* 賒伽羅 is certainly Śākāla, modern Sialkot,⁶⁹ Suvastu (SHT 21/24r2, rendered as

⁶⁷ See further speculation on the name of Kumāralāta in Przyluski 1930.

⁶⁸ See, for example, story XC and in all likelihood also XXI and LXXII. Regarding the last two, 石室 Shishi (T4.201.279 a18=Huber 1908, 117+T4.201.340b6=Huber 1908, 421; “*Che-che=Açmaka*”) “stone-room” is in all likelihood also Taxila, rendered semantically according to some lost fictional etymology, with 石 *shi* “stone” mirroring the ...*śilā* element in “Takṣaśilā.” One early text whose translation is apocryphally attributed to An Shigao describes it as a very wealthy city in the North, where every seven years Gandhārans gather and are allowed to spend from a magically inexhaustible treasure called 伊羅波多羅 **ṛilapwatala* (= **Irāvattara*?) (T2.140.862b4–9).

⁶⁹ Story VIII; T4.201.266a16=Huber 1908, 49, “*Che-hia-lo=Çākala*.”

**Subata* 修婆多 in T4.201.267a5 and as 須和多 **Suāhwata* in T4.201.291c27) is modern Swāt,⁷⁰ and **Pwaklahuəla* 博羅呬羅 might conceivably be Vajrapura, i.e. Bajaur.⁷¹

Xuanzang’s remarks on Kumāralāta are well known, but I will revisit them here for the sake of the present discussion. Xuanzang mentions Kumāralāta twice in the travel records that document his travel to India and back to China in the mid 7th Century. The first mention occurs in the midst of our traveller monk’s remarks on Taxila: Kumāralāta is said to have lived and composed his “various treatises” (*zhu lun* 諸論) in a monastery that by Xuanzang’s time was little more than a “bleak and dismal courtyard with a dwindling monastic assembly” (庭宇荒涼, 僧徒減少, T51.2087.884c24–885a1). The monastery was close to an ancient *stūpa* said to have been built by Aśoka to commemorate the self-imposed beheading of prince Candraprabha (T.2087.884.c24–885.a2).⁷² At least as recorded in the version of the story found now in the *Divyāvadāna* (but attested fragmentarily among the Gilgit finds),⁷³ king Candraprabha had his own head cut off to satisfy the pettily arbitrary but unavoidable request of the brahmin Raudrākṣa. If the *stūpa* was indeed consecrated to Candraprabha, and if Kumāralāta actually lived in the

⁷⁰ On Suvastu and Uḍḍiyāna see also p. 289, n. 336.

⁷¹ Story XC (T4.201.347c29=Huber 1908, 461, “dans le royaume de Taksaçilâ se trouve le village de Po-lo-yu-lo.” The second element is perhaps *-pura* (in Middle Indicized intervocalic pronunciation, *-[v]ura, compare *Avaśaiūrami* in Peshāwar Museum 3218, Baums 2012, §178.2. If the Chinese rendering reflects a *Vayiraūra, this would be equivalent to *Vajrapura=Bajaur, on which see Dani 1963b, 3.

⁷² Marshall 1918, 60 identifies that monastery and *stūpa* with the complex in the modern Bhallar mound, across the river to the north of the city, which agrees well with Xuanzang’s description.

⁷³ Rotman 2008, 16. This constitutes the *terminus post quem* for the earliest portion of the compilation. However, all the extant manuscripts of the *Divyāvadāna* are late (18th and 19th Centuries), all from Nepal, and so even if its source material is generally old, the *Divyāvadāna* as a compilation could conceivably be as late as the 17th Century.

adjoining or surrounding monastery, perhaps story XVI in his *Garland*, which deals with the moral horror of decapitation,⁷⁴ might be a nod to this local tradition.

The second mention in Xuanzang's record poses interesting problems because it takes Kumāralāta on a trip to a rather unexpected destination in Central Asia. This mention occurs in Xuanzang's description of an ancient polity called 竭盤陀 *Kh'atb^wanda whose central area various modern scholars have located in the current district of Sarikol, a high mountain valley in the Pamir range now within the Uyghur Autonomous Region in China. The king of *Kh'atb^wanda is said by Xuanzang to have built a splendid monastery for Kumāralāta in the proximity of a *stūpa* originally erected by Aśoka.⁷⁵

Travellers ancient and modern seem to have been puzzled by the remote and snowy Sarikol: Stein devotes to it, as Xuanzang, a lengthy treatment in his travel records (1907, 22–43). What Xuanzang says about the country is highly unique in every aspect. According to him, the king of the country expressed his descent with the Sanskrit term *Cīnadevagoṭra (*Cinadejbakuət[at]la 至那提婆瞿咄羅), which according to Xuanzang's gloss should mean the 'Lineage of the Chinese and the Sun-god' (*han-ritian zhong* 漢日天種). Xuanzang provides an explanation for this curious term through a local legend: a Chinese princess, sent to be married in Persia, is left stranded with

⁷⁴ Another story in the *Garland*, XLVI, might perhaps have dealt with the same or topic. It tells of a number of *caṇḍāla* brothers who, appointed to act as executioners, refuse to do so at the expense of their own lives. The Chinese text says that they have been "appointed as executioners" (*dang xingren* 當刑人, T4.201.298.b27). The Sanskrit text, very fragmentary here, must have indicated the punishment to be carried out by saying that the condemned is *vaddhy[a]*. The *Treatise on State Interest, Arthaśāstra* (4.9.2., Kangle 1960, 142) contrasts a 'clean execution' (*śuddhavadha*) with a 'colorful execution' (*citravadha*): while the second might allude to a variety of tortures leading to death, the first in all likelihood involved decapitation, and this is how it was understood by the commentators on the *Law Code of Manu* 9.279, which uses the same terminology (see Olivelle 2012, 638, n. 4.92 and Olivelle 2005, 333n.9.279).

⁷⁵ See fig. 2 below to see Sarikol/Taškurgān in a map.

her retinue in Sarikol where internecine war was raging between factions. The king of Persia sends envoys to rescue his bride, whom they find pregnant. A maid of the princess then reveals that the father of the unborn child is the sun-god himself, who has come to visit the princess every day. The envoys decide to defect, to stay in Sarikol, and to build a castle where the Chinese princess is made queen and is eventually succeeded by her semi-divine son. When Stein visited the main city and ancient capital of Sarikol, the town of Taškurğān, he was told a similar story to account for the remains of a big ruined castle that even today dominates the town. Even then the castle was called by the Turkic appellation *Kiz-kurğān*, the ‘Rock of the Princess’ (or ‘Daughter’).

Like modern Wakhī and ancient Khotanese and Tumšūqese, the local language Sarikolī belongs to the south-eastern branch of the Iranian family, and Stein (1907, 25) argues persuasively that the local people must have spoken an Iranian language when 法顯 Faxian (337–circa 422), Songyun 宋雲 (?–528 AD) and Xuanzang visited the area. *Kh^hatb^wanda may have been a Buddhist Indianized polity of Iranian speakers, similar to Khotan and Tumšūq further to the east; however, other than these literary references, archeological exploration in the area is just beginning and has not yet brought to light significant data on the ancient culture of Sarikol, although the archeological data might lend support to the hypothesis of an Iranian substratum.⁷⁶

It might not have escaped the attention of the reader that this remote land appears frequently in the ancient accounts of travel between China, on the one hand, and India and Iran on the other. This is because, in fact, the area used to be a mandatory stop for anyone attempting to cross the

⁷⁶ Archeological reports on Sarikol and Taškurğān in the main archeological publications in China seem to be incipient and rare. Of remarkable importance (but still posing more questions than answers) have been the discovery of what might be a Zoroastrian fire-altars and a series of glass beads that must come from the west (Shen et al. 2015).

Pamir range, as it is the only settled area within a large stretch of unpopulated mountain passes.

On this, Stein says:

Small in extent, and devoid of natural resources, the territory of Sarikol derives its importance solely from the advantages of its position with regard to the routes which from early times have connected the Upper Oxus Valley with the oases to the south of the Turkestan Desert, and hence with China. (Stein 1907, 23).

Although Taxila was an important commercial emporium, one for which there is evidence of “large-scale trade to the outside world” (Allchin 1993, 80), a state like *Khⁱatb^wanda that seems to have relied mostly or only on long-distance trade may have provided a good occasion for close observation of trade among far-away nations with whom the inhabitants did business. Indeed, we might want to imagine Kumāralāta in a similar setting when affirming that the Buddha’s Law is so very effective that through it “even the barbarian of obtuse mind is awakened” (story XLV, *krśamatir mleccho ’pi sambudhyate*, SHT 21/51v2). If we were looking for possibly autobiographical elements in the *Garland*, perhaps story XLV, that features trade with China, and story XC, that talks about a man from Taxila who became rich doing business in the remote oriental part of the Roman empire (*Daqin* 大秦),⁷⁷ might be signs of a certain willingness to acknowledge and engage the extra-Indian world, which is rather extraordinary in a culture often characterized as generally averse to foreign influence and generally self-referential in its elite cultural register.

According to Xuanzang, Kumāralāta was so famous on account of his erudition that the king of *Khⁱatb^wanda decided to raid Taxila and capture him. This story, however, has a bit of the

⁷⁷ On this geographic reference see also p. 311, n. 384.

uncomfortable flavor of a narrative cliché, one that has often had the function of exculpating famous Buddhist masters from their attraction to power. For example, the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kanīṣka, whom we now know to have lived almost a century after Aśvaghoṣa, was said to have besieged Pāṭaliputra to get hold of the famous playwright and poet,⁷⁸ and a bit forward in time and geography, the Qin 秦 emperor Fu Jian 苻堅 (337–385 AD) in China is supposed to have sent a military expedition to Kucha to capture the famous scholar and translator Kumārajīva in the mid 4th century; similarly, the Northern Wei 北魏 and Northern Liang 北涼 states are supposed to have fought for the possession of the monk Dharmakṣema (Chen 2004). The story about Kumāralāta might have a kernel of truth in it: in the midst the instability that must have accompanied the fall of the “Great Kushans” in the early 3rd century, followed by Sasanian incursions, it does not seem

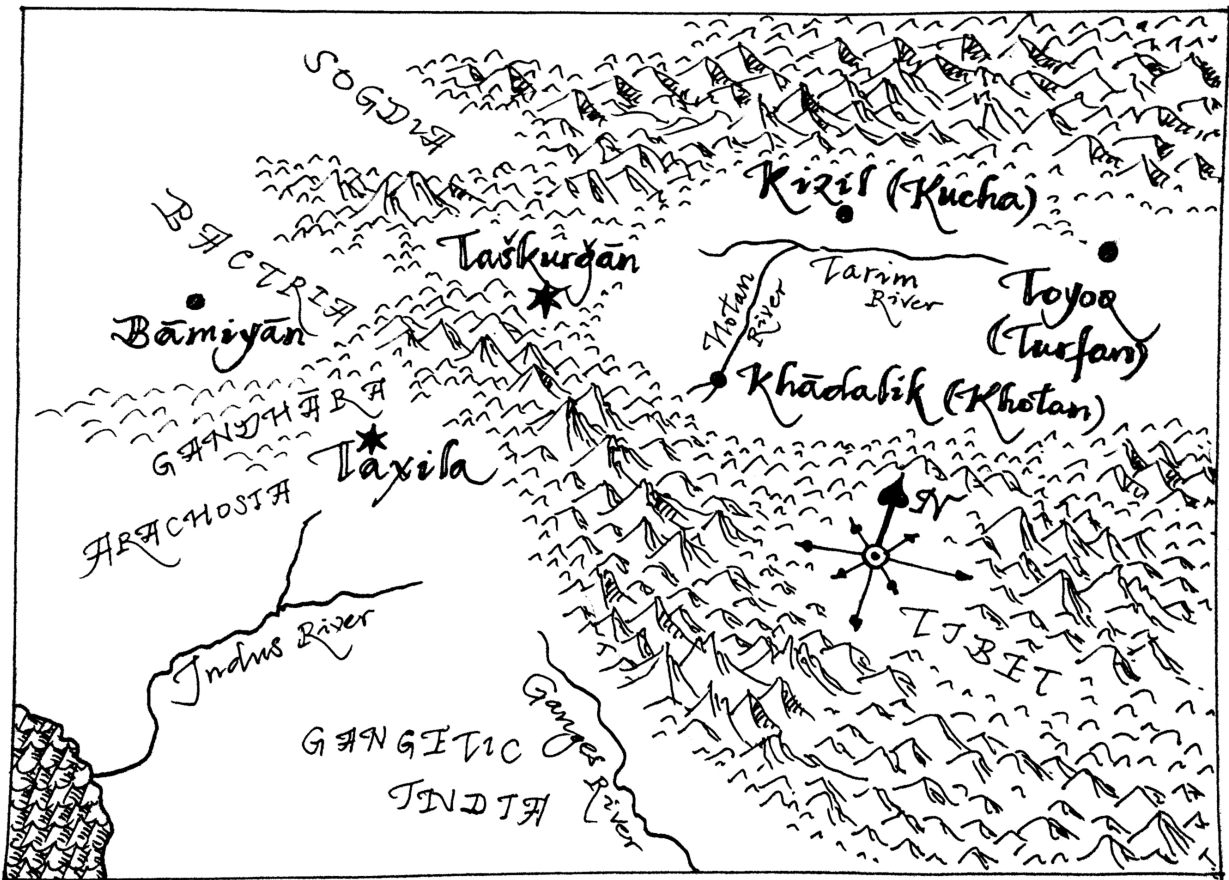
⁷⁸ T50.2058.315.b5–13

unlikely that the ruler of a small polity like *Khⁱatb^wanda may have felt emboldened to attack a major city like Taxila.

Fig. 2, Taxila, Taškurgān (Sarikol), and Gangetic India, the places connected with Kumāralāta's life.

Author's map.

As much as Gandhāra does not seem to bear explicit signs of trauma or upheaval, the 3rd



century is one of important and profound social changes for the Indian world, and this pivotal moment might therefore be better envisioned as a slow and gradual drift towards new waters rather than a sudden cataclysm. This century marks the beginning of a slow decline in urban life in all of the Indian sub-continent; it is also the century in which a living tradition of Middle Indic literacy starts to fade away and succumb to the Sanskrit language with its associated ideology. Even if the artistic production in Gandhāra does not seem to show a marked decline, there are clear signs of a

shift in taste and sensibility. Behrendt (2003–2004, ii 9) says that “Phase III [=3rd to 5th centuries AD] is the period in which narratives gave way to devotional images of the Buddha and bodhisattvas,” and that “[d]uring the late part of Phase III, monumental image shrines and massive images of the Buddha, some more than 11 m high, appeared in the sacred areas.” One page earlier (p. 8) Behrendt notes: “Without question, the shift to iconic imagery is a reflection of changing ideology.” Precisely what this change in ideology may have entailed is one of the questions I will explore in my examination of Kumāralāta’s *Garland*.

If, again, nothing in the archeological record suggests that Taxila suffered traumatic invasion or upheaval, we should perhaps also consider that some two hundred and fifty miles of snowy peaks separate Sarikol from Taxila, and that mobilizing an army through them may have required more resources than those available to the head of a small kingdom in the Pamirs and that, therefore, the raid on Taxila and the capture of Kumāralāta could be simply a pious legend stenciled on other similar narratives. Perhaps, even, what Kumāralāta did was simply to accept an offer of patronage in a remote haven during a moment of political instability. At least one Sasanian high official, Kartīr (fl. 350+ CE), boasted about having “struck down,” among others, the *śamans* (=śramaṇas) and the *bramans* (=brāhmaṇas, brahmins) in the inscriptions that he had engraved at various royal Sasanian sites (Skjærvø 2011, 612). Although it is not clear or even likely that what prompted Kumāralāta’s exile was this specific persecution, it illustrates how this time of transition between political orders must have been fraught with danger.

Besides this Central Asian episode, there is late and dubious evidence for a sojourn of Kumāralāta in Gangetic India. The Song Dynasty scholar monk Qisong 契嵩 (1007–1072)⁷⁹

⁷⁹ On Qisong and his role as a historian of the Buddhist tradition see Morrison 2010.

composed three ample treatises in the 禪 Chan genre of ‘transmission of the religion’ (*chuanfa* 傳法) prevalent in the Sinitic world: the *Treatise of the Orthodox Schools of Transmission of the Buddhist Religion* (*Chuanfa zhengzong lun* 傳法正宗, T2080), the ‘*Records on the Treatise...*’ (*Chuanfa zhengzong lun ji* 傳法正宗論記, T2078), and the ‘*Illustrated Treatise...*’ (*Chuanfa zhengzong lun tu* 傳法正宗論圖, T 2079). The second and third contain small biographies of the “patriarchs” that were supposed to form an uninterrupted lineage of religious transmission of the Buddhist religion that linked India with China. Kumāralāta, like other prominent Indian intellectuals of the early 1st millennium, is included in most versions of such lists. The biography in Qisong’s *Records*, although longer, is mostly filled with ecclesiastical detail and a previous-life story; the one in the *Illustrations*, although shorter, has more strictly biographical detail. One would feel tempted to dismiss such notices in the light of the lateness of the work if it was not because some details in it seem congruous with the rest of the picture. In this small biography we are told that Kumāralāta was born in the Kushan empire (*Da Yuezhi guo* 大月氏國) as a brahmin, and that he had then travelled to Gangetic India (*zhong Tianzhu* 中天竺) for his studies (T.2079.771.a2–5). This experience of Gangetic India may have made an impression on Kumāralāta: Not only does his *Garland* seem to be addressed to a pan-Indian audience, but the unexpected inclusion of one verse of poetry in a Gangetic Prakrit, perhaps closest to dramatic Śaurasenī (Lüders 1926, 46) lends, in my opinion, some plausibility to the information contained in this late but plausible source.

As just mentioned, Kumāralāta is often included in lists that in one way or the other group together the great Indian authors of the so-called “Middle Period” of Indian Buddhism. One incarnation of this list may have been current in India itself around the 7th century, since Xuanzang and Yijing 義淨 (635–713) mention different versions of it in their travel accounts along with

other contemporary Chinese scholiasts. This list arranges a number of three to five distinguished authors of “treatises” (*lun* 論) who are compared to the sun itself in radiance (hence the “three,” “four,” or “five suns of India”) and associates each with one of the the cardinal points: Xuanzang’s list locates Aśvaghōṣa in the East, [Ārya]deva in the South, Nāgārjuna in the West, and Kumāralāta in the North (T2087.942.a16–18); Yijing’s succinctly lists only the first three (T2125.229.b14–16); Xuanzang’s pupil Kuiji 窺基 (632–682), in his commentary, the dogmatic treatise **Satyasiddhi* or **Tattvasiddhi* (*Chengshi lun* 成實論, T1646) mentions the five “suns of India” but names only Kumāralāta as one of them (T1834.274.a). Later, one Zhizhou 知周 (679–723), while commenting on the same treatise, produces a list similar Xuanzang’s, which, however, places Śrīlāta in the West and Nāgārjuna in the Middle (T1833.839.b24–26).

On the surface, it would seem that what these people have in common is their having had been scholastic authors of dogmatic treatises (*śāstra*). It appears now, however, that as much as in the Sinitic world Aśvaghōṣa passes as the author of the popular *Treatise on the Rise of Belief in the Great Vehicle* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論, T1666), it is highly unlikely that the skilled playwright and poet ever ventured into scholasticism (Johnston 1936,xx). Whether Kumāralāta did or did not is a question that I will address in a moment, but for now let it suffice to say that what these writers have in common is their having had been pioneering Buddhist authors in Classical Sanskrit. Even if many might hesitate to call Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva poets, they wrote their treatises in verse, echoing the convention of contemporary brahmanical *dharmaśāstras*. Furthermore, regardless of whether or not one thinks that Nāgārjuna’s verse is as flavorful as that of Aśvaghōṣa, the fact is that they both wrote in Classical Sanskrit verse and that they therefore share—both in language and style—a new and defined set of literary conventions.

As I hinted above, another place where these same people usually meet is in lists of the great Buddhist scholars of the past—“patriarchs,” “venerables.” In a detailed study, Katō Junshō 加藤純章 (Katō 1979–1980), has patiently sifted through the Chinese Buddhist corpus looking for references to Kumāralāta.⁸⁰ He divides his findings into two groups: biographical notices about Kumāralāta and quotations attributed to him. While perhaps deliberately omitting the biographies by Qisong that I presented above, the biographical notices he lists include the two passages in Xuanzang’s work and the one in the commentary on the **Tattvasiddhi* by his pupil Kuiji that I have been already referred to. For the rest all he finds is various versions of the lists of patriarchs in which Kumāralāta appears. On the basis of these notices, Willemen, Dessein, and Cox (1997) have surmised that Kumāralāta may have been the founder of the “School of Examples” (*Dārṣṭāntika*), and that he may have been the teacher of the philosophers Harivarman and Śrīlata, the second of which is said to have taught the famous Vasubandhu (p. 107). They further venture that the “School of Only-Scripture” (*Sautrāntika*) may be identical with the “School of Examples,” the latter being perhaps a pejorative denomination used by other rival factions when referring to this group (p. 109), and also that the school may have split from the mainstream of the Sarvāstivāda school in opposition to the adoption of the official compendium on scholastic philosophy (*Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā*) on the part of the latter (p. 106). Katō does not believe that Kumāralāta is the founder of the school (1979–1980, 530), but regardless of that, and also of whether the proposed teacher-student relationships are those proposed or not, it seems clear that this cluster of

⁸⁰ Kumāralāta’s name occurs also in similar Tibetan lists, as in Tāranātha’s (1575–1634) *History of Buddhism in India* (*Rgya gar chos ‘byung*), where Kumāralāta is listed among the ancient “great venerables” (*btsun pa chen po ‘i sde rnams*) (Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya 1970, 14–15).

philosophers held Kumāralāta in high esteem, and Vasubandhu cites him as an authority in his auto-commentary to *Abhidharmakośa* 1.29a.

A good question to consider at this point is whether Kumāralāta did in fact engage in the writing of scholastic treatises. He may simply have been attributed the authorship of later scholastic works as it seems to have been the case with Aśvaghōṣa. The question therefore asks whether or not there is evidence to prove that he was, in short, a philosopher. The quotations that Katō (1979–1980, 528–529) presents are illuminating in this regard. They show that Kumāralāta was quoted by a wide variety of scholiasts and commentators, but even more interestingly, it turns out that all the quotations attributed to him are metrical. Perhaps the most significant quotation is the panegyric of meditation in forty-three verses that one finds as an introduction to the *Scripture on the Absorption of Sitting Contemplation* (*Zuochan sanmei jing* 坐禪三昧經, T614), to which an excerpt of roughly the same size from Aśvaghōṣa’s poem *Saundarananda* is appended as an epilogue. Now, the only works that can be attributed to Kumāralāta with any certainty are the prosimetric *Garland* and the grammar *Kaumāralāta*, studied by Lüders (1930). These metrical quotations that occur in Chinese Buddhist literature do not seem to stem from either work, and this in turn suggests the existence of a lost work, or a lost series of works in the metrical *śāstra* genre; a misattribution is also a possibility. The only work that seems to be mentioned by name in connection with Kumāralāta is the *Garland* and it is undoubtedly this work that which Kuiji refers to as “Treatise of the Garland of Examples” (*Yuman lun* 喻髮論). According to Xuanzang, the number of Kumāralāta’s works was in the order of the double digits (T2087.942.a15), and, furthermore, the fact that the grammar is never mentioned in connection with Kumāralāta makes plausible that his hypothetical dogmatic works may have been lost without having left other traces than quotations.

Moreover, scholastic culture does play an important role in the narratives of the *Garland*. story II features a lengthy scene of scholastic debate that enters into realistic philosophical detail: The triumph of the Buddhist character over his brahmanical adversaries is the outcome of their defeat in argumentation. story XLIV, available only in Chinese, attaches an even stronger—almost apotropaic—value to scholastic skill, wherein a “demonic apparition” (*mohua* 魔化) confounds the monastic assembly by claiming to be an *arhat* and, as in the previous story, the debate ends with a moment of conversion where, notably, the science of *abhidharma* has the power to neutralize the dangerous supernatural entity and is likened to a touchstone “by rubbing [which] one knows what is true and false” (磨試知是非, T4.201.297.b10). That Kumāralāta may have been an enthusiastic abhidharmist seems, then, likely at least.

In sum, then, on the life of Kumāralāta, though uncertainties abound, we do have a reasonably good picture of the individual that created the *Garland*: he must have lived in the 3rd century in Taxila in a time of change, he perhaps had brahmanical background and his own Buddhism, therefore, might have been the outcome of conversion, which is a topic featured prominently throughout his stories. He may have sojourned in different places, among which Central India and the remote mountain country of Sarikol are prominent. That he was a skilled poet and storyteller we can be certain about. We can also be certain that he was a pioneer of a new mode of literary expression, one that he attempted to codify in his own grammar that must be the earliest known challenger to the supremacy of Pāṇini in the realm of Sanskrit grammar. He may, finally, have also been the structured scholastic philosopher that later tradition wants him to be.

2.1.2. The Broad Historical Context: Greater Gandhāra in the 3rd Century, the City, Trade, and their Decline

Kumāralāta’s 3rd Century, we have seen, was one of major transitions for the many axes in which he must be considered: for his Buddhist religion, a marked shift towards the usage of the Sanskrit language and towards more powerful institutional structures; for his native Greater Gandhāran area, foreign invasions and political fragmentation; for the Indic world in general, a decline in trade and urbanism; even for the Eurasian continent as a whole, there was crisis in the Roman empire, the fall of the Han empire in China, the Arsacid empire in Iran and—closest to Kumāralāta—the demise of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty in northern India. This section will weave together important social, cultural, and political changes that marked this era, first in the circumscribed geographical area of Kumāralāta’s life, “Greater Gandhāra,” and then in the greater Indian context.

Before we beginning this survey, a terminological clarification is necessary. Richard Salomon coined the term “Greater Gandhāra” to refer to the cultural area where the Kharoṣṭhī script was in use during the first centuries of the Common Era (2012, 179), and this area spans across the northeastern part of Pakistan and the eastern part of Afghanistan. The Gāndhārī language written with the Kharoṣṭhī script was also widely used in areas where we know that the indigenous language was not Indic, like Bactria, Sogdia, and the Tarim basin across the Pamirs. The original core of this greater area of cultural influence would have been Gandhāra in the strict sense, namely the Peshāwar valley in what is now northeastern Pakistan. Gandhāra as a toponym is commonly

attested in Gāndhārī inscriptions and manuscripts,⁸¹ and so are Kumāralāta’s native Taxila⁸² and other toponyms in the “Greater Gandhāran” area. Whether there was an endonym for what Salomon calls “Greater Gandhāra,” or even whether the cultural commonalities in language and script that we discern at a distance of millennia were perceived at all as markers of a greater supralocal identity is not certain, but there are some hints to suggest that they might have been. Recent research suggests that the Chinese referred to “Greater Gandhāra,” and not only “Gandhāra proper” as **Keipin* 罽賓, which is in all likelihood a Chinese phonetic rendering of Gāndhārī <*kaspira*>=/*kaspir*/ (Enomoto 1994, 359–369; Palumbo 2013, 22),⁸³ even though what corresponds etymologically to it in Sanskrit would be *kaśmīra*, which nowadays designates the Kashmir valley disputed by India and Pakistan. Apparently, the Khotanese too referred to Gāndhārī speakers as *kāspīraa*⁸⁴ and, in quite a few places within the Pāli corpus, the compound

⁸¹ See for example the locative *Gadharami* in a very fragmentary *avadāna* in the “British Library fragment 2” (Lenz 2010, 98, r5), and also the mention of “general Indravarma, lord (*śpami*=*svāmin*) of Gandhāra” (*Imdravarmo stratego gaṃdharaśpami*) in the “Śatruleka reliquary inscription” (Baums 2012, 216, §17, 4a-5).

⁸² Kumāralāta may have defined himself as *tākṣasilaka* “Taxilan” in one extant colophon of the Kucha manuscript (SHT 21/98v1, and Lüders 1926, 22). In the Gāndhārī corpus, Taxila is mentioned epigraphically as the place of the dedication of several reliquary inscriptions (e.g. (Baums 2012, 212, §12, 2; 237, 237, §30, 3; 247, §48, 1), but also in the narrative literature, on which see Lenz 2010, 98, r7.

⁸³ The form *kaspira* is now attested in Gāndhārī too, in the British Library Fragment 1, v156, on which see Lenz 2010, and in the yet unedited British Library Fragment 4, v278, on which see Baums and Glass 2010b-, s.v. Further attestation can be found in the famous Alsatian *Tabula Peutingeriana*, widely believed to be based on a Roman prototype, where a region south of the mountain range that marks the northern frontier of India is marked as “*Caspyre*,” interestingly, though, the neighboring ethnonym in red ink has *indi gandari* “Gandhāran Indians.”

⁸⁴ At one point in the text, the author of the Khotanese *Book of Zambasta* (23.5, Emmerick 1968, 343) complains about the fact that the Khotanese seem to deem acceptable the diffusion of the Buddhist religion only “in the Indian language” (*himḍuvau*) and not in their native Khotanese tongue, and cites as opposite examples the Chinese (*ciṅga*) and the Kaspāraas, who learn the Law in their own tongues. Leumann (1936, 290), Emmerick (1968, 343), and Bailey (1985, 44) all translate *kaspāraa*- as “Kashmirian,” but it seems now unlikely that “Kashmirian” here has

kasmīragandhāra occurs as an ethnonym.⁸⁵ On whether Kumāralāta’s Taxila would have been perceived as part of this larger area around this time, it might be useful to remark that at least in the Pāli *jātakas*, the formula *gandhāraraṭṭhe takkasilanāgare/takkasilāyaṃ* “in the kingdom of Gandhāra, in [the city of] Taxila” is a recurring narrative cliché.⁸⁶

There are also reasons to think that the appellation *kuṣāṇa* could evoke more than the homonymous dynasty. Kuṣanasena, presumably “Having the Kuṣāṇa as his army,” occurs a few

to do with what we call nowadays Kashmir. If one is to look for a tradition of Buddhist vernacular expression close to Khotan, that would surely have been “Greater Gandhāra.” Since, however, the *Book of Zambasta* is unlikely to be earlier than the 5th Century, and Gāndhārī as a literary language died out in its homeland in the late 3rd Century, what the *Zambasta* poet is referring to here might be instead the Gāndhārī speakers that lived in the Tarim basin, where the use of Gāndhārī and of the Kharoṣṭhī script survived for another two centuries. Perhaps these are the same “Indians” (*'ntykwt*) mentioned in the “Ancient Sogdian letter No. 2,” which its editor Sims-Williams identifies squarely with “the Indian inhabitants of Lou-lan” (1985, 9).

⁸⁵ The Pāli form *kasmīra* would seem to be an only half-prakritized form, but the cluster with *s* instead of *ś* is clearly attested in Gāndhārī *kaspīra*. The Sanskrit forms *kaśmīra* and *kāśmīra* are probably late developments, not attested earlier than the Epics. The compound *kasmīragandhāra* is clearly treated as a unitary ethnonym in *Mahāvamsa* 12.3–28 (Geiger 1908, 94–97), where a story is told on how the elder Majjhantika appeased the *nāga* Aravāḷa (See also a Chinese version of this same story in a different version of this tale as story XCI in the Chinese *Trove of Miscellaneous Treasures* (*Zabaozang jing* 雜寶藏經, T4. 203. 483a19–c17), where the country is referred to as **Keipin* 罽賓. In the Pāli *Gandhārajātaka* (406) the compound occurs too, but it is used to describe how the “king of Gandhāra” (*gandhārarājā*), “having divided his kingdom into the two kingdoms of Gandhāra and Kaśmīra” (*dvīsu pi Kasmīra-Gandhāra-raṭṭhesu so rajjaṃ chaḍḍetvā, Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*, Fausbøll 1877–1899, iii 365) went forth as a renunciant. Furthermore, a late passage of the *Milindapañha* (Trenckner 1880, 331.18) lumps together in a single compound Kasmīra and Gandhāra with one Alasanda said elsewhere (82.24) to be the birthplace of king Menander. That Alasanda is to be equated with one of the many Alexandrias that Alexander founded throughout his empire is agreed upon, but not which one. If this Alexandria is the Alexandria Bucephala that Arrian says Alexander founded in honor of his dead horse on the banks of the river Hydaspes (now Jhelum) (5.19, Roos 1907, 226), we would have then a triad of fairly adjacent toponyms being compounded as a unit.

⁸⁶ See for example *Nandivīsālajātaka* (28), Fausbøll 1877–1899, i 191.10, *Asātamantajātaka*. (61) Fausbøll 1877–1899, i 285.7, *Varaṇajātaka* (71) Fausbøll 1877–1899, i 317.4, *Susīmajātaka* (163), Fausbøll 1877–1899, ii 47.11, *Palāyijātaka* (229), Fausbøll 1877–1899, ii 217.1.

times as a personal name in the 3rd Century corpus of Gāndhārī documents from Niya,⁸⁷ and from the same site, many of the travelers registered by the local Chinese garrison were described as “from the Kuṣāṇa empire” (*da Yuezhi guo* 大月氏國) without any further distinctions.⁸⁸ Furthermore, an early Manichaean text, the *Kephalaion*, preserved in Coptic, speaks about how “the lord Buddha [...] came to the land of India *and* of the Kushāns” and how “after him came the *aurentes*” (=arhats?) “in the east, the Middle of the World, and Parthia” (Skjaervø 2006, 35) seemingly positing the Kuṣāṇa realm as somehow distinct from “India.”

This last quotation highlights the fact that adherence to the Buddhist religion may have been understood as a characteristic trait of this area. We know now for certain that the Kuṣāṇa royal family was not Buddhist, or at least not exclusively so, and that the religious architecture it directly sponsored was not Buddhist in nature, but rather blended elements of an incipient Hinduism with Iranian Mazdean religion.⁸⁹ Similarly, the Kuṣāṇa royal inscriptions mention only Iranian gods with their Indic “equivalents,”⁹⁰ and the Kuṣāṇa coins with the effigy of the Buddha Śākyamuni are a minority when compared to those issued with Iranian and Indian deities. But the Kuṣāṇa period was one of proliferation at least for Buddhist art, architecture, and epigraphy, and it seems that people both within and outside of Gandhāra regarded the land as characterized by the Buddhist

⁸⁷ See Boyer et al. 1920, §5, §136, §399.

⁸⁸ See for example the documents edited by Chavannes in Stein 1907, i. 540.

⁸⁹ See for example the survey of the Kuṣāṇa royal shrines in Māt, Rabatak, and Surkh Kotal in Ghosh 2011.

⁹⁰ See for example line 10 in the Bactrian Rabatak inscription of Kaniška (Sims-Williams 2004, 56), where we have a roster of Iranian deities that are said to have demanded king Kaniška to build a temple in their honor. The name of the god Srošard has the following interlinear gloss: *kidi hænduau Maasēn rizdi od Bizag rizdi* "who in the Indian language is called Mahāsena, and is [also] called Viśākha."

religion. In support of this, in story I of the *Garland*, the scene of a Gandhāran merchant heroically defending the superiority of the Buddha to that of Śiva Maheśvara in front of a host of Mathurān brahmins, and the ensuing panegyric of Gandhāra as “upholder of the world” (from a fanciful etymologization to **gāṃ-dhara* “bearer of the cow (=the earth)”) are certainly to be read as a statement of national pride by Kumāralāta; also, perhaps, as an expression of wishful thinking. One of the places where the compounded ethnonym *kasmiragandhāra* occurs in the Pāli corpus is a passage in the Ceylonese *Great Chronicle*, *Mahāvamsa* (12.3–28, Geiger 1908, 95–97),⁹¹ that narrates how the Buddhist missionary Majjhantika appeased and converted a *nāga*: the story ends by saying that “since then and even now the *kasmiragandhāras* have been resplendent with monastic robes and extraordinarily intent on the three things” (*tatoppabhuti kasmiragandhārā te idānipi / āsum kāsāvapajjotā vatthuttayaparāyanā*). Although through his stories Kumāralāta participates in this notion of Gandhāra as a stronghold of Buddhism, the career of the religion may have been shorter and also less firmly rooted than what these portrayals suggest. Callieri (2006) notes that although sporadic Buddhist archeological remains can be found in the Greater Gandhāran area from as early as the 3rd Century BCE, they do not become truly frequent or widespread until mature Kuṣāṇa times in the 2nd Century CE. We will return to this issue when discussing the shift in cultural paradigms that appear to have taken place during or around Kumāralāta’s time.

The fall of the Kuṣāṇas was in all likelihood tied to a decrease in Roman trade coupled with an erosion of their territorial integrity at the hands of the expanding Sasanian empire from central Iran. The original Kuṣāṇa territory of Bactria was lost to the Sasanians in circa 230 CE (Skinner

⁹¹ One should note, though, that this is probably a later portion of the *Mahāvamsa*.

2016, 178), and there the Sasanians seem to have installed the vassal dynasty of the so-called Kušānšahs. According to Skinner (2017, 180), “a text composed on the Ka’ba-ye Zardošt in Naqš-e Rostam”—that is, the ancient necropolis of the Achaemenid emperors—“in 270 states that Šāpur I incorporated the Kušāna territory (*kušānšahr*) into his empire and invaded as far as Peshāwar (*paškabūr*).” We have seen before how the Sasanian official Kartīr in the same time period boasted about having persecuted “*šamans* and *bramans*” in the newly conquered areas.⁹² Kumāralāta’s Taxila seems to have remained in Kušāna hands up until the very end of the dynasty under Kipunadha in about 340, but some thirty years after the fall of Bactria in about 230 Kāpīśa (now Begram) would fall too, and the neighboring Peshāwar valley—“Gandhāra proper”—would become the battlefield for struggles between Kušānas and Kušānšahs up until about 340 when the White Huns or Kidarites inaugurated a new order in the region.⁹³ In this scenario of constant turmoil, it does not seem impossible that what Xuanzang notes in his record was accurate, namely that the ruler of Sarikol in the Pamirs, as a Sasanian ally, may have taken part in a raid against Taxila that would have ended in the capture of Kumāralāta.

The archeological record in Taxila comes to a virtual halt after the White Hun invasions, but this dramatic closure was preceded by a process of decline that mirrors the decline of trade with the Roman west (Marshall 1951, i 2). The Chinese pilgrim Faxian was hardly impressed by what he saw in Taxila when he passed through it in the early 5th Century. In fact, he barely mentions it in passing. The city suffered from the climate of constant military struggle that surrounded it, but it might have also participated in a larger pattern of deurbanization that spread through India

⁹² See 2.1.1., p. 45.

⁹³ This information has been culled from the chronological chart in Cribb 2018, 28–29.

between the 4th and 6th Centuries. The model of deurbanization proposed by the Indian historian R.S. Sharma in his book *Urban Decay in India* (1987) has found general scholarly acceptance even though some aspects of his formulation have come under criticism, in particular his handling of archeological data or, rather, his making arguments on data taken from less than ideal archeological procedure, on which see Kennet (2013). However, regardless of the specific factors that he sees at its cause, even Sharma's critics recognize the tenability of his essential observation that cities declined in this era. Sharma notes that the archeological urban layers in this period become increasingly poor in urban residential—rather than monumental—architecture, in evidence of specialized crafts, and also, crucially, in coinage, which by the end of the era had dramatically declined in volume from Kuṣāṇa times. Sharma has complemented his archeological argument with epigraphic and literary information, although the evidence afforded by these sources, as some critics have pointed out, is rather sparse (Panja 1990, 442; Stewart 1991, 177). Sharma finds nothing as clear-cut regarding this era as Jerome's statement, in the early 5th Century, that “the world sinks into ruin [...] and there is no part of earth where Romans are not in exile” (Letter CXXVIII tr. Fremantle 1893, 260), but, at most, prophecies of an impending “Age of Kali” (*kaliyuga*) taking over the world in the purāṇic corpus (1987, 139ff.).⁹⁴ Gérard Fussman makes a strong case that one important source, the courtly narratives of the period, should not be taken as good witnesses of the spirit of the times in his review of a book that focuses on the courtly ideology that developed in the succeeding period and yet downplays the role of deurbanization in the formation of such ideology, Ali's *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India* (2004):

⁹⁴ For a rich analysis of the characteristics of the Age of Kali, including descriptions of the decline of cities and of trade as depicted in the 6th Century astrological compendium *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* by Varāhamihira see Mandal 2007.

Pour apprécier la distance entre l'Inde idéale et abstraite des sources littéraires et la réalité des cours indiennes, il aurait peut-être aussi fallu se demander pourquoi beaucoup de souverains renoncèrent à émettre une monnaie à leur effigie; pourquoi l'archéologie ne trouve aucune trace des somptueuses capitales bien planifiées que décrivent leurs textes, ni de leurs gigantesques palais; pourquoi aussi les expéditions guerrières, qu'elles soient hindoues ou musulmanes, semblent avoir trouvé plus à piller dans les temples que dans les résidences royales. (Fussman 2005b, 335)

Sharma postulates, in fact, that besides the decline in continental trade, the period saw a progressive fragmentation of the state that led to the implementation of a system based on the concession of land that would undermine the urban order and catalyze a progressive ruralization of all aspects of Indian society. The quintessential expression of this new order would become the royal and private grants of land and labor etched on copperplates, whose prototypes, according to Salomon (1998, 114) “go back farther than the fourth century [CE],” and would become widespread in the following centuries.

It seems clear, then, that these deep social changes involved also a major shift in cultural paradigms, and one important factor in this shift seems to have been the increasing prominence of brahmanical discourse. In a 2016 book suggestively titled *How the Brahmins Won*, Bronkhorst has given the latest formulation of his vision of how brahmanical ideology prevailed, and his discussion and some of his sources will be revisited here. Bronkhorst puts the situation in the following terms:

“Brahmanism came out of its turbulent period a conservative ideology. It preserved forever the memory of the good old days when its services were part of

the structure of the state. This had changed, and the Brahmins did not like it.”

(Bronkhorst 2016, 109)

What Bronkhorst refers to as the “turbulent period” of Brahmanism is the urban era between the Maurya and the Gupta, when a versatile monetized economy allowed for greater social mobility, with Aśoka’s sponsorship of non-brahmanical religious trends becoming the epitome of the affront to brahmanical privilege. In a nutshell, Bronkhorst’s book holds that the brahmanical class crafted an ideology that aligned well with political power by providing ritual and conceptual legitimation in exchange for control over the rural economy. In Pollock’s view (1990, 335) the insistence on the absolute primacy of brahmanical ritual crystallized in the works of the Mīmāṃsā philosophical school, “was to become the metalegal framework for an explicit program of power—Dharma-Śāstra—that inculcates and legitimates such concrete modes of domination as caste hierarchy, untouchability and female heteronomy.”

The question of the brahmanical presence in Gandhāra is complicated and must be approached with caution and by steps. The region must have been a stronghold of Vedic brahmanism: a unanimous tradition has it that the great brahmin grammarian Pāṇini (5th or 4th Century BCE) was Gandhāran, from Śālātura. And yet it seems that later on the brahmins of the central Gangetic plain did not consider the northwest as part of the *āryavarta*, the “realm of the noble.”⁹⁵ On a different track, the work of Samad (2010) and Verardi (2012) has shown that the worship of divine figures like Viṣṇu/Vāsudeva/Kṛṣṇa and Śiva/Maheśvara/Paśupati is old and can be traced back to the early centuries before the common era. Verardi, for example, mentions the 2nd Century BCE coins with the image of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva issued by the Bactrian king Agathocles

⁹⁵ For an in-depth treatment of this issue see Bronkhorst 2007, 357–362.

and the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas (p. 149), as well as the Kuṣāṇa issues with Śiva/Weś, and the fact that “in the *Mahābhārata* Śiva is called ‘the God from Gandhāra’” (p. 151).⁹⁶ Most fittingly for the purpose of our discussion, and using the terms *bhāgavata* and *pāśupata* for what would generally be termed *vaiṣṇava* and *śaiva*, he remarks that:

The relative invisibility of Bhāgavatas and Pāśupatas in early Gandhāra depends on their taking root in rural areas (especially the groups of Pāśupatas) and on the fact that the trading class — an object of scorn for the authors of the early Kali Age literature — did not find representation among them. (Verardi 2012, 151)

Perhaps the best example of what one of those early foci of *pāśupata* activity may have looked like is the site of Kashmir Smast, which in spite of its name is located in the Peshāwar valley in “Gandhāra proper,” on which see Falk (2003) and Majumdar (2005–2006). The site yielded, “sculptures of gods and goddesses of the Brahminical pantheon, *liṅgas*, seals and inscriptions” (Majumdar 2005–2006, 1398) which range in date between the 2nd and 10th Centuries CE. Some of the most remarkable objects are an early inscribed *liṅga* (4th-6th Centuries) and a roughly contemporary donation record on a copperplate.

As Verardi and Barba (2011, 105, 141–142) and Bronkhorst (2016, 24–26) point out, practices such as the worship of images, and the cult of Viṣṇu and Śiva were initially rejected by the Vedic orthodox brahmanical establishment, and yet were absorbed precisely in late Kuṣāṇa times giving rise to what we broadly term Hinduism. In fact, this is more or less the picture of brahmanism that Kumāralāta paints in his collection: in story I we see a group of Mathurān brahmins that worship Viṣṇu and Śiva Maheśvara, while in story LIX we see a man becoming the

⁹⁶ Verardi draws in this point mainly from the evidence presented by Tucci (1963, 159–160).

disciple of a *bhāgavata* temple. The mention of the Sanskrit epics *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* in the *Garland* is also highly significant because the epics are forceful expressions of this new brahmanical worldview, a blend of the old Vedic ritualism with new theistic cults: Kumāralāta mentions the epics by name in story XXIV, and makes them the scriptural authorities that brahmins invoke to justify self-immolation;⁹⁷ moreover, the story of Śiva, rather than Indra, as the destroyer of the city of the *asuras* that the Mathurān brahmins bring up to demonstrate the superiority of Śiva Maheśvara regarding the Buddha is, as far as I know, a form of the myth reported for the very first time in the *Mahābhārata*.⁹⁸

For India in general, and for Gandhāra in particular, one very telling sign of the change of times was the erosion of Prakrit literacy (in the Kharoṣṭhī script in the case of Gandhāra) and the universal diffusion of Sanskrit in the Brāhmī script, in accordance with a standardized and pan-Indian code of expression. We will remark elsewhere on the set of early Brāhmī inscriptions from Gandhāra studied by Falk (2004), and on how in that corpus Brāhmī seems to embody larger social prestige and the progressive sanskritization of Kharoṣṭhī orthography, leading eventually to the complete substitution of the script with Brāhmī, has been carefully presented by Strauch (2012).⁹⁹ Another way to clearly visualize the progression of Brāhmī and Sanskrit in Gandhāra is through an examination of the inscriptions on Kuṣāṇa coinage. The neatly arranged table in Cribb (2018, 10) shows that the early rulers of the dynasty issued coins in Greek only, or Greek and Gāndhārī; however, Kanīṣka (127– CE), who proudly proclaimed to have had his Greek edicts translated into

⁹⁷ See pp. 29–30, 194ff. on this story.

⁹⁸ The clearest and most extended reference is perhaps 8.24.

⁹⁹ On this general topic see also pp. 139–140.

his “Iranian [=Bactrian] language” (*ariau*, Rabatak inscription, line 3, Sims-Williams 2004, 56) started issues in Bactrian, which remained the norm until the end of the 2nd Century. After that Vāsudeva I (c. 190–230 CE) introduced Brāhmī mint marks. By the time of the second Vāsudeva, who ruled in the last decade of the 3rd Century, Brāhmī had become the general norm, with vestigial accompanying inscriptions in illegible Bactrian that finally vanished in the issues of the last ruler of the dynasty, Kipunadha, in the late 4th Century. As we will see, Kumāralāta fully embraced Sanskrit and its associated modes of literary expression. In his Sanskrit grammar, *Kaumāralāta*, he even attempted to implicitly claim that the ancient—and therefore most venerable—register of the Sanskrit language is not Vedic Sanskrit, but rather the hybrid Sanskrit with Middle Indic elements in which the Buddhist scriptures that were known to him were written.

As we have seen before, as far as Buddhist monumental architecture in Gandhāra is concerned, the initial period of deurbanization between the 3rd and 5th Centuries is not one of decline (Behrendt 2003–2004, ii 8–9), but we should bear in mind that Buddhist monasteries too would typically become large holders of land and of human labor, and this is one of the reasons why Sharma sees a sign of the decline of the urban economy in monumental architecture (1987, 131). In spite of this, the archeological record suggests that the career of the Buddhist religion in Gandhāra was less long and also less firmly rooted than what the splendid artwork that Gandhāran Buddhism left behind might suggest to us. In his life, Kumāralāta may have seen a good deal of political turmoil, but may not have lived to see the final consequences of all the profound social changes described in this section: deurbanization, demonetization, decline in continental trade, sanskritization, general acceptance of the brahmanical paradigm. Nevertheless, it is more than likely that, being the keen observer of society that he was, he sensed them in their development. As such, with its sustained diatribe against the brahmanical establishment and its depiction of the

Buddhist faith as a factor of cohesion within his society, Kumāralāta's *Garland* speaks precisely about anxieties elicited by those, by then, incipient transformations.

2.2. The Text

We have fragments and excerpts of the Sanskrit text for sixty-nine out of the ninety stories of Kumāralāta's *Garland*. The stories which we only have in Chinese version are the following twenty-one: V, XIV, XVII-XVIII, XXIII-XXIV, XXXIII-XXXIV, XLIV, XLVIII, LI-LVI, LXXXI, LXXXIV-LXXXVII, XCVIII-XCIX. This textual material is scattered throughout at least six known manuscripts and long quotations in the narrative collection *Divyāvadāna*. Beyond the Sanskrit text, we have a Tibetan translation of only the initial *maṅgala* and the first story, a complete Chinese translation, and a Tangut translation made from the Chinese but only of the initial scroll of that Chinese version, covering the first three stories. We also have a few quotations from the *Garland* in other works preserved in Tibetan and Chinese. The following sections present and critically consider these various witnesses.

Before we begin this survey, a short note must be made regarding the name of the *Garland*. After almost a century of the publication, in 1926, of Heinrich Lüders' *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṅḍitikā des Kumāralāta*, in which the original title and the attribution of its authorship to Kumāralāta were argued for with abundant evidence, references to the *Garland* as the "Sūtrālaṅkāra of Aśvaghoṣa" are still met with every once in a while,¹⁰⁰ and so a note on the title and attribution of the work may not be superfluous here.

¹⁰⁰ See for example Strong 1989, 31–32.

Lüders (1926, 17–36) concluded on the basis of the colophons of the Kizil manuscript that the main part of the title of the work was *Dr̥ṣṭāntapaṅkti* “Row,” “Series,” or “Garland of Examples.” This core was modified sometimes by the epithet *kalpanāmaṅḍitikā* and sometimes by the epithet *kalpanāmālaṅkṛtikā*, both meaning “adorned (*maṅḍitikā*, *alaṅkṛtikā*) by imagination (*kalpanā*)” (p. 19).¹⁰¹ Further elaboration on the interpretation of the title was provided by Hahn (1982). I have chosen to translate *paṅkti* as “garland” instead of the more generic “row” or “series” because that is how the Tibetan translators and the Chinese tradition understood it.¹⁰² The title of the complete Chinese translation, *Treatise of the Great Ornament* (*Da zhuangyan lun* 大莊嚴論, T201) is perhaps based on the elements *maṅḍitikā* or *alaṅkṛtikā* “adorned” in the Sanskrit title. This is probably a willful interpretation, but it is clear too that it was a deliberate one and not a later addition because the title occurs in the initial *maṅgala*, and there it is referred to as *zhuangyan lun* 莊嚴論 (T4.201.257a15, cfr. Hahn 1982, 321.11 for the Tibetan parallel).

On the other hand, a passage in Yijing’s travel account (T54.2125.228a11–12) attributes a *Treatise on the Ornament [of the Sūtras?]* (*zhuangyan lun* 莊嚴論) to Aśvaghōṣa; Lüders speculated on the contents of this lost work (1926, 29–35) on the basis of a Tocharian work called *Udānālaṅkāra*, and Hanisch (2007) found further confirmation of its existence under the title *Ornament of the Sūtras* (*Mdo sde rgyan*) and of its attribution to Aśvaghōṣa in the Tibetan

¹⁰¹ The semantic range of *kalpanā* is broad, but in the realm of *kāvya* poetry the meaning “imagination” or “poetic fantasy” are well attested.

¹⁰² The Tibetan translation, on which see section 2.2.2 below, is called *Dpe’i phreng ba*, with *phreng* being the Tibetan word for “garland.” Likewise, commenting on Kumāralāta, the Tang exegetes Kuiji 窺基 (632–682 CE) and Puguang 普光 (ca. 645–664 CE) both mention the *Garland* as *yuman lun* 喻鬘論 (T43. 1830.274a12; T41.1821.35c5), with *man* 鬘 being likewise the Chinese word for “garland.” On these two passages see Katō 1979–1980.

translation of Dharmakīrti's *Jātakamālāṭīkā*. The final *coup de grâce* was given by Prabhākaramitra's 波羅頗蜜多羅 translation of Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* into Chinese in 630–633 as *Treatise on the Ornament of the Great Vehicle* (*Dasheng zhuangyan lun* 大乘莊嚴論, T604), which set in stone the equivalence of the phrase *zhuangyan lun* 莊嚴論 with a putative Sanskrit *sūtrālaṃkāra*.

The colophons of the Kizil manuscript assign authorship to “the Taxilan monk, the noble Kumāralāta” (Lüders 1926, 19–20). Sylvain Lévi advocated for the attribution of the *Garland* to Aśvaghōṣa throughout his scholarly career (see Lévi 1896, 1908, 1927, 1929), and after the publication of Lüders' monograph Lévi argued that the *Garland* was nothing but a reworking by Kumāralāta of Aśvaghōṣa's *Sūtrālaṃkāra* (Lévi 1927). This remains a possibility, but in light of what we know now, nothing but perhaps some confusion within the Chinese tradition connects Aśvaghōṣa with the *Garland*.

2.2.1. The Sanskrit Text of the *Garland*

The fragmentary Sanskrit text of the *Garland* was thoroughly surveyed by Heinrich Lüders in his 1926 monograph, but since then no student of Kumāralāta's work has attempted a comprehensive review of the available material, which has grown in small but significant ways since Lüders' time. One important new element to consider is my identification of four new manuscripts of the *Garland* among the Bāmiyān holdings of the Schøyen collection and the National Museum of Afghanistan. I will attempt here to incorporate what is now known into Lüders' original analysis, and attempt to formulate some tentative organizing principles for the extant material, the most significant being my proposal to group the Tarim basin fragments into only three manuscripts, which I will term here by the names of the ancient polities where they were found: Kucha, Khotan,

Turfan, and Bāmiyān. As the reader might glean from my proposed appellations, the manuscripts were all discovered in the Tarim Basin, and this a significant fact on which I will remark at the end of this section.

The Sanskrit text survives only in broken pieces: We have only two complete folios, from the Turfan Manuscript (SHT 638t-u, on which see below). All of the rest contain lacunae, and, more often than not, both margins have disappeared. Furthermore, the Khotan and Turfan manuscripts cover only a tiny portion of the original text with 3 and 15 fragments respectively. The Kucha manuscript, the most significant of the three with 99 identified fragments, covers no more than roughly a tenth of the conjectural Sanskrit original.¹⁰³ I will begin this survey by characterizing the three manuscripts in terms of their physical and paleographical characteristics as well as their contents. I will treat the issue of their findspots separately, coupled with a brief characterization of the codicological environment of those findspots—all three manuscripts were found within ancient deposits of sacred books.

2.2.1.1. The Kucha Manuscript

The Kucha manuscript is the main object of study of Lüders (1926). The manuscript is nowadays preserved in the collection of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin and was excavated from Kizil, in the area of Kucha during the third Prussian expedition to the Tarim Basin.¹⁰⁴ It is written on palm leaves, and Lüders dated it paleographically to between 300 and 350 AD, with a preference for the lower limit (1926, 15); Sander (1968, 131–134) reexamined

¹⁰³ I have reached this approximate number by considering that the Kucha Manuscript contains portions of 66 stories out of a total 90 and that on average the extant portions cover between a fifth and a sixth of a given story.

¹⁰⁴ The manuscript can be viewed online in high-resolution on: <http://idp.bl.uk/>.

the question of the paleographical date of the manuscript and while refuting some of Lüders' arguments expanded the chronological range to the full span of the 4th Century (p. 133) but rejected the dating to the 5th Century by Dani (1963a, 148). According to the now standard terminology developed by Sander for Indian and Central Asian Brahmī, the script of the manuscript is "Gupta-Alphabet h." This makes it a relatively old manuscript for the Kucha area, and also in absolute terms within the context of Indic manuscripts.

The Kucha Manuscript consists of 274 fragments (SHT 21/1–274), of which Lüders edited 113 (SHT 21/1–112). Of these Lüders was able to identify 103 fragments (SHT 21/1–103) that correspond to portions of 60 out of a total of 90 stories of Kumāralāta's collection on the basis of Huber's 1908 French translation of the Chinese version.¹⁰⁵ There remain 161 unedited fragments (SHT 21/113–274), all very small and containing on average between one and two lines of writing and some four to five *akṣaras* per line. Although it is unlikely that any of those fragments can ever be assigned to a corresponding portion in the Chinese translation, the fragments often contain enough to postulate complete words or phrases, which might add to our knowledge of Kumāralāta's lexicon and so I have edited a sample of 24 fragments (SHT 131–141, 161–174) and included it in Appendix 2. Nothing in the more substantial fragments that Lüders was able to identify suggests that the Kucha Manuscript may have been a composite one, and there is a very low likelihood that any tiny bits of text recoverable from the unedited fragments may belong to a different work. Full edition of these fragments remains a strong desideratum.

Regarding the question of which side of the Pamirs the manuscript was written on, i.e. of whether it was written in "India" or in "Serindia," to use two rather imprecise but heuristically

¹⁰⁵ The stories not represented in this manuscript are V, XI-XV, XVII-XIX, XXIII-XXVI, XXXIII-XXXIV, XXXVI, XLIV, XLVIII, LI-LVI, LXXXI, LXXXIV-LXXXVII, LXXXVIII-LXXXIX.

useful geographical labels, Lüders (1926, 12) felt inclined to suggest an origin in northwestern India. The fact that the talipot palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*), whose leaves were used in the ancient Indian world as a physical support for writing, does not grow in the Tarim Basin is not particularly useful: the palm is endemic only to southern India, and therefore we must assume that a vast majority of the palm-leaf manuscripts from the first half of the first millennium CE that we have nowadays must have been written on imported palm-leaf. Indeed, to my knowledge, there is no evidence, paleographical or otherwise, to suppose a south Indian origin for the manuscript remains from northwestern India, and Central Asia on either side of the Pamirs, the only ones we have in Indian languages from this time period. The question itself might be misleading: up to the 5th Century, and often also afterwards, the script of manuscripts written on materials unique to the Tarim Basin (poplar wood, paper) is sometimes indistinguishable from the one known to have been in use in Gangetic India and northwestern India from epigraphic sources. Such is the case of the Subaši Längär *Udānavarga* written on sheets of poplar wood¹⁰⁶ in Kuṣāṇa Brahmī from the 2nd or 3rd Centuries (Sander 2012 [1999], 35). It seems, then, that while certainty about the flow of books from northwestern India to the Tarim Basin might never be reached, the flow of people and in particular scribes seems instead a reasonable possibility.

One of the most outstanding physical characteristics of the Kucha manuscript is that in spite of being a so-called *poṭhī* or *pustaka* in format, it must have been cylindrical in shape. Lüders

¹⁰⁶ Writing on wood is, as far as I know, attested in the ancient Indian context only in the *lipiphalaka* or learner's tablet (on which see Falk 1993, 306). The practice of writing on wooden sheets or boards does have a clear precedent in China, and the format of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Kucha, Niya, and Loulan is clearly modeled on the one of official Han dynasty stationery (Guan 2016, §1). The Subaši Längär *Udānavarga*, one of whose folios can be viewed online in ultra-high resolution on <http://classes.bnf.fr/livre/grand/582.htm>, mimics the *poṭhī* format, and has one hole for passing rope.

(1926, 2) recognized that the initial and final folios are much narrower in height than the middle ones, and the increase in height is gradual: the resulting shape must have been a cylinder or rather a prism whose oval bases would have been the sides, to the right and left of the reader, of the stack of palm leaves. The hypothetical shape of the original manuscript can be visualized as follows in fig. 3:

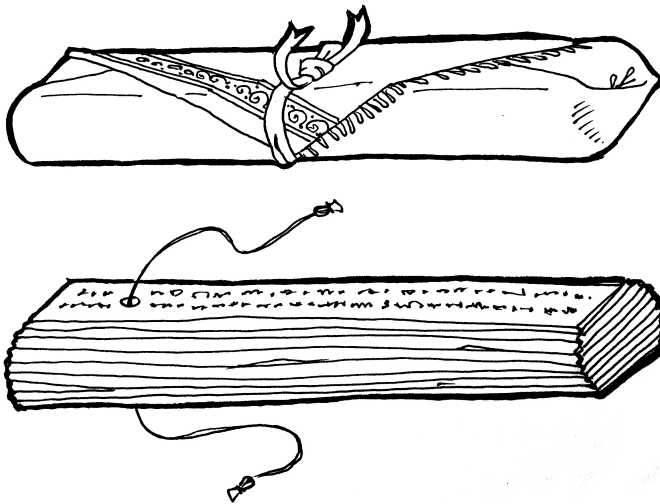


Fig. 3, Recreation of the Kucha manuscript.
(Author's drawing)

This format is otherwise unattested, only perhaps other than in this manuscript in the earlier (2nd Century) *Dramenhandschrift* from Kizil that contains fragments of three plays with Buddhist themes, one of which is is Aśvaghoṣa's *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* (Lüders 1926, 2). I suggest that this unusual format might have been a transitional form that alluded visually to the earlier scroll book-format that we know with certainty to have been in use in the Gandhāra in the first two centuries AD: The Khotan *Dharmapada*, and the manuscripts of the British Library and Senior Collections, all of which must date from the 1st and 2nd Centuries, are birch-bark scrolls, whereas later Kharoṣṭhī documents like the ones from the Schøyen and Pelliot collections are *poṭhīs* written on palm-leaf and either in Sanskrit or

progressively sanskritized Gāndhārī. Furthermore, we know that the Sanskrit word *pustaka*,¹⁰⁷ the most general term for “book” through the history of the language, and whose Hindī derivative *poṭhī* we use as a technical designation for books made of stacks of loose sheets held together by a passing string, does not necessarily designate only this kind of book. For example, the colophons of the Khotan *Dharmapada* and the Gāndhārī *Perfection of Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā)* from the Split collection refer to the book itself, respectively, as *postaka* (Brough 1962, 119), and *postage* (Falk and Karashima 2012, 25).¹⁰⁸ There is also good art historical evidence of the scroll as the dominant book-form in Gandhāra in the very early centuries CE (Baums 2014, §5). Kumāralāta, on the other hand, presumably writing in Taxila around a century after the copying of these two books, uses the Sanskrit word *pustaka* to refer to a book (SHT 21/3 r1). In this particular story, the plot makes clear that *pustaka* here designates a palm-leaf *poṭhī*, as the owner of the book declares his “wanting to abrade the writing in order to use [the book] to have a Vaiśeṣika text written on it” (將欲洗却其字，以用書彼毘世師經 T4.201. 259b13–14)—an act which is, of course, only possible on palm leaf. The Kucha Manuscript seems to be itself a palimpsest (Lüders 1926, 3), and this brings us back to the question of whether the manuscript came from India or was written in the Tarim Basin. Sander (2012 [1999], 35) has suggested the possibility that books

¹⁰⁷ The etymology of the term is still debated. Both Iranian and Dravidian etyma have been put forward, on which see Mayrhofer 1963, s.v., p. 319. If it is of Iranian origin, it might be related with the Iranian word for ‘skin, bark,’ and might then have indicated a scroll in origin.

¹⁰⁸ Two things are interesting to note here regarding this old manuscript. In the first place, the body of the text references books often, but the form in this context is *postao* (5.3, 4, 24, 29, 33). According to Falk and Karashima (2012, 25), text and colophon are by different scribes. In the second, the colophon of the scroll, which must have contained the first five *parivartas* of the *Large Perfection of Wisdom*, is referred to as *paḍhame postage*, the “first book,” and this reference system by scroll and chapter mirrors closely the one that had become dominant in China at the same time.

brought from India to the Tarim Basin may have been erased and that the erased leaves were reused there. Moreover, there is ample evidence from elsewhere that blank stacks of palm leaf were imported as far as China. For example, the 9th Century palm leaf Sanskrit manuscripts in the Mii Temple (*Mii-dera* 三井寺) of Ōmi in Japan were in all likelihood written in China, as the Sanskrit text is interspread with glosses in Chinese throughout (see Van Gulik 1956, 56–57, figs. 1–2, pp. 155–156).

One particularly puzzling single fragment in the Berlin collection (SHT 1015) adds a layer of complexity to our evaluation of the Kucha Manuscript. Sander and Waldschmidt, its editors in the series *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, remark that the scribe is perhaps the very same who wrote the Kucha Manuscript (Waldschmidt et al. 1965–2017, v (1985) §1015, n.1). Moreover, the fragment contains a small portion of a prosimetric text in “*kāvya* style similar to the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā [Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti]*” (n.3), similar to our *Garland*. The recurrence of the poetic form *pṛthivīśvara* ‘lord of the earth (=king)’ in the fragment (a5, b4) might lead one to think that the fragment corresponds to a section from story XIV (“Kaniṣka and the beggars”) in the Chinese translation (T4.201.272.b20–25=Huber 1908, 82. 1–8) where the Chinese compound 地主 *dizhu* ‘lord of the earth’ also recurs; however, as for the remaining words in the fragment, it is not possible to affirm with certainty that the fragment belongs to the *Garland*.¹⁰⁹ The similarity in style, lexicon, and script suggest that if it does not contain a portion of the *Garland*, there is a

¹⁰⁹ *c(e)tasi* ‘in the mind’ in a1 might match *yi* 意 ‘mind’ and if perhaps *rmam* is to be read (*dha*)*rmam* in B3, it may match *fa* 法 ‘law, *dharma*’, but [*sa*]*mghasthavirah* ‘elder of the monastic community’ in b2 points to a plot element completely different from the one of story XIV in the Chinese translation, where the characters involved are only the king Kaniṣka, his minister *Devadharmā and a group of beggars. As, however, the Chinese translation is often not literal, the possibility that a verse of the Sanskrit version was lost in translation should not be ruled out, especially since no other Sanskrit fragment of story XIV is available.

possibility that the fragment represents a lost work by Kumāralāta. Be that as it may, the startling fact is that this fragment was found in the Turfan area (Sander and Waldschmidt in Waldschmidt et al. 1965–2017, v 1), far from Kucha. If indeed this fragment was written by the same scribe as the Kucha Manuscript, then we would have some evidence to postulate a single scribe who worked in the Tarim Basin and either produced several copies of Kumāralāta’s *Garland* or else may have specialized on works in the prosimetric *kāvya* style of our author.

2.2.1.2. The Khotan Manuscript

In chronological order, the Khotan Manuscript comes next. According to Wille in Karashima and Wille 2006–2015, ii 30, n. 52, four extant fragments in the collection of the British Library in London belong together to this manuscript. Three of them (IOL San 761, IOL San 1242, and IOL San 1256) were excavated by Aurel Stein in Khādalik, in the Khotan area, and bear the Stein inventory numbers Kha.i.128 and Kha.i.93a-b that identify them as excavated in shrine I of Khādalik. The fourth fragment (Or.15010/130), which in all likelihood was also excavated from Khādalik, seems to have been procured for Rudolf Hoernle (1841–1918) by his agents in the Tarim Basin (Sims-Williams in Karashima and Wille 2006–2015, II.3 17). There is good evidence to back Wille’s suggestion that the fragments belong together, as they are written in the “Alphabet r” (Early Turkestan Brahmī of the northern branch, on which see Sander 1968, 181–182 and Sander 2005, Table 1), which is extremely rare in the Southern Silk route (Wille 2005, 62). According to Sander (2005, Tables 1 and 2), documents written in “Alphabet r” should be dated between the 5th and 6th Centuries. The manuscript is written on paper, as are almost all the Brahmī manuscripts from the Khotan area. Fragment IOL San 1242 was edited by Wille (2005, 62–64) and Or.15010/130 by Karashima (2006–2015, ii 494–495). IOL San 761 is still unedited, but is

mentioned and tentatively transcribed in Wille (2013, §5.3). IOL San 1256, badly rubbed and torn, has not yet been edited: however, that it belongs with the other three is inferred from the similarities in paper and handwriting rather than from its uncertain content. Wille (2005, 62, n. r3) also mentions one unedited fragment on paper from the Pelliot Collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Pelliot Sanscrit Bleu 9)¹¹⁰ that contains one of the verses in IOL San 1242 apparently as a quotation embedded in an unknown compendium of monastic procedure (*karmavācanā*). According to my own assessment of the paleography of the fragment on the basis of Sander (1968), the Pelliot fragment is closest to “Alphabet u” (North Turkestan Brahmī, type b), that would put this fragment in the 9th Century at the earliest. As for the contents, Or.15010/130 preserves part of story LXIII (“The jeweler, the monk, and the heron”),¹¹¹ whereas IOL San 761 and IOL San 1242 contain portions of story XXVII (“Aśoka in poverty”); the contents of IOL San 1256, as stated above, are unclear and possibly irrecoverable.

2.2.1.3. The Turfan Manuscript

The most recent manuscript, which I will here call the Turfan Manuscript, was known to Lüders and was included in his 1926 monograph on the *Garland*. The manuscript is in the collection of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin and was excavated from a cache in a shrine in Toyoq, the easternmost ancient site in the Turfan oasis, by the third Prussian expedition to the Tarim Basin. It is written on paper and Lüders (1926, 194) dated it

¹¹⁰ Available online on:

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000198r/f17.image.r=pelliot%20sanscrit%20bleu>.

¹¹¹ According to Karashima 2012, 821, n. 14, there is an artistic representation of this story from Gandhāra, described in Foucher 1917.

paleographically to the 9th Century. It contains a total of 13 fragments that cover portions of 13 stories,¹¹² and, as Lüders remarks, it luckily gives us samples of many stories not represented in the Kucha Manuscript. Intriguingly, though, it was a composite manuscript that in addition to the *Garland* included at least part of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* and Mātrceta's *Varṇārhavarṇa* (Lüders 1926, 194–197). Two other fragments, now in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, SI 2Kr/9.4 and SI P/152.2, belong also to the same manuscript according to their modern editor, Hori (2011). The fragments belong, respectively, to the Krotkov and Petrovsky collections, and were presumably acquired in the area of Turfan. SI 2Kr/9.4 contains fragments of story XXX (“The peasant dazzled by city life”) and SI P/152.2 one of story XXXVI (“The teacher and the disciple”). Among the fragments considered here, these Russian fragments are the only ones not publicly available as of 2019, and therefore I have not been able to form an assessment of my own; however, Hori's remarks on the physical and paleographical characteristics of the fragments make a good case for his hypothesis.

2.2.1.4 The Four Bāmiyān Manuscripts

Over the course of the research for this project I identified a number of previously unknown fragments of the Sanskrit text of the *Garland* from the area of Bāmiyān—now Afghanistan, Bactria in antiquity—in the Schøyen collection in Norway on the basis of the photographs made publicly available by the collection management. Upon contacting the curators of the collection I was put in contact with Dr. Gudrun Melzer (Munich), who had independently identified some of the same fragments as I had, as well as others. We are currently preparing an edition of the fragments, that

¹¹² IV, XI-XV, XIX-XX, XXV-XXVI, LXVII-LXX.

will appear in the series *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*. These fragments are important for two main reasons: on the one hand they add to our scanty knowledge of the Sanskrit text of the *Garland*, and on the other they represent the first known manuscripts of the *Garland* from an area outside the Tarim Basin—the other three come from, respectively, Kucha, Khotan, and Turfan. Likewise, they pose a series of problems: unlike the three other known manuscripts, the archeological context of these fragments is unknown. Moreover, one substantial and almost complete folio (Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.45) was returned by the owner of the collection, Martin Schøyen, to the Afghan government,¹¹³ and renewed access to it might be difficult. I have conducted a preliminary assessment of the fragments, which is included in this dissertation as Appendix 3. All the information contained here or in the appendix should be considered as preliminary and tentative.

Below follows my preliminary grouping of the fragments in manuscripts, according to the Schøyen collection shelf numbers and arranged by estimated paleographical age:

I. Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63, Gupta Alphabet Type i. Circa 4th-5th Century. Birchbark stripped of its verso. Contains fragments of story LXIV.

II. Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318+2382.319, Gupta Alphabet Type i. Circa 4th-5th Century. Birchbark stripped of its verso.

Contains fragments of story XLIII. Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63 and Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318–19, both in Sander's Gupta Alphabet Type i might conceivably belong to different scribal hands within the same manuscript, which would bring the manuscript count to three.

¹¹³ Gudrun Melzer, personal communication, February 20, 2019.

III. Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.5, Gupta Alphabet k. Circa 5th Century. Birchbark.

Contains a fragment of story XLIII. This would imply two different manuscripts of the same story, which may have circulated independently. Story XLIII is one of the longest and most elaborate of the collection, and its independent circulation is a distinct possibility.

IV. Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.45, Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type 1. Circa 7th-8th Centuries. Birchbark.

Contains a fragment of stories XII and XIII. This is a much later manuscript than the other three. This manuscript had already been tentatively transcribed by Lévi (1932, no.9)¹¹⁴ but not identified, and was then in the Kabul museum. According to Lévi (1932, 1), the manuscripts were found in Bāmiyān by Joseph Hackin in 1930 in a grotto to the east of the 35 m. monumental Buddha.

According to one of the official publications of the collection (Braarvig and Liland 2010, xx) most of the Bāmiyān holdings come from a single cache discovered by local peasants who were taking shelter from Ṭālibān forces in one of the caves near the famous—and now gone—rock-cut colossal buddhas on the cliff, sometime between 1993 and 1995. The finds seem to have been considerable, and part of them was allegedly destroyed. Four volumes have already been published with editions of the texts, but much remains still to be edited. The manuscripts span between the 2nd and 7th Centuries CE and include documents in the Bactrian, Sanskrit and Gāndhārī languages: the texts are, almost without exception, Buddhist texts. If this picture of affairs is true, the haphazard mixture of languages, genres, and chronological layers would suggest something along the lines

¹¹⁴ I thank Prof. Jens Uwe Hartmann for this information.

of a *genizah*, a Jewish ritual depository of defunct sacred texts.¹¹⁵ Any statements at this point are however premature, and given the lack of proper archeological information regarding the findspot of these manuscripts, gaining new information will be arduous.

2.2.1.5. The archeological context of the findspots of the manuscripts

We may never know the archeological context in which the Bāmiyān fragments in the Schøyen collection were found, and the current situation in Afghanistan suggests that some time will have to pass before Bāmiyān, however shorn of its colossal buddhas, will be open again for archeological research. The situation is somewhat different for the three Tarim basin manuscripts, whose archeological context is better known, all found in beautifully decorated religious buildings: the Kucha Manuscript in an annex of the lavish “chamber of the red dome” (*Rotkuppelraum*) in Kizil (Le Coq 1926, 115),¹¹⁶ the Khotan Manuscript in the stuccoed and frescoed shrine I of Khādalik (Stein 1921, i. 156), and the Turfan manuscript in a small but carefully built and domed building in Toyoq that Le Coq identified as a monastic cell (1909, 1048). Moreover, as disparate as they are in chronological terms, the three manuscripts seem to have been part of deliberate deposits of sacred books. The evidence we have for such ancient book deposits point in different and occasionally divergent directions: whereas Grünwedel was quick to term the book cache at Kizil “a library” (*Bibliothek*, Grünwedel 1912, 86), Schopen (2004, 51) has presented textual evidence that suggests that monasteries may have lacked a specifically designated space for books, at least in the northwestern Indian setting of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*. Regarding the British

¹¹⁵ Perhaps the best known, most studied, and most emblematic *genizah* is the Cairo *genizah*, comprehensively presented in Goitein 1967–1993 i 1–29.

¹¹⁶ See however Ching (2015), who argues that the manuscripts were not found in the “chamber of the red dome” but instead in a neighboring grotto.

Library scrolls, Salomon (1999, 81–84) has proposed that they were ritually buried texts no longer usable (the “*genizah*” hypothesis), but that the Senior scrolls were commissioned specifically to become relics, and buried fresh from the hand of the scribe (2009, 29). Strauch (2014, 806–807) has pointed out that small manuscripts have been found in “hands of Buddha statues, in holes in the walls” as “apotropaic amulets” while, contrary to earlier speculation that the Gilgit texts may have been ritually buried inside a *stūpa*, Fussman (2005a) has argued that there was no book cache in the first place, and that perhaps what happened was only that a roof fell on top of what may have been a cross between between a library, a scriptorium, living quarters, and a shrine for a small contingent of ritual specialists.¹¹⁷ Outside of India, and with regard to the Egyptian site of Oxyrhynchos, Luijendijk (2010) has persuasively argued that many presumably Christian owners of sacred Christian texts were willing to discard them in the dumpster when, for whatever reason, they had become unusable or obsolete, and did so being so in spite of the abundant literary and artistic evidence that points to the fact that at least normatively biblical manuscripts held a sacred status (p. 218). Obviously, the scenarios described above do not necessarily exclude each other, and, as such, the question that here interests me is: in what way and to what extent do texts found together belong together.

According to Stein’s description, Shrine I in Khādalik seems to be a place eminently unsuitable for storing books: The fragments were found scattered throughout a complex made of three concentric circumambulation paths around a central shrine (1921, i. 156) and the general disarray of the site was exacerbated by the fact that the beautifully frescoed and stuccoed walls may have been torn to extract the wooden beams sometime in the 8th Century (1921, i. 157). Other

¹¹⁷ Schopen (2009, 189–219), while generally agreeing with Fussman in that the room was not the inner chamber of a *stūpa*, argues against Fussman’s theory of the ritual function of the space.

than the Khotan Manuscript of the *Garland*, shrine I in Khādalik yielded mostly single folios of the Mahāyāna *sūtras* favored in Khotan, both in Sanskrit and Khotanese (on which see Hoernle 1908, 1430–1440).¹¹⁸ Other than the manuscript of the *Garland* considered here, two significant texts from this site that do not fit the general characterization of “Mahāyāna *sūtra*” are an otherwise unknown Sanskrit *Buddhacarita* in *kāvya* style (Kha.i.183=IOL San 1123–124, 1233–234) and Triratnadāsa’s poetic panegyric of the Buddha, the *Guṇaparyantastotra* (Kha.i.199.b=IOL San 1387). Shrine I in Khādalik was the source of copious amounts of manuscript remains: 2497 fragments in all. Stein understood these scattered book remains to have been originally votive offerings (1921, i 163), and that might indeed be the case for this specific site.¹¹⁹

The shrine in Toyoq that yielded the Turfan Manuscript contained an amazing array of texts, wildly varied in their languages (Syriac, Sogdian, Old Turkic, Chinese, Sanskrit) and religious affiliations (Buddhist, Christian, Manichaeism, Traditional Turkic Shamanism) (Le Coq 1909, 1048–49). Most of the dated documents in Chinese are from the 8th Century (Le Coq, *ibidem*). A multilingual, pluriconfessional *genizah* of sorts seems a likely explanation, as a conjectural community able to make use of such a wide array of texts seems unlikely. Once again, however, a comprehensive characterization of the Toyoq shrine manuscript finds remains a strong desideratum.

¹¹⁸ As far as I know, no attempt has been made since Hoernle to systematically characterize the manuscript finds from Khādalik, for which we have the rare privilege of Stein’s detailed archeological annotation, considerably obscured by the Library’s internal nomenclature.

¹¹⁹ For a brief discussion on manuscripts as votive offerings in China and Central Asia see Galambos and van Schaik 2012, 19 and Hartmann 2009, 102–103 with regard to Bāmiyān.

In the case of the *Rotkuppelraum* in Kizil, the situation seems to be somewhat different. The findspots of manuscripts in the *Rotkuppelraum* complex are apparently two: one is a cache of books in a square hole (the “library” or *Bibliothek*) and the second a “pile of rubble” (*Schutthalde*), and both were excavated during the third and fourth Prussian expeditions to the Tarim Basin. Although the documentation on the Prussian expeditions is copious, the portion relating to the archeological context of the manuscript finds in the *Rotkuppelraum* is very faulty and often contradictory. In Sander’s words, “the question of where were the specific manuscripts found [i.e. whether in the “library” or in the “pile of rubble”] cannot be elucidated with certainty” (*[m]it Sicherheit läßt sich die Frage, wo die jeweiligen Handschriften gefunden wurden, nicht klären*, 1968, 11). Nevertheless, von Le Coq, writing on the excavations of the “pile of rubble” during the fourth expedition makes clear (1928, 58) that this findspot yielded few manuscript fragments. It seems possible, then, that the majority of the manuscript finds from the *Rotkuppelraum* were united in the book cache.

The earliest manuscripts in the *Rotkuppelraum* are palm-leaf manuscripts in 2nd Century Kuṣāṇa Brahmī like the one of Aśvaghōṣa’s play *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* (SHT 57), whereas the later ones may be Tocharian and Sanskrit documents on paper from the 6th or 7th centuries.¹²⁰ Many of the texts represented in the *Rotkuppelraum* were preserved in sets of several folios, in contrast to the typical piecemeal quality of the Khādalik finds discussed above. Although the vast majority of the texts of the *Rotkuppelraum* can be said to be of Buddhist affiliation, an interesting feature of

¹²⁰ This is my own assessment. As for the other two sites mentioned in this discussion (Khādalik and Toyoq) a comprehensive characterization of the *Rotkuppelraum* in terms of the contents and nature of the texts found there has not been attempted yet as far as I know.

the corpus is the relative scarcity of *sūtra* and *vinaya* material,¹²¹ most strikingly in the earliest strata as noted by Sander (2012 [1999], 36)—*abhidharma* treatises (e.g. SHT 15) and other technical literature (e.g. medical, astronomical) being actually much better represented. On the other hand, several genres of *belles lettres* are represented: drama (SHT 57), Kumāralāta’s prosimetric *kāvya*, the *Garland*, but also other collections in the same mixed style (SHT 26, 37), and also poetic commentaries on *sūtras* (SHT 34),¹²² Mātṛceta’s ornate *stotras* (SHT 27), and the austere gnomic verse of the canonical *Udānavarga* (which is represented in more copies than any other text in the corpus) and of the *Anavataptagāthā*. Technical genres ancillary to the *belles lettres* are also well represented: The corpus contains fragments of metrical lexica in the manner of Amarasimha (SHT 1221), of Kumāralāta’s own grammar *Kaumāralāta* (e.g. SHT 22) and of its derivative grammar *Kātantra* (SHT 64), Sanskrit declension tables (SHT 849), and a treatise on prosody, the *Chandovicīti* (SHT 654). The Tocharian documents show a similar trend, and contain verse in imitation of Indian *kāvya* as well as a well-crafted narrative commentary to the *Udānavarga*, titled with the Sanskrit appellation *Udānālaṃkāra* ‘Ornament of the Utterances,’ on whose resemblance to the style and the conjectural title *Sūtrālaṃkāra* of Kumāralāta’s collection¹²³ Lüders commented at length (1926, 29–34).

¹²¹ The *vinaya* genre is overwhelmingly represented by *Prātimokṣasūtras*.

¹²² This manuscript contains also a panegyric of Aśvaghōṣa, who is said to be a ‘maker of the day (=sun)’ (*āryāśvaghōṣadinakṛt-*) in r1 and an ‘depository of waters (=ocean)’ (*āryāśvaghōṣodadhim*) in r3; perhaps also a ‘lord of rays (=sun) of poetry’ (*kāvvyakiraṇa(pati?)*) (see Lüders 1926, 33).

¹²³ Let us remember, though, that the alternative title *Kalpanālaṃkārikā* [*Drṣṭāntapankti*] is however attested in SHT 21/70 r3.

The pronounced highbrow character of the *Rotkuppelraum* corpus is not unique within the area of Kucha. For example, the so-called ‘manuscript hole’ (*Handschriftenhöhle*) in Šorčuq contains a comparable proportion of sophisticated Sanskrit literary texts, like Āsvaghoṣa’s two poems *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda*. Regarding the use that the inhabitants of Kucha may have had for elegant Sanskrit literature in the early centuries AD, Sander (2012 [1999], 35–36) has suggested that these books may have been in the possession of “missionaries” who “carried in their baggage texts that might appeal to the minds and hearts of the educated people, mainly the nobility.” Sander’s suggestion that the books of the *Rotkuppelraum* may have been at some point the library of missionaries with a clear cultural agenda brings to mind the composition of, say, the libraries of Jesuit colleges in the early times of the order. Similar to Sander’s hypothesized Buddhist missionaries, we know that the Jesuits did cater to the local elites of those places where they went. According to Connolly’s survey (1960), the typical missionary Jesuit library in the 17th century was only marginally composed of canonical, theological and strictly religious books, but was instead heavily focused on Classical Latin and Greek literature, as well as on the grammar and lexicography of those languages (pp. 250–252). The roster of classical authors in these libraries was headed by Cicero, who must undoubtedly have served as a language and composition model, but it also included authors like Plautus, whose archaic and often *risqué* comedic style must have had only a purely literary interest. These Jesuit libraries were meant for the use of professionals, on which Connolly remarks that “the bias of the collections was toward supporting a faculty concerned almost exclusively with a course governed by the humanistically inspired interest in the Latin and Greek classics” (p. 252). Further on, he also says:

The common [Jesuit] library was not an open library.¹²⁴ It was locked and accessible only to those to whom the Rector gave the keys. To what extent this official restricted members of his community is very difficult to say with certainty. Students, however, whether lay or clerical, were expected to concentrate almost exclusively on the lectures they heard or upon the particular text with which they were occupied. (p. 245)

I deem it possible that the manuscripts of the *Rotkuppelraum* may have been used and regarded in a similar manner. In particular, it seems clear that both as an author and a grammarian, Kumāralāta must have been regarded as an authority and model on language and style. Another interesting point that seems to connect Kumāralāta with the *Rotkuppelraum* is that a painting said by Lüders to be an artistic rendering of story XX of the *Garland* (“The prostitute and the preacher”) decorated its walls (Lüders 1926, 33, von Le Coq 1928, 226, fig. 28, and also fig. 1 above).

2.2.1.6. The geographical distribution of the manuscript findspots

I will conclude this section with a few brief remarks on the geographic distribution of the *Garland* manuscripts. Three were found in the Tarim basin, evenly distributed throughout it in spatial and temporal terms: Kucha, Khotan, and Turfan are three of the most prosperous cultural districts of the area and, as we saw, the earliest manuscript (Kucha) has been generally ascribed to the 4th Century, while the most recent (Turfan) to the 9th or later. These facts witness to the considerable diffusion and popularity of the text, but only in this region.

¹²⁴ On the non-circulation of the books of the monastery in the context of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* see Schopen 2004, 51.

The new manuscripts from Bāmiyān that I have identified alter significantly the picture of the ancient diffusion of the *Garland* by extending it to Bactria. That the two places connected with Kumāralāta’s life, Taxila and Taškurgān, are located midway between Bactria and the Tarim basin, lend corroboration to the narrative of Kumāralāta’s life and place that we have proposed. It is possible that throughout his career Kumāralāta may have looked for audience beyond his own Gandhāran and Indic background; as we saw (2.1.1. pp. 45–46), at least one source attributes to him a sojourn in Gangetic India, which he mentions abundantly in the *Garland*; his references to China (story XLV) and to the Roman Orient (story XC) point to a willingness to engage with an international context that is rare in Indian literature.

However, while the findspots of the manuscripts of the *Garland* testify to its diffusion in the former area of influence of the Kuṣāṇa empire, this should not be interpreted as a diffusion to the exclusion of the larger Indian context. If we believe Lüders (1926, 71–132) in his hypothesis that the stories related to Aśoka in Kumāralāta’s work are the source of the “Aśoka cycle” found in later compilations like the *Divyāvadāna*, we would have evidence of a more general, pan-Indic diffusion of Kumāralāta’s work. The same would follow from the observation that later writers like Āryaśūra, Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta at points seem to mimic Kumāralāta’s lexical *trouvailles*; at least for Āryaśūra we have a biographical tradition to the effect that he was from the Deccan (Khoroché 1989, xi).

The following map (fig. 4) shows the findspots of the manuscripts of the *Garland* (Kucha, Turfan, Khotan, Bāmiyān) together with the places connected to his life (Taxila, Taškurgān):

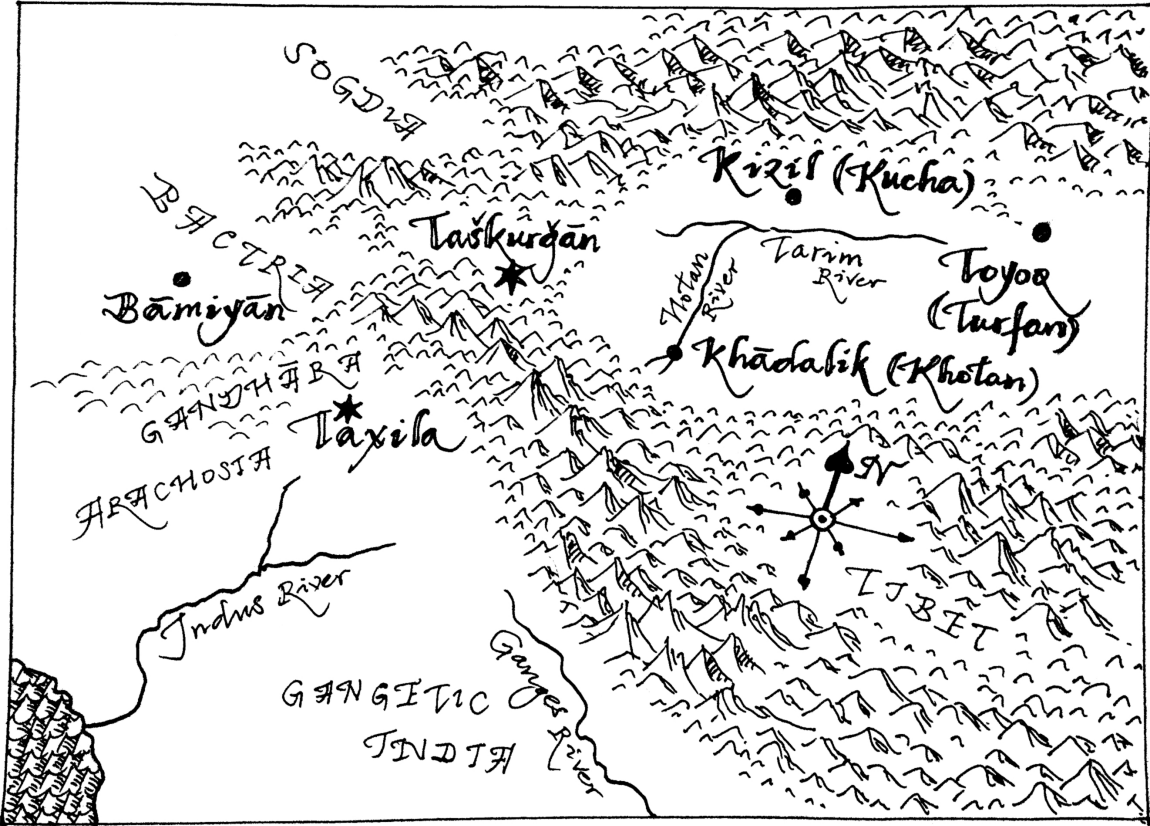


Fig. 4, Findspots of the manuscripts of the *Garland* and places connected with Kumāralāta's life (Author's drawing).

2.2.1.7. Borrowings in the *Divyāvadāna* and the various versions of the Legend of Aśoka

The publication of the edition of the Sanskrit narrative collection *Divyāvadāna* by Cowell and Neil in 1886 was an influential event in the modern study of ancient India. Scholars were quick to appreciate the wealth of social and historical information conveyed by the elaborate narratives of this collection. In spite of widespread affection for the collection, an already old line of critical enquiry has suggested that the *Divyāvadāna* is a compilation of earlier material. There are, for example, good grounds to make a case for the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* being a major source for the *Divyāvadāna* (Lévi 1907; Hiraoka 1998; 2011); Klaus (1983) and Hahn (2007, 1043) have also

postulated that the *Maitrakanyakāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* comes originally from the *Jātakamālā* of Gopadatta. As Rotman points out, some parts of the order of the text that we see in the extant compilations could be as old as the 5th or 6th Centuries of the Gilgit fragments that contain it (Rotman 2008, 16), but that the *Divyāvadāna* is indeed a compilation of earlier material and not an original composition seems more and more clear from recent research.

Huber (1904) noticed that three of the narratives of the *Garland*, XVI, XXVII, and LIV recur in the *Divyāvadāna*: the three are stories that belong in the narrative cycle of Aśoka and Upagupta. The discovery and edition of the Kizil manuscript of the *Garland* confirmed that in fact the wording of the Sanskrit text of the *Garland*, fragmentary as it is in these parallels, matches the *Divyāvadāna*. Although Lévi (1907, 106) had already suggested that the *Garland* could be one of the sources of the *Divyāvadāna*, Lüders (1926, 71–132) made a case for the *Garland* being one of the two sources that he identified as being at the base not only of the Aśoka and Upagupta cycle in the *Divyāvadāna*, but also of the Chinese versions of the legend of Aśoka, the “Life of Aśoka” (*Ayu wang zhuan* 阿育王傳, T2042) translated in the 4th Century, and the “Scripture of Aśoka” (*Ayu wang jing* 阿育王經, T2043), translated a century later. Since his arguments have found little echo in the more recent scholarly conversation,¹²⁵ they can be fruitfully rehearsed here.

Lüders’ treatment of the relationships among these texts is very meticulous and highly technical: the case that he makes for the priority of the *Garland* is built upon a finely spun web of comparisons of the wording and structure of parallel passages. As such, his discussion is difficult to abridge or summarize, and it is best illustrated by presenting his view on a few select passages.

¹²⁵ Neither Strong in his monograph on the legend of Aśoka (1989) or on the one on the legend of Upagupta (1992), nor Rotman in his 2008 partial English translation of the *Divyāvadāna* as much as mention Lüders’ theories regarding the derivation of the cycle of Aśoka and Upagupta from Kumāralāta’s *Garland*.

A good story to illustrate the complex relationships between these texts is the one on the death of king Aśoka in poverty, XXVII in the *Garland* and XXIX in the *Divyāvadāna*. To start with, the text of the *Garland* as preserved in Chinese and, fragmentarily, in Sanskrit, represents only the core of the other versions.

In all versions the story deals with the last days of Aśoka. In the *Garland* the narrative starts with the king becoming aware of his impending death. Wanting to give whatever he has left to the Buddhist order, he asks his ministers for the balance of his wealth and is told that he has left only half a myrobalan fruit. This initial scene is preceded, though, in the other texts, by an earlier scene in which Aśoka sets about to compete in munificence with the legendary donor Anāthapiṇḍada. After learning that his wealth has been reduced to half a myrobalan, Aśoka asks his ministers who is the ruler of Jambudvīpa. What follows shows interesting divergencies in the various versions:

Garland:

諸臣答言：唯有大王威德所領，遍閻浮提言教得行。王說偈言。

(T4.201.283b2–4)

The ministers answered: “There is only the authority of what the king commands; in all Jambudvīpa what you instruct must be followed.” Then the king said...

Life:

諸臣答言：唯王為主。王言。

(T50.2042.110c10)

The ministers answered: “The king alone is lord.” Then the king said...

Scripture:

大臣起而作禮合掌說言。唯天為主。更無異人。時阿育王淚落如雨而說偈言。

(T50.2043.148a25–27)

The ministers rose and performed obeisance with cupped hands, saying: “Only Your Highness¹²⁶ is lord, no other man is.” Then king Aśoka shed tears like rain, and said in *gāthās*

Divyāvadāna:

*tato 'mātya utthāyāsanād yena rājā aśokas tenāñjalim praṇamyovāca |
deva pṛthivyām īśvaraḥ |*

atha rājā aśokaḥ sāśrudurdinanayanavadano 'mātyān uvāca

Then the minister rose from his seat and having bowed with cupped hands towards where king Aśoka was, said: “Your majesty is the lord on earth.”

Then king Aśoka said to the ministers (sic), his eyes and face looking sad because of the tears.

(Cowell and Neill 1886, 430.28–431.2)

This passage highlights that the *Garland* and the *Life* share a shorter narrative against the fuller one in the *Scripture* and the *Divyāvadāna* (the minister[s] bow with cupped hands; Aśoka cries). Lüders postulates on the basis of examples such as this that the Indic original of the *Scripture* is the source of the Aśoka cycle in the *Divyāvadāna*.

After learning the dismal balance of his assets and pondering bitterly on the transience of wealth and power, Aśoka does something that in the text is only obliquely worded, but which

¹²⁶ *Tian* 天 here stands in all likelihood for Indic *deva*, literally ‘god’, but often used as a high honorific quasi-pronominal (“Your Highness” etc.).

Lüders (1926, 108) takes as a deathbed monastic initiation: “after having had his hair shaved, [the king] he wore a dirty cloth, unevenly cut” (剃髮時過, 著垢膩衣參差不整, T4.201.284a3, 5.2, *kālātītaśmaśrur ākulavilambaveṣṭanaḥ*, IOL San 761, Wille 2005, §68 r4). Finally, the king orders that the halved myrobalan be given to the Buddhist monastic community.

The version of the *Garland* ends with the Elder of the Assembly (*saṃghasthavīra*) remarking on that last gift of Aśoka. But the other versions remove this last speech and instead have a brusque shift: right before dying Aśoka gifts the entire earth to the Buddhist monastic assembly. Now, this is in open contradiction with the narrative of the *Garland*, because there it is emphasized again and again how the halved myrobalan was the last gift of the king (Lüders 1926, 108). Lüders concludes his examination of this story with an aesthetic appreciation regarding the two traditions on the last gift of Aśoka that come together in this cluster of texts, and with which we cannot but agree:

It is clear that the legend of Aśoka’s last gift consisted of two quite different versions. One, whose oldest literary version available to us is in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, is the touching story of the transience of earthly power: deprived of his wealth by his subordinates, the great Aśoka has only half a myrobalan left in his last hour to give to the order. The other version, which results when we remove the narrative of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* out of the text of the *Divyāvadāna*, is more banal, geared towards glorifying the generosity of the king for the emulation of coming generations.

(Lüders 1926, 108–109)¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Es zeigt sich deutlich, daß die Legende von Aśokas letzter Gabe in zwei recht verschiedenen Versionen bestand. Die eine, deren älteste literarische Fassung uns in der *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* vorliegt, ist die rührende

2.2.2. The Tibetan Version

A small portion of Kumāralāta’s *Garland*—only the initial *maṅgala* and the first story—are extant in a Tibetan translation, first noted in contemporary scholarship by Lévi (1929, 71–80) and for which Hahn (1982) later produced a critical edition on the basis of four witnesses. The Tibetan version is called *Dpe’i phreng ba* “Garland of Examples,” and this seems to be a fairly accurate rendering of the Sanskrit title as restored by Lüders, [*Kalpanāmaṅḍitikā/Kalpanālamḥṛtikā*] *Dr̥ṣṭāntapaṅkti*. The Sanskrit title *Dr̥ṣṭāntamālya* given in this Tibetan version is very probably a mechanical backtranslation made by later editors without access to the Sanskrit text. The translation is included in the main Tibetan collections of Buddhist scriptures, under the section *Spring yig*, “Epistles,” in the Chone and Derge Tanjurs and under the section *Gtam Yig*, “Sermons and epistles,” in the Narthang and Peking Tanjurs, whereas the Tog Palace and Ulan Bator Kanjurs include it under the section *Mdo sde*, “Sūtra.”¹²⁸ The reason for its inclusion in the epistolary sections of some of the collections mentioned above seems to obey to a historical trend to expunge narrative and poetic literature out of the Kanjur, especially in the collections belonging to the “Tshal pa group” that includes the first four in the previous enumeration (Chen 2018, 119). The colophon, which is present in all versions, reads in Hahn’s edition as follows:

Geschichte von der Vergänglichkeit irdischer Macht: Durch seine Untergebenen der Verfügung über seine Reichtümer beraubt, besitzt der große Aśoka in seiner Sterbestunde nur noch eine halbe Myrobalane, die er dem Orden schenken kann. Die andere Version, die sich ergibt, wenn wir die Erzählung der Kalpanāmaṅḍitikā wieder aus dem Texte des Divyāvadāna herauslösen, ist nüchterner, mehr ersonnen, um die Freigebigkeit des Königs zur Nacheiferung für kommende Geschlechter zu verherrlichen [...]

¹²⁸ The four witnesses used in Hahn 1982 are the following: Chone, *Spring yig*, Ñe, 143a6–146a.1; Derge, *Spring yig*, Ñe, 143a6–146a2; Narthang, *Gtam yig*, Ñe, 396a6–399b2, Peking, *Gtam yig*, Ñe, 415b5–419b6. To these we could add Tog, *Mdo sde*, Chi, 383b3–387a6 (Skorupski 1985, 161, §312) and the Ulan Bator manuscript (Bethlenfalvy 1982, §358).

*rgya gar gyi mkhan po dharmasrībhadra dang lotshaba bande tshul khrims
yon tan gyis bsgyur cing dge slong rin chen bzang pos bcos nas zhus te gtan la
phab pa*

(Hahn 1982, 327)

Translated by the Indian master Dharmasrībhadra and the translator and monk Tshul khrims yon tan; the monk Rin chen bzang reviewed it, corrected it, and brought it to its final form.

As Hahn notes (1982, 311), the only well-known figure in the trio is Rin chen bzang po (958–1055) a charismatic monastic teacher and key figure of the so-called “Tibetan Renaissance.” According to Hahn, Rin chen bzang po’s role would have been to “review, correct, and bring to its final form” (*hat [...]durchgesehen und korrigiert und in die endgültige Fassung gebracht*, Hahn 1982, 334) the earlier translation of the Indian master Dharmasrībhadra and his Tibetan associate Tshul khrims yon tan. On whether this Dharmasrībhadra is the same person who is mentioned in connection with the translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* in the 8th or 9th Century, Hahn refrains from making a definite pronouncement (1982, 311). It seems then that, allowing for some time between the original translation and Rin chen bzang po’s editorial intervention, the *Dpe’i phreng ba* can be tentatively dated to somewhere between the 8th and early 11th Centuries.

The closing title that precedes the colophon is not the initial *Dpe’i phreng ba* but, instead, the following text: *sangs rgyas mchog gi dpe ste dang po rdzogs so*, which Hahn ingeniously understands as “the first example/parable [which illustrates] that the Buddha is superior [to brahmanical deities] ends [here]” (*[d]as erste Beispiel, [welches illustriert], dass der Buddha vorzüglich[er als die brahmanischen Gottenheiten] ist, ist beendet*, 1982, 334). Now, we know that the Sanskrit text of the *Garland* as preserved in the Kizil Manuscript contained the titles of

the stories, but did not attach them to the beginning or end of each story. Rather, they were given under versified “tables of contents”—generally termed *uddāna* but branded as *saṃgraha* by Kumāralāta—that occurred at the end of each decade (Lüders 1926, 37–38, see SHT 21/38 r3, SHT 21/70 r2). The relationship between the initial and final titles is problematic because it seems to contradict what we know about the Sanskrit text, namely that the titles were not given at the end of each story. Additional information that we can gather from other sources seems to only heighten this uncertainty. The *Dpe'i phreng ba* appears listed in the catalogue *Bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyu dkar chag*, which another famous figure in Tibetan Buddhism, Bu ston (1290–1364), wrote in 1355 on the occasion of his revision of the Old Narthang Kanjur.¹²⁹ The wording of the relevant entry is somewhat disconcerting:

*dpe'i phreng ba las sangs rgyas kyi dpe'i phreng ba tshul khriims yon tan dang
rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur* (Nishioka 1981, 63)

The garland of examples of the Buddha from the garland of examples,
translated by Tshul khriims yon tan and Rin chen bzang po.

Textual corruption is a distinct possibility here: if the second *dpe* was at some point filled to *dpe'i phreng ba* by analogy, we would have what we expect: “The ‘Example of the Buddha’ from the *Garland of Examples*, translated by...” As it stands, however, the passage does not afford us a clear sense of whether Bu ston knew that the text was a partial translation of a larger text.

As referenced in the sources considered so far, namely the colophon to the translation itself and Bu ston’s catalogue entry, the text has no indication of authorship. As we have seen before, Kumāralāta’s authorship of the *Garland* was a fact that was largely lost to the later tradition, a fact

¹²⁹ See Chen 2018, 120.

clearly illustrated by the traditional attribution of the *Garland* to Aśvaghōṣa in China.¹³⁰ Kumāralāta’s Sanskrit grammar *Kaumāralāta* is, as far as we can tell, extensively rehashed in the *Kātantra* of Durgasiṃha, but never mentioned in later sources, whereas the quotations that the Chinese tradition attributes to Kumāralāta seem to stem from lost scholastic works. This pattern is similar to that of Aśvaghōṣa’s own posthumous fame wherein there is a strong contrast between the oblivion that fell upon his authentic works and the wealth of apocryphal doctrinal works attributed to him in China and Tibet, with the *Buddhacarita* perhaps being spared because out of all the Indic versions of the life of the Buddha it was the one that came closest to an East Asian notion of a biography. In another relatively early Tibetan bibliographical compendium, the *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi ’od* by the scholar monk Bcom ldan rig pa’i ral gri (1227–1305) we find for the *Dpe’i phreng ba* an entry that adjusts much better to our expectations:

btsun pa gzhon nu legs gyi byas pa’i dpe’i phreng ba le’u brgya drug bcu rtsa drug pa las | le’u dang po sangs rgyas kyi dpe brjod (Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009, 206, §22–179)

The first chapter (*le’u*), the exemplary narrative (*dpe brjod*) of the Buddha, from the *Garland of Examples* in one hundred and sixty-six chapters made by the venerable *Kumāralāta.¹³¹

The mention of a collection “in one hundred and sixty-six chapters” (*le’u brgya drug bcu rtsa drug pa*) instead of the ninety in the extant Sanskrit text and in the complete Chinese translation is startling; however, as we will see below, this piece of information probably reflects

¹³⁰ See 2.1.1.

¹³¹ That is, taking *legs* “good” for a corruption or modification of *len* “taken”: *Gzhon nu len* is the usual Tibetan rendering of Kumāralāta, based on the etymological analysis of the name. See on the issue of the name p. 37.

a far-reaching misunderstanding of an earlier source on the part of Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri. For the moment, let us remark that Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri's testimony makes clear that at least some in Tibet knew that the *Dpe'i phreng ba* consisted of a partial translation of a work by Kumāralāta.

The first story contained in the *Garland* is particularly significant and elaborate, and so it is not impossible that it could have circulated independently, and that the Tibetan *Dpe'i phreng ba* was based on such an excerpt, but again the titles under which the story is referred to—*sangs rgyas mchog* “the superiority of the Buddha” in the colophon and only *sangs rgyas* “the Buddha” elsewhere—along with the clear information provided by Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri, suggest that the translation was made with the awareness that it was a portion of a larger work. Given the scarcity of information that we have, it is difficult to speculate on what may have led the translation team to either undertake the translation of only a small portion of the work or to leave it aside just barely started. Yet another possibility might be that although a complete translation was produced, the larger part of it was somehow lost, although again the discrepancy between the initial and final titles of the *Dpe'i phreng ba* speaks against this possibility. Narrative literature like the *Garland* must have been a low priority for the Tibetan translation bureaus, and it should perhaps be borne in mind that we know the Sanskrit text of the *Garland* only from fragments of relatively old manuscripts—the 9th century Turfan manuscript being an outlier—and that this might be indicative of the fact that Kumāralāta's work seems to have been only marginally transmitted to posterity in the Indian world. Somehow, for reasons that we still cannot fully apprehend, his stories, unlike some of those of his literary imitators like Āryaśūra, seem to have failed to say much to later generations. In the Tibetan case, the text seems to have been hardly influential at all.

Like most Tibetan translations from the Sanskrit, the *Dpe'i phreng ba* is much more literal in its rendering of the Indic text than most Chinese translations, and, for the investigation at hand,

its value resides in that it allows us to glimpse the *kāvya* style of the *Garland* in a complete story, albeit not in its original language.

2.2.2.1. A quotation of the *Garland* in the Tibetan Translation of Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyāṭīkopyikā*

The Japanese scholar Honjō Yoshifumi 本庄良文 (1983) was the first to notice an explicit quotation from the *Garland* in the midst of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyāṭīkopyikā* by the monk Śamathadeva.¹³² The *upayikā* is a voluminous ancillary guidebook for the study of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* that includes a vast web of quotations from canonical and non-canonical [Mūla]sarvāstivādin texts. The quotation occurs in the context of a narrative in which the Buddha tests Śāriputra by asking him to detect the past merits of a candidate for monastic initiation. Śāriputra fails to detect any, and so the Buddha is made to say to the initiand:

ngas ni 'di yis thar pa yi
sa bon shin tu phra ba dag
'byung khung rdo yi gseb na gser
bag la zha ba lta bur gzigs
bsam gtan shes rab bdag nyid dros
gnyis kyis thar pa thob nas ni
rang gi bya ba khyod kyis ni
mngon du de yis thob par 'gyur

¹³² According to Skilling (1998, 143, n.13), “nothing is known about the date of Śamathadeva,” and so he could be placed anywhere between the composition of the *Abhidharmakośa* in the 4th or 5th Century and the Tibetan translation in the 9th Century.

spros pa thob kyang las 'di la
'bras bu rtsom pa me par min
rdo yi nang du gnas pa'i gser
ma bzhus 'byung bar mi 'gyur ro
zhes bcom ldan 'das kyis rab tu byung nas nyin zhag de la dgra bcom pa thob
ces rgyas par ji ltar btsun pa gzhon nu len gyis dpe'i phreng ba las drug pa dang
bcu pa'i drug pa las stag gi 'jigs pa'i dpe las las bshad do

(Derge, *Mngon*, Ju, 5b9–6a2)

“That his seeds of liberation

Are extremely subtle

As in the midst of ore

Gold lies hidden, that is what I see.

I have myself warmed up concentration and wisdom.

Attaining liberation,

I did my work. You

Through those will attain it [too].

Although [your] former deeds have become active,

They are not without the germs of fruit.

The gold inside the ore

Will not appear if not smelted.’

The Blessed One having set him forth with such words, in one day and its evening he attained the state of an *arhat*” as narrated in elaborate fashion (*rgyas*

par) by the venerable Kumāralāta in the “Example of the Fear of the Tiger,” the sixth [example] of the sixth decade of the *Garland of Examples*.

In general, this quotation, as well as the information that accompanies it, conforms well with the rest of what we know: The two exceptions are the number of the story and the brief portion of text between the end of the verses and the quotation particle *ces*. Moreover, some parts of this passage seem opaque in meaning. We will address both in brief but we might first focus for a moment on the points of agreement the text shares with the other sources.

Miraculously, the title of a story that matches the one given in this quotation is preserved in one of the remaining metrical tables of contents in the Kizil manuscript: SHT 21/70r2 has *vyāghrabh[ayah]* “Fear of the tiger.” This, as Lüders notes (1926, 38), is in all likelihood a reference to an episode at the end of story LVII in the Sanskrit and Chinese versions wherein Śāriputra fails to find any merit at all in a candidate to the novitiate, but the Buddha reveals that in a former life and while being chased by a tiger the man had uttered the words “homage to the Buddha!” (*nanwu fo* 南無佛=*namo buddhāya*), and that such an interjection constituted by itself a minimal but solid root of merit. For the rest, in general the quoted stanza matches the one found towards the end of story LVII in the Chinese, which in that case, however, is addressed by the Buddha to Śāriputra and not to the candidate:

我觀此善根 極為甚微細，
猶如山石沙 融消則出金
禪定與智慧 猶如雙鞴囊
我以功力吹 必出真妙金
此人亦復爾 微善如彼金
(T4.201.312a19–23)

I see that his roots of merit
Are extremely subtle,
Like mountain ore
Smelted, produces gold.
[With] concentration and wisdom
Like two bellows
I blew with the force of merit
And wonderful, true gold was sure to appear.
So is this person:
Even a minimal good is like that gold.

We can now take a closer look at what does not match. The last verse in the Chinese version (此人亦復爾 / 微善如彼金 “so is this person: /even a minimal good is like that gold”) is not matched by anything in the Tibetan. Conversely, the brief portion of prose between the end of the verses and the quotation particle *ces* (“the Blessed One having set him forth with such words, in one day and its evening he attained the state of an *arhat*”) does not match what the Chinese text has. A misplacement of the quotation particle (*ces, iti*) could explain some of these mismatches, but it is otherwise unclear what exactly happened here. Moreover, the metaphor of concentration and wisdom as bellows in the Chinese text does not seem to occur at all in the Tibetan, and its mention to having “warmed up concentration and wisdom” is difficult to understand by itself though both would be consistent with the general metaphor of ore-smelting and goldsmithing that permeates the passage. In spite of these difficult divergencies, the identity of the passages would be hard to dispute.

Now, the other interesting discrepancy is that Śamathadeva gives the number of the story as “the sixth [example] of the sixth decade” (*drug pa dang bcu pa 'i drug pa*), namely as story LVI; however, both the Sanskrit and the Chinese appear to have the story of “The Fear of the Tiger” as LVII. This raises the possibility that the version Śamathadeva knew had the stories arranged in a different order, with LVII in the version we know swapped with LVI. The expression *drug pa dang bcu pa 'i drug pa* is awkward, and the function of the associative and coordinative particle *dang* seems obscure here (“the sixth of the decade *and* the sixth”?), but at least this formulation has the potential to help us solve a previous conundrum: Śamathadeva’s *drug pa dang bcu pa 'i drug pa* “the sixth of the sixth decade” seems uncannily similar to Bcom ldan rig pa’i ral gri’s odd mention to the *Garland* being a work “in one hundred and sixty-six” chapters (*le ’u brgya drug bcu rtsa drug pa*), and I deem it possible that what the learned bibliographer consigned to his entry on the *Garland* reflects his attempt to make sense of this opaque passage of the *upayikā*.

2.2.3. The Chinese translation of Kumāralāta’s *Garland* attributed to Kumārajīva

Multiple uncertainties—translator, period, source—have cast a shadow of dubiousness on the Chinese translation of Kumāralāta’s *Garland* and yet the Chinese text is the only complete version of Kumāralāta’s text available to us.¹³³ The very feasibility of using this Chinese version to inquire into Kumāralāta’s India depends to a considerable extent on an assessment of the degree of fidelity

¹³³ This Chinese version is available in printed and unedited manuscript fragments. On the manuscripts, see 2.2.4.1. below. The extant ancient printed editions in which this version is extant are the following, grouped according to Zacchetti’s division in “lineages” (2005, 92–117): “Kaibao lineage:” Zhaocheng Jin canon (*Zhaocheng Jinzang* 趙城金藏) n. 588, Second Korean canon (*Gaoli/Goryeo* 高麗) n. 587; “Fuzhou-Sixi Lineage:” *Pilu* 毘盧 n. 588, Qisha 磧砂 n. 606, Puning 普寧 n. 599. Regarding modern editions, the text is number 201 in the Taishō canon 大正一切經 and 637 in the Zhonghua canon 中華.

with which the Chinese translator has rendered the Sanskrit text. An ancillary question is the date and attribution of the Chinese translation: The Chinese bibliographical tradition assigns the translation to the famous Kuchan monk Kumārajīva (334–413), and this has a bearing on the main question, because, as we will later see, Kumārajīva’s translational corpus went on to garner great admiration on account of achieving accurate but idiomatic renderings of the Indian text, to the point of becoming the *de facto* standard for later translators.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Judgments on the quality of Kumārajīva’s body of translations, both ancient and modern, agree on its quality. As I will highlight in the following discussion, though, the translation of Indic texts in China was typically a team effort, and Kumārajīva’s corpus is not an exception to this general rule; in fact some of his Chinese translation assistants, like Sengrui 僧睿 (371–438) and Sengzhao 僧肇 (384–414), were highly skilled exegetes and writers in their own right and achieved fame by themselves. Kumārajīva’s translation team then contained at least one member able to understand well the Indic original and others skilled in the literary register of Chinese, and it seems that these two components were able to communicate well. Regarding, however, the proficiency in the Chinese language (and more specifically in its written or literary register) that Kumārajīva achieved in his lifetime, the evidence points in different directions. For Zürcher (2012 [1999], 21) Kumārajīva had a “well-attested knowledge of the language,” but also “occasionally had serious problems with Chinese.” The primary sources on this issue are scattered among the works of Kumārajīva’s students and assistants, mostly in prefaces to Kumārajīva’s translations.

Sengrui declares that ‘although [Kumārajīva] translated by himself (*qin-yi* 親譯), his [usage] of the local language (*fangyan* 方言) was not yet fluent [by 402 CE]’ (雖親譯而方言未融, T1569, 168.a4), but elsewhere that ‘the Master of the Law held in his hand the foreign book and declared it orally in the speech of Qin’ (法師手執胡本, 口宣秦言, T2145, 53b5). Sengzhao elaborates on this image: ‘once he became fully immersed in the environment, [he] became very good at the local language, and occasionally held in his hand the foreign text and expounded and translated by himself in oral fashion’ (既盡環中, 又善方言, 時手執胡文, 口自宣譯, T1775, 327b13). Sengrui’s comments in the preface to the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 are problematic because the passage is probably corrupt on account of the numerous textual variants it contains, but it states unequivocally that Kumārajīva’s command of the ‘local language was particularly good’ (方言殊好) T1509, 57b24–25=T2145, 75b1–2). The difference that these passages imply between *Qin-yu* 秦語 or *Qin-yan* 秦言 ‘the language’ or ‘speech of [the Later] Qin [domain]’ and *fangyan* 方言 ‘local language’ is unclear to me in this context, but if it points to the dichotomy between the unifying written register against the local spoken vernaculars, the point may have been that Kumārajīva was more proficient in reading and writing the language than in speaking it.

One often quoted (but seldom revisited) anecdote collected in the collection of monastic biographies *Lives of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳) has Kumārajīva and Sengrui reviewing a passage in Dharmarakṣa’s the *Lotus Sūtra*. The Sanskrit text of the passage in the Nepalese recension (||8.1||-2, vol. ii, p.178 in Wogihara’s 1934 edition) has here *devā api manuṣyān draṅṣyanti, manuṣyā api devān draṅṣyanti* ‘the gods will see men and the men too will see the gods.’ In the anecdote in Sengrui’s biography (T2059, 364b2–7), Kumārajīva and his disciple note that Dharmarakṣa has translated the passage literally as ‘the gods see the men, the men see the gods,’ but then Sengrui

As far as I am aware, the only comprehensive treatment of the fidelity of the Chinese text to the Sanskrit text is contained in Lüders' monograph on Kumāralāta's *Garland*. Lüders compared his edition of the Sanskrit text with Huber's French translation of the Chinese version (1926, 56–60), and in spite of the obvious shortcomings of working from a translation of a translation, he was able to articulate a fairly balanced evaluation on the Chinese text against the Sanskrit text available to him. Although his treatment should remain the standard reference on the topic, there are two good reasons to revisit it: first, that Lüders did not himself read Chinese; second, that in a century of research we have come to better understand the translation process of Indic texts in China during the first centuries of the first millennium. His global assessment of the quality of the translation is explicit: Lüders, who assumed the famous Kuchan monk to be the translator of the work, warns that, “one certainly should not believe that Kumārajīva's intention was to deliver a literal translation (*Man darf freilich nicht glauben, daß es Kumārajīvas Absicht gewesen ist eine wortgetreue Übersetzung zu liefern*)” (p. 56). He proceeds to clarify what he means by that statement by providing a taxonomy of divergences between Sanskrit and Chinese—omissions,

proposes a rendering of the passage that complies much better with Chinese ideals of literary elegance with its non-repetitive but parallel tetrasyllabic prose: ‘men and gods come into contact; both obtain to see each other’ (人天交接, 兩得相見). This is indeed the Chinese text for the passage as it appears in Kumārajīva's translation of the *Lotus* (T9.262.27c25). The anecdote is somewhat marred by the fact that the passage in Dharmarakṣa's *Lotus*, at least in the recension available to us now, does not have quite the text that Sengrui's biography imputes to it, but rather one that is both literal and periphrastic at the same time (or rather literal with an interpolated gloss) and resembles Sengrui's proposal more perhaps than his biographers may have wanted, but in any case it is not very refined from the point of view of Chinese literary ideals: ‘the gods above see those in the world, those in the world see the gods, heavenly and worldly people go to and fro and come into contact’ (天上視世間, 世間得見天上, 天人世人往來交接, T263, 95c28–29). Be that as it may, the anecdote points to the fact that, at least as far as the historic record goes, Kumārajīva did in fact voice opinions on the final literary quality of the Chinese in translations attributed to him. On the other hand, the authorship of the philosophical letters exchanged by Kumārajīva with the Chinese monk Huiyuan 慧遠 (T1856) has not been questioned, and one could legitimately infer from it that Kumārajīva must have had a mastery of the written Chinese language sufficient to participate at least in the redaction of a letter.

accretions, misunderstandings. However, before we review these, it might be opportune to consider the new insights that we have gained in a century of research since Lüders' time on the praxis of translation in early medieval China.

E.H. Johnston expatiates a bit more than Lüders in characterizing the Chinese translator of Aśvaghoṣa's poem *Buddhacarita*, but expressing a similar sentiment:

The author [of the translation] had no doubt an excellent text at his disposal, but, in addition to some misunderstandings of the original, he has paraphrased rather than translated the poem. All passages of real *kāvya* style are either abridged or omitted altogether, and other verses are cut down or expanded according as they appealed to the translator, who was evidently a pious Buddhist, keen on matters of legend or moral, but with little taste for literature. In legendary details he sometimes makes additions to the text, and, as he evades textual niceties, contenting himself with giving the general sense, his work has to be used with caution.

(Johnston 1936, xiii)

The picture that emerges from these characterizations would be one of capricious translators prone to bowdlerization and keen on tampering with the text at will. However, the research of H.R. van Gulik and, more recently, of Jan Nattier, has added a good deal of understanding and nuance to our knowledge about the process involved in these ancient translations. The first point that we must consider is that, more often than not, Chinese translations

of Buddhist texts were carried out by teams rather than by single individuals.¹³⁵ Van Gulik (1956, 25) describes as follows the essentials of the people involved and their functions:

[...] the stupendous task of translating into Chinese the hundreds of sutras that constitute the bulk of the canon was performed mainly by Indian and Central Asiatic monks. Since most of them knew as little literary Chinese as the Chinese did of Indian languages, theirs must have been a most difficult task, involving a team of several Indian and Chinese workers.

Van Gulik proceeds to provide an overview of the translation process. In its most solemn form under imperial auspices, this process may have assumed a highly complex and ritualized form;¹³⁶ however, at its core the procedure involved a foreign monk familiar with the languages of the Indic texts delivering a more or less free paraphrase of the text in colloquial Chinese and then a transcript of this nebulous oral paraphrase would be made the basis for a proper redaction in literary Chinese. The extent of the conversion of such oral paraphrase into a literary idiom is

¹³⁵ As van Gulik notices (1956, 26), the obvious exceptions are easily identifiable: either Chinese scholars who studied Sanskrit in India like Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) and Yijing 義淨 (635–713) or Sanskrit scholars who, like Kumārajīva, may have acquired familiarity with literary Chinese.

¹³⁶ Van Gulik translates a passage of the “Record of the Buddhist Patriarchs” (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記, T 2035) which describes the activities of the “bureau for the translation of scriptures” (*yijingyuan* 譯經院) established by emperor 太宗 Taizong (976 -997) of the Tang 唐. This account, written two centuries after the facts it purports to narrate, describes the complex protocol that the translation teams ideally followed. The team described includes nine members: one “translation master” (*yizhu* 譯主) who technically reads aloud the original Indic text in its original language, two “witnesses [of the fidelity of] the text” (*zhengwen* 證文), one “scribe” (*shuzi* 書字) who writes the Sanskrit text phonetically rendered into Chinese script, a “recorder” (*bishou* 筆受) that adds Chinese glosses to the phonetically rendered Indic words, a “syntactician” (*zhuiwen* 綴文) who strings individual words into sentences, an “assistant translator” (*canyi* 參譯) who compares the original text with the translation, an “editor” (*dingkan* 定刊) that eliminates superfluous material, and a “style polisher” (*runwen* 潤文) in charge of the definitive literary shape of the text. This word-by-word method is evidently idealized and would be highly impractical if enacted, but it at least makes clear that for the Chinese historiographical tradition translation was conceived as a team effort, and one that involved a significant number of people.

variable and especially so for the earliest Chinese translations. For Zürcher, the language of the early Chinese Buddhist translations “largely reflects the vernacular language of the period,” but “with various degrees of *wenyan* 文言” (i.e. Classical Chinese) “admixtures” (2012 [1991], 278). Although the Chinese rulers that patronized Buddhism did not attempt to standardize the translation protocol as, for example, the Tibetans and Tanguts did, the advent of Kumārajīva stands as a watershed in the history of Chinese translation. Indeed, Kumārajīva’s highly characteristic brand of literary Chinese, strikingly different from the Classical language of the Confucian canon and yet also suitably different from the contemporary spoken vernacular—possessing a unique literary flavor, terse but not archaizing, and with a mature lexicon of its own—went on to become what Zürcher calls a “Church language” (1996, 1). Zürcher (ibid.) summarizes the whole situation by stating that it is mostly “before Kumārajīva” that “translators experimented with a variety of registers, ranging from pure *wenyan* to semi-vernacular”, whereas after Kumārajīva, the language of Buddhist translations became, again in Zürcher’s words, “petrified” in emulations of his register.

However much the target register of the translation of an Indic text may have varied across time, this process of literary redaction must have shaped much of the body of translated texts, and I would like to highlight the fact that the necessary consequence of this premise is that important decisions on the final form and content of the translated text may often have been in the hands of people whose grasp of the Indic source language may have been tenuous or non-existent.¹³⁷

When seen in this light, that the Chinese translations are as a general rule rather free and

¹³⁷ Van Gulik, who titled his 1956 monograph *An Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan*, admits throughout, but most forcefully in pp. 9–12, that the study of the Sanskrit language never flourished in China, and that the “Chinese Buddhists in general showed but scant interest in India and the sacred language of its scriptures” (p. 11).

paraphrastic becomes less the outcome of the whim—or linguistic incompetence—of the translators and more of a necessary outcome of the translation process itself.

Another necessary caveat is that I will assume in the following pages that the Chinese translation of Kumāralāta's *Garland*, the *Da zhuangyan lun* 大莊嚴論 (T 201), had the Sanskrit text as its source, the text whose fragments we have from the seven extant manuscripts. In his important 1931 article on Kumāralāta's *Garland of Examples*, Entai Tomomatsu argued that the Chinese text had been translated from an Indic source different from the extant Sanskrit text, arguing that instead of a unitary authorial creation we are dealing with a fluid compilation of pre-existing material (e.g. Tomomatsu 1931, 72 ff.). Through my treatment of the *Garland* I hope to make clear the reasons why I disagree with Tomomatsu and believe instead that the *Garland* is indeed a unitary authorial creation.

Having made these two caveats, we might proceed to review a few illustrative examples of the main transformations that the text suffered in its translation into Chinese. A very evident one is the blur of the original boundaries between prose and verse passages, of which Lüders provides some telling examples (1926, 56–57). This does not seem surprising though if we consider the very nature of the translation process. The Chinese literary redactor would have worked from a transcript of the oral paraphrase carried out by the translator, a paraphrase that carried specific markers of the beginning and end of the verse passages,¹³⁸ and any omission, confusion or

¹³⁸ The Sanskrit text does not mark explicitly the verse passages, relying instead on the customary verse numbering to mark them. Direct speech is introduced by the declarative verbs $\sqrt{āh}$ 'say' and $[pra]-\sqrt{vac}$ 'idem': monologues in verse are introduced by either verb (see SHT 8r.3, SHT, 66r.1, SHT 89v.1, SHT66r.4, SHT 44r.2) but so is too prose dialogue, which accounts for all other occurrences of these verbs. The Chinese text, on the other hand, invariably introduces the verse passages with a phrase containing the word *gat 偈 '[Buddhist] verse' (>Sk. *gāthā* 'verse' or a cognate form like Gāndhārī <*gasa*> = */*ga.za*/); the closure of the verse portion is also marked by phrases either containing a verb that denotes perception (typically *wen* 聞 'hear') marked with the perfective adverb *yi* 已 or,

misunderstanding of such markers would result in an altered distribution of the prosimetric pattern of the source. Another related modification concerns the sequence of the Sanskrit hemistichs (*pada*), which in some cases seems to have been rearranged (Lüders 1926, 59). If we consider that the literary redactor would in all likelihood have parsed into verse the transcript of the oral paraphrase without consideration for the original verse boundaries, this too is not greatly surprising. Accretions in the Chinese text are often simple explanatory glosses, which would also have been a natural component of the oral paraphrase of a text wherein anything obscure to a Chinese audience would likely have required an explanation. What E. H. Johnston remarked above about the Chinese translation of Aśvaghōṣa’s *Buddhacarita* holds good for much of the corpus of Buddhist Indic texts translated into Chinese, which is that the main point of interest remained Buddhist doctrine rather than the alien cultural background of the text or, even less, its literary aspects. Most of the explanatory glosses concern points of doctrine, as here, where unfamiliar tenets require a fuller explanation:¹³⁹

*na śrutapūrvam yad uktam bhagavatā catvāro daharā nāvajñeyā iti? catvāraś
cāmropamāḥ pudgalā iti na tvayā vicāritam? (SHT 21/9r.2)*

in faster exchanges, a clause marked with a declarative verb preceded by *fu* 復 ‘then, once again’, which precedes the verb that denotes the reply.

¹³⁹ The “four young that should not be despised” were a well established doctrinal category, widespread in Indic Buddhist texts. Tomomatsu found several places in which it occurs (1931, 296–308), and his treatment supersedes that of Lüders, Lévi, and Przyluski, referenced there. None of the evidence Tomomatsu collected suggests, though, that this category may have circulated as an independent *sūtra* devoted to this topic, and this must be an inference of the Chinese translator. Regarding the simile, we are obviously lacking two permutations: ripe outside and inside; raw inside and outside. The simile of the mango is well attested in Buddhist literature, on which see Lüders 1926, 62.

Is it that you have not heard before what the Blessed One (*bhāgavat*) said: “There are four young that should not be looked down upon”? Have you not considered the four person-types likened by a simile to mangos?

汝寧不聞如來所說四不輕經？王子、蛇、火、沙彌等都不可輕。世尊所說菴羅果喻？內生外熟、外生內熟。(T4.201.261c4–6)

Have you not heard the *Scripture*, pronounced by the One Thus-Come (*rulai* 如來 = *tathāgata*) on the *Four that Should Not Be Despised*? The king, the snake, the fire and the *śramaṇera*: these four should not be despised. And the *Simile of the Mango Fruit* that the World-honored spoke? The one raw inside is ripe on the outside and the one raw on the outside is ripe on the inside.

Occasionally, the urge to highlight doctrinal content has forced a doctrinal reading upon a passage:

tat kārtāsmi śamapradānaniyamair adya prabhṛty udyat[ah] [...]/

(Hori 2011, 12–14)

That I will do through calm, generosity, and restraint: from today onwards I have made this undertaking.

自從今以後 勤修施戒定

(T4.201.289b12)

From today onwards, I will sedulously practice the giving, the moral training, the concentration¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ I have spoken about this passage before, on which see p. 16 and n. 20. “Giving, moral training, concentration” are a well-attested scholastic triad, whereas, to my knowledge, “calm, giving, and restraint” are not.

Omissions follow the mirror image of the pattern outlined above: whatever is felt to be merely descriptive is often simplified to its bare essentials, as in this description of the hand of the Buddha:

śata... ..kāśenojvalacakrabimḃālāṃkṛtamadhyena

*tanutāmrvimalajālāvagu(ṅḥit-)*¹⁴¹

(SHT 21/52v.4)

[...] with [its] middle portion, whose extent [...] a hundred [...] was adorned by the disk of a flaming wheel, veiled¹⁴² with subtle, copper-colored, spotless membranes.

相好莊嚴右手

(T4.201.300a20)

[His] right hand was adorned with the major and minor marks.

The general outcome is that very little of the poetic dimension of Kumāralāta’s work shows through the Chinese translation. Kumāralāta’s choice of vocabulary, which often favors poetic synonyms, is especially prone to loss. Let one example suffice. In a verse section of story III (“The Novices and the Donor”), Kumāralāta tells us that the grandeur of the Buddhist monastic assembly is unfathomable, and compares the futile attempt to gain an idea of its extent to a mosquito trying to drink the waters of the sea. The Sanskrit text does not use the more common words for ‘sea’ or ‘ocean’ like *samudra* or *sagara*, but the poetic form *varuṅālaya* ‘the abode of Varuṅa’ (SHT 21/8v.2). Varuṅa characterized primarily as the protective god of the ocean is a relatively late development, but his association with the waters has illustrious Vedic precedents with the

¹⁴¹ Lüders reads here *-āvaga +*, but in my opinion the *-u* diacritic is clearly visible on the foot of the *akṣara* *ga*. I would suggest here *avagu(ṅḥit-)* ‘veiled’. This word occurs in the passage quoted in the following page.

¹⁴² Please see the previous note.

compound itself being mostly epic in usage and exclusively poetic. It is, however, rendered in the Chinese translation in correct—but utterly pedestrian—fashion, as *hai* 海 ‘sea’.

In other cases, rather than an omission, what we have is an attempt to turn an Indian description into a Chinese one. For example, the following passage, also from story III, describes the stereotypical features of old people; however, as stereotypes are culturally specific, the two descriptions differ:

palitavidyotitaśirogaṇḍapārśvabhurulomabhir *avagun̄ḥitākṣi-* ...

dhanurvakrapṛṣṭhīvaṃśā yaṣṭiviśaktapāṇayaḥ pavanabalapracalitā

(SHT 21/8r.1–2)

Their eyes veiled with brow-hair [hanging down to] the cheeks, flashing white [like their] heads, their backs bent as a bow, hands clutching sticks, [they were] like blooming bushes of *sindhuvārīta*¹⁴³ trembling under the force of the wind

髮白而面皺

秀眉牙齒落

僂脊而柱杖

(T4.201.261.b11–29)

White hair and wrinkled faces

Florid brows (*xiumei* 秀眉) and fallen teeth

Their backs bent, clutching a stick

In some cases, the modification is not aimed at providing an indigenous Chinese cultural equivalent, but rather one that, although Indic in origin, may have been comprehensible to a

¹⁴³ Generally identified with *Vitex Negundo*.

Chinese readership, at least a Buddhist one. In the following passages, two famous Indian mountains—the legendary Mandara and the actually existing Vindhya—are both converted into the well-known Mount Meru:

pipīlikā mandare

(SHT 21/29r.4)

[...] ants [...] against [mount] Mandara

汝如蟻封而欲與彼須彌山王比其高下

(T4.201.277c14–15)

You are like an anthill wishing to compare itself in height to Meru, king of mountains.

[v]*indhyapādā* [...] (SHT 21/39v.5)

The foothills of the Vindhya [range]

猶如蚊子翅扇於須彌山

(T4.201.288.a16)

Like the wing of a mosquito brushing Mount Meru...

Lüders (1926, 60) devotes a lone paragraph to “minor differences” (*kleinere Verschiedenheiten*) due to “mere oversights and misunderstandings” (*bloßen Versehen und Mißverständnisse*); however, the example he chooses to illustrate this point is not particularly apt to prove that simple inability to understand the Sanskrit text accounts for substantial distortions in the translated text: *citrakaro* [...] *kaṭakābhy(ā)ṃ (svalaṃ)kṛtatanur* (SHT 21/30r.1–2) ‘the painter [...] with his body well adorned with two armbands (*kaṭaka*)’= 畫師 [...] 著其衣服 (T4.201.279.b13) ‘the painter wore those clothes and ornaments’. The exact determination of what the word *kaṭaka* would indicate in this context is, at least to me, not easy, though it must designate

an armband or arm-ornament of some sort. What is likely, though, is that *yi-fu* 衣服 in the literary register of the Chinese language should be read as an agglomeration meaning ‘clothes and ornaments’ rather than as a vernacular disyllabic word meaning only the former, which is how Huber (1908, 118) seems to have taken it by translating into French as “*robes*.”

My own exploration of the text has not revealed to me cases in which the divergence between the Sanskrit and the Chinese would be most easily explained by the inability to understand the source text. These examples show, however, that a judgment on the literary qualities of Kumāralāta’s text should be based only on the available Sanskrit text which may include not only the fragmentary extant manuscripts but also the stories in the *Divyāvadāna*, which, according to Lüders, were borrowed from Kumāralāta’s work, and to a lesser extent, on the more literal Tibetan translation of story I (“The Gandhāran Merchant in Māthura”) and the *maṅgala*. The Chinese text provides a plotline stripped of poetic description (perhaps the very ‘[poetic] fancy’ or *kalpanā* that gives its title to the Sanskrit text) though it is largely faithful in regard to the narrative and moral sense of the stories.

Having outlined above the limitations, but also the utility of the *Da zhuangyan lun* 大莊嚴論, something should be said too about the who and the when behind its redaction. As we have seen, these questions are not irrelevant: If the translation is not by Kumārajīva, whose life, technique, and sectarian agendas are reasonably well known and “whose testimony”—in E.H. Johnston’s words—“would have had some value,” (1936, xxiii) the text is thrown into the black hole of a historical void.

The text is attributed to Kumārajīva in the Chinese catalogues since Fajing’s 法經 *Catalogue of the Scriptures* (*Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄, T2146, 141a26), completed in 594 AD, but crucially not (*pace* Demiéville 1953, 416–417) in the records of the best reputed bibliographer

of early Buddhist translations: Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518 AD).¹⁴⁴ This absence is itself a strong indictment against Kumārajīva’s translatorship, because Fajing writes almost two centuries after the presumed translation would have taken place, whereas Sengyou based his records on first-hand accounts of Kumārajīva’s disciples. Among the scholars who have tackled this issue—all Japanese—some have, however, attempted to account for Sengyou’s supposed omission of this specific text: Mino (1933–1936, 269–270) hypothesizes that the *Da zhuangyan lun* may have been a very early translation of Kumārajīva from when he first reached China and before he entered Chang’an, and which may then have escaped the attention of Sengyou; Kanno (1998–1999, 79) revisits this conjecture by noting how Sengyou’s notes make explicit that, in spite of the breadth of his survey, some texts were not available to him. Tomomatsu (1931), however, argued at great length that the translation cannot possibly be by Kumārajīva, and his argument is based on historical and linguistic evidence. On the basis of the language and especially of the renderings of proper names, Kanno (1998–1999, 80) notes that the language of the *Da zhuangyan lun* does not belong with the “ancient translations” (古訳 *koyaku*) but indeed to the “old translations” (旧訳 *kyūyaku*, i.e. not from after Kumārajīva) and that, therefore, if the translation is not by Kumārajīva, it must belong to his same period. In the end, Kanno too doubts the attribution to Kumārajīva but does not propose an alternative.

My own enquiries into the lexicon of the *Da zhuangyan lun* have led me in a direction similar to Kanno’s in his conclusions that the language of the text is most consistent with the turn of the 5th Century in Chang’an, and my lexical analysis leads me to go one step further and to

¹⁴⁴ On Sengyou’s work, as well as on why we tend towards lending credit to his assertions, see Nattier 2008, 3–13.

suggest a strong affinity with the lexicon of a known translator of the time, Zhu Fonian 竺佛念¹⁴⁵ whose corpus is, according to Durt, “at the frontier of the archaic translation” (2010, 124) in a characterization that echoes closely Kanno’s assessment of the language of the *Da zhuangyan lun*. My lexical analysis should cover a wider sample, and the results presented here are preliminary,

¹⁴⁵ What I have done so far is a careful analysis of the lexicon of one among the ninety stories collected in the *Da zhuangyan lun*, and have highlighted a number of affinities (some of them exclusive) between its lexicon and the one of the known corpus of Zhu Fonian. I have defined Zhu Fonian’s corpus on the basis of Radich (2017, 4–6), which is limited to the *translational* corpus, with the addition of T309 *Zuishengwen pusa shi zhu chugou duanjie jing* 最勝問菩薩十住除垢斷結經 and T384, the *Bodhisattva Womb Sūtra (Pusa chutai jing 菩薩處胎經)*, which are best understood as original pastiches rather than translations (Nattier 2010; Legittimo 2005, 4; Durt 2010, 124). Below follows a list of uncommon words and expressions shared between story III of the *Da zhuangyan lun* and Zhu Fonian’s corpus: items 1, 4–5 and 10 are attested for the first time in the Chinese Buddhist corpus in Zhu Fonian’s output, and should be considered as highly distinctive and exclusive lexical usages:

1) *yi* 詣 ‘visit [a superior]’ used as a verb of motion toward a Buddhist monastery (*senjialan* 僧伽藍 > *samghārāma*) in 261a21; 629a8, 651a5, 658c6–7 is found in the **Sarvāstivādinaya* (T1428, 665a9, 695a11, 768a13–14, 807b14–15, 813a7, 926b8). The synonymous expression 詣寺 ‘visit a temple’ yields similar results; 2) Tetrasyllabic phrases similar to *yu wu-zhihui* 愚無智慧 ‘stupid and lacking in wisdom’ instead of the much more common (and also more colloquial on account of its disyllabic binomes) *yuchi wu-zhi* 愚癡無智 that appear in 261b1, 278b7 (*yu wu-zhi-zhe* 愚無智者), or in an asymmetrical three-syllable version (*yu wu-zhi* 愚無智) in 345c25, are used in **Dīrghāgama* (T01, 141c25, *yu wu-zhijian* 愚無知見) and in the *Udānavarga Commentary* (T212, 665b7, *yu wu-huiming* 愚無慧明, 669c20 *yu wu-ji-hui* 愚無點慧); 3) *hui-yu* 毀、譽 ‘dishonor and honor’ found in 261b7 is also found in the **Dīrghāgama* (T1, 52b12, 55a9), in the *Dharmapada Commentary* (T212, 711b23, 716c26, 752a20, 758a22, 768c9, 771a4,) and in the *Zuishengwen pusa shi zhu chugou duanjie jing* (T309, 969a14, 999a10, 1035c7, 1047a14–15); 4) *louji* 僂脊 ‘with a bent back’ (as a stereotypical characteristic of old people), found in 261b14 appears also in the **Dīrghāgama* (126b26); 5) *huanqing* 歡慶 ‘happy and festive’ in 261b15, 267b8 and 279c22 is used also in the **Ekottarāgama* (T125, 613b3–4), in the *Udānavarga Commentary* (T212, 710c10), and in the *Scripture of the Ornaments of the Bodhisattva* (T656, 58b2); 6) *gaihui* 改悔 ‘reform and repent’ in 261b22 is found also in the in the *Udānavarga Commentary* (T212, 613b10, 745a23, 751b28) and the **Sarvāstivādinaya* (1428, 689b15, 723b9–10, 830a17, 1001a21); 7) *du yiji* 獨一己 ‘alone and by himself’ in 261b27, appears too in the *Bodhisattva Womb Sūtra* (T384, 1044b6). 8) *jing-mie* 輕蔑 ‘to slight and despise’ in 259b26, is found also in the *Udānavarga Commentary* (T212, 663a27, 668b8), in the *Scripture of the Ornaments of the Bodhisattva* (T656, 82c26), and in the *Zuishengwen pusa shi zhu chugou duanjie jing* (987c21); 9) *qianjiu* 懃 (var. 愆)咎 ‘to commit fault and transgress’ in 262a6 is also found in the *Udānavarga Commentary* (T212, 637a16, 18, 640a7, 646b5, 719c24, 729a9–10, 732b12); 10) The phonetic rendering **gjimbila* 黔毘羅=Kimbhīra, Kumbhīra ‘crocodile, personal and ethnic name’ in 262b12 appears also in the *Udānavarga Commentary* (T212, 674b25); 11) *bandang* 伴黨 ‘partner, associate’ in 262b29 appears also in the **Sarvāstivādinaya* (T1428, 595c9, 838a16, 880a7, 908a20–b3, 916a4, 980b17, 970b11, 1007b9, 1012c12) and the **Ekottarāgama* (T1, 11c11, 48a26, 70c29).

but statistically significant: if the translator is not Zhu Fonian, there is good evidence to believe that the translation is linked with his circle and certainly with his time period.

Nattier (2010, 232–235) has gathered all that is known about Zhu Fonian’s life and career. For our purposes, it should be useful to note here that according to his biographies he was born in the mid-4th Century in Liangzhou 涼州,¹⁴⁶ a cosmopolitan urban center in the Hexi corridor where Kumārajīva would spend fifteen years around the end of the century. *Zhu* 竺 is an “ethnic surname” that should indicate people of Indian descent, but no Indic personal or religious name besides the Chinese *fonian* 佛念 ‘meditation on the Buddha’ is attested, and although he may indeed have had some Indian descent, his family had been in China for several generations. His biography declares him to be a polyglot perfectly able to understand the “sounds and meanings of both Chinese and Barbarian” (華戎音義莫不兼解, T2154, 111b11), but such flourishes are almost normative—and therefore unremarkable—tropes in monastic biographies. Zhu Fonian’s output is impressive (it includes two *āgama* collection and a *vinaya*), and has garnered the praise of commentators as far apart in time and geography as Sengyou and Zürcher (2007 [1959], 202). According to Nattier’s characterization of his life, Zhu Fonian started his career as a translator in Chang’an, then the imperial capital of the Former Qin 前秦 (351–394 AD), where he arrived in 365 CE. His early period of translation is characterized by his collaboration with a number of monks originally from Gandhāra and Bactria: Buddhayaśas, Saṃghabhūti/Saṃghabhadra, Dharmanandin, Saṃghadeva (Nattier 2010, 231–233; Radich 2017, 6–7). As we have seen, what this collaboration means is in all likelihood that he carried out the final Chinese literary redaction of the text.

¹⁴⁶ Nowadays Wuwei 武威, but known in antiquity mostly as Guzang (Middle Chinese **Kodzaj*) 姑藏, the <*Kc'n*> (=*/*Ko:ǰān*/) of the “Ancient Sogdian Letters”.

Some of the texts translated during this period of collaboration with western monks have interesting literary affinities with Kumāralāta’s *Garland of Examples*. For example, the *Collection of *Saṃgharakṣa* (*Sengqieluocho suoji jing* 僧伽羅刹所集經, T 94), translated in 384 CE (T194, 115c2–6) is a prosimetric life of the Buddha in a literary vein, whereas the *Story of the Prince who Damaged his Eyes for the Fulfillment of the Law* (太子法益壞目因緣經, T 2045, on which see Radich 2017), translated in 391 CE (T2045,115c2–6), is a fully metrical (and partially rhymed) poetic *avadāna* which is said by Zhu Fonian himself, in the preface he wrote for the work, to have been translated from a text consisting of three hundred and forty-three Sanskrit *ślokas* (T2045, 172b14). Both of these works were, it seems, collaborative efforts with western monks, and this seems to be the general pattern for Zhu Fonian’s early period of activity in Chang’an. Then, according to Nattier, there is a gap in the historical record of Zhu Fonian between 387 and 398 CE (p. 233). What happened in northern China during this interval explains this gap in part: the Former Qin dynasty 前秦 fell with the murder, in 385 CE, of emperor Fu Jian 苻堅, who had sponsored Zhu Fonian’s career, and the rulers of the succeeding Later Qin dynasty 後秦 seem not to have been keen on supporting the *protégés* of the earlier dynasty. At the same time, Kumārajīva entered Chang’an in 401 and monopolized imperial patronage and public visibility. Zhu Fonian resurfaces after the turn of the century, and his output is again copious, but much more determined in genre than before with a sole focus on Mahāyāna *sūtras* dealing with the progress of the *bodhisattva*. According to Nattier’s careful analysis (2010, 251–255), Zhu Fonian’s late “translations” are in fact pastiches sewn from bits of already existing Chinese translations rather than original translations of Indic texts.

If the *Da zhuangyan lun* is indeed a translation by Zhu Fonian, the reason that may have led Sengyou to omit it in his records remains unsolved, but many other traces—affinities in the

linguistic date of the texts, the lexicon, and genre—lend considerable credence to the idea that Zhu Fonian, or someone in his circle, may have been the redactor of the *Da zhuangyan lun* in collaboration with a monk from the west.

2.2.3.1. Other Witnesses: Quotations in Medieval Compendia and Dunhuang Excerpts

As we have seen Kumāralāta and his work were eventually forgotten in their Indian homeland. The Chinese translation of his *Garland*, the *Da zhuangyan lun* however, seems to have had a reasonably distinguished career in sinitic East Asia. Although the full investigation of this issue is beyond the scope of this project, we might highlight here a few instances that show the permanence of the collection in the sinitic context.

The text circulated in Dunhuang, and we have from there three manuscripts, all of which are now preserved in the British Library: S 6135 (=Giles 1957, §7910), S2322 (=Giles 1957, §1955), and S 6380 (=Giles 1957, §4299), and all from about the Tang era to judge by script and paper. The manuscripts we have, as often the case for Dunhuang texts, are not complete, but copies of individual scrolls (*juan* 卷), that undoubtedly circulated independently. One of these manuscripts (S 6380) combines the text of the first scroll of the *Garland* with the text of a Mahāyāna *sūtra*, the *Scripture of Unprecedented Causes* (*Weicengyou yinyuan jing* 未曾有因緣經, T754). Moreover, another manuscript (S 1406=Giles 1957, §1526) has on one side the inscription *Da zhuangyan lun di'er juan* 大莊嚴經論第二卷 “second scroll of the *Da zhuangyan lun*,” but the other side has actually the text of the 509th scroll of Xuanzang’s version of the *Large Sūtra of the Perfection of Wisdom* (T220). It seems also that the *Da zhuangyan lun* was considered valuable enough as literature to become didactic material: one folio in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Pelliot Chinois 3891, has a writing exercise of what seem to be apparently unrelated rare characters,

but the team of researchers at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences was able to ascertain that the text is a selection of the difficult words occurring in a passage of the *Da zhuangyan lun*, (Zhang 2013, 4). This evidence suggests that the *Da zhuangyan lun* was a moderately popular text, one that appealed especially to educated readers.

Story XLIII of the *Garland* was reworked in the popular *Stories of the Wise and the Fool* (*Xian-yu jing* 賢愚經, T202) as its 35th story (T4.202.397a24–398a12), and the source is the *Da zhuangyan lun*. The *Da zhuangyan lun* was also abundantly quoted by major Tang dynasty exegetes like Kuiji 窺基 (632~682), Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) and Daoshi 道世 in his encyclopedia *Grove of Pearls in the Park of the Law* (*Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, T2122).

2.2.4. The *Da zhidu Lun* excerpts

During his forty-year effort towards translating into French the voluminous *Treatise on the Great Virtue of Wisdom* (*Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, T1509) translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva and his associates, Lamotte noticed that at least six stories of the *Garland* are quoted in the *Treatise* (1944–1980, iii. 1391, n.411). The quoted stories are:

- 1) LXI “The Buddha and the Cowherds” (T25.1509.73b19ff.; Lamotte 1944–1980, i 146–152),
- 2) XXI “The Painter of Puṣkalavati” (T25.1509.141c18ff.; Lamotte 1944–1980, ii 672–675),
- 3) LV “The Monk with a Sweet-smelling Breath” (T25.1509.144a12ff.; Lamotte 1944–1980, ii 695–698),
- 4) LXIX “The Six-tusked Elephant” (T25.1509.146b27ff.; Lamotte 1944–1980, ii 716–718),
- 5) LXX “The King of Deer” (T25.1509.77c9ff.; Lamotte 1944–1980, ii 972–975),

6) III “The Novices and the Donor” (T25.1509. 224a26ff.; Lamotte 1944–1980, iii 1393–1400).

According to Lamotte, the author of the *Treatise* must have lived in northwestern India in the 4th Century (1944–1980, iii x–xi), and so it makes sense that he may have drawn material from Kumāralāta. The quotation of story LXI is presented as belonging to a *piyujing* 譬喻經, perhaps “*avadāna*” in this case, and the quotation of story LV is introduced by the phrase *ru shuo* 如說 “as said” that possibly translates the introductory formula *tadyathānuśrūyate* of the stories of the *Garland*, but the other quotations are inserted without any indication, and none features the name of Kumāralāta. As we have seen the much later Śamathadeva quotes the *Garland* under Kumāralāta’s name. Although the quotations attributed to Kumāralāta identified by Katō apparently belong to lost scholastic works,¹⁴⁷ it seems that the *Garland* also furnished material to the commentaries, although not under Kumāralāta’s name.

Kumārajīva’s translation of the quoted portions of the *Garland* is much more faithful, or at least much more invested in the poetic aspect of the text, than the *Da zhuangyan lun*. Let one example that we have just examined from a different angle suffice here.¹⁴⁸ In a passage from story III that we have already considered in connection of the relationship of the *Da zhuangyan lun* to the Sanskrit original, a group of novices magically disguised as elder monks is described in the following terms:

palitavidyotitaśirogaṇḍapārśvabhṛulomabhir avaguṇṭhitākṣi ...

dhanurvakrapṛṣṭhīvaṃśā yaṣṭiviśaktapāṇayaḥ pavanabalapracalitā

¹⁴⁷ See 2.2.1. especially p. 49.

¹⁴⁸ See p. 108 above.

(SHT 21/8.r1–2)

Their eyes veiled with brow-hair [hanging down to] the cheeks, flashing white [like their] heads, their backs bent as a bow, hands clutching sticks, [they were] like blossoming bushes of *sindhuvārita* shaking under the force of the wind

The rendering of this passage in the *Da zhuangyan lun* is both reductive and not very faithful:

髮白而面皺 秀眉牙齒落

僂脊而柱杖

(T4.201.261.b11–29)

White hair and wrinkled faces

Florid brows (*xiu mei* 秀眉) and fallen teeth

Bent and clutching a stick

The rendering in the *Treatise* is much more faithful to the original:

鬚髮白如雪 秀眉垂覆眼

皮皺如波浪 其脊曲如弓

兩手負杖行 次第而受請

舉身皆振掉 行止不自安

譬如白楊樹 隨風而動搖

T 1509, p. 224, b1–c7

Hair white as snow,

Florid brows (*xiumei* 秀眉) that hung covering the eyes

Wrinkled skin,

Backs bent as a bow

Both hands clutching the stick
In succession they proceeded to the invitation
Holding their bodies unsteadily
Walking and stopping
Like white poplars
Shaken with the wind

The mention of “florid brows” (*xiumei* 秀眉) and the “wrinkled face” or “skin” (*mian qu* 面皺/ *pi qu* 皮皺) not to be found in the Sanskrit text obey to Chinese literary tropes on the attributes of old people, but the fact that they are shared between these two texts suggest that, as I have proposed,¹⁴⁹ the translation team that produced the *Da zhuangyan lun* may have shared the same milieu with Kumārajīva in Chang’an in the early 5th Century.

2.2.5. The Tangut Version

The fabulous archeological finds recovered from the Tangut citadel of Khara-Khoto by P. K. Kozlov in 1908–1909 yielded a wealth of manuscript and printed Buddhist texts that include a partial Tangut version of Kumāralāta’s *Garland*. The text is printed xylographically on a single volume in “concertina format” and bears the title *Le lutshe myrma khūua lwyrrer* 𑖀𑖂𑖄𑖆𑖈𑖊𑖌𑖎𑖐𑖒𑖔𑖕. ¹⁵⁰ The date of both translation and printing can be placed anywhere in the two centuries that fall between the invention of the Tangut script in 1036 and the Mongol

¹⁴⁹ See 2.2.3.

¹⁵⁰ I have used here the facsimile from Grinstead 1971, vi 1236–1239 and followed here the “transcription for lay use” proposed by Miyake (2015): only for the character *khūua* 𑖕𑖖, not included in Miyake’s list, I have used the conjectural phonetic value proposed in Li 2012.

annihilation of the Tangut empire in 1227, an event that put an end to the imperially sponsored translation of Buddhist texts into Tangut.

Not being fully conversant with the Tangut language, I have only been able to conduct a superficial assessment; however, it seems almost certain that what this Tangut version contains is a translation of the initial *maṅgala* and of the first three stories of the *Garland*,¹⁵¹ made from, and following very closely, the previously-discussed Chinese text, *Da zhuangyan lun*. A colophon, unfortunately unreadable in the only available facsimile (Grinstead 1971, 1231a2) possibly renders the one found in the Chinese version: *Maming pusa zao* 馬鳴菩薩造 “composed by the *bodhisattva* Aśvaghōṣa.”

The contents of the Tangut version match exactly those of the first “volume” or “scroll” (*juan* 卷) of the Chinese version, which likewise includes the first three stories. In this regard, the title of this Tangut translation is telling. The portion *le lutshe* 𐰇𐰏𐰍𐰎 is unproblematic because it matches exactly the Chinese *da zhuangyan* 大莊嚴 “great ornament;” the same goes for the last word, *lwyrer* 𐰇𐰏, which matches the Chinese *jing[dian]* 經[典] “scripture, *sūtra*.” However, the intervening *myrma khīua* 𐰇𐰏𐰍𐰎 does not closely match anything in the Chinese and has puzzled scholars: *myr* 𐰇𐰏 means “origin, root” (Li 2012, 103, §1525); *ma* 𐰇𐰏 primarily “mother,” but also, figuratively, “source” (*yuanben* 源本) (Li 2012, 12, §1041); *khīua* 𐰇𐰏 is possibly a loanword and conventionally translates the Chinese *juan* 卷 “scroll, volume (of a book) (Li 2012, 633, §5302). Li (2012, 103, §1525) suggests that for unknown reasons the compound consisting of these three elements, *myrma khīua*, translates the Chinese term *lun* 論 “treatise,” but “only in *sūtra* titles,” and he gives the title of the *Le lutshe myrma khīua lwyrer* as the sole example of this

¹⁵¹ The distribution of prose and verse in the Tangut matches exactly the one in the Chinese, and wherever I have probed the text I have found a close correspondence with the wording of the Chinese.

anomalous behavior. Here, indeed, the element *lun* 論 “treatise” of the Chinese title corresponds, at least in its position, to *myrma khīua*. I would suggest instead that this compound should be read as something like the “first” or “initial scroll,” and that the reference is to its being a translation of the first scroll of the Chinese version.

This would be then a deliberately partial version, done perhaps like the Tibetan version *Dpe’i phreng ba* in the awareness that the translated text was an excerpt of a larger work. It is, in fact, conceivable that there is a connection here. A large part of the extant Tangut literature consists of translations from the Chinese and the Tibetan, and both China and Tibet were important cultural references for the Tanguts (Galambos 2015, 4–5). The translation of only the first scroll of the Chinese version among the Tanguts mirrors in some mysterious way the earlier translation of only the first story of the *Garland* among the Tibetans. And, as we saw, at least in one Tibetan source that partial translation is referred to as *le’u dang po* “the initial chapter.” It seems possible then that what we have here is a hybrid—a text translated from Chinese but excerpted according to the Tibetan canonical model, conceivably perceived as authoritative. The possibility that this hypothetical triangulation was possible at all speaks about the permanence of the text in the broad East Asian context, in contrast with its fate in India.

2.3. The *Garland* as a Work of Literature; Language, Style, Literary Fortune.

2.3.1. Sanskrit and “Hybrid Sanskrit”

As we have seen, Kumāralāta’s time is one of major transition. The 3rd century saw the decline of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty and of trade with the Roman empire, just as it also saw the first signs of a slow process of deurbanization that would affect the entire subcontinent. Furthermore, if one is to judge by Kumāralāta’s stories, it was also a period in which *śaiva* and *vaiṣṇava* cults finally made peace

with orthodox Vedic Brahmanism and became, as an incipient form of Hinduism, a new threat to Kumāralāta's own Buddhist faith. Yet another transition that had the 3rd century as its pivotal point was the one from the great linguistic heterogeneity that characterized the literacy of the earlier period to the pan-Indian triumph of Classical Sanskrit as the language of power and culture. Kumāralāta's work, both his *Garland* and his Sanskrit grammar, the *Kaumāralāta*, are singularly poised to illustrate this transition, because in different ways they involve no less than five languages: Vedic Sanskrit, Classical Sanskrit, the so-called "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit," Gāndhārī Prakrit, and an unknown literary Prakrit from Central India. I mention here Gāndhārī precisely because it is significant that Kumāralāta does not use it or reference it, even though we can speculate that it must have been his mother tongue and remark that it had been the medium for a vigorous system of vernacular literacy in the period that preceded him. Gāndhārī literacy must have been dying out when Kumāralāta lived, and he is therefore likely the first Gandhāran author that we know for certain to have eschewed the vernacular in favor of Classical Sanskrit. It is precisely in Kumāralāta's 3rd century that Gāndhārī and its associated Kharoṣṭhī script died out in their homeland only to be replaced by Sanskrit written in the Brāhmī script.

Kumāralāta writes his stories in what Heinrich Lüders calls "the correct Sanskrit of the grammarians" (*das korrekte Sanskrit der Grammatiker*, 1926, 38) and, as mentioned before, he also composed a grammar of Sanskrit, which likely represents the earliest known system of Sanskrit grammar not modelled after Pāṇini. As Lüders notes, the *Kaumāralāta* devises a new grammatical terminology, mostly not taken from Pāṇini's but often inspired, instead, by writing (1930, 50), and in defiant contrast with the brahmanical oral sensibility: Instead of the pāṇinian *anusvāra*, Kumāralāta uses the term *bindu* "one dot," and instead of the pāṇinian *visarjanīya* he uses the dual *bindū* "the two dots," using visual references to the Brāhmī script.

And yet Kumāralāta does include quotations from Buddhist canonical scriptures in what we conventionally call “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit,” namely the mixture of Middle Indic lexicon and morphology with Sanskrit phonology, in both the *Garland* and the *Kaumāralāta* grammar. That Kumāralāta was aware of the gap between the language that he wrote and the one he quoted from is clear from the fact that he included rules for this canonical language in his grammar, which he calls *ārṣa vidhi*, the “rule of the ṛṣis” or “seers.” As Hartmut Scharfe notes, he does so, in this case, by following a pāṇinian procedure (Scharfe 1977, 162). As Pāṇini formulates general rules for the current speech and then makes special rules for the language of the sacred “metrical recitation” (*chandās*), namely Vedic Sanskrit, just so Kumāralāta formulates special rules for the forms of the “language of the seers.” We could take as an example the following rule from the auto-commentary portion of the *Kaumāralāta*, formulated to account for the “hybrid” forms *khu* and *kho* instead of Sanskrit *khalu*:

*ārṣa eva vidhau khalu ity asya śabdasya lakāro vibhāṣayā lug bhavati saṭhur
apy asathur api* (SHT 22/4, r2, Lüders 1930, 28, 4¹, r2)

“Only in the ‘rule of the seers’ the sound *l* of the word *khalu* can optionally be elided, together with the sound that precedes it (=a) (i.e., *kh+u>khu*) or without it (i.e., *kha+u>kho*)”

In this example we can see the mixture of pāṇinian terminology (*vibhāṣayā* “optionally,” *luk* “elision”) and Kumāralāta’s own (*lakāra* “the sound *l*,” *ṭhu* “the preceding sound”). Referring to phonemes as *kāras* is, for example, one term continued in the *Kātantra* grammar,¹⁵² which

¹⁵² I thank Richard Salomon for this observation (personal communication, April 19, 2019).

according to Lüders (1930) is mostly a later refashioning of the *Kaumāralāta* without, alas, the *ārṣa* rules.

The term *ārṣa* is widespread among the religious traditions of ancient India. Pāṇini uses it once in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (1.1.16) to apparently refer to the whole Vedic corpus beyond the more circumscribed realm of the *saṃhitās*.¹⁵³ The great 11th century prakrit grammarian Hemacandra famously called *ārṣa* the language of the older *śvetāmbara* Jaina canonical works (*Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana* 8.1.3, Pischel 1877, 1; 1900, 13), and one of those canonical scriptures, a collection of dogmatic verse, is called precisely *Isibhāsiyāim*, namely *Ṛṣibhāṣitāni*, the “Verses Spoken by the Seers” wherein the list of seers to whom these verses are attributed partly overlaps with those of the Vedic tradition. In Pāli, *isibhāsita* “spoken by the seers,” is a clichéd epithet of the Buddha’s religious message.

Johannes Bronkhorst (1993) has produced evidence to make the case that these three religious traditions all claimed that their own canonical language was the original or inherent language of the universe. He notes, for example, how some Jaina scholiasts claimed that the gods speak Ardhamāgadhī, how some Buddhist Theravāda scholiasts claimed that children never exposed to language would spontaneously speak Pāli, how the circa 5th century grammarian Bhartṛhari apparently accuses the Buddhists of claiming that their language is the source of Sanskrit, and how the 7th century Buddhist commentator Candrakīrti invoked pāṇinian rules for Vedic Sanskrit to justify anomalous forms found in the canonical Buddhist texts.

¹⁵³ This is the interpretation of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* (*anārṣe=avaidike*), and it makes good sense although it should be noted that here Pāṇini is referring here to a rule formulated by a different grammarian, Śākalya, and it is likely that the latter simply used *ārṣa* where Pāṇini favored *chandas*.

From the vantage point of modern historical linguistics, we can establish clearly the chronological priority of Vedic Sanskrit over Classical Sanskrit, and although the relationship between the two is not one of full genealogical kinship, it is so to an extent sufficient to postulate them as different phases in a diachronic linguistic continuum. However, such genealogical relationships must have seemed far from obvious in the past. For example, in his treatise on the use of the vernaculars in literature, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, the Tuscan poet Dante Alighieri expressed the view that the Latin language, which he called *gramatica*, was achieved by extrapolating the common features of the vernaculars and regularizing the words and inflections of that composite blend into an unchangeable fixed norm (Book I, 11, Botterill 1996, 20). In India, in spite of the exegetical efforts of the scholiasts, what the term *prākṛta* most immediately suggests is the sense “original” or “natural,” whereas *saṃskṛta* suggests, by contrast, “polished, refined.” As we saw, the passages quoted by Bronkhorst show that at least some grammarians in ancient India held views similar to those of Dante.

For what we can tell, the forms that Kumāralāta labels as belonging to the “language of the seers” in the few fragments of the *Kaumāralāta* that we have are clearly Middle Indic forms: *bheṣyati* for Sanskrit *bhaviṣyati*, *bhāveti* for Sanskrit *bhāvayati*, *khu* and *kho* for Sanskrit *khalu*. Understanding how Kumāralāta deals with the legacy of the Vedic and Epic seers in his narrative work is highly informative, but before we embark on that task, I would first like to contrast his larger scheme of the legacy of the Buddha in the context of the Vedic tradition to the one of Aśvaghōṣa. Aśvaghōṣa is perhaps the earliest Buddhist author to write in classical Sanskrit; according to Johnston he probably lived sometime in the 1st century CE (1936, xvii). In his *Buddhacarita*, Aśvaghōṣa implicitly places the Buddha as next in the line formed by the seers of the Vedic and Epic traditions (I. 40–46), and uses the epithet *maharṣi* “great seer” indiscriminately

to refer to either them or to the Buddha¹⁵⁴ while he also refers to asceticism as the *ārṣa mārga* “the way of the seers” (1.79). By contrast, Kumāralāta constantly juxtaposes the seers of the Vedic and Epic traditions, identified by name in one passage (T4.201.257c27–28=Huber 1908, 5=Hahn 1982, 324.1–3+331=Huber),¹⁵⁵ with a singular seer, the Buddha.

In the first story of the *Garland* we see a Buddhist Gandhāran merchant engaged in discussion with a group of Mathurān brahmins who worship Śiva and Viṣṇu wherein the merits of their respective religious traditions are the subject of debate. According to the brahmins, the powerful *mantras* devised by the Vedic seers are one of the reasons for the superiority of their own tradition. The Gandhāran merchant, who calls the Buddha “the great seer”, replies by denying the merits of ritual recitation, and in this he echoes Buddhist traditions referenced elsewhere in Kumāralāta’s *Garland* which state that the Buddha emphatically rejected not only brahmanical recitation but also the gift of food earned as a reward for such forms of recitation.¹⁵⁶ Whereas Aśvaghōṣa seems to have attempted to make the Buddha and his message acceptable to a Brahmanical audience, Kumāralāta, by denouncing the Vedic seers as spurious, takes instead an openly polemical stance. In story LIII of the *Garland* we see a king and his mahout riding an elephant in rut and being unable to restrain it. The mahout utters what in his own words are the “mantras to tame elephants spoken by the highest seers” (*mantrān paramarṣibhāṣitān*, SHT 21/60),

¹⁵⁴ Compare, for example 1.43, 1.49, 1.65, 2.25, 4.18, 4.20, 7.35, 7.40 10.40, 11.14 in which *maharṣi* refers to singular or plural non-Buddhist brahmanical seers and 13.1, 13.33, 13.36, 13.48–49 in which it refers to the Buddha.

¹⁵⁵ There is some uncertainty regarding the names of this list, although it seems to be fullest in the Tibetan translation. The list as interpreted by Hahn (1982, 331) includes both seers from the various lists of “seven sages” of the Vedic tradition like Vasiṣṭha, Atri, and Jamadagni, as well as others more closely associated with the Epic tradition (particularly that of the *Mahābhārata*) like Cyavana, Vyāsa, and Triśanku.

¹⁵⁶ See pp. 28ff..

and these prove ineffective. The genre of the elephant-taming charms is well attested, and so this could be a reference to various texts, but one particularly venerable candidate could be the elephant-taming spell in the *Atharvaveda* (3.22 in the Śaunakīya recension, Roth and Whitney 1886, i. 43–44). This could be thus be a reference to what the brahmins mistakenly claim to be the “language of the seers,” namely the language of the Vedic corpus. The story concludes with the two protagonists discovering the religion of the Buddha and realizing how no spell or incantation can ever assuage the wrath elicited by sexual desire but the Buddha’s recipe for self-control can.

As discussed previously, both the *Garland* and the *Kaumāralāta* grammar contain frequent quotations from Buddhist scriptures, and these quoted scriptures are mostly the Sanskrit collection of *āgamas* as well as from a collection of dogmatic verse akin to the Middle Indic *dharmapadas* and the Sanskrit *udānavargas*, which the tradition unanimously presents as spoken by the Buddha. It is at least conceivable that the *ārṣā gāthā* “verses of the seer” mentioned in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* on which Schopen has remarked (2004, 266; 280, n.30), and which are probably also referenced in the **Dharmaguptakavinaya*,¹⁵⁷ might be connected with these and other similar collections of old dogmatic verse in Middle Indic with various degrees of sanskritization. It is also likely that by opposing the spurious seers of the brahmanical tradition with a single seer—the Buddha—Kumāralāta subverted the pan-Indian construct of the “language of the seers” by turning it into the “language of the Buddha.”

As far as Kumāralāta’s usage of Sanskrit is concerned, the *Garland* is not only unique in its adherence to the Classical Sanskrit norm and its refusal to use “hybrid” forms, but also in terms of

¹⁵⁷ T22.1428.968b11–27, especially line 25. The passage describes the general divisions of the Dharmaguptaka āgamic collections, and mentions a few texts by name. In its description of the “mixed collection” (*zajing* 雜藏), there is a mention of a “scripture of the *gāthās* of the sage,” *shengji jing* 聖偈經 which could correspond to the *ārṣa gāthā* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*.

its literary style, which adheres to the ideals of *kāvya* literature such as originality of expression and verbal artistry. The Buddha is said in many places to have condemned the work of poets, “consisting of colorful sounds” (*cittakkharā*), and in fact many Buddhist—and also Jaina—narratives seem to relish their own artlessness and repetitiveness. Kumāralāta therefore represents a sharp departure from the lively, but decidedly unpretentious literary style of, say, the *Avadānaśataka*. The origins of *kāvya* poetry are obscure, but Stephanie Jamison (2007) has postulated a tradition of royal panegyric that would range from the Vedic times to the *praśāsti* of Rudradāman to the fully formed *kāvya* of Aśvaghōṣa. Classical Sanskrit *kāvya*, though, seems to take shape when royal power and brahmanical ideology became united in a coherent discourse: according to Pollock, by the 5th century “power in India [...] had a Sanskrit voice,” (2006, 122) and the *kāvya* courtly poetry acted as the most recognizable means of expression of that new paradigm of power.

As we will see in the next section, perhaps the clearest indicator of Kumāralāta’s allegiance to the new literary ideal is his occasional usage of an unknown Gangetic literary Prakrit close to dramatic Śaurasēṇī.¹⁵⁸ This passage in Kumāralāta’s *Garland* is one of the earliest datable attestations of the literary prakrits, and this instance points to the fact that the use in drama of these languages was in all likelihood not an attempt to represent the current vernacular parlance, and suggest instead that they were literary languages since their very first inclusions in the extant literary record, aimed at marking an imagined popular and local register. Had Kumāralāta wanted to include snippets of actual vernacular speech in his stories, he had in his own homeland an excellent model in the vigorous local tradition of vernacular literacy that might have been

¹⁵⁸ See 2.3.2 on this passage.

moribund but not entirely extinct by his time. Gāndhārī itself is, of course, a language we know of only through its written register, and many works in Gāndhārī seem to be little less than phonological transpositions of works in other Middle Indic languages, but still the wild orthographical variations within its written tradition speak, to me at least, of a close relationship with the spoken language. The prakrit stanzas of the *Garland*, in *āryā* meter, are put in the mouth of the inhabitants of the remote Vaiśālī, in the Gangetic basin. Indeed, although many of the *Garland*'s stories are set in Gandhāra, these, as far as we can tell, do not contain any prakrit passages.

Returning now to Gandhāra, we have come full circle, and therefore it is time to recapitulate what we can surmise from this tour through Kumāralāta's views on language. According to the most widespread interpretation of a controverted passage, the Buddha disliked Sanskrit and advocated the diffusion of his message in the common local language of the people.¹⁵⁹ Kumāralāta's choice of language and style might seem like an act of disobedience of this mandate, but when read in its historical context, its logic is, I think, somewhat clearer. By making the "Hybrid Sanskrit" of the Buddhist scriptures that he deemed legitimate into the true language of the past, he was appropriating for his own tradition the newly dominant mode of expression in Sanskrit and in an ornate courtly style. Furthermore, in so doing, he may have been attempting to align himself and his works with a new social paradigm of more closely defined social boundaries, one that threatened the very social basis that allowed the Buddhist religion to thrive in India until then.

¹⁵⁹ The best survey on the passage that would suggest this, found in Pāli and in several Chinese versions, is Brough 1980.

2.3.2. Fashionable Speech: A Passage in Literary Prakrit from the *Garland*

The single passage in a literary prakrit in the *Garland* that we just mentioned deserves a deeper examination. *Höchst überraschend*—“supremely surprising”—is how Lüders (1926, 45) describes this small passage of two prakrit stanzas in *āryā* metre in the middle of the Sanskrit text of story XLIII. As we will see, the passage is indeed highly unexpected for several reasons. For the moment, let us anticipate that it goes against established genre conventions and that it also seems incongruous with what we know to have been Kumāralāta’s chronological and geographical context, but first a brief overview of the story is necessary to understand the import of this extraordinary passage.

The story where it occurs, XLIII, is one of the longest and most elaborate stories in the collection; according to Sylvain Lévi it would be, moreover, “*un des plus beaux récits*” of the entire collection (1908, 62). The story clearly showcases Kumāralāta’s literary priorities: a virtual absence of a real narrative plot—barely a circumstantial frame—provides the occasion for the rich description of a moment of personal epiphany. In the story we see the Buddha visiting the town of Śrāvastī; in spite of the multitudes that gather to welcome him, the Blessed One decides to concentrate his teaching endeavors on the one person in town that tries to elude him, the dung-worker (*fēnhui ren* 糞穢人, T4.201.293c21), Nītha.¹⁶⁰ Nītha refuses to believe that the Buddha

¹⁶⁰ The Chinese here is **Nidej* 尼提. The Kizil MS. attests the name only in one place (SHT 21/50r3), where all that is left is the lower portions of the *akṣaras* *n* and *th*. This Lüders edited as *N[ī]th[ir]* on the basis of the Chinese, but remarked that *N[ī]th[o]* (i.e. Nītha) would be possible too (1926, 69). The name Nītha is, however, attested in two fragments of this story in the Schøyen collection (2379/5r5, 8, v5; 2382/318r5, in Appendix 3) and further confirmed by the transcription 尼陀 **Nida* in two separate mentions of this story in the *Da zhidu lun* (T25.1509.248a10, T25.1509.310a18).

may have decided to notice him. As other characters do elsewhere in the *Garland*,¹⁶¹ Nītha decries how his own previous-life actions drove him to a lowly rebirth in the present life and to a state not adequate for an encounter with the Buddha:

我於先世不造福業，為惡所牽今受此苦。我今不愁斯下賤業。眾人皆
得到於佛前，我今見臭穢故不得往。以是之故懊惱焦心

(T4.201.294b27–c1)

In a former life I did not do meritorious deeds (*ye* 業 = *pūrvakarmabhiḥ*), and on account of that which such evil leads to, I receive this suffering. I would [otherwise] not now worry about such a lowly occupation (*ye* 業 = *karman*).¹⁶² All people get to be in front of the Buddha but I alone, by being foul-smelling and filthy, do not get to go. For this reason, my heart burns.¹⁶³

Most of the ensuing narrative action consists of Nītha fleeing from the Buddha and in the Buddha magically appearing at the end of whichever alley Nītha chooses for his flight. Eventually, Nītha gives in and has a moment of spiritual awakening that leads him to seek monastic ordination.

¹⁶¹ See story XXXIII, whose main narrative drive hinges on this thought.

¹⁶² See story LIX, translated and annotated below (5.1), for another instance of the literary exploitation of the double sense of the Sanskrit word *karman*: “deed or action that prompts a cosmic requital” and “work, occupation.”

¹⁶³ Compare Huber 1908, 197, *Dans mes existences antérieures (je n'ai pas) accompli de bons karmans; j'étais entraîné par le mal et maintenant je souffre en rétribution cette misère. Je n'aurais maintenant pas la souffrance d'exercer ce métier vil. Tous les hommes peuvent se rendre auprès du Buddha; mais moi, à cause de mon aspect impur, je ne puis pas y aller. A cause de cela la douleur brûle mon cœur*; SHT 21/49 r5–v1, ...*nyah pūrva[ka]rmabhir evaṃ... -m anena nīcena ka... sarvasatvābhigamanī[y]a ... dahyate me [h]r[dayam]* “Thus, on account of my former deeds [...] through this lowly occupation (**karmanā*) [...] able to be approached by all people [...] my heart burns”; Schøyen 2382/318v1–2, *pūrvakarma{ma}bhir eva[m] ... -rtum iti dahyate me [h]r[dayam]* “Thus, on account of my former deeds [...] thinking [...] my heart burns.”

The story begins with what is in effect a *buddhastotra*, an ornate hymn of praise to the Buddha, set in the mouths of the citizens of Śrāvastī and the Prakrit passage occurs within this *stotra*. Since Lüders, who devoted a section specifically to this passage (1926, 45–46), left the text untranslated and did not have access to the Chinese text, and since, moreover, there have been advances in our understanding of it since Lüders’s time, the passage is presented below anew, with the appropriate philological annotation. Matching portions in the Chinese text are underlined:

[9] *yathā cā* +

lāvaṇṇapunnāpattam janāyanarasāyanam pa – – | –

– – | – – | – *taṃ vinayasamuttejitasirīram* 10

ko nu katatthasa – – | ~ – *jjhavijjhāpitadosa* – – | –

~ *samāpaṇāṃkasobhā pa* – ~ | – – | ~ | – – | – [11]

(SHT 21/48v2–3)

(*chāyā*:

lāvaṇya-pūrṇa-pātram jana-nayana-rasāyanam pa – – | –

– – | – – | – *taṃ vinaya-samuttejita-śrīkam*¹⁶⁴ 10

ko nu kṛta-artha-sa – – | ~ – *dhya(?)-vikṣapita*¹⁶⁵ -*doṣa* – – | –

¹⁶⁴ Lüders (1926, 46) was greatly puzzled by the word *sirīra*, which he interpreted as a cognate of Skt. *śarīra* “body.” Johnston (1931, 587, n.1) suggested that it may well be a scribal error for *sirīka* “glorious” on the basis of the Chinese translation and of the lexical items *nissirīka* “without glory” and *sassirīka* “with glory” in the Buddhist dramas from Kizil.

¹⁶⁵ The form *vijjhāpita* is a genuine Middle Indic form, and the equivalence with Skt *vikṣapita* proposed by Lüders (1926, 46) is also sound. The form is attested in the sense of “extinguished [fire]” in the Pāli *jātakas* (Fausbøll 1877–1899, iv 294.15, *yāva aḍḍharattā ukkā vijjhāpitā* “when the midnight torch be spent;” IV 295 24, *tāva amhākaṃ ukkā vijjhāpitā* “up until our torch be spent”) and in the Māhārāṣṭrī lyrical collection *Sattasāi* (333a:

˘ samāpana-aṅka-śobhā pa – ˘ | – – | ˘ | – – | – [11])

As they also [said]:¹⁶⁶

A vessel full of delight, elixir to the eyes of the people,

... glorious¹⁶⁷ [on account of those?] aroused by the discipline

Who then [...][...] purpose achieved [...] flaws extinguished [...]

[...] the splendor of the mark of accomplishment¹⁶⁸

善行美妙器 瞻仰無厭足

muhavijjhaviapaīva (=mukhavikṣāpitapradīpa) “the lamp extinguished with a blow.” Mayrhofer (1956) gives *kṣapayati* (s.v.) as a *p*-causative of √*kṣi* “destroy,” and since the Indo-European etymon of the latter is nowadays reconstructed as **dhg^whi* (Fortson 2010, 65), the form *vijjhapita* might be one more instance where Middle Indic languages preserve archaic features no longer visible even in Vedic Sanskrit, in this case the retention of the Indo-European voiced “thorn clusters” (i.e. dental followed by velar), which in Sanskrit became *kṣ* without exception: compare Pāli *uggharati* “it oozes” siding with Avestan *γžar-* “flow” against Vedic Sanskrit *kṣárati* (Fortson 2010, 220). The point to bear in mind here is that this would seem to be a genuinely archaic and specifically Middle Indic form.

¹⁶⁶ The poetic sections of the *Garland*, always framed as direct speech, are introduced by a generic clause that in Chinese generally includes *shuo ji yan* 說偈言 “X spoke in verse;” in the Sanskrit original, though, Kumāralāta uses mostly the verb *pra-√āh* “utter” (e.g. SHT 21/51r4, 21/74r2, SHT 21/78r3); √*āh* is used mostly to introduce direct speech in prose (e.g. SHT 21/53r2, v4; SHT 21/69v4, SHT 21/74r2, SHT 21/75v1, etc.). In the Chinese text the portion that corresponds to the Prakrit passage is integrated with the Sanskrit metrical portions that precede and follow it, but in the Sanskrit fragments, the Prakrit passage is immediately preceded by the text [9] *yathā cā...: [9]* is undoubtedly the number of the preceding Sanskrit verse: *yathā cā...* is in all likelihood what remains of *yathā cāhuḥ* “as they also said,” since the lacuna between *cā* and the initial *lā* of the Prakrit verse is enough for only one single *akṣara*.

¹⁶⁷ See p. 133, n.164 above.

¹⁶⁸ The portion *samāpanāṅkasobhā* greatly puzzled Lüders (1926, 46), and I cannot propose here a solution. I will limit myself to suggesting here that “mark” is one of the possible meanings of the Sanskrit word *aṅka*, and that this seems to match *xiang* 相 “marks” in the Chinese text.

如飲甘露味 猶如淨滿月
為人所愛樂 妙相以莊嚴
善調伏威德 眾德備足者
誰能具稱歎 諸過惡已壞
(T4.201.294a26–b1)

The beautiful vessel of good behavior,
In the beholding of which there is no weariness
As [in] drinking the flavor of elixir,
Like [in seeing?] the pure full moon.
[He] is the delight of the people
With wonderful marks as ornament.
With the glory of good discipline,
He is endowed with all qualities.
Who can praise him in full,
Him who has extinguished all flaws?

The first interesting thing to note here is that Kumāralāta’s usage of Prakrit in this passage is against what would become mainstream literary practice in later times. To start with, the usage of Prakrit, commonplace as it is in dramatic works, is fairly rare in high Sanskrit narrative art prose. Āryasūra, Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta, who seem to have followed the ornate prosimetric style of Kumāralāta did not employ Prakrit in their extant works. Furthermore, Kumāralāta is also not following dramatic conventions here either: in that case, Prakrit is reserved for a clearly circumscribed set of roles like the clown (*vidūṣaka*), most women, and the poor and uneducated.

In this passage of the *Garland*, this bit of literary Prakrit is put, in all likelihood, in the mouths of the citizens of Śrāvastī,¹⁶⁹ who up until the previous numbered verse had been speaking Sanskrit. Most surprisingly, Nītha, whom of all people we would have expected to be not conversant with the language, speaks Sanskrit, as is clear from the Sanskrit remnants first passage presented above. Whatever the effect that Kumāralāta is striving for here may have been, it goes against both earlier and later literary conventions and evinces a determined will for stylistic experimentation, to create a personal literary idiom.

The linguistic features of the Prakrit used here are of great consequence. The passage shows a clear trait of Central Indian Prakrits, namely the merging of the Old Indo-aryan sibilants ś, ṣ, s into s (**sirīka=śrīka, dosa=doṣa*), as opposed to Kumāralāta's presumably native northwestern Prakrit, whose retention of the three phonemes is aberrant. The fact that Kumāralāta uses here a Gangetic Prakrit is noteworthy. Since Śrāvastī, the setting of the story, is in fact in the Gangetic plain, it is possible that Kumāralāta may have been striving, here, for an accurate linguistic depiction of the city; however, it is nonetheless interesting that he may be using a vernacular different from his own northwestern Prakrit, now commonly referred to as Gāndhārī, in order to render a vernacular register.

Under further examination, though, these odd choices on the author's part follow a discernible pattern. Lüders (1926, 45) calls the language of this passage *Alt-Prakrit*—Old Prakrit—and links this label with a corpus formed by the Pāli material, Maurya and Śuṅga inscriptions, and the Prakrit used in the fragments of dramatic works found in Kizil (1911, 61–64). One key defining feature of this “Old Prakrit” would be the retention of unchanged simple

¹⁶⁹ See p. 133 above.

intervocalic stops (*kaṭa>kṛta*, **sirīka>śrīka*), which in later literary Prakrits become voiced, spirantized, or lost. The epigraphic record suggests, though, that these phonetic changes were under way, albeit sporadically, from the very time of the Aśokan inscriptions (Mehendale 1948, §24–26). On the other hand, Pāli has been called “artificial” on account of its sometimes suspiciously archaic phonology evinced in unlikely forms like the outcome of the Old Indo-aryan gerund *dr̥ṣṭvā* “having seen,” which in Middle Indic should have produced **dissā* or **diṭṭhā*, but not the odd Pāli *disvā* (see von Hinüber 1982). The highly manicured aspect of this “Old Prakrit” contrasts with the staggering orthographic variation encountered in Gāndhārī Prakrit, which bears the unmistakable signs of a strong link with the spoken language free from the reins of an established prescriptive grammar or literary tradition. Although we might call both of the language varieties considered here “Prakrits,” the two are very different things. “Old Prakrit” was almost certainly a well standardized and non-vernacular literary language by the time of Kumāralāta, a dead—or at least frozen—language like Sanskrit, with which it came, so to speak, in a single package: The alternation of Sanskrit and a variety of literary Prakrits is, as we remarked before, one of the most idiomatic traits of classical Sanskrit drama. Gāndhārī as attested in the extant corpus reflects, by contrast and for what we can tell, a closer relationship to a living spoken language. This is a safe inference from the fact that although we have original literary texts in the language, and some are of considerable artistry and ambition such as a recently published acrostic *buddhastotra* (Melzer 2017), extant secular documents of evident utilitarian import do not show a marked linguistic variance from the former; the dizzying orthographic variation of the language again argues against a strong grammatical prescriptive tradition. The answer to the question posed above might be that however experimental and idiosyncratic his treatment of it may have been,

Kumāralāta may have been toying with an already formed literary idiom, one that employed Classical Sanskrit along with highly fossilized literary Prakrits.

As Falk (2004, 139) notes, the emergence of the use of Sanskrit and of the Brahmī script in Gandhāra has not been sufficiently studied. Throughout the first two centuries of the common era, Gāndhārī Prakrit written in the regional Kharoṣṭhī script was the general norm, used for religious/literary and secular purposes, by kings, commoners, and Buddhist monastics alike. Sanskrit written in the Brahmī script is, as far as the evidence goes, limited in this area to the earliest Kuṣāṇa layer of the Bāmiyān cache finds now in the Schøyen collection, and these seem all to be Buddhist texts. Falk (2004) has gathered a corpus of six early donative inscriptions in Brahmī from Gandhāra from the 2nd and 3rd Centuries. The language oscillates between Sanskrit and a more hybrid gandhārizized register, but they are disconcerting in that their contents and purpose are virtually indistinguishable from contemporary inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī. One particularly fascinating inscription is §5 in Falk’s survey: it features parallel texts in Gāndhārī (Kharoṣṭhī) and Hybrid Sanskrit (Brahmī): *bakagr(e) viharakaravaka / bakako vihāraḱarāvakaḱ* “Bakaka, the maker (*karāvaka*>**karāpaka*=Sk. *kāraka*, *kārayitr̥*) of the monastery.” The inscription is at the feet of what remains of a boot-wearing figure that presumably represented Bakaka and is unique among other similar statue pedestals from the same site which bear only personal names—two, like Bakaka, probably Iranian and one Indic, Devadasa—in Kharoṣṭhī. Falk explains this situation in the following terms:

The lower ranks were content with Kharoṣṭhī, but the real donor of the monastery thought it worthwhile to include a Brāhmī version. The Brāhmī text comes with correct *sandhi* and final *visarga*: the local language has been changed into Sanskrit. (Falk 2004, 147).

Falk implies, then, that at this time in Gandhāra the usage of Sanskrit and its associated Brāhmī script were a marker of prestige. The “hybrid” element in the Sanskrit of the inscription seems to come directly from the Gāndhārī version: the Gāndhārī form *karavaka* is turned into the mock-Sanskrit form *kāravakaḥ*. As unclear as it is what considerations may have determined the choice of Sanskrit or Gāndhārī, the fact is that late Gāndhārī documents show the strong influence of Sanskrit in their orthography, and by the 4th Century the Kharoṣṭhī script was no longer used in Gandhāra and the Gāndhārī vernacular, however influenced by Sanskrit, was no longer recorded. A reasonable assumption to make therefore is that Sanskrit was becoming a prestige language, associated both with the increasingly influential brahmanical class and with growing trends of fashion among royal circles. However, Gandhāran—royal and not—donors of the first two centuries of the common era, just like donors during the same time period in other areas of the Indic world like the Deccan, did not feel the allure of Sanskrit and were content with inscriptions in what must have been a written register of their own spoken vernacular. Conversely in Mathurā, which is consistently depicted in the *Garland* as the seat of an influential brahmanical community,¹⁷⁰ donors seem to have incorporated aspects of Sanskrit orthography in their inscriptions from very early on. One of the early Brāhmī inscriptions from Gandhāra in Falk’s survey (2004, §1, 139–140)—a rectangular slab dated to the year 32 of the Kuṣāṇa era (159 CE)—was carved on Mathurān red sandstone and was probably made in, and imported from, Mathurā (p. 140). The increase of brahmanical influence that took place in the early centuries of the Common Era has been richly interpreted by Bronkhorst (2016). If his broad and wide-ranging argument can be boiled down into the few essentials that interest us here, these might be that the

¹⁷⁰ See stories I and LXXIV.

brahmanical class provided a disciplined and well-articulated ideology that proved attractive to political and social power in an age of concentration of land ownership and deurbanization. Sanskrit, with its highly regimented grammatical tradition and aura of sophistication, was a primary marker of brahmanical identity whose vogue would logically follow the increasing prestige of the brahmanical worldview. The larger implication is that this explains how Sanskrit eventually became the general language of elite discourse, and how it was used for literary genres not particularly linked with brahmanical orthodoxy. For example, the lifestyle manual for refined urbanites, the *Sūtra of Pleasure (Kāmasūtra)*, is written in good Sanskrit, as are also the Sanskrit dramas favored by the royal court, peppered as they may be with faux vernacular snippets in literary Prakrit. Kumāralāta was himself a grammarian, and from what we can glean from the small Prakrit passage presented above, his Prakrit is as structured and polished as one might expect. The usage of learned and genuinely prakritic forms like *vijjhapita* shows that this small passage conforms to the unique mix of authentic ancient vernacular forms and a stringent prescriptive grammar modeled on Sanskrit.¹⁷¹ As we have remarked before, some of the biographical traditions regarding Kumāralāta imply that he may have spent a protracted sojourn in Central India, to which we might add that travel from Gandhāra to Central India is featured in a couple of stories in the *Garland*.¹⁷² Kumāralāta may have been interested in engaging in the modes of expression that were fashionable in his time among the up-and-coming: this was achieved, though, at the expense of foregoing the rich and markedly regional literary traditions of his land in favor of a homogeneous—and later on increasingly regimented—pan-Indian literary idiom.

¹⁷¹ For *vijjhapita*, see p. 133, n.165 above.

¹⁷² See stories I and XXIV.

2.3.3. The *Garland* as Indian literature

One topic that unfortunately will have to be treated briefly here is that of the place of Kumāralāta in Indian literature. We have already seen that Kumāralāta and his work are transitional in many ways, the literary aspect being one of them. Understanding the literary matter and traditions that informed the *Garland*, as well as those that perhaps were informed by it in turn would help us clarify the nature of the pivotal point that it occupies, and although the topic is too vast to be treated here in detail, we can nevertheless survey some important points. Lévi published an important monograph dealing with the sources of the *Garland* (Lévi 1908). Lévi worked from a premise that now seems unlikely, namely that the *Garland* was a work of Aśvaghoṣa meant to clothe material from the canonical *sūtras* to make it available to the “man of the world”¹⁷³ under the attractive guise of literature, but he did show how Kumāralāta’s work is deeply rooted in the corpus of canonical scriptures that was known to him. My own examination of the material has led me in the very same direction, and I have identified additional canonical quotations that Lévi did not include in his survey.

I have proposed that some of the stories the *Garland* must be original pieces of fiction because they do not seem to have any parallels anywhere else in Buddhist literature. My own assessment is that the collection follows a careful plan that reflects a deliberate authorial intention: at least twice, the stories reference each other.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Lévi also worked from the premise that the original title of the collection was *Sūtrālamkāra*. In 1908, 22 he says: *Le Sūtrālamkāra, c’est les sūtras mis en littérature, comme nous dirions: «La Bible pour les gens du monde»*.

¹⁷⁴ The story of the encounter between the manure-sweeper Nītha (XLIII), which is probably an original invention of Kumāralāta, is referenced in story LII (T4.201.306b28–29=Huber 1908, 258.7), and the story of the merchant Koṭikarṇa in the city of ghosts (XVIII) is also referenced obliquely in story IV (T4.201. 263b21–22=Huber 1908, 34.31–32).

However, some of the stories in the collection are reworkings of well-known tales, like for example the *jātakas* of King Śibi or of the king of the deer. A few other stories have remarkable affinities with a narrative collection that must be earlier than the *Garland* and is preserved only in Chinese translation, the *Gathering of the Six Perfections* (*Liudu ji jing* 六度集經, T152). This collection seems to be a genuine translation by the 3rd Century Sogdian monk Kang Senghui 康僧會 (?-280 CE) (Nattier 2008, 150). Kang Senghui reportedly was born to a family of Sogdian merchants in Jiaozhi 交址, nowadays northern Vietnam (Nattier 2008, 149). The Chinese translation of the *Gathering* is unusual in its very literary idiom, in contrast with the more vernacular style typical of most Chinese Buddhist translations. The *Gathering*, like the *Garland*, consists of ninety stories, and, like the *Jātakamāla* of Āryaśūra, it is supposed to be arranged according to the sequence of the six “perfections” (*pāramitā*). The stories there are all presented in the form of previous birth stories of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. Stories VII and LXVII of the *Gathering* show a remarkable affinity in plot with, respectively, stories XXV and XV of the *Garland*; a less close resemblance exists also between stories XI, XV, and XXVIII in the *Gathering* and stories LXXI, IV, and LXIX of the *Garland*. Likewise, a couple of stories of the *Garland*, LXVIII “The Final Extinction of Mahāprajāpatī” and XVIII “Kotikarṇa in the city of ghosts” are also found in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*, and establishing whether or not this influential text was or not the source for these two stories of the *Garland* is a difficult problem, but one that when properly investigated will be undoubtedly enlightening. Although I believe that some of Kumāralāta’s stories reflect his own narrative creations, his innovations must be seen mostly in his literary style, that eschews repetition and cliché and favors psychological development over crammed plots and supernatural events.

That Kumāralāta was a precedent for the better known Āryaśūra has already noticed by Hahn (2007) and Khoroché (1989, vi); that, in turn, the later *jātaka* writers Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta took Āryaśūra as their model is also well known, especially since Haribhaṭṭa says so explicitly (Hahn 1989, 13). Khoroché has also suggested that Saṁghadeva, an author known only from a single, unedited *jātaka* from a fragmentary manuscript from Kizil from about the 5th Century, also belongs in this literary cluster. The stories of all these authors have in common a template: the stories begin with a moral apophthegm, followed by the formula *tadyathānuśrūyate* “as it is heard” or “as it is transmitted;” the story in the proper sense is told in a mixture of prose and verse, with the dialogue being often metrical. My examination of the Sanskrit text of the *Garland* against that of the works of these authors has persuaded me that perhaps the debt of the tradition towards Kumāralāta is heavier than it has been previously assumed. For example, in story III of the *Garland*, the Buddhist novices disguised as old men are said to be *pavanabalapracalitā iva supuṣpītāḥ sindhuvāritagulmāḥ* “like blossoming bushes of *sindhuvārita* shaken by the force of the wind.” Āryaśūra, when describing a ship in a storm (14.19+) calls it *pavanabalacalitasalilavegavaśagā* “under the might of the agitation of the waters, shaken by the force of the wind;” Haribhaṭṭa, describing the seven princesses of the eponymous story says that the girls are *pavanabalacalitasalilaphenāvalīmālīnya iva saritaḥ* “like rivers whose garlands are the rows of foam of the waters shaken by the force of the wind” (12.36+, Hahn 2007). These comparisons could go further, but for the moment let us remark that as much as these later writers of literary Buddhist *jātakas* in Sanskrit may have found inspiration in Kumāralāta’s style and lexical choices, generally the atmosphere of their stories veers towards either the legendary or the idealized, not adhering to the realism and geographical specificity of Kumāralāta’s *Garland*. This

perhaps explains why Āryaśūra achieved fame whereas Kumāralāta fell into oblivion in the long run, remaining only as a vague memory among scholastic philosophers.

It was perhaps Kumāralāta's transitional position that made him a stranger on either side: while giving in to the pressure of Classical Sanskrit and its characteristic stylistic conventions, Kumāralāta remained faithful to the older narrative tradition in its taste for a vernacular adherence to real places and lifelike situations.¹⁷⁵

Since the world where he lived seems to have been Kumāralāta's main concern, we might return to it after this long digression far away in time and history. Chapter III deals with the worldview of the Buddhist businessman as portrayed in the *Garland*.

¹⁷⁵ As a final corollary, we might remark that the affinities between Kumāralāta and his followers may not have been lost too quickly: as we have seen, the Turfan manuscript of the *Garland* included also part of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, and the Bāmiyān site produced fragments of Āryaśūra's and Haribhaṭṭa's *jātakamālās* together with—as we now know—fragments of the *Garland*. Kumāralāta's place in the history of Sanskrit literature is clouded by the fragmentary state of his work, and yet he is perhaps the earliest Buddhist author to write in classical Sanskrit for which we have a more or less certain date.

3. The Faith of Businesspeople

3.1. Ancient Indian businesspeople and the urban middle class.

The initial question we set about to investigate concerns the affinities that the Buddha's message shared with the sensibility of the ancient Indian businessman, and we will try to answer this question through an exploration of some pervasive concerns of the narratives: a rationale for practical decision-making, an emphasis on the virtue of industriousness, and the means by which a man finds a position for himself in the world. Before we do so, though, it will be necessary to investigate who this ancient Indian businessman, separate from both the servile classes that he often looked at with condescension and of the ruling elite, unnervingly impervious to the Buddha's gospel.

3.1.1. The sources for this section

In order to provide context for what the *Garland* has to say about its characters, I have opted to incorporate here material from two other related collections of Buddhist stories, the two "centuries" (*śataka*) *Avadānaśataka*, extant in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions, and the **Karmaśataka* (*Las brgya tham pa*), extant only in Tibetan. These two collections share some stories with the *Garland* and seem to be close to it in language (Sanskrit, with only lexical Middle Indic features), style (prose with verse speeches), period (possibly late Kuṣāṇa), and geographic origin (north-western India). Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, these collections seem to take the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins as a literary model, and often as a direct source. As the *Vinaya* genre was at least technically restricted to a monastic audience, I have not considered material from it in this section. The two "centuries"

have been said, however, to be derivative from this *Vinaya* (see Schopen 2004, 125–126; Skilling 2001, 139).

In limiting myself to such a small corpus in this section, the aim I pursue is one of avoiding the vast and possibly unanswerable question of the general social background of Buddhists in ancient India; instead, I set out to survey—more modestly but perhaps also more fruitfully—how some Buddhists chose to portray themselves in a series of literary sources closely related in time and geography.

3.1.2. The Protagonists of the Stories: *Śreṣṭhin* and *Gṛhapati*

Along with the “centuries,” the *Garland* presents to us a vision of the entire universe of moral agents, which in ancient India includes more than humans: animals and gods, monsters, ghosts. Even if by projecting into the text a modern conception of moral agency we were to limit ourselves to the stories with human protagonists, a survey of these collections reveals an attempt to explore the full range of human society: from the bottom to the top of the social gamut and from the most disenfranchised to the most powerful. This of course echoes the Buddha’s claim that the social order that he preaches about involves no distinctions of status and class. Be that as it may, I believe that it is possible to discern in these stories a social “we” as opposed to a social “other,” with “we” being the social class from whose point of view the texts were written and for which they were in all likelihood meant. I have assumed here that the characters that elicit the least amount of description represent those who, being most similar to the target audience of the stories of the *Garland*, required the least explanation because their general background may have been safely taken for granted by those hearing or reading these stories. Those that I will posit here as the “social other,” as, for example,

brahmins, are always carefully labeled as such. The other assumption that I have followed here is that, largely, the moral heroes of a story are the most likely to have a social affinity with those who may have read or listened these stories.

In the two “centuries,” the single most common protagonist of the stories is a not-further-characterized male *grhapati* or *śreṣṭhin*. This amounts to nineteen among the hundred stories of the *Avadānaśataka*¹⁷⁶ and thirty among the hundred and twenty-seven stories of the **Karmaśataka*¹⁷⁷—a “century” only by name. The meaning of *śreṣṭhin* is reasonably well agreed to be an ‘eminent man in a given trade’, often the head of the guild, and this meaning applies to Buddhist and non-Buddhist literature alike. *Grhapati* is much more contested for this period, and much has been written about it. The etymological sense is transparent—‘master of the house,’ i.e. head of the household—and this seems indeed to be the meaning of the term in Vedic literature, and also, marginally, for the period we are dealing with.¹⁷⁸ However, its use in Buddhist and Jaina literature suggests that although the *grhapatis* might indeed have been the heads of their households, the term has further implications. Nattier (2003, 22–25) and more recently Jamison (forthcoming) provide surveys of evidence and interpretations that can be summarized as follows.

¹⁷⁶ III-IV, VI, IX-X, XX, XXIV-XXVI, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLI, LI, LXXI, LXXI, LXXXII-LXXXIII, XCII; in XLVIII and LXXVII as marginal characters.

¹⁷⁷ I-IV, IX-X, XIII, XXI, XXV, XXXVI-XXXVII, LIX-LX, LXXI, LXXV, LXXXI, LXXXIII, LXXXVIII, XCI, C, CII-CIII, CV, CVII, CX-CXI, CXV-CXVIII.

¹⁷⁸ See Jamison (forthcoming) for a survey of this word in Vedic and later brahmanical literature. The falling out of use of *grhapati* in brahmanical technical literature may have had to do with the incongruence between it and the term *gārhapatya*, that denotes a specific fire in the ‘solemn’ (*śrauta*) ritual system, which, unlike what its etymology might suggest, indicates a fire to be operated by a cast of professional priests instead of the head of the household.

The term often implies financial means of some sort. Some Buddhist texts list the *grhapati* as one of the seven treasures of the ideal monarch, suggesting a function related to finance—Edgerton renders it as “capitalist” and von Hinüber as “banker”.¹⁷⁹ The term, however, is not contraposed to *pravrajita* ‘ascetic,’ that role being assumed by *grhin* ‘having a house’ and *grhastha* ‘dwelling in a house.’ In Buddhist and Jaina literature *grhapati* often takes the place of the *vaiśya* label in enumerations of the castes. Nattier concludes that “*grhapati* implies not only the social status acquired at birth [...] but a personal degree of occupational status as well.” Also, as the frequent term *grhapatiputra* ‘son of a *grhapati*’ suggests, being the head of the extended family seems to be a factor in the identity of the *grhapati*, but the fact that post-Vedic brahmanical discourse does not make the term a central actor in its rhetoric suggests that its usage in the sense of ‘prominent man’ may have been associated with the sectors of society that supported the śramaṇic religions (Jamison, forthcoming).

Nattier mentions in the same section that there is some overlap between *grhapati* and *śreṣṭhin*.¹⁸⁰ Some of that very overlap occurs in the corpus considered here. For example, in story XLI of the *Avadānaśataka*, we are presented by the narrator with a wealthy *śreṣṭhin* who, however, is later on addressed with the vocative *grhapate* by a wandering Buddhist ascetic (Speyer 1906–1909, i. 244. 11; French tr. Feer 1891, 164). That in the “centuries” people labeled as *grhapatis* and *śreṣṭhins* make up a tangible majority of main characters is certain, because those collections are explicit—albeit in a very formulaic manner—in their sociological identification of all

¹⁷⁹ Edgerton 1953, ii *sub grhapati* and von Hinüber 2014, 60, 69, 89, 107, 109–110, 113.

¹⁸⁰ There is ample evidence to illustrate the frequency with which both terms are associated: see Lüders 1912, §1003 and Kino 1957 for epigraphic occurrences of the phrase *gahapati seṭhi*. The general Chinese translation of both terms is often the same, i.e. *zhangzhe* 長者 ‘prominent man’.

characters. The case of the *Garland* is different, because Kumāralāta quite clearly strives to be neither explicit nor formulaic. To start with, and in spite of Huber’s French translation, the known Sanskrit fragments do not contain the word *śreṣṭhin*, only *gr̥hapati*¹⁸¹ and the Chinese text occasionally labels characters as *jushi* 居士 ‘resident, private citizen’ and *zhangzhe* 長者 ‘elder’—both of which are standard translations of Sanskrit *gr̥hapati* and its Middle Indic cognates but, as mentioned already, also of *śreṣṭhin*.

Only three stories in the *Garland* (XLVIII, LXI, LXVI) have their protagonists explicitly labeled as *gr̥hapatis*; however, there are hints that suggest that many other characters might have shared the social characteristics associated with the *gr̥hapati* in this literature. Leaving the middle often uncharacterized, Kumāralāta usually explicitly identifies people on the extremes of the social spectrum: kings, ministers, and brahmins on the one hand, and peasants, servants, slaves, and the generally despised *caṇḍālas* on the other. In the following pages I will outline the characteristics that align the characters of the *Garland* to the *gr̥hapatis* of the “centuries” and of Buddhist literature in general. For the moment, let one example suffice: The protagonist of a number of stories (III, VI, XXXVII, LX, LXXXIV) is a not-further-characterized *dānapati*, a ‘master of the gift,’ i.e. a donor of gifts to the Buddhist order. The fact that these *dānapati* are in a position to make these donations is in itself telling of their social status for the collection provides good information on the cost of the monastic meal—the gift *par excellence*—that features so often in these stories: the painter of Puṣkalāvati in story XXI, who earns thirty ounces of gold for his work, uses them to feed the Buddhist *saṃgha* for one day instead of sending them

¹⁸¹ Apparently the Gāndhārī term *śeṭhi* (=śreṣṭhin) is only attested in a literary source (*Khotan Dharmapada*, 117d) and not epigraphically. Although this rather meager as evidence, it might suggest that the usage of this title was not too widespread in the Northwest.

to his family. Similarly, story LXXV makes clear that the cost of feeding the *saṃgha* for one full month is equivalent to the market value of two human beings, the old husband and wife who pledge themselves for the sake of this meritorious action. As such, as to the social class of these *dānapati*, it would seem that though they are not part of the ruling elite, they were quite affluent and capable of large donations.

3.1.3. The nature of the wealth of a *grhapati*

Speaking with reference to the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*, Schopen (2000, 152, n. III.4) remarks: “when *grhapatis* are [...] described—and that is not very often—it is usually in terms of their wealth.” Wealth, therefore, as the most frequent attribute of this elusive category, is a good point of departure to examine the usage of the term and its social significance in the corpus considered here. That wealth is at least one goal of the religious gift is made abundantly clear in our texts. The **Karmaśataka* is noteworthy in the high frequency with which its characters make the resolution (*prañidhāna*) to be born in a rich family in the next life as the outcome of their meritorious acts. This occurs also once in the Sanskrit text of the *Avadānaśataka*:

anenāhaṃ kuśalamūlena yatra yatra jāyeya tatra tatroccakulīnaḥ syām

By this root of merit, wherever I may be born, may I there be of a prominent family.

It also occurs often in the **Karmaśataka*:

*kye ma dge ba 'i rtsa ba 'dis nas gang dang gang du skye ba de dang der phyug cing
nor mang la longs spyod che ba 'i rigs su skye bar shog cig (Derge, Mdo,)*

By this root of merit, wherever I may be born, may I there be born in a family that

is rich, with much wealth, of great affluence.¹⁸²

Now, among the many “stenciled passages” that make up the narrative fabric of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* and the two “centuries” considered here, there is one that describes a rich man in somewhat hyperbolic terms. In a distilled, normalized form this passage looks as follows:

*ādhyo mahādhano mahābhogo vistīrṇaviśālaparigraho vaiśravaṇadhanasamudito
vaiśravaṇadhanapratispardhī*

*phyug cing nor mang la longs spyod che ba yongs su 'dzin pa yangs shing rgya
che ba rnam thos kyi bu'i nor dang ldan pa rnam thos kyi bu'i nor dang 'gran pa*

“[He was] rich, with much wealth, of great affluence, with widespread and extensive property, risen to the wealth of Vaiśravaṇa (=God of Wealth), rival to the wealth of Vaiśravaṇa”

This cliché occurs forty-one times in the *Avadānaśataka* and eighteen in the **Karmaśataka*, and as a rule these stenciled descriptions characterize either a *grhapati* or a

¹⁸² It is impossible to tell whether the Indic original of the **Karmaśataka* had here the term *uccākulīna* that was rendered in Tibetan with the usual “wealth cliché,” or if these two versions were originally slight variations of the same stock phrase. The Pāli *uccākulīna*, a thematicized form of a compound with the *-in* suffix built on the adverb *uccā* ‘high[ly]’ and *kula* ‘household’—both words with a distinguished Vedic pedigree—is common, as also the Ardhamāgadhī synonym *uccāgotta* (= **uccāgotra*) ‘from a lofty lineage’ seems to be common. Much less common is the imperfectly Sanskritized form *uccakulīna*, which other than here appears also at least three times in Kumāralāta’s *Garland*, in fragment SHT 21/94. The phrase *uccakulīnasamvartanīyaṃ karma* in r2 and r3 (Lüders 1926, XXX) should be taken to mean ‘action that results in belonging to a prominent family [in a future life]’ and according to the Chinese translation, the point of the passage is that such *uccakulīnasamvartanīyaṃ karma* is just one possible type of meritorious action among many, and that birth “in a prominent family” is not necessarily accompanied by wealth.

śreṣṭhin, with only a few exceptions.¹⁸³ The overlap between this “wealth cliché” and the *grhapatis* and *śreṣṭhins* is not only significant because it not only suggests that the real-life counterparts of the people that this literature calls *śreṣṭhins* and *grhapatis* may have been in fact wonderfully rich; it suggests that, regardless of whether they were or not rich, they aspired to be rich. While the preoccupation with wealth, and the attribution of this preoccupation to the *grhapati/śreṣṭhin* is made abundantly clear in these collections, they afford us also occasional glimpses of what such wealth might actually have looked like. In story LXXXVI of the *Garland*, we see an unnamed king rewarding his skilled physician with an ideal rural estate:

詣於彼醫所住之處為造屋宅。養生之具——人民、田、宅、象、馬、牛、羊奴婢使，一切資產無不備具。

(T4.201.347.a15–17)

[The king] commanded that in the region where that physician lived a residence (*wuzhai* 屋宅) be made. Regarding all the trappings [necessary] to nourish life (*yang sheng* 養生)—people, and fields, and house, elephants and horses, cows and sheep, male and female servants—there was nothing that that property (*zichan* 資產) was not endowed with.

The first two elements in the list contained in this passage, “people and fields,” are highly illustrative of the nature of the gift of the king, but by no means unique to the Indian context: Land, as well as the human labor needed to make it fruit, are the main form that patrimonial wealth assumes throughout pre-industrial sedentary societies as it is the safest and most reliable

¹⁸³ The exceptions are the following: 1) All the legendary Śākya warriors of the past, in the 7th decade of the *Avadānaśataka*; 2) Brahmins (*Avadānaśataka* I, LXXIV, **Karmaśataka* LXXIV); 3) A caravan-leader (*sārthavāha*) (*Avadānaśataka* LXXXV).

source of income. Chakravarti (1987, 65–93) has combed through the copious occurrences of the Pāli term *gahapati* (i.e. *grhapati*) in the Theravāda canon, and concludes that in that corpus there is a definite association between this term and the possession of land.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, there is evidence from the texts considered here to suggest that this might often have been the case in the *Garland*, although other descriptions of *grhapatis* in the three collections considered here also imply that the wealth of some of these people might have come from different sources as well. One short passage in story XLI of the *Avadānaśataka* briefly describes the proto-industrial empire of an unnamed *śreṣṭhin*:

*rājagṛhe nagare 'nyatarah śreṣṭhī ādhyo mahādhano mahābhogo
vistīrṇaviśālaparigraho*

*vaiśravaṇadhanasamudito vaiśravaṇadhanapratispardhī / tasya
pañcamātrāṇīkṣusālaśatāni yatra cekṣuḥ pīḍyate*

(Speyer 1906–1909, i. 244. 2–3)

[There was] in Rājagṛha a *śreṣṭhin* who was rich, of great wealth, of great affluence, with widespread and extensive property, risen to the wealth of Vaiśravaṇa (=the God of Wealth), rival to the wealth of Vaiśravaṇa. He had five hundred sugarcane mills, where sugarcane was pressed.

¹⁸⁴ On a comparative note, the Greek term *oiko-despótēs*, literally ‘lord of the house’ at least in the usage of the Christian New Testament, has been rendered in English as ‘householder,’ ‘landowner,’ and ‘employer,’ and “denotes the master or owner of a ‘household,’ i.e. of servants” (Bromiley 1979, ii 773). The Greek term is etymologically redundant, as *oiko[s]* means ‘house’ and *despótēs* on its own is probably to be traced to the Proto-Indoeuropean idiom **dems potis* ‘lord of the house.’ In a wonderful testament to the reach of linguistic DNA, the Greek *des-pótēs* is in all likelihood a cognate of the archaic Sanskrit *dám-pati*, of which *grhá-pati*, semantically identical, should perhaps be seen as a modernization, or, as Jamison (forthcoming) suggests, a vernacular, non-poetic form.

The text is careful to tell us that when a Buddhist ascetic comes to the facility to beg for some sugarcane juice, the *śreṣṭhin* is in the “machine room” (*yantraśālā*), but that soon afterwards he leaves, entrusting the task of administering the sugarcane juice to the holy man to one of his “hired laborers” (*bhṛtakapuruṣa*). In these two cases, it seems that wealth is explicitly linked to the ownership of the means of production. Some of the passages that will follow suggest yet other possible sources of wealth, some quite unexpected; however, in some form or other, patrimonial property seems to be always lurking in the background of those described as wealthy, and is often presented as the basis to further their economic enterprise.

A thorough description of the assets of a *grhapati*, or rather of a *gāhāvai*—such being the form that the word apparently takes, in spite of what would be puzzling changes in vowel length, in *Ardhamāgadhī*—comes from a Jain source, the “Decade of the Lay Brothers” (*Uvāsagadasāo=Upāsakadaśā[ka]*), which is the seventh item in the *Aṅga* category of canonical scriptures of the Śvetāmbara school, a collection of stories about wealthy sponsors of the Jain religion that become lay-brothers. The protagonist of the first story, the *gāhāvai* Āṇanda, takes on a number of restraints in multiple aspects of his life, including his economic interests, in the process of becoming a laybrother (*uvāsaga=upāsaka*)—all of which tell of the imaginary of wealth reflected in this collection (§1.17–21, Hoernle 1890, १-१०). Āṇanda unwittingly lists his various assets as he solemnly refrains from acquiring other property: “Besides [his] four crores of cash in

deposit,¹⁸⁵ four lent on interest, four invested in real estate”¹⁸⁶ (*annattha caūhiṃ hiraṇakoḍihiṃ nihānapaūttahiṃ, caūhiṃ vadḍhipaūttahiṃ, caūhiṃ pavittharapaūttahiṃ*), “four herds, each herd with ten thousand cows” (*caūhiṃ vaehiṃ dasagosāhassaenaṃ vaenaṃ*), “five hundred ploughs, each plough with a hundred measures of land each”¹⁸⁷ (*pañcahiṃ halasaehiṃ niyattanasaienaṃ haleṇa*), “five hundred carts for travel, five hundred carts for freight” (*pañcahiṃ sagaḍasaiehiṃ disāyattiehiṃ, pañcahiṃ sagaḍasaiehiṃ saṃvāhaṇiehiṃ*), and “five hundred boats for travel, five hundred boats for freight” (*pañcahiṃ vāhaṇasaiehiṃ disāyattiehiṃ, pañcahiṃ vāhaṇasaiehiṃ saṃvāhaṇiehiṃ*).

A previously occurring passage (§1.5) describes the extent of Āṇanda’s social influence:

That householder Āṇanda was a person whom many kings and princes (and so forth, down to) merchants made it a point to defer to, and to consult, on many affairs and matters needing advice when there was anything in their own or others’ households which required to be hushed up or was merely of private concern or

¹⁸⁵ I take here *hiraṇa* (Skt. *hiraṇya*) to mean ‘coin,’ which is the technical meaning suggested by Olivelle in the context of the *Arthaśāstra* (2013, 27). Olivelle translates *hiraṇya* as “money” in §1.4.1 (p. 68) and “cash” in §2.29.2 (p. 162).

¹⁸⁶ In his English translation of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, Hoernle renders *pavitthara*, which should correspond to Skt. *pravistara*, as ‘well-stocked estate’ (p. 8) and invokes the following gloss from the Sanskrit commentary: “property consisting of treasure, grain, two-footed animals (incl. servants), four-footed animals, etc” (p.8, n.12). The attested meaning of *pravistara* in Sanskrit is ‘extent, circumference.’ The term in the unusual meaning of ‘property’ might be somewhat related to the compound *vistīrṇaviśālaparigraha*, ‘with extended and wide property’ that occurs in similarly stereotyped descriptions of wealth in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* and derived narrative collections, and that might refer to land. In light of this, and of the meaning of derivatives of the lexeme *vi-√stṛ* in modern Indic languages like Shina *bṭhiḥjoiki* ‘to get a place, find a place, fit into, go through’ and *bṭṭoiki* ‘to make room for,’ (Turner 1962–1966, §12005, 12010), I have tentatively translated here *pavitthara* as ‘real estate’. I thank Dr. Tatiana Oranskaia for the references in Turner and for suggesting this rendering (personal communication, March 24, 2018).

¹⁸⁷ A *nivartana* is a “measure of land, 20 rods or 200 cubits or 40,000 hastas square” (Monier Williams 1872, s.v..)

called for some important decision; in short, on all sorts of business. He was also the main pillar, as it were, of his own family, their authority, support, mainstay and guide. In short he was a cause of prosperity to whatever business he was concerned with. (translation from Hoernle 1890, 7)

The two passages, in spite of their hyperbole, trace a rich picture of what the ideal *grhapati* might have looked like: a person with a good deal of personal wealth, split over a diversified portfolio. Such a portfolio, which includes agricultural and commercial ventures, seems to be an essential characteristic of the ideal *grhapati*; however, also essential is a position of social prominence and a role as the head of the extended family.

The nature of other sources of income and wealth is more varied than what one might expect. These texts talk about wealthy butchers and musicians, and even a painter who seems to make a reasonably high wage in spite of the mention of his lack of landed property.¹⁸⁸ Among these other sources of wealth, commerce is certainly a well laid-out option, and merchants are commonly depicted in the *Garland*, with stories I, XII, XVIII, XXV, XLV, and XC having merchants as their protagonists. The last among these stories is particularly interesting in its explicit comparison of the Buddha returning after his enlightenment to his former companions in asceticism to a merchant who goes abroad and returns rich to his family. I will discuss here material from our texts that suggests that long-distance trade may have been one among several economic options embraced by the *grhapatis*. It might surprise us at this point that there seems to be no obvious correlation between commerce in the strict sense and stereotyped descriptions of wealth.

¹⁸⁸ The painter earned “thirty ounces of gold (*sanshi liang jin* 三十兩金). This sum is well above the wages of an unskilled manual worker as portrayed in the *Law Code of Manu* and the *Arthaśāstra* as interpreted in Sharma 1980, 205.

This literature abounds in mentions of professional merchants (*sārthavāha*, *vaṇij*) and, as I will show below, commerce is often presented as one of the options available to *gr̥hapatis* and *śreṣṭhins*, but sometimes simply as a way to obtain an external source of income to supplement patrimonial revenue. In other words, there does not seem to be a direct correlation between the social identity of *gr̥hapati/śreṣṭhin* and the business of buying and selling per se.

3.1.4 The “prominent man”-*gr̥hapati* as the male head of the extended family.

Buddhist literature and epigraphy abounds in “sons,” “daughters,” and less often “wives” of *gr̥hapatis* (*gr̥hapatiputra*, *gr̥hapatiduhitar*, *gr̥hapatipatnī*), which suggests that as long as one was still subject to the authority of the *pater familias* one could not be *gr̥hapati* on one’s own, certainly not a “master of the household” but also not a “prominent man” either. The *gr̥hapati* as a “prominent man” may therefore have been a subset of the *gr̥hapati* as the “head of the family.”

Let one epigraphic occurrence of a “son of a *gr̥hapati*” serve here to illustrate these points.

The inscription is from the site of Kol, in the Deccan:

1. *gahapatiputasa seṭhisa*

2. *[s]amgharakhitasa deyadhamam lena[m]*

“A monastic cell (*lena*), the religious gift of Saṃgharakṣita, guild-president (*seṭhi*), the son of [the?/a?] *gr̥hapati*.”

(Burgess and Indrajī 1881, 3; Lüders 1912 §1075)

The donor has a very Buddhist-sounding name, and is a man of preeminence in his own trade and yet he defines himself not as a *gr̥hapati* but as the son of one. Now, here we have the

possibility that *grhapati* is a title¹⁸⁹ but that would be at odds with the abundant instances in literature where people are described as sons or daughters of *grhapatis* and in which *grhapati* is evidently a general social label.

There is a rare occurrence of the “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit” form *grhapatinī*, i.e. the grammatically feminine version of *grhapati*, in the *prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsaṃghikas (*niḥsargikapācattika* rule 9):

*bhikṣuṃ kho punar uddiśya anyatareṣāṃ dvinnāṃ grhapatikasya
grhapatinīye ca pratyekacīvaracetāpanāni abhisamṣkṛtāni bhavanti...*

(Pachow and Mishra 1952–1953, §9)

When various robe prices, having been intended for a monk, have been prepared by two [people] who are not related [to the monk]: a householder and a householder’s wife...

(English tr. Prebish 1996, 66)

However, the parallel in the *prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins has *grhapatipatnī* instead (*niḥsargikapāyattika* 9, Banerjee 1954). A certain fluctuation between the two seems to have existed in the latter tradition. In a passage of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* we hear of a *grhapatipatnī* (Dutt, *Gilgit Texts*, Vol III part 1, 87.14), but then the same woman is termed instead a *grhapatnī*. Rhys Davids and Stede (1921–1925, s.v.) list the phonologically aberrant Pāli *gahapatānī* as the feminine form of *gahapati*, noting that it always occurs in tandem with the latter. Otherwise, *grhapatnī* is, as far as I can tell, very rare in Buddhist literature and epigraphy.

¹⁸⁹ See pp. 175ff. on this topic.

3.1.5. Choosing a trade

The three scenes from the **Karmaśataka* that follow below present us with the stories of three *grhapati*[*putra*]/s at the moment of choosing a livelihood. In story XXXVI, the family business seems to be retail, but since the newly-wed son—the *grhapatiputra*—is infatuated with his wife to the detriment of shop-keeping, the father decides to send the young man abroad, as a didactic exercise, with merchandise “to be accounted for” (*le’u glon pa’i zong*). In the second, from story CXVII, a young *grhapati* realizes that his family has reached a size that threatens his inherited wealth, whose growth has ceased (*nor spyod ba skyes zin*), and so decides to “go abroad carrying merchandise” (*zong khyer la bdag yul gzhan du ’gro bar bya’o*). In the third, from story CXVIII, another young *grhapati*, whose parents have recently died, evaluates the businesses or trades he might take up: On the one hand, the management of an agricultural enterprise; on the other, what seems to indicate overland and maritime long-distance trade. Tellingly, he ditches those three possibilities and decides to embrace the profession of Buddhist monk. Be that as it may, in these three vignettes, long-distance trade is presented not as the primary or hereditary occupation of the families in question, but rather as a supplemental activity.

Because they are important to further discussion, I here offer excerpts from these three stories in original text and in my own translation:

1.

*de nas de’i pha mas thabs zlar bab pa las de’i chung ma blangs nas de yang de
dang lhan cig tu rtse zhing dga’ la dga’ mgur spyod de / khye’u de bu mo de la
shas cher chags nas de med kyi bar du ’dug mi ’dod de / des zong bzhag pa dang
tshong khang bor nas de ’ba’ zhis dang lhan cig ’dug go / de nas khyim bdag des
bsams pa / ’di ’di la chags na nor zas thams cad zad par ’ong gis ’di ro ’di dang*

*dbral dgos so snyam nas smras pa / bu cig ro 'di ci dgos gal te khyod 'di bzhin
du 'dug ste las mi byed na rgas pa'i tshe phongs par 'gyur gyis / bu ji srid kyi bar
du khyod kyi 'byung ba chen po rnams la mthu yod kyi bar du nor bsgrub par gyis
shig / phyis chung ma dang sdug par gyur ta re zhes smras nas / khyim bdag des
le'u glon pa'i zong sta gon byas nas khye'u de yul gzhan du btang ngo / khye'u
des kyang rnga mo dang bong bu la sogs pa la zong bkal nas grong dang grong
khyer dang nags khrod kyi grong dang yul chen po rnams bgrod de*

(Derge, *Mdo*, A, 139.a6–b3)

Then, after [the *grhapatiputra*'s] parents procured a companion, taking her as his wife, he amused himself together with her and made love. That young man, being so attached to that woman, did not wish to be without her. He, putting aside the merchandise and giving up the shop, stayed in her company. Then the *grhapati* thought: “In that this one is inordinately attached to that one is going to drain our wealth, it is necessary to separate him from that passion (*ro=rāsa/rāga*),” after which he said: “What is the use, for a young man, of such passion? If you stay like this and do no work, when you are old you will be poor. Therefore, son, for as long as your constituent elements have their vigor, for so long obtain wealth. Then you will be dear to your wife.” Having so spoken, the *grhapati*, having prepared the merchandise to be accounted for,¹⁹⁰ sent that young man to a foreign country.

¹⁹⁰ The old meaning of the term *le'u glon* is apparently ‘answer’. The Old Tibetan dictionary of Btsan lha (1996) glosses *le'u glon* with the etymologically related *lan* ‘reply’ (p. 992, *sub voce*; see Beyer 1991, 11 for the derivation of *glon* from *lan*). In the classical language the verb *lan* can also mean ‘to repay’ (Jäschke 1881, 543 *sub voce*), and such seems to be also the meaning of the pleonastic phrase *lan glon* in some Old Tibetan texts: see for example the

Also that young man, having loaded merchandise on camel, donkey, etc. progressed into towns and cities and forest villages and the *countryside.

2.

*ri khrod kyi grong zhig na khyim bdag phyug cing / nor mang la longs spyod che
ba zhig gnas pa des thabs zlar bab pa las chung ma blangs nas / de de dang lhan
cig tu rtse zhing dga' la dga' mgur spyod do / de rtse zhing dga' la dag mgur spyod
pa las / phyi zhig na de'i chung ma la bu chags nas / de zla ba dgu' ma bu lon pa
dang khye'u zhig btsas te / de'i btsas ston zhag bdun gsum nyi zhu rtsa cig gi bar
du rgyas par sbyar nas / rigs dang 'thun par ming btags so / de'i 'og tu yang de rtse
zhing dga' la dga' mgur spyod pa las bu zhig btsas te / de'i yang btsas ston rgyas
par byas nas / rigs dang 'thun pa'i ming btags so / de nas des bsams pa bdag gis
bu lon 'tsho ba pa dang / nor spyod ba skyes zin gyi zong khyer la bdag yul gzhan
du 'gro bar bya'o snyam mo.*

(Derge, *Mdo*, Am, 90.b3–5)

In a border town lived a *grhapati* who was is rich, with much wealth, of great affluence. After having found a companion and taken her as his wife, he amused himself together with her and made love. After having amused himself together with her and made love, later on, his wife was with child. When nine months had passed a boy was born. His birth festivities having been arranged for three weeks ([narrate] in detail [here]) [the boy] was given a name suitable to his

clause *pha ma'i drin gyi lan glon na* 'when one has repaid the kindness of mother and father...' in the manuscript Pelliot Tibétain 1283, line 245 (Lalou 1939–1961, iii, §1).

lineage. Then, after having again made love, a boy was born. Having made birth festivities for him too ([narrate] in detail [here]), [the boy] was given a name suitable to his lineage. Then [the *grhapati*] thought: “As I live in debt and the growth of my wealth is gone, I will go abroad carrying merchandise.”

3.

pha ma gnyis shi nas las su bya ba thams cad khye'u des tshis byed de / de las gang byed kyang rung / zhing las byed kyang rung / tshong byed kyang rung / gru'i las byed kyang rung / de las byas so cog 'jig cing 'grub par mi 'gyur ro / de nas khyim bdag rmongs pa de'i snyam du sems te / bdag gis 'dir las gang byed kyang rung ste / zhing las byed kyang rung / tshong byed kyang rung / gru'i las byed kyang rung / bdag gis las byas so cog 'jig cing 'grub par mi 'gyur na / 'jig rten na mi 'jig pa'i chos gang 'jig bar mi 'gyur ba 'ga' lta yod dam zhid gu snyam mo /
(Derge, Mdo, A, 95a6–95.b1)

After both parents died, the youth [Karaṣaka] evaluated all the trades (*las*=**karman*, **karmānta*) he might take up (*las su bya ba thams cad*): whatever one may do among those, be it doing the business of the fields, or be it doing commerce (overland trade?), or be it doing the business of ships (maritime trade?), whatever one may do among those, failing, will not succeed. Then the *grhapati* *Karaṣaka thought in regard to that: “Whatever I may do here, be it doing the business of the fields, or be it doing commerce (overland trade?), or be it doing the business of ships (maritime trade?); since all the trades I may do, failing, will not succeed, in the world is there perhaps one norm (*chos*=*dharma*) in the world an unfailing norm that will not result in failure?”

We might note regarding this last story that in spite of his youth and of the disadvantage that losing his parents represents, *Karṣaka is presented as a *grhapati*. And, as the reader might have guessed, the “unfailing norm that will not result in failure” is the Buddhist monastic path. It is further important to point out that this monastic option is presented as a likely career for a young man from *Karṣaka’s milieu, and this underscores the likely appartenance of lay and monastic Buddhists to one social class.

In these three stories, it seems that *grhapatīs* might have had a certain margin of choice at the moment of choosing an occupation, for themselves and for their offspring. In the following vignette, from story XIII of the **Karmaśataka*, a tailor, said to be a *grhapati*, wonders what kind of trade might suit his crippled son:

*khyim bdag gcig gnas pa [...] khye’u zhig btsas te / khye’u de yang ’phye
bo ’gro mi nus pa zhig tu gyur [...] de nas des bsams pa ma la bdag gi ’di tshem
bu mkhan gyi las bslabs pa dang des ’di’i ’tsho ba rnyed par ’gyur ro snyam du
bsams nas des khye’u de tshem bu mkhan gyi las slob tu bcug go*

(Derge, Mdo, A, 47.b1–4) There was a *grhapati* [...] To him a son was born. And the son was a cripple, who became unable to walk [...] Then he (=the *grhapati*) thought: “Now, having learned this trade of mine as a tailor, by it his livelihood may be earned,” and having thought this, he entered his crippled son into the apprenticeship of the business of a tailor.

For our purposes, what is most interesting in this passage is the fact that it is not a given that the son will inherit the trade of the father; rather it is one possibility considered among others. Indeed, only after deciding that the trade of a tailor suits an invalid, does the father decide to initiate

his son in learning the trade. The other interesting fact in the story is that we have here a *gr̥hapati* who is a tailor, not the kind of person that one may have expected to be wealthy.

It should also be borne in mind that the protagonist of the third excerpt presented above, after discarding the possibilities of taking up agricultural administration together with overland and maritime trade, decides to become a Buddhist monk, which is implicitly presented as a fourth option. The only time in the collection when we are told the former occupations of Buddhist novices is in story XLII, where we are told that the two new monastics used to be, respectively, a goldsmith (*suvarṇakāra*) and a washer.

3.1.6. The Poor and the “Poor”

As mentioned before, poverty is one of the most pervasive themes in the *Garland*, and its metaphorical usage in this collection deserves a separate treatment. For the moment, within our attempt to elucidate the mentions to poverty in the broader narrative genre considered here, we might take a look at the instances in which people are said to be poor. The texts in our corpus present people of all social classes as liable to poverty: King Aśoka himself is presented as poor and destitute at the end of his life.¹⁹¹ Brahmins, in spite of their own claim to be at the top of the social ladder, and in spite of the fact that our texts present them as generally affluent, are occasionally presented as poor. So, in story LXXI of the *Garland* we see a poor brahmin in debt,¹⁹² in story XXXI of the **Karmaśataka* a brahmin forced to live

¹⁹¹ T4.201, 283.a29–b1); Lüders 1926, 149.XXVII; Huber 1908, 138.

¹⁹² In this story the poor brahmin approaches a pious king with the following words: 我今貧困又多債負，聞王好施，故來乞索用以償債 (T4.201.339.c3–5; Huber 108, 418) “I am now poor and with many debts, and hearing that the king is very generous, I have come here to beg for [the wherewithal] to pay my debts”

by begging,¹⁹³ and in stories XLII and LXXXVI of the same collection brahmins who till the land wherein the text makes clear that at least in one of these cases, the brahmin himself had to do the tilling.¹⁹⁴

An important question arising from those people who are said to be “poor farmers” in this genre is whether they were tenants or owners of the land that they cultivated. There is no way to know this from our texts, but what seems certain is that, in some cases, the poverty of certain farmers has to be understood to be relative. Story XXXIV in the *Garland* talks about one “poor farmer”¹⁹⁵ who takes a hidden treasure and then attracts the suspicion of the king’s fiscal department. Full of remorse for the consequences of his own greed, he laments the dire consequences that he has brought not only upon his “relatives, wife and children” but also upon his “servants and slaves of both genders” (親戚及妻子 奴婢僮僕等).¹⁹⁶ Although a rural context is not clear here, the “poor *upāsaka*” of story IX is similarly said to live in a household that includes “wife and children, relatives, and servants” (妻子眷屬僮僕使人);¹⁹⁷ however, on

¹⁹³ *bram ze dbul po 'tsho ba phongs pa slongs mo'i zas kyis 'tsho ba zhig gnas pa* (Derge, *Mdo*, Ha, 108b3–4) “There lived a brahmin poor in his livelihood, deriving his livelihood from begged food.”

¹⁹⁴ *bram ze dbul po zhing las kyis 'tsho ba zhig gnas te [...] bram ze de yang sgrub phod pa zhig ste de nang par sngar thong gshol thogs nas zhing gi steng du song ngo.* (Derge, *Mdo*, A, 156.b3–4) “There was a poor brahmin who derived his livelihood from agriculture [...] That brahmin was also very energetic: having harnessed the plough-share, he went to the field.” See also the similar passage in Derge, *Mdo*, A, 7.b4. The *Mānavadharmasāstra* (10.82–4) rules that in misfortune (*āpad*) a brahmin can take up agriculture, but advises against it, possibly because the condition of the tenant farmer entails dependence on others (see Olivelle 2005, 185–186; 285n.10.83).

¹⁹⁵ T4.201.289c6–10; Huber 1908, 171.

¹⁹⁶ T4.201.289c25–26; Huber 1908, 172.

¹⁹⁷ T4.201.267a5–7; b13–14; Huber 1908, 54; 56). Unfortunately the portions that should have corresponded in these compounds are not extant in the Sanskrit text. For the first, perhaps the first *akṣara* is still there, see Lüders 1926, 145.*47.r1=SHT 21/25 v1.

the other hand, the narrative frame of story LIX suggests that its protagonist— a “poor man,” certainly a farmer—must have enjoyed some degree of leisure, since he is able to dedicate himself exclusively to the worship of the gods, and may have owned the land whose cultivation he entrusts to his brother. What this means is that this “poor man” is shown to have full power of decision in regards to the agricultural plan for the family field.¹⁹⁸ Once again, the general setting for the stories in the *Garland*, as also that of the “Centuries,” is urban: story XXXIII, already remarked on, features a farmer dazzled by the splendor of city life and of the urban rich. Perhaps these “poor farmers” are related to the farming *grhapatis* that seem to be well documented in the Pāli sources, the rural poorer cousins.

Not all those who seem to have lacked property may have been in similar conditions of disenfranchisement, but the lack of property usually appears as a serious drawback. The painter of story XXI of the *Garland* earns the sum of thirty ounces of gold for his work in a Buddhist monastery. Nevertheless, the judge who is supposed to rule on the accusation of familial neglect that the painter is said to be guilty of ends up awarding clothes, jewels, and a horse to the painter because in the judge’s words, the pious artisan “has long dwelled in the distress of poverty, / working for wages to make money” (久處貧窮苦 傭作得錢財, T4.201.279b5). Musicians in story XVII of the *Avadānaśataka* are said to have formed a corporation (*goṣṭha*)¹⁹⁹ and in one story of the **Karmaśataka*, the possibility of a rich musician is clearly laid out, as another “poor *upāsaka*,” a music-lover, makes a resolution (*praṇidhāna*) to be reborn in a rich family as a “king

¹⁹⁸ T4.201.314c16–24; Huber 1908; 299.

¹⁹⁹ Speyer 1906–1909, i.93.6.

of musicians.’²⁰⁰

The texts present us also with another variety of poor: those who not owning anything at all, have to rely on their labor alone to earn a livelihood. Thus, in story V of the **Karmaśataka* we are told that:

*mnyan du yod pa na thag pa zla ba zhes bya ba dbul zhing mchog tu dbul ba
zhig gnas so / de yang las ji tsam zhig byed pa de tsam nyi tshe 'i zan rnyed par zad
de / des cung zad kyang gzhag tu med do /*

(Derge, *Mdo*, Aṃ, 15.b7–16.a1)

In Śrāvastī lived a weaver called **Candra*, who was poor, extremely poor, and so long as he worked, so long did he eat: he possessed nothing at all.

And in story LV of the *Avadānaśataka* we are told that:

²⁰⁰ *de 'i tshe bā rā na sī de nyid na dge bsnyen dbul po zhig gnas te / des rol mo mkhan bde ba chen po nyams
su myong ba de mihong nas de 'i las de la chags pa skyes te las de 'i mthus 'di bde ba de lta bu nyams su myong bar
gyur pa las na / las 'di ni bzang po zhig yin no snyam nas des tshe gcig gi bar du skyabs su 'gro ba dang / bslab
pa'i gzhi rnams bsrungs te 'chi kar smon lam btab pa / kye ma dge ba 'i rtsa ba 'dis na bdag gang dang gang du
skye par 'gyur ba de dang der phyug zhing nor mang la longs spyod che ba 'i rigs su skye bar gyur cig / rol mo
mkhan thams cad kyi rgyal por yang gyur cig / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas 'od srung gis bram ze 'i khye 'u
bla ma lung bstan pa gang yin pa 'i sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de bdag gis mnyes par byed par gyur cig / mi mnyes
par byed par ma gyur cig ces byas so (Derge, *Mdo*, A, b1–3)*

“At that time in Benares there was a poor *upāsaka*. He experienced the great bliss of [listening to] the master musician, and having seen him he gave rise to attachment regarding his art (*las*). He thought: “As by the power of that art I have experienced such bliss, this art is good.” He then went for refuge [in the Buddhist religion] for a lifetime, and observed the four foundations of training. In the moment of his death he formulated a resolution: “By this root of merit, wherever I may be born, may [I] there be born in a family that is rich, with much wealth, of great affluence; may I also be the king among all musicians. May I please and not displease the buddha, the blessed one, that the young brahmin Uttara was predicted to become by the completely enlightened buddha Kāśyapa.”

The story is of course also highly unusual in that it is the experience of listening to music what prompts a conversion to the Buddhist religion.

*yāvad anyatamā strī paramadaridrā / tayā tribhir māsaiḥ kṛcchreṇa paṭaka
upārjitaḥ*

(Speyer 1906–1909, i.314.9, Feer 1891, 214)

Then there was an extremely poor woman. She earned with difficulty a piece of cloth-money (*paṭaka*) in three months.

Furthermore, in story LXXV of the *Garland* we read about an old husband and wife who decide to pledge themselves as collaterals for a loan:

爾時夫婦二人詣長者家，作如是言：「可貸我金，一月之後若不得者，我等二人當屬於，一月之後我必不能得金相，償分為奴婢。」

(T4.201.342a19–22)

Then that couple visited the house of a *grhapati*, and spoke as follows: “If we borrow gold coins (**kārṣāpaṇas?*) from you, and if after a month you have not recovered it, the two of us will belong to you: if after a month we are not able to obtain the gold coins, we will compensate for it by becoming your male and female slaves.

In the case of this old couple, things turn out well, as the *grhapati* who lent them the money rewards them for their extraordinary generosity, but the fact remains that in this story the boundary between a free man and a slave is extremely labile, and also looms as a very real possibility for the protagonists of these stories.

3.1.7. The Dignity of a Profession

The three *grhapatis* we just saw, who decide to take up long-distance trade, all have a patrimonial

inheritance on which they can rely, however dwindling it might be. Story XXXV of the *Garland* features the son of a well-to-do family—the father was a royal minister—who, orphaned, ostracized by his father’s peers, and with his meager inheritance spent, finds himself forced to rely on his own resources:

作是思惟：我今貧窮，當何所作。又復不能作諸賤業。今我無福，所有
才藝不得施行，復不生於下賤之家。又聞他說是偈言：

業變化我 窮困乃如是
父母之家業 今無施用處
下賤所作業 非我所宜作
若我無福業 應生下賤家
生處雖復貴 困苦乃如是
賤業極易知 然我所不能
(T4.201.290a21–b5)

He thought: “Now I am poor: what should I do? I cannot work in a low-status occupation (*jianye* 賤業). Now I have no [store of] merit, but had I not employed my skills in the practice of the religious gift, I would have been reborn into a lowly household.” He was heard otherwise saying in verse:

“The occupation of my parents’ house
I have no chance to practice:
The work that the lowly do
Is not something I could easily do.
If I had no meritorious deeds (*fiye* 福業)
I should have been born in a lowly house.

Although my birthplace was affluent

I am now in such distress.

Lowly skills are extremely easy to know

But even so I cannot do them”

It is significant to note here the great reluctance of this young man to take up occupations proper to people whose social status he considers lower than his own. The solution he devises is bypassing the social order and becoming a thief; indeed, it is better to be out of the system altogether than finding oneself humbled within it. Interestingly, another thief who in story XI of the *Garland* ambushes a group of Buddhist monks is said to have formerly been a Buddhist monk himself.²⁰¹ Other characters in Kumāralāta’s collection, presumably less concerned with caste restraints, seem much less reluctant to take up whatever occupation can provide a livelihood. For example, story XXXII features a disrobed monk who decides to become a butcher, in spite of this being an occupation generally frowned upon by both the śramaṇic and brahmanical establishments:

我於今者作何方計得生活耶？復作是念：唯容²⁰²殺羊，用功極輕兼得多利。作是念已求覓是處，以凡夫心易朽敗故造作斯業，遂與屠兒共為親友。

(T4.201.288a28–b3)

“Today in what direction must I look to earn a livelihood?” He also thought:

²⁰¹ The high-caste renegade who becomes a thief may have been something of a favorite literary cliché in contemporary India: see, for example, the brahmin and Sanskrit-speaking thief Śarvilaka in the roughly contemporary play *The Little Clay Cart* (*Mṛcchakaṭikā*).

²⁰² This is the reading of the “Song,” “Yuan,” and “Ming” witnesses of the Taishō. The Korean edition has here *ke* 客 ‘guest, stranger’, which makes no discernible sense.

“I can only kill sheep: the toil is trifling and the profit good.” Having had this thought he then looked for a chance to do so. The mind of an ordinary person can easily become corrupt, and so he took up this profession, and thereupon, since he associated with slaughterers, they became his close friends.

The notion that the profits of butchering are high (perhaps an inverse of the very taboo status of the trade) is echoed also in a story of the **Karmaśataka* where a butcher vows to be reborn again in a family of butchers, but this time a family of wealthy butchers:

*de dga' ba skyes nas smon lam btab pa / kye ma dge ba'i rtsa ba 'dis bdag
gang dang gang du skye ba de dang der phyur cig nor mang la longs spyod che
ba'i shan pa'i rigs su skyes*

(Derge, *Mdo*, A, 75.a7–b1)

Having given rise to joy, he formulated a resolution: “Oh! By these roots of merit, wherever I may be born, may I there be born in a family of butchers that is rich, with much wealth, of great affluence.”

It seems likely that for this period the ritual impurity involved in non-ritual animal slaughter and the sale of meat may have been well-rewarded, since the social sullying that it entailed, at least among the high castes, was severe: verse 10.92 of the *Laws of Manu* states that the brahmin who sells meat is immediately demoted from his caste.

In this light, it might be useful to revisit here the suggestion that in śramaṇic discourse the label *grhapati* might correspond to what in brahmanical texts is the *vaiśya* caste: Jamison (forthcoming) suggests that the term *vaiśya* may have fallen out of use because its Middle Indic outcome *vessa* was felt to be uncomfortably close to *vessā*>*veśyā* ‘prostitute’. The Chinese translation contains two enumerations of the four castes according to their classical labels, with

the Buddhist placement of the *kṣatriyas* above the *brāhmaṇas* (T4.201.0274a19–20; T4.201.295c25). These enumerations seem, however, to be the work of the Chinese translator because the Sanskrit fragments feature only generic mentions to the ‘four castes’: *varṇacatuṣṭayasya* in SHT 21/52.v3 and *caturṇām varṇānām* in r2, Lüders (1926, 161, §146); also *caturbhyo varṇebhyaḥ* in the *Divyāvadāna* parallel in Lüders (1926, 146.3). The most systematic discussion of the caste system occurs in story XLVII, in which Upāli, the barber of the Śākya warriors, struggles with his own feelings of inadequacy at the moment of joining his former high-caste employers in monastic life. Tellingly, when Upāli enumerates the castes that participate in the Buddhist monastic order, he mentions only three:

刹利姓純淨，婆羅門多學生處如摩尼，皆共聚集此我身首陀種，云何得參
 豫如似破碎鐵。 間錯於真金。

(T4.201.300.a4–5)

The *kṣatriyas* are pure, the brahmins learned: Their birthplace is like a gem; all are gathered here. I am of the *śūdra* caste: how could I take part? It would be like iron dross cast together with true gold.

Nevertheless, as we have seen before, *grhapatis* seem to be generally the heads of households in a given social class, and not the social class or caste in itself. To revisit a previous example, the tailor *grhapati* that we saw before does a manual job, which, according to brahmanical definitions, should belong to members of the *śūdra* caste.

3.1.8. An urban middle class?

Characterizing the protagonists of the stories in the *Garland* as an urban middle class would be a

misleading anachronism unless it be tempered with a few *caveats*. In the first place, life in an ancient city in India was certainly not comparable to the urban experience in industrial times. Schlingloff (2014, 32) estimates that in the early modern period Kauśambī, the largest city among those he considered in his survey may have had something between 90,000 and 180,000 inhabitants. Now, this is a rather generous estimate, with extended families of ten to twenty people per house. Most urban centers must have been considerably smaller. The second *caveat* is that a vast majority of the human population in the pre-industrial world was rural and among those, landowners were a minority. As such, for most pre-industrial societies, we can generally assume that the majority of the population consisted of unpropertied agricultural workers—slaves, serfs, indentured laborers, and tenant farmers—that left only scant traces and no written records. Mandal (2001, 98–100) concludes, on the basis of evidence from Pāli texts, that most of the agricultural surplus in early historic India was produced by landless laborers. The people we are concerned with here, the urban population, were then a minority, and if compared to the agricultural worker, already an elite. The urban upper castes must have been an even smaller proportion. The neat subdivision of Indian society into four *varṇas*, while perhaps not entirely misleading in its descriptions of social roles, is misleading in the proportions it suggests among them.

In the preceding section I have attempted to characterize the segment of the population to which the stories in these collections, and particularly in the *Garland*, may have been most relevant, because they essentially portray them by isolating them from the extremes of the social ladder, singling out those who the texts themselves tend to portray as “social others” who do not fully share in the set of values that these stories espouse. As I mentioned above, the term *gr̥hapati* itself does not appear frequently in the *Garland*, but it is a useful heuristic as it designates people

similar to those who bear the title in the other two collections considered here. The evidence regarding this word points in different, and sometimes contradictory directions. One old commentarial passage, in the Pāli *Suttavibhaṅga*, defines the *gahapati* simply as a man who lives in the house (Chakravarti 1987, 65–66), and as Jamison (forthcoming) points out, the phonologically aberrant Jaina Ardhamāgadhī word *gāhāvai* seems to be essentially opposed to the category ‘monastic,’ much as *grhastha* or *grhin*. Furthermore, other old commentarial passages in the *Vibhaṅga* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* gloss *grhapati* as a ‘rich man’ (*phyug pa*) in one place, but simply as a ‘man’ (*skyes pa*) elsewhere (Schopen 2000, 152 n. III.4). Even within the limits of the narrow corpus considered here, this polysemy stands.

Nebulous social labels, are not, however, a prerogative of antiquity. Beyond its literal meaning, the term *taxpayer* in recent American political discourse as of 2019 is typically opposed to government officials, who *administer* the “taxpayer money,” and to beneficiaries of public aid, who *receive* or *use* that money. The term also typically excludes, for example, resident foreigners in the United States, and so comes close in usage to “citizen,” but tellingly emphasizes the production of income as the defining factor of citizenship. Unsurprisingly, the term carries a definite political color. It can be used to mean, in very broad terms, “the average person,” but this will of course include the listeners only if they find themselves within the constraints of the word. People in all the categories that the term excludes in its actual use do pay taxes, and so the term *taxpayer* could conceivably be used—and in fact it is occasionally used—to include them; however, in its current usage in this very time and place, the meaning of the word is more narrowly defined than it might seem at first glance. A generic term for a broad social identity—as perhaps *grhapati* may have been in 3rd century northwestern India—is much more determined than we might be able to detect at a distance of centuries, but also, when used generally is essentially flexible and

vague, a placeholder.

In all likelihood *grhapati* did not map semantically into the modern American *taxpayer*;²⁰³ however, it might better map on to the 19th century usage of the word *gentleman*—equally broad, but potentially equally precise. In, for example, the world of Jane Austen’s novels, a *gentleman* is in all likelihood not a *lord*, or an aristocrat, but in general usage also not a *tenant*, with the essential financial instability that the term denotes. Indeed, the role that the possession of land plays in this setting is the same fundamental role that it apparently does in the one that interests us here.

We also know about the term *grhapati* that far from having been a purely literary term, it was a title that people used to identify themselves in inscriptions. Kino (1957) has gathered the epigraphic occurrences of the term on a pan-Indian level for the early historic period, showing some puzzling geographic variation—it is attested in Sañcī but not in Bharhut. In the 1st to 3rd century epigraphic corpus of Kanaganahalli alone, edited by von Hinüber (2014), the term appears eight times, and it is the title of donors of costly architectural elements (2014, 60, 69, 89, 107, 109–110, 113). Closer to the northwestern area that concerns us here, the term in its Gāndhārī Prakrit incarnation, <*grahapati*>=*/*grahavadi*/, occurs at least four times in inscriptions that record the dedication of reliquaries: in the famous 1st Century gold leaf inscription of king Senāvarman as the title of a certain Valia Makaḍaputra who is recorded as perhaps the donor (Salomon 1986, 282) or measurer (Baums 2012, 227–233) of the gold on which the inscription is

²⁰³ See, however, the epithet *kassako gahapatiko kārakārako rāsivaḍḍhako* “a farmer, of *grhapati* disposition, who pays taxes, who increases wealth” in the *Samaññaphalasutta* of the Pāli *Dighanikāya* (Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1889–1910, i 61).

engraved;²⁰⁴ in the three other roughly coeval occurrences, as the title of the fathers—and once of the brother—of the female donors of the reliquaries.²⁰⁵

Kumāralāta’s eagerness to take up the banner of social equality is possible only in the context of the greater social mobility that an urban setting allows. In the **Karmaśataka*, where the relationship between past, present, and future births is always explicitly stated, it is interesting to see how social mobility across lives varies across classes. Stories where the social identity of a person remains stable across lives typically feature brahmins (stories LXVIII, LXXIV, LXXVIII, LXXXIV, LXXXVI, XC, CXVI, CXIX, CXX), however, in once case, also the members of the military class (CXIV). By contrast, stories that feature *grhapatī*s display the most pronounced oscillations in terms of births across lives, emphasizing these people’s role as the moral agents of these stories. This social mobility across lives, albeit metaphorical, might be

²⁰⁴ Rhys Davids and Stede (1921–1925, s.v.) suggest for *gahapati* “treasurer,” against Edgerton’s “capitalist” and perhaps also against von Hinüber’s “banker,” and that is mostly on account of a *grhapati* being one of the seven “jewels” of the *cakravartin* king: the other human “jewels” are the *strīratna* and the *senāpatiratna*. *Grhapati* may have been used as a title in common usage. The last line in the Gāndhārī inscription of Senavarman (CKI 249) has:

io ca suṇe solite Valieṇa Makaḍakaputreṇa gaṃhapatīṇa

Now, since it seems that the predominant view is to read *solite*=*tolita* (see Baums and Glass 2010b-, s.v.), that would give:

And this gold was measured by Valia the *grhapati*, son of Makaḍaka”

The inscription, on a golden plate, details the repair of the *stūpa*, and after describing with great flourish royal munificence, it lists the individuals who composed (*likhita*), commissioned (*karavita*) and engraved (*ukade*) the text itself; the text ends with the line I quote above.

Salomon suggests “treasurer” here, which would make good sense. Perhaps “financier” here, the king having the best of them (*-ratna*) at his service? Even if slim, this is a piece of evidence that, *contra* Edgerton, lends support to the notion of *grhapati* having been used as a title.

²⁰⁵ One is the “Kalawān Copper-plate” in Baums (2012, 236); the other, from Charsadda, is edited in Baums (2012, 205–206). Presumably, a “son of a *grhapati*,” unless having become himself the head of a household through marriage and in all likelihood through formal separation from the extended family, i.e. having become a *grhapati* himself, would not be recorded as a principal donor.

seen as an indication of the goals and priorities of the social class about which these texts may have had the most to say. Kumāralāta subjects his characters to cycles of gain and loss of wealth: The poor old husband and wife who pledge themselves to feed the monastic assembly end up rich, lavishly rewarded by the *grhapati* who lent them the funds. These people may have roughly come up to the ancient label *grhapati*, but if this holds true, then the possible variance within that label must be explored. Kumāralāta's vehement defense of the *caṇḍāla*, the exploited outcaste, has certainly a rhetorical function; however, it does say something about the willingness to expand the repertoire of actors to deploy against the perceived social antagonists of the people we have examined here: debauched dandies, aristocratic priests, tyrannical kings.

In the same vein, I have tried to emphasize the fluid nature of the occupations taken up by these urban non-servile people. The economic activities of *grhapatīs* in particular may have been very varied. If we are willing to consider parallels from modernity in this case, Tuladhar (2004) provides a lively account of the days when the male members of his family carried out trade between the Kathmandu Valley and Lhasa in Tibet, from time immemorial until the fifth decade of the 20th century. Tuladhar's account makes clear that their economic activities covered a wide range of practices, from investment in property to the coordination of manufacture and the transportation and sale of merchandise. They also provided banking services, like money-lending and credit letters payable at the branches of the family business in Kathmandu, Lhasa, and Calcutta. Members of the family would take up these functions in rotation, as also they would take posts in the different branches at different points of time.

As hard as it is to pin down the *grhapati*, we may have identified here a series of overlapping vectors that may aid our inquiries. Although the *grhapati* seems to be defined primarily by an affluent income, this is not always so, and the reason is perhaps that other than

income alone, a modicum of social prominence, and in particular a role as the head of the extended family are also part of what defines the *grhapati*. Also, a diversified portfolio of business interests—trade, banking, agriculture—seems to be also a defining trait: business widely understood, as a source of livelihood, rather than one specific business. Having hopefully understood better the protagonists of the stories of the *Garland*, we might delve into what they can tell us about their concerns and priorities.

3.2. Stories to Shape the Moral Sensibility of a Community

Classical India left us a copious torrent of literature in the genre of the moral story: from the sprawling *Pañcatantra*, whose literary offspring extended throughout all of premodern Eurasia, to the various Buddhist collections of *jātakas* and *avadānas*, as well as the Jaina *nāyas*. Within those two traditions a substantial portion of the so-called commentarial literature is actually made up of voluminous narratives that contextualize the moral dicta contained in canonical texts. Ancient and medieval India seems to have had a distinct cultural inclination to convey moral philosophy through either narrative or aphorism, whereas, in contrast, the analytical—rather than prescriptive—moral philosophical essay, so widely seen in classical China and Greece, remains a rarity in a Classical Indian context.

In the midst of this wealth of moral narrative, the traits that distinguish Kumāralāta’s narratives are particularly fruitful to our investigations. One quite striking aspect of his untitled longer narratives is that he starts each and every one of them with one explicit and unambiguous moral maxim that encapsulates the intended message of the story.²⁰⁶ This stylistic feature was later

²⁰⁶ This holds true for the eighty initial stories of the *Garland*; the remaining ten are shorter “parables” in which the moral is expressed at the end, although in less emphatically succinct terms.

adopted by some of Kumāralāta’s literary imitators like Āryasūra, Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta, but the later fortune of this literary device should not distract us from the fact that it must have been an innovation in Kumāralāta’s time, one that subordinates the literary and aesthetic qualities of the work—its value as entertainment—to its moral message. Some of these brief messages do convey moral thoughts that would not seem out of place in the edificatory repertoire of many cultures, the first being an Indian version of the argument of the gospel’s “let him who is without sin cast the first stone”:

復次, 若無過者得譏呵人, 若自有過呵於彼者, 他反蚩笑

(T4.201.276b29–c1)

Now, if one has no fault, one can chide people, but if one has faults and chides, others will by contrast ridicule one. (story IX)²⁰⁷

復次, 善觀察者, 見於好色無有欲意, 多生厭惡, 見好色時不起愛瞋

(T4.201. 276c22–23)

Now, the good observer, seeing comeliness, has no thought of desire, [but] engenders aversion; at the very moment of seeing comeliness does not give rise to the fury of passion. (story XX)²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Compare Huber (1908, 103): “*Et ensuite :Si on est sans faute, il est permis de blâmer les autres; mais si, étant soi-même chargé de fautes, on en trouve chez les autres, on est en retour l'objet de la moquerie des autres.*”

²⁰⁸ Compare SHT 638w v3–4 *alpam a... ..tra vairāgyapadasthāma bhūtam iti na manojñadarśanād viṣḍitavyam* “little... one must not be despondent from the sight of enticing beauty [thinking] “[...] [he]re the true power of the absence of passion [...].” For the Chinese text, compare Huber (1908, 105): “*Et ensuite: Celui qui sait bien discerner, quand il voit une belle femme, ne laisse pas naître le désir, mais conçoit pour elle une grande aversion; il sait dompter ses passions.*” Lévi (1928, 196) suggests for *ai-chen* 愛瞋 “*ni amour ni colère,*” whereas I feel more inclined to take the compound as determinative: “the fury of [erotic] passion.”

復次, 種子得果非是吉力, 是故不應疑著吉相

(T4.201.315a28–29)

Now, sowing seed one obtains fruit, and not through good luck: For this reason, one must not be deceived regarding devices for good luck. (Story LX)

At first sight, these statements would seem to embody principles of behavior meant to have a universal range of application. But in some cases, as in the last example presented above (“Now, sowing seed ...”), one might be struck by the fact that the injunction seems to be more strongly aimed at social usage than at establishing an ethical principle.

The story introduced by that maxim deals with a donor to the Buddhist monastic order who is particularly fond of apotropaic devices. Upon seeing the donor all decked out with his amulets, the monk who comes to his house for alms engages him in a long discussion of the inefficacy of propitiatory techniques and objects. Apotropaism may not have been more common in ancient India than it is in any other human society; if anything, though, the Indian setting may be remarkable for a generalized scarcity of censure or even hesitation, even at an elite intellectual level, towards apotropaic practices, which in fact feature prominently in the ritual repertoire of all the religious traditions of the period, including Buddhism.²⁰⁹ The Sanskrit text of this story, although very broken, makes clear that the term that we have translated here as “devices of good luck” was *maṅgala*, a term whose semantic range covers anything from the notion of “good luck”

²⁰⁹ Even the austere Theravāda tradition practices apotropaism under the form of *paritta*-recitation; the *dhāraṇī* spells, which the learned Buddhist tradition itself insists in casting as some sort of mnemonic depositories of doctrine, were in the practice used for apotropaic purposes. This being said, a certain animosity of the Buddhist tradition towards the rituals subsumed under the label of *maṅgala* is evident in the oldest datable documents of the tradition: in his ninth rock edict, emperor Aśoka criticizes a number of *maṅgalas* that include several life-cycle rituals and deems *dhammamamaṅgala*, the “ritual of the *dharma*” — the [Buddha’s] *dharma*?— to be superior and preferable to others, which are *niratha*, ‘pointless’.

to the methods, occasions, or objects believed to conjure or propitiate it; also, and tellingly, the word can designate simply a “religious rite.”²¹⁰ Although the monk’s speech hinges on the inflexibility of the cosmic law of requital and the consequent inefficacy of any attempts to thwart or alter the mechanical course of the requital of deeds, one cannot help feeling that Kumāralāta’s criticism is here aimed at practices that his own tradition was at odds to accommodate or to find a neat slot for, because some of his stories precisely feature occasions in which people associated with the Buddha’s religion are able to bend the laws of the universe through practices that appear to be propitiatory or apotropaic.

The initial maxim of story XLV tells us that “the words of the Buddha” can “cure the ills of body and mind:”

復次, 治身心病唯有佛語, 是故應勤聽於說法

(T4. 201.297c17–18)

Now, to cure the ills of body and mind there are only the words of the Buddha, and for this reason one must intently listen to the preaching of the law.
(Story XLV)²¹¹

As we will see in light of the narration that it prefaces, this statement is slightly misleading. Story XLV contains one of the most peculiar scenes in the whole collection: a Chinese prince, while in Taxila, is cured from his blindness by having his eyes washed with the collected tears shed by

²¹⁰ Huber rightly identified the Indic term behind the Chinese translation to be *maṅgala* (Huber 1908, 302ff.), a suspicion that was confirmed once the Sanskrit text was known: see SHT 21/69 v3–5 (Lüders 1926, 176). SHT 21/69v3 actually includes the compound *kautukamaṅgala*, a term that in later times came to designate mostly marriage, but that at this early date probably just refers to a “solemn ceremony.”

²¹¹ Compare Huber 1908, 45. “*Et ensuite: Pour guérir les maladies du corps et du cœur, il n’y a que les paroles du Buddha. C’est pourquoi on doit écouter avec zèle, quand on explique la Loi.*”

those listening to a recitation of a Buddhist scripture, and the narration strongly implies that the prince was *not* among the listeners.²¹² Although the *Garland* is remarkably sparing in its narrative use of miracles, the point here seems to be not that apotropaic practices run against the blind mechanics of a deterministic universe—and there is some lip service to this vision of things in the speech against amulets of the monk of story LX—but rather that the truly effective supernatural channels to tweak the course of events are a prerogative of the Buddha’s religion.

The initial injunction of story LXXIX makes clear that the supernatural power of the Buddha is a factor that affirms the superiority of his religion:

復次, 若欲觀察知佛神變, 視諸塔寺供養佛塔

(T4.201.344c6–7)

Now, whoever desires to behold, examine, and sense the supernatural power²¹³ of the Buddha must see the *stūpa*-shrines and worship the *stūpas* of the Buddha. (story LXXIX)²¹⁴

These contradictory elements in Kumāralāta’s *Garland* reveal an interesting tension in its narratives—a generally rationalistic outlook tinged with touches of supernatural intervention—but what I would rather underline here is the fact that Kumāralāta is devising a work of moral fiction

²¹² The story says that once the recitation was over, “the tears of the assembly were collected in a bowl and taken there where the prince was” (以椀承取聚集眾淚向王子所, T4.201.297c29).

²¹³ The Chinese term *shenbian* 神變 translates literally as “supernatural transformations” and translates mostly Sanskrit terms like *ṛddhi*, *prātihārya*, and *anubhāva*—the latter often prefixed with *wei* 威 ‘majestic’—and its cognates; it typically involves actions of the Buddha (and sometimes others) that circumvent the usual rules of nature.

²¹⁴ Compare Huber 1908, 444, “*Et ensuite: Si l’on veut examiner et comprendre les miracles du Buddha, il faut se rendre en personne aux stūpas et aux vihāras pour leur rendre hommage.*” I do not take, as Huber does, *tasi* 塔寺 as an enumeration (“*stūpas* and shrines”) but as a determinative compound (“shrines of *stūpas*”). Huber’s interpretation gives him a hard time dealing with the *fota* 佛塔 ‘buddha-*stūpas*’ that occurs immediately after.

aimed specifically at the edification of the Buddhist community. As such, it does not aim so much at formulating ethical principles—understood as absolute guidelines on right behavior—but rather a moral repertoire suited to the internal logic of a well-defined community. The fact that the message of the collection is intended for such a well-defined group is made clear by the initial maxim of story XI:

復次, 若有弟子能堅持戒為人宗仰, 一切世人并敬其師。

(T4.201.268c5–6)

Now, if the disciple can hold steadfastly to the rules of training (*jie* 戒) he will be respected and admired by people, and all people in the world will also worship his Teacher. (story XI)²¹⁵

The point here is not exactly that abiding by the rules of behavior laid out by the Buddha for his community is intrinsically positive; rather, it is that the corporate discipline that derives from following those rules earns for the group the respect of society at large, and might also attract others towards the Buddha's religion.

On some occasions, the initial maxims of the *Garland's* stories touch on aspects of life that although not devoid of an ethical dimension we might class in the category of social custom or etiquette:

復次, 應當觀食, 世尊亦說正觀於食

(T.201.305b23)

²¹⁵ Compare Huber 1908, 62, “*Et ensuite: Le disciple du Buddha qui sait maintenir strictement les commandements religieux est respecté par les hommes, et tout le monde vénérera son maître.*”

Now, one must observe one's eating, [as] the World-Honored also spoke about the right view on eating. (Story LII)²¹⁶

Kumāralāta's time saw the rise of a strong codification of human behavior among a new demographic. Building upon previous literature on domestic ritual and social norm for the brahmanical male (*grhyasūtras*, *dharmasūtras*), the compendia known as *dharmasāstras* started to appear around the 2nd Century AD,²¹⁷ and they lay down a normative framework allegedly intended to regulate every aspect of human life, individually and collectively, from everyday domesticity to the law of the state, and all conceived as fulfillment of a sacred duty, *dharma*. Early European scholars of India saw in a text like Manu's *dharmasāstra* "the institutes of Hindu Law" (Jones 1796, iv) but that political states in Kumāralāta's time may have actually followed the injunctions of any given *dharmasāstra* is unlikely;²¹⁸ however, that they did serve as an internal system of regulation for the brahmanical community is much more plausible, because to an extent they remained so until modern times.

²¹⁶ Compare Huber 1908, 253, "Et ensuite : Il faut diriger son attention sur la manière de manger."

²¹⁷ This is the date favored by Olivelle (2005, 25) for the *dharmasāstra* of Manu, probably the earliest example of the genre.

²¹⁸ The royally issued copper-plate land grants that started appearing in Gupta times (~4th Century CE) often quote from *Manu* and other *dharmasāstras* (Sircar 1965, 170ff.) in giving a justification or authority for the gift of land. This may have been a nod to the prestige of brahmanical customary law, but the only body of secular legal documents in an Indic language from Kumāralāta's period, the so-called Niya corpus from the ancient kingdom of Shanshan in the Tarim Basin evince a system of administration very different from that depicted in the *dharmasāstras* and more in line with the largely materialistic and *realpolitik*-oriented *Arthasāstra*. One may argue that Shanshan was so far removed, geographically and culturally, from India as to be hardly representative of the latter, but the case is that the full legal application of, say, Manu's *dharmasāstra*, concerned as it is with establishing brahmanical privilege well beyond reasonable limits, would have been awkward. It is hard to imagine an actual Indian king of the time behaving according to Manu's dictum (2.135): "A 10-year-old brahmin and a 100-year-old king [...] stand in respect to each other as a father to a son; but of the two, the brahmin is the father" (tr. Olivelle 2005, 101).

The Buddhist tradition had, of course, its own technical codification of monastic behavior in the *Vinaya* literature, but at a moment in which the very economic system that had allowed a Buddhist laity to thrive in the Indian subcontinent was shifting and changing—and only towards deurbanization and demonetization—it may have been important to produce a strong statement of the social customs of the Buddhist community as a whole, one that incorporated both lay and monastic while underlining their reciprocal ties. The Buddhist characters of the *Garland* display, once again, something akin to what modern political theory would call class consciousness: Its protagonists are largely aware of being separate from both rural brahmanical aristocracy and royal power on the one hand, and on the other, from the lower classes or castes, treated with an obsequious condescension that might be indicative of many things, but certainly not of political identification.

That the codes of monastic behavior, with their rich narrative material, were not meant for lay reading is asserted explicitly in the codes themselves. Conversely, at least one scholar has stated that the *avadāna* corpus was meant to “meet the didactic needs of preaching to novice monks and lay disciples” (Rotman 2008, 21). The stories of the *Garland* seem to want to educate the community as a whole; sometimes advocating the position of the monastic, sometimes those of the lay, often equating the import of both in their symbiotic relationship, they make a plea for a strong community united around a set of core concerns in a time of change.

3.2.1. A Rational Mindset for Reasonable People

Much recent scholarship has characterized the notion of Buddhism as a “rational religion”—empirical, materialistic, free from the arbitrary dogmas of Abrahamic monotheisms—more as a willful view of 19th Century western students of Buddhism than as a useful interpretive key to

understanding the role the religion may have played in ancient times in Asia. Just to pick a couple of examples, Colonel H. S. Olcott famously declared that “Buddhism was [...] a philosophy, not a creed” (1895, 675) and the great Indologist Hermann Oldenberg described the logic underlying causal explanations in Buddhist doctrine as a “thoroughly rationalistic mode of thinking” (*durchaus rationalistische Denkweise*, Oldenberg 1881, 266). Roughly a century later, Spiro (1982, xii) cast such pronouncements as expressions of a willful vision of ancient Buddhism seen as a “religious equivalent of secular humanism,” that “attracted the religious imagination of many intellectuals of Victorian England and America.” Similarly, for Obeyesekere, the whole idea of Buddhism as a “rational religion” can be described simply as a “popular nineteenth-century Eurocentric prejudice” (2012, 29).

Buddhist doctrinal literature itself contains, in fact, statements that might easily complicate the notion of Buddhism as some sort of empirical positivism of antiquity. At least in one place in the canonical Theravāda scriptures on which early western scholars of Buddhism relied so heavily, the *Kesamuttisutta*, the Buddha is said to have rejected dogma and authority as much as logic and inference as appropriate means of knowledge, while favoring instead considerations of ethical value and of here-and-now social convention.²¹⁹ Elsewhere in the āgamic corpus, the Buddha emphatically dismisses the claims of one Sunakkhatta/Shanxing 善星 (= *Sunakṣatra) who holds

²¹⁹ *Kesamuttisutta*, *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Hardy and Morris 1885–1900, iii 189, §3. An exhaustive examination of this passage can be found in Jayatilleke (1963, §251–§442). In spite of Jayatilleke’s careful examination, several words in this passage remain obscure. Some essential ones, though, are reasonably clear: Pāli *takka* and its Sanskrit cognate *tarka* as “logic” are fairly uncontroversial, with *naya* as “inference” being highly likely (§437); Pāli *anussava*, along with Sanskrit *anuśrava* as “received tradition” is certain; the phrase *samaṇo no garu ’ti* is most probably “thinking ‘[this] ascetic is our teacher’”— see though the alternatives proposed in §307—and in all likelihood expresses the notion of accepting an idea because it comes from an authoritative source.

that the Buddha “teaches a law forged through logic, reached through investigation, wherein the understanding is his [=the Buddha’s] own.”²²⁰

Something in the tradition itself must have allowed for the 19th Century West to project its own intellectual desiderata onto it. In fact, some aspects of the tradition can be taken as expressive of a concern with establishing facts, with applying—in spite of some of the Buddha’s own words—deductive reasoning to reach conclusions, and with refusing to take either tradition or authority as valid sources of knowledge. Regarding, for example, the urge to establish the parameters and dimensions of things in the world, one striking element of the Indian Buddhist tradition is its strong quantitative and classificatory tendency. Although a precise calculation would be hard to accomplish and possibly futile, the better part of the expositive, non-narrative portions of the extant doctrinal texts of Indian Buddhism may be said to be made up of lists: Numerical taxonomy seems to have been a favorite mode of expression of formal doctrine in Buddhism and its sister religious traditions. Some of the canonical collections that would eventually take shape within the tradition like the Pāli *Aṅguttaranikāya* and the mostly lost Sanskrit *Ekottarikāgamas*, some versions of which are now preserved in Chinese translation, group texts solely on the basis of the number of items they contain. For example, in the category of “fives” of the *Aṅguttara* one finds anything and everything: from the five ways in which a misbehaving monk resembles a thief (*Aṅguttaranikāya*, 5.103), to the five ways in which brahmins used to be like dogs in an imagined past, (*Aṅguttaranikāya*, 5.191), to the five nutritional advantages of sour gruel (*yāgū/yavāgū*, *Aṅguttaranikāya*, 5. 207).

²²⁰ *takkapariyāhataṃ [...] dhammaṃ deseti vīmaṃsānucaritaṃ sayampaṭibhānaṃ—Mahāsīhanādasutta, Majjhimanikāya*, Chalmers and Trenckner 1888–1902, 68, §12=所求所修，以自辯才 [...] 而為所證，其所說法—*Sūtra on Horripilation, Shenmao xishu jing* 身毛喜豎經, T17.757.596a2–3).

This same inclination towards quantification can be traced beyond the religious sphere and into the social milieu where Buddhism thrived in ancient India. One clichéd passage in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* and its derivative narrative collections lists the educational syllabus to be taught to well-to-do boys; while the initial subject in the roster is “writing” (*lipi*) and the last eight concern “expertise” (*parīkṣā*) in the evaluation of various commodities, the central six subjects are all branches of arithmetic or accounting. In spite of some uncertainties in the meaning of these terms, *saṃkhyā* is clearly “numeration” and *gaṇanā* “counting,” *mudrā* is a mode of calculation, while regarding *uddhāra*, *nyāsa*, and *nikṣepa*, although more opaque, we can nevertheless say that the first is likely linked to the recording of debts and the other two to the one of deposits and pawns.²²¹ Whereas ancient Indian achievements in logic—as an offshoot of grammar—and geometry seem to be rooted in the concerns of brahmanical ritual, ancient Indian arithmetic seems to have been often a function of finance: All of the arithmetical problems in the earliest extant mathematical manuscript from India, the ca. 7th Century “Bakhshālī Manuscript” are expressed in terms of fictional business transactions.²²² Texts like the *Arthaśāstra*, the Buddhist *Vinayas*, and the brahmanical *dharmaśāstras*, which all crystallized during a monetized era of the Indian economy, imply financial systems of great complexity that must have required nimble accounting techniques.

Although no exemplars of ledgers or account books from the first millennium CE survive, literary and epigraphic evidence suggests for the period great sophistication in accounting and

²²¹ See, for example the entries in Edgerton 1953, ii s.v., but meanings akin to those proposed here are listed in Monier Williams 1872, s.v. and Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–1875, s.v.

²²² Hayashi, the main modern editor of the manuscript, dates it tentatively to the 8th Century (1995, 149).

computation.²²³ Similarly, the positional numerical notation that we use today in virtue of its notable versatility of usage was first developed in India between the 5th and 7th Centuries.²²⁴ In his *Garland*, Kumāralāta makes the Buddha himself an expert in the “science of numbers and calculation” (算數計校論, T4.201. 317a28), and, as we will see, elsewhere in the *Garland* the merits and demerits accrued by the deeds of humans are depicted as exactly quantifiable, as also is their cosmic requital.²²⁵

The story that best exemplifies this sensibility in the *Garland* is story XXV.²²⁶ Here we have a wealthy merchant who has kept a detailed ledger of his religious gifts and when the king demands from the man an exact balance of his assets, our man sends to the king his ledger of donations, alleging that this is his real wealth, the wealth that he will take with himself to future lives. Although, as we said, no actual example of such merit-ledgers survives from antiquity, mentions to them can be found in antiquity and also in modern times. According to the Ceylonese chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, when king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was on his deathbed, “happy” after listening to a sermon that prophesized his upcoming heavenly rebirth, and “after having had brought his merit-ledger (*puñṇakapotthaka*),” he “commanded the scribe to read it, and so [the scribe] read the

²²³ Perhaps the most fertile source for the investigation into ancient methods of accounting in early historic India has been so far the *Arthaśāstra* (Choudhury 1982, Mattessich 1989, Sihag 2004). Liyanarachchi (2009; 2015) has, conversely, based his analyses of ancient accounting practices from epigraphic material from early historic Sri Lanka.

²²⁴ The first theoretical description of the positional notation might appear in embryonic form in the work of Āryabhāṭa (Chrisomalis 2010, 208–209), but the first epigraphic exemplars of a positionally expressed number are inscriptions from Cambodia and Indonesia, both dated to Śaka era 605=683 CE (Salomon 1998, 62).

²²⁵ See pp. 233ff. for an example.

²²⁶ See on this story pp. 240ff.

ledger” (*āharāpetvā pahaṭṭho puñṇapothhakaṃ vācetum lekhakaṃ āha, so taṃ vācesi potthakaṃ, Mahāvamsa 32.25, Geiger 1908, 259*).²²⁷ Brokaw (1991) and Schlieter (2013) have studied the manuals on moral book-keeping from Late Imperial China “in which a man is directed to keep a debtor and creditor account with himself of the acts of each day” (Schlieter 2013, 3–4) and Spiro (1982 :111–112) has described the practice of written merit-books in contemporary Burma. One of Spiro’s informants, echoing the feeling of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī recounted in the story above, told Spiro that “he examines his merit-book frequently because, when contemplating all his merit, he is happy” (1982, 112).

In typical Indian Buddhist doctrinal discourse, this penchant for quantification is put to the service of analysis wherein the dissection of the universe into discrete factors in constant, fleeting interaction is another distinctive trait of formal Buddhist philosophical thinking. To anyone acquainted with this brand of discourse, the reading of contemporaneous Indian literature often makes an odd impression. For example, the lush description of the natural beauty of the king of the mountains at the beginning of Kalidāsa’s *Kumārasambhava*, with its lovingly described trees, animals, clouds, and streams, could hardly fit within the Buddhist perspective, in which everything must be analyzed, dissected, deconstructed and quantified into elements and factors. The stern, somber nature of this analytical edge did not escape all ancient observers: The most sensuous of all Buddhist Sanskrit poets, Aśvaghōṣa, closed his poem *Saundarananda* with the desolate statement that he had clothed the message of liberation of the Buddha in the trappings of courtly

²²⁷ For an English translation of the whole passage that follows, in which an itemized list of the king’s religious gifts (his “merit”) are given see Geiger 1912, 222–223.

poetry “as the bitter medicine is mixed with honey so that it be agreeable to drink” (*pātuṃ tiktam ivaśadham madhuyutaṃ hr̥dyam katham syād*, 18.63d).

For Kumāralāta, however, this pervasive analytical character of the Buddhist faith appears to have been a strong asset, and I would contend that he indeed strives to present the Buddha’s religion in his *Garland* as something akin to the “rational religion” that we now dismiss as a 19th Century imagination. The stories of the *Garland* emphasize over and over how the Buddha’s message is endowed—and endows with—a rational sensibility. In a favorite plot device, a Buddhist character is faced with a hostile non-Buddhist person or crowd, and through the force of an appeal to empirical evidence and deductive argumentation is able to refute the points of view of the opponent, with the whole situation usually prompting a religious conversion in the latter. Kumāralāta takes great delight in showing the trend of thought that leads his characters to make sensible decisions: What calculations is one to do if in the midst of a shipwreck? What if one’s civil duties clash against the Buddha’s injunctions? The characterization of the Buddha’s religion as a catalyst for sensible discernment permeates the fabric of the *Garland*: “I alone value reason” (吾雖單獨貴申道理, T4.201.257b27–28) says a Gandhāran *upāsaka* in the first story of the *Garland* as he begins his eventually successful argument for the moral superiority of the Buddha in regards to Śiva/Maheśvara, addressed to a narrative chorus of Mathurān brahmins. Similarly, the ascetic Kauṇḍinya in story LVIII is made to say that it is “out of the power of reason” (*yuktivaśād*, SHT 21/67v4) that the wise knows that harsh ascetic penance is fruitless and must be rejected.²²⁸

²²⁸ The compound occurs in a speech that the ascetic Kauṇḍinya pronounces upon hearing of the insights found by the Buddha through his enlightenment. According to the Chinese, the point would be the classical image of the Buddha’s method of self-cultivation as a “middle way” between indulgence and self-harm: the wise rejects both, and the passage equates one extreme to snow and another to fire. The Sanskrit text has *prājño yuktivaśād ihāgni ...*

And yet, in spite of Kumāralāta’s sustained panegyric of the inherent rationality of the Buddha’s Law in many places of the *Garland*, others show that a dose of rhetorical pose may have been part of Kumāralāta’s narrative strategy, and that presenting the Buddha’s message as essentially rational was more crucial than avoiding contradictions at all costs. So, for example, in one place we are told that the Buddha categorically refrains from performing miracles,²²⁹ but in another we are shown the Buddha performing them,²³⁰ and similarly, we see a Buddhist *bhikṣu* refuting on an empirical basis the efficacy of apotropaic practices to a man particularly keen on them, but in other stories we see monastic food leftovers used for miraculous healing²³¹ and we also see that reciting the formula “Homage to the Buddha!” is advocated for apotropaic purposes.²³² Kumāralāta portrays fortuitous contact with the Buddhist doctrine as sometimes prompting an intellectual awakening, and, other times, a strong emotional reaction.²³³ It is opportune to examine in some detail these individual cases and to try to retrieve, albeit more often

dāhakriyām “the wise, out of the power of reason, [dismisses?] here the act of burning [by the?] fire.” The Chinese text has this sense, but is unfortunately too terse and periphrastic to be of much help here: 在於火聚所/不宜更遠去 (T4.201.314a15–16) “standing by a mass of fire / is inconvenient and must be rejected.”

²²⁹ Story LXXVII, 現見於神變/彼大仙所辱 (T4.201.343b25) “displaying miracles / is something the Great Seer despised.” See also Huber 1908, 438. Of the Sanskrit only *hāryam idaṃ muneḥ* (SHT 21/92r1) remains, where *hāryam* is probably to be restored to *prātihāryam* ‘miracle.’

²³⁰ See for example the tricks that the Buddha plays on Nītha in story XLIII.

²³¹ This is a topic of story LXXVIII.

²³² See story LVII, especially T4.201.312b3–4=Huber 1908, 287.

²³³ In story XLV the assembly reacts with copious tears to the sermon of a Buddhist preacher, but in stories II, XXVI, and LXXIV casual contact with Buddhist doctrine on the part of non-Buddhists results in an instant intellectual epiphany. Not only in the *Garland*, but in most of the Buddhist narrative of the period, contact with the Buddhist religion is characteristically portrayed as triggering a reaction termed *prasāda*, on which see 4.3.2.

than not through the layer of the Chinese translation, the language and vocabulary through which Kumāralāta depicted the Buddha’s Law as a clever manner to navigate life’s dilemmas and invest one’s resources wisely.

We encountered Story XXIV already, in connection with the portrayal of the rural brahmins in the *Garland*. Let us briefly present the main points of the plot once again: a cohort of brahmins persuades a man to burn himself, and all is thwarted by a Buddhist monk who denounces the practice as not only ineffective, but pernicious. Indian self-immolation has fascinated foreign observers throughout the historical era, from the Indian “naked philosopher” (*gymnosophistēs*) Calanus that—we are told—followed Alexander’s entourage and later immolated himself in Susa, to the Indian-inspired “auto-cremation” that “became a distinct mode of practice in China” (Benn 2007, 11), and finally, to the “suttee” of Aouda in Jules Verne’s *Tour du monde*. This story of Kumāralāta seems to play on the trope of the foreigner seduced by the arcane mores of the Indian heartland. We are first told that the man, a foreigner, had come to Gangetic India (*zhong Tianzhu* 中天竺), where he had been appointed by the king as “village headman” (*juluo zhu* 聚落主), a title that possibly corresponds to Skt. *grāmika* and which according to the *Mānavadharmasāstra* and the *Arthasāstra* designated an office in charge of oversight of the village census and of transiting trade, as well as of representing the village in transactions involving other villages.²³⁴ This story mirrors the beginning of story I in its having a foreigner plunging into the brahmanical stronghold that Gangetic India is purported to be. In story I a Gandhāran merchant in Mathurā is faced with a hostile group of brahmins who worship Śiva/Maheśvara and deem the martial exploits of their deity superior to the doctrine of non-harming preached by the Buddha. It seems possible

²³⁴ See *Mānavadharmasāstra* 7.116, 118 and *Arthasāstra* 3.10.13, 3.10.16, 4.13.8.

then that part of the point of the story is depicting ritual self-immolation as a misguided religious practice alien to Kumāralāta's native Gandhāra.

The name of the man in story XXIV seems also to have been carefully chosen. The Chinese phonetic rendering of the name, 婆迦利 **Bakali*, can almost certainly be reconstructed to Skt. Valkalin because the same transcription appears several times in the Chinese Buddhist corpus as a rendering of the name of a disciple of the Buddha also called Valkalin.²³⁵ The story of this other Valkalin is unique in that it features a Buddhist monk, Valkalin, old, sick, and beset by chronic pain at the end of his life, requesting permission from the Buddha to kill himself, receiving it, and then carrying out his design. The story is well attested in the Pāli and Chinese āgamic corpora, and Lamotte (1987) has written about it at length. Naming the protagonist of this story after this controversial figure might evince an effort to expurgate the tradition from an especially uncomfortable legend by suggesting, perhaps, that such ideas were foreign to the mainstream Buddhist mentality.

The brahmins in story XXIV have invoked the authority of “the books *Rāmāyaṇa* (**Lamayan* 羅摩延) and the [*Mahā*]bhārata” (**Balata* 婆羅他) to convince Valkalin to immolate himself as a means to gain heaven. Both epics in their received recensions indeed contain narrative passages that advocate self-immolation with various purposes, like Sitā's fire ordeal to prove her purity in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (6. 116–118) or Arjuna's determination to jump into the pyre if he proves unable to kill Jayadratha by the sunset of that very day in the *Mahābhārata* (7.51.37). As we have

²³⁵ On Valkalin see also 29–30, 61.

seen elsewhere, other passages in the *Mahābhārata* can be seen as structured defenses of self-immolation as a pious religious act that can lead to a heavenly rebirth.²³⁶

Once the preparations for the self-immolation ceremony are under way, we are told the following:

此聚落主與一釋種比丘先共相識，爾時比丘來至其家，見聚落主於其家中種種莊嚴。比丘問言：“欲作何等？”

聚落主言：“我欲生天”

比丘問言：“汝云何去？”

尋即答言：“我投火坑便得生天”

比丘問言：“汝頗知天道不？”

答言：“不知”

比丘問言：“汝若不知，云何得去？汝今行時，從一聚落至一聚落，尚須引導而知途路，況彼天上道路長遠？忉利天上去此三百三十六萬里，無人引導。何由能得至彼天上？若天上樂者，彼上座婆羅門，年既老大貧於財物，其婦又老面首醜惡，何所愛樂？何不將去共向天上？”

時彼聚落主既聞語已，作是思惟：“若投火坑得生天者，彼婆羅門應共我去。所以者何？彼婆羅門貧窮、困苦、無可愛戀，應當捨苦就彼天樂；若其不去，徒作欺誑欲殺於我”作是念已，即便前捉上座婆羅門手，欲共投火俱向天上。時婆羅門格不肯去。何以故？婆羅門等但為錢財來至會所。

(T4.201.281a7–26)

²³⁶ See p. 29, n. 53 above.

This village-headman formerly had acquaintance with a *bhikṣu* of the Śākya clan. At that time, the *bhikṣu* came to his [=the headman's] house, and seeing the headman in the middle of his house, with every kind of adornment, the *bhikṣu* said: “What do you wish to do?”

The headman said: “I wish to be reborn in the heavens”

The *bhikṣu* said: “How would you get there?”

The other pondered for a moment and answered: “I will throw myself on to the pyre, and thus attain rebirth in the heavens”

The *bhikṣu* said: “Do you know well the way to the heavens?”

The other answered: “I do not know it”

The *bhikṣu* asked then: “If you do not know it, how will you be able to go? Now, when you travel from one village to another village,²³⁷ you need a guide to know the route: how much more for the way up to the heavens, which are far and distant. From here up to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven there are 336.000 leagues (里 =**yojana*), and nobody can guide [one there]. On the basis of what would you be able to reach that heaven?”

Also, if the heavens are pleasurable, what does then that presiding brahmin, old in years and needy of wealth, his wife also old and ugly in face, have to enjoy here? Why should he not join you to go to the heavens?”

Then, when the headman had heard this, he thought: “If by throwing oneself on to the pyre one obtains rebirth in heaven, that brahmin should go with me. Why?”

²³⁷ Interestingly, travelling out to conduct business in representation of the village is precisely one of the duties for the *grāmika* specified in *Arthaśāstra* 3.10.16.

That brahmin is poor, troubled, has nothing to love: he must leave suffering and attain the joys of heaven. If he does not go, then he was only deceiving me, wishing to kill me.” Having thought this, [Valkalin] pulled him forward by the hand of the presiding brahmin, so that they could throw themselves together into the fire, to both be born in heaven. The brahmin fought back and was not willing to go. Why? The brahmins had come to that assembly only for the sake of monetary wealth.²³⁸

One quite striking trait of this passage is that the Buddha, or Buddhist doctrine branded specifically as such, are not mentioned at all. The Buddhist recipe for a heavenly birth is presented later in the narrative; however, here, the Buddhist monk appeals to a rational test of brahmanical claims that is mainly presented as a charitable act but doubles as a means of proselytisation. The tone of the monk oscillates between the exact scientific information given on the distance of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three (*trāyastriṃśā*), to a general observation that knowledge and method

²³⁸ Compare with Huber 1908, 27, “Maintenant ce chef de village avait connu jadis un bhikṣu de la communauté du Çākya. En ce moment même ce bhikṣu arriva dans la maison du chef de village et le vit au milieu de sa famille, paré de toutes sortes d’ornements. Le bhikṣu lui demanda: «Que veux-tu faire ?» Le chef de village dit: «Je veux renaître au ciel ». Le bhikṣu demanda: «De quelle façon vas-tu y aller ?» Il dit : «Je vais me précipiter dans une fosse de feu, après quoi je renaîtrai dans le ciel». Le bhikṣu lui demanda: «Sais-tu le chemin pour aller au ciel ?» Il dit: «Je ne le connais pas.» Le bhikṣu lui demanda : «Si tu n’en connais pas le chemin, comment pourras-tu y aller? Si tu te mets en route pour aller seulement d’un village à un autre village, il te faut déjà un guide qui connaît la route. Combien plus longue est la route qui mène au ciel! Le ciel des Trayastriṃças est éloigné de nous de trois millions trois cent trente-six li, personne ne peut te servir comme guide. Comment pourras-tu arriver au ciel? Parlons aussi des joies du ciel : Le chef des brahmanes (que tu vois là) est vieux et dénué de toute richesse. Sa femme est vieille et a une mine laide. Qu’aimet-il donc? Pourquoi ne veut-il pas aller au ciel ensemble avec toi?» Ayant entendu ces paroles le chef de village se dit: «Si en se précipitant dans une fosse de feu on obtient de renaître au ciel, il est naturel que ce brahmane aille avec moi. Pourquoi donc? Ce brahmane est tourmenté par la pauvreté et il n’a rien à quoi son cœur pourrait rester attaché. Il est naturel qu’il quitte cet état de misère pour aller trouver les joies du ciel. Mais s’il ne veut pas s’en aller, je saurai qu’il m’a trompé et qu’il a comploté ma mort.» Ayant ainsi réfléchi il s’avança, saisit le chef des brahmanes par la main et s’apprêta à se jeter avec lui dans le feu et à aller avec lui au ciel. Mais le brahmane se débattait et refusait d’aller. Pourquoi agissait-il ainsi? Parce que les brahmanes n’étaient venus à cette assemblée que pour ramasser de l’argent.”

are essential to achieving one's aims, and, finally, to the psychological questioning of the motivations of the brahmins that have encouraged the self-immolation. The revelation of the Buddha's method to attain heaven comes only after the denunciation of what perhaps would have its closest equivalents in the ideas evoked by the word "superstition," i.e. unreasonable belief, both unwarranted and harmful.

Story LX, on which we have already remarked, shares a similar plot, if only somewhat less dramatic. As we have seen, a Buddhist monk visits a *grhapati* for alms and finds him decked with an array of apotropaic devices like a piece of bezoar, a conchshell, and the *bilva* fruit (= *Aegle Marmelos*). The argument of the Buddhist monk is effective in its deployment of fairly simple logic: If the bezoar and the conchshell provide supernatural protection, how is it that the bezoar did not protect the ox on which it grew or oyster that lived in the shell? How is it that the *bilva* could not protect the tree from being shaken for its fruit? The argument here reaches a conclusion that is similar to that of the story of Valkalin: attachment to such practices is not only costly, but pointless and ineffective.

It is only after non-Buddhist religious practices have been shown to be unreasonable that the monks in these two stories proceed to expound the Buddhist alternative. The Buddha's method as explained in the story of Valkalin is also fairly simple and echoes the five injunctions taken by Buddhist lay-brothers and -sisters:²³⁹

一切智說道 廣略之別相，
無害實語等 施及伏諸根。

²³⁹ Conventionally these would be refraining from killing, taking what has not been given, engaging in "wrong sexual behavior" (*kāmeṣu mithyācāra, kāmeṣu micchācāra, 'dod pa la log par g.yed pa, xieyin 邪淫*), false speech, and ingesting intoxicants.

是道與天道

(T4.201.281c2–4)

Of the way of the All-Knowing

I will broadly sketch the distinctive features:

Not harming, speaking the truth, and so on,

Giving, and restraining the senses.

This way agrees with the way to the heavens.²⁴⁰

The implicit assumption in this Buddhist recipe for a heavenly rebirth is that these are all actions that accrue merit that ripens in desirable realms of rebirth like heaven. In fact, in the story about the man keen on auspicious objects, the Buddha's alternative to them is given exactly in terms of the requital of deeds:

福業皆是吉 惡業中無吉，

吉與不吉等 皆從果因緣

(T4.201.316a18–19)

Meritorious deeds (*ye* 業=*karman*) are all auspicious,

Among evil deeds there is no auspiciousness

Both auspicious and inauspicious alike

Derive from effects, causes, and conditions.

The doctrine of the requital of deeds hardly strikes our modern sensibility as an empirically verifiable theory, and yet Kumāralāta includes in his collection a story—LXXVIII—that deals

²⁴⁰ See also Huber 1908, 130, “*De ce chemin dont a parlé l’Omniscient /Voici brièvement les différents signes caractéristiques:/ Ne nuire à personne et dire la vérité,/ Donner l’aumône et dompter les sens,/ Voilà le chemin qui conduit au ciel.*”

precisely with such an empirical verification of this doctrine. It is extremely telling that he may have decided to compose fiction, in fact *historical* fiction—indeed, one of the protagonists is the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka (*floruit* late 2nd Century)—because it speaks about the need to present such doctrinal tenet as an empirically verifiable law of the universe. The doctrine of the requital of deeds was not, by Kumāralāta’s time, the common denominator of Indian religious traditions that it would become over time, and the exact mechanics of the retributive universe would have exhibited by then also a great diversity of concurrent and often mutually contradictory formulations.²⁴¹ Story LXXIII serves to illustrate clearly and forcefully the Buddhist model. The traditional Buddhist *jātakas* and *avadānas* rely on narratives that span through several lifetimes in order to make this point, but Kumāralāta seems to have wanted to make a story of the here-and-now where all the cards are on the table and empirical proof is presented as plausible.

In that story we see two of Huviṣka’s ministers, who “had heard many times the [Buddha’s] Law and therefore understood how to debate” (數聞聽法並解議論, T4.201.340c10), disagreeing on a sensitive matter; whereas the more advanced Buddhist practitioner holds that he owes his position at court to the ripening of his own former deeds, the other holds that he owes it to the king. Huviṣka commissions the queen to bestow a number of gifts on the former to see what happens. A short comedy of errors involving alcohol and nasal hemorrhage ensues, and at story’s end the man who held that his advantage was due to the force of his former deeds ends up with the gifts meant for the other. The king is then persuaded of the empirical truth of the requital of deeds, here presented as a distinctive trait of the Buddha’s Law.

²⁴¹ See p. 224, especially n. 265 where this issue is treated in more detail.

This anecdote on empirical experimentation should not, however, be taken as an indication of a generally speculative or inquisitive attitude towards the world: rather, this episode seems to fit within a larger scheme to present a perfectly mechanistic model of the universe, a clear framework within which practical decision can be made with perfectly predictable outcomes. The doctrine of the requital of deeds might not seem to us significantly more factual than the supernatural protection afforded by amulets, but the point here is that Kumāralāta cloaks it with the mystique of empirical fact by presenting it as empirically verifiable and therefore as a valid logical premise.

As mentioned before, our writer delights in presenting monologues that make explicit the trends of thought that lead his characters to make decisions when faced with difficult problems. Thus, in story XII, two monks are caught in the shipwreck of the merchant vessel on which they are travelling. The younger monk manages to seize a plank, while the older does not. The older monk then requests the plank from the younger, claiming the monastic principle of seniority (*yathāvṛddha/yathāvuddha, yathāvṛddhikā*). The younger monk ponders on his own for a while, and concludes that the senior monk's claim accords with the Buddha's teaching, thinking "the Tathāgata has indeed [spoken] such words; 'all advantages pertain first to the one on the higher seat (=the senior)'" (—如來世尊實有斯語, 諸有利樂應先上座, T4.201.270a3–4). But this is an argument according to authority. The young monk then goes on to reason that by relinquishing his means of survival he "accrues unlimited stores of merit" (無量功德聚, T4.201.270a11), and, later on in his mental disquisition, also that "though dead, [his] name will be glorious." After establishing that self-sacrifice in that context conforms with the rules of the corporate body he belongs to, after ascertaining that doing so is, after all, a profitable investment, and also by taking solace in his posthumous survival in collective social memory, the young monk gives up the

wooden plank—only to be rescued, of course, by the god of the sea, who is astonished by the young monk’s determination.

But this is an extreme case. In general, self-sacrifice should be the very last resource, when all other options have been depleted. In story VII we again encounter the same plot device that we have encountered so often already: a Buddhist *upāsaka* sees a non-Buddhist ascetic performing penance, and proceeds to convince the man of the irrationality of his acts, using a line of argumentation already familiar: “If on account of being without clothes and food/The *nirgranthas* (Jains) and others with naked bodies [...] /Should be thought of as ascetics,/ Then hungry ghosts, and domestic animals,/And those afflicted with poverty,/Also should be called ascetics.”²⁴² And yet the closing lines of his arguments are not an appeal to rationality, but to healthy common sense:

夫欲修道者 當資於此身

以美味飲食 充足於軀命

氣力既充溢 能修戒定慧

(T4.201.265c10–12)

A person wishing to practice the way

Must provide for his body

With delicious food and drink.

Corporeal life is then replenished,

The life-force invigorated.

²⁴² For the original text and full translation of this passage see p. 253.

Then one can practice the moral training, the concentration, the wisdom.²⁴³

We mentioned above in passing that the Buddha is said to have categorically denied that his doctrine was entirely based on logic and inference, and is also said to have recommended that the deciding factors at the moment of examining a proposition should be neither authority nor logic, but rather considerations of moral consequence and social acceptability. In the words imputed to him, propositions should be rejected if one concludes that,

ime dhammā akusalā, ime dhammā sāvajjā, ime dhammā viññugarahitā, ime dhammā samattā samādinna ahitāya dukkhāya samvattanti (Kesamuttisutta, Aṅguttaranikāya, Hardy and Morris 1885–1900 iii 189, §4).

these things are not good, these things are blameworthy, these things are decried by the wise, these things when adopted and carried out lead to what is not beneficial and to suffering.

In other words, social impact seems here to be a deciding factor in the value of knowledge, and in spite of the frequent exaltation of asceticism practiced beyond the conventions of society as the noblest of human pursuits, what these narratives seem to be most concerned with is not disrupting social order but instead affirming or increasing social cohesion. And it would seem as if the aura of Buddhism as a rational faith, as a “religion without superstition,” perhaps as powerful then as it is now, was often subordinate to a strong sense of epistemological pragmatism.

²⁴³ Compare Huber 1908, 46, *Celui qui veut pratiquer la Voie / Doit pourvoir aux nécessités du corps; / Il doit boire et manger de bonnes choses; / Pour entretenir son corps et sa vie; / Ainsi la santé et la force s'augmentent; / Et l'on est apte à pratiquer les défenses et le Dhyāna*

3.2.2. The Ethical Refusal of Easy Gains, Hard Work, and Parsimony: A Buddhist Work

Ethic

The *Sūtra of the Son of Sujāta* or *Sūtra on the Instruction of Śikhāḷaka/Sigāla* has been a remarkably influential text, with its popularity in antiquity attested to by versions in Sanskrit, Pāli, and no less than three in Chinese.²⁴⁴ In modernity it has been characterized by Bechert (1966, 13) and Obeyesekere (2002, 181, 388, n.64–66) as a central text in “modernist” Buddhist discourse in South East Asia. The appeal of the text lies perhaps in that it traces a detailed code of behavior for the lay Buddhist. Famously, the commentary *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* attributed to Buddhaghosa calls the text a *gihivinaya*, a “*vinaya* for the householder.” The technical use of the term *vinaya* here is noteworthy because it typically indicates *monastic* codes of behavior. For the present discussion we should remark that the scripture explains this code of behavior as the metaphorical and truly religious method of performing a domestic ritual—the worship of the six directions—some version of which finds its classical brahmanical formulation in the “five great domestic sacrifices” (*pañcamahāyajña*) of the *Law Code of Manu* (3.68–121). The text, then, explicitly equates proper social and economic behavior with religious practice.

The *Instruction* enumerates in detail the rules that make a *gr̥hapati* a virtuous lay practitioner of Buddhism, a successful businessman, a respected member of his society, and a prominent donor. Among the features that allow the *gr̥hapati* to increase his wealth are sedulously eschewing the “drains on wealth” (*apāyamukha*, *suncai ye* 損財業), that include engaging in nightlife, festive

²⁴⁴ The Sanskrit versions are all fragmentary, and those known and edited are in the collections of the Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften: SHT 412.22–31, 1244, 1914; one also fragmentary Nepalese version has been edited by Matsuda (1996). The Pāli version (*Sigālovādasutta*) is 31 in the collection *Dīghanikāya*. The Chinese versions are: **Dīrghāgama* 2.16, T1.1.70a20–72c26; **Madhyamāgama* 11.135, T1.26.638c8–642a21; T16; T17. For a comparative overview of the versions known to him, see Premasiri 1950.

music, dance, and story-telling, alcohol consumption, and gambling. At this point we might remark once again that although we have characterized the Buddhist *grhapati* as typically a member of an urban upper-middle-class, surely not all people in this demographic may have shared the same puritanical approach towards the joys of life. What comes most instantly to mind is, for example, the readership of the perhaps 3rd CE Century *Sūtra of Pleasure (Kāmasūtra)* of Vatsyāyana which, far from being the sex manual of the modern popular understanding is a complete manual on lifestyle and household economy that, however, constantly emphasizes the pursuit of pleasure as a defining element of status and privilege.²⁴⁵ The man about town of the *Sūtra of Pleasure* certainly enjoys a sophisticated sex-life and pastimes like table games and quail fights, but is also a reader.²⁴⁶ Another demographic that comes to mind would be the readership of the roughly contemporary Prakrit lyrical collection *Sattasaī*. Kaul (2009) has in fact pointed to “culture and pleasure” as the central and most characteristic pursuits of these urban sophisticates as portrayed in the literature of the early centuries CE. The austere approach to simple sensorial enjoyment in the *Instruction of Śikhāḷaka* must have been then, in stark contrast with other cultural trends that were active during of Kumāralāta’s own time: what these different groups of urban people seem to have had in common at this point seems to have been a growing appetite for fine literature written in beautiful Sanskrit. However, Kumāralāta’s must have been a world that had room for both *blasé* hedonism and puritanical morality existing side by side and expressed in similar language.

²⁴⁵ Second half of the 3rd Century is the dating proposed by Doniger and Kakar 2002, xi.

²⁴⁶ Books are listed as one of the essential elements in the house of a man-about-town in *Kāmasūtra* 1.4.4.

The *grhapati* of the *Instruction* never finds an excuse not to work by thinking “‘it is too cold’ [...] ‘it is too hot’ [...] ‘it is too early’ [...] ‘it is too late’ [...] ‘I am too rich/sated’ [...] ‘I am too poor/hungry’ [...]” (*atisītaṃ ... atiuṇhaṃ ... atisāyaṃ ... atipāto ... atichāto’smi ... atidhāto’smi*; 富樂 ... 貧窮 ... 寒時 ... 熱時 ... 早 ... 晚). And, for the present discussion, one of the most telling details in the *Instruction* is that although it lists duties of employers towards employees and vice versa, the dominant narrative seems to be the one told from the point of view of the employer: the man who officiates the worship of the directions metaphorically ministers to his employees towards the nadir, underneath himself.

The monastic *vinayas* include plenty of narrative detail on administrative procedure and business administration, and to a lesser extent so do collections like the *Avadānaśataka* and the Jaina *Uvāsagadasāo* that we have considered before; however, Kumāralāta seems to have considered such matters too prosaic and pedestrian for the artistic aims of his stories. Yet, he has much to say about the attitudes of his characters towards work, business, and the domestic economy. Two stories of the *Garland* deal with procrastination, and although in both cases the procrastination has to do with religious duty, they can be taken as expressive of more general attitudes. Story XIII features two brothers who take up the monastic career. The elder had reached the status of an *arhat*, while the younger had specialized, perhaps like Kumāralāta himself, in scholastic philosophy. The elder brother insists that the younger undertake meditational practice, and when the younger brother replies he would do it later, the elder replies with a chilling rebuke:

mṛtyuvyāghreṇa sahasāvyāghreṇevāvalambitāḥ tat tathā kṛ ..

(Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.45 v5)

Those caught by the tiger of death, like suddenly caught by a tiger, in that same way...

死虎極暴急 都無有容縱，

一旦卒來到 不待至明日

(T4.201.270b25–26)

The tiger of death, violent and sudden

Completely lacks forbearance

It will come suddenly one morning

And will not wait for tomorrow²⁴⁷

The scholastic philosopher winds up in hell, which is definitely an uncommonly harsh narrative fate in the universe of the *Garland*. Story XLIX deals with a favorite of the king fallen from grace and sentenced to death: reaching the end of his life he regrets not having taken his religious duties more seriously. The fate of the former favorite is unknown, but an authorial intervention at the end of the story expresses condemnation in equally stark terms:

何緣故說是？先不善觀察而作死想，臨終驚怖方習禪觀，以不破五欲
故，莫知所至，悔恨驚怖

(T4.201.302c2–4)

For what reason do I tell this? The aforesaid man had not well observed and thought about his death. In his final moments he panicked and set about to practice concentration, but as he had not destroyed the five desires, not knowing whereto he would pass away [from here], he was frightened and remorseful.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ See Huber 1908, 71, *Le tigre cruel de la mort / N'accorde jamais de merci;/ Un jour il arrivera vite/ Et n'attendra pas le lendemain.*

²⁴⁸ See Huber (1908, 238): *Pourquoi cela a-t-il été raconté? (Pour montrer) comme cet homme avait commencé par ne pas bien réfléchir et par ne pas songer à la mort. Quand il s'approcha de sa fin, il s'effraya et dirigea ses*

The kind of personal discipline that these two characters lack finds many manifestations in the stories of the *Garland*. Stories IX and XXXIV, on which we have already remarked, deal with characters faced with the dilemma of taking unearned wealth. In both cases, the characters find treasures by chance.²⁴⁹ In story IX the character, “a poor *upāsaka*,” declines to take a treasure hidden in the wall of a ruined house, thus earning the praise of a present monk, who says to the *upāsaka*: “Although you do not have the garments of the law your heart has already left the house,” a somewhat elaborate way of saying that the *upāsaka* is a monk in all but the habit. This, once again, equates the holiness of the monastic path with the *upāsaka*’s behavior towards money. In story XXXIV, instead, the protagonist takes the treasure and is seized by the fiscal department of the king. Certainly, these stories play on the standard Buddhist tenet, usually found as the second precept taken by the lay-brothers and -sisters, to refrain from “taking what has not been given” (*adattādāna*, *adinnādāna*). Seen more closely from the optic of the ethics of wealth, a further moral of the stories seems to be that the righteous man relies only on the wealth he has been able to earn by himself. The same kind of restraint and disciplined adherence to prescribed codes of conduct is perhaps best displayed by story LXXVI, where a sick man—again, an *upāsaka*—is prescribed wine by a doctor. Since abstention from intoxicant substances is also one of the five precepts of lay-brothers and -sisters, the protagonist decides to die rather than break the principles of his training. Again, the rationale is that intoxication leads to every manner of infraction and mistaken decision; however it is inevitable to be reminded here of the *Instruction*, where intoxication is characterized primarily as a “drain of wealth.”

regards vers la pratique du Dhyāna ; parce qu’il n’avait pas anéanti les cinq Désirs, il ne savait pas où il arriverait et il fut pris de peur et de remords.

²⁴⁹ See a complete translation of the story and with an introduction in 5.1.

In story XX we encounter praise of parsimony and thrift. The man in the story, again an *upāsaka*, is content with what he has, and upon being called “poor” by someone else, replies by saying that his wealth is the favorable disposition towards the religion of the Buddha. It makes his giving, however limited, the kind of immaterial wealth that fructifies in the afterlife. Why or how he is able to say so will be the topic of Chapter IV, but we can remark for the moment that the rationale that the *Garland* sets for the pursuit of wealth is in fact, that wealth allows for the religious gift. One particularly emblematic story, XXXIII, on which we have commented already and will comment on again later, has a peasant visiting the city and being dazzled by the opulence of urban life. Upon realizing that his present poverty is the outcome of his lack of religious cultivation and gift-giving in past lives, he sets his mind upon changing course. As we have seen before, the social mobility allowed by the so-called second urbanization of India may, in fact, have meant a migration towards urban centers and a shift towards urban modes of production. The story of the peasant as told in the *Garland* is no more than a vignette, a narrative embryo, and yet a rather similar story is told in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* that describes what the path towards the simultaneous acquisition of a committed religious mindset and of social prominence may have been imagined to look like.²⁵⁰ In the story from the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*, the protagonist is not a peasant but the impoverished and orphaned son of a *gr̥hapati*. After being instructed in a Buddhist monastery on how the religious gift grants rebirth in heaven, our man has a strong motivation to gather the funds to provide one meal to the monastic assembly. He is forced to profit

²⁵⁰ The story is part of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*, and is preserved in Tibetan translation in Derge, 'Dul ba, Ja, 113b3–122a7, but the Sanskrit text is quoted *in toto* in the *Divyāvadāna* as story XXI under the title *Sahasodgatāvadāna*.

from the only asset he has left, namely his capacity to do manual work, although the text implies that such a thing was seen as demeaning for someone of his upbringing.

Like our peasant, the son of the *grhapati* realizes that his present disenfranchisement is the outcome of his lack of merit. We may pause here for a moment to note that this realization seems to have been, for Kumāralāta, a transformational moment, imagined to be one in which, by taking responsibility over their lives, his characters are able to break the vicious circle of mistaken deeds and bad retributions. Besides the story of the peasant, the *Garland* contains another depiction of this epiphany of a story we have already encountered, LXXV, where an old man decides to pawn himself and his wife into servitude in order to make a religious gift after having had the following thought:

世有良福田 我無善種子

今身若後身 飢窮苦難計

先身不種子 今世極貧窮

(T4.201. 342a8–10)

The world has an excellent field for merit

But I did not sow well seed.

My present self, like my future selves

Is hungry, needy, distressed, worried.

My former self did not sow seed:

So, in this present lifetime [I am] poor²⁵¹

²⁵¹ See Huber 1908, 420, *Le monde est un excellent champ de mérite./ Mais je n'ai pas de bonnes semences:/ Dans cette vie et dans l'autre./ Je souffrirai d'une faim et d'une misère énormes./ Dans une vie antérieure je n'ai pas semé./ Dans cette vie donc je suis tombé dans une misère extrême.*

The son of the *gr̥hapati* finds himself working in a team of workers that are lazy and work with “dishonesty” (*śāṭhyena*). He attempts to encourage his fellow workers to work diligently with the following words:

*vayaṃ tāvat pūrvakeṇa duścāritena daridragr̥heṣūpapannās tadyadi
śāṭhyena karma kariṣyāma itaścyutānām kā gatiḥ bhaviṣyati?*

(Cowell and Neil 1886, 304.22–24)

“Since we through previous bad behavior have been reborn in poor families, if we do our work with dishonesty, what will be our future state when we pass away from here?”

Through honest and diligent work our man is able to gain the favor of his employer and to bring to fruition his original design of providing a meal for the monks. Later on, the man’s generosity ends up generating income for him in unexpected ways: those who have benefitted from him wish to reward him. Upon questioning the Buddha on whether accepting that unforeseen revenue would conflict with a heavenly rebirth, our man is told:

vatsa, puṣpam etat, phalam anyad bhaviṣyati

(Cowell and Neil 1886, 309.2–3)

My son, this is the flower, the other will be the fruit

Throughout the rest of the story we see the man attaining the status of a *gr̥hapati* and climbing the social ladder until he becomes the president of the traders’ guild in the city (*śreṣṭhin*). The Buddha’s answer is unambiguous: Worldly success is the secondary outcome of business and honest labor conducted to allow the religious gift and it does not conflict with what is technically the primary goal, a favorable rebirth. There is, then, not only no contradiction between success in business and religious piety: in fact, the former is a favorable condition for the latter.

3.2.3. The Quest for Respectability: Manners, Discipline, Decorum

One small verbal cliché that enters in the composition of all the extant monastic codes (*vinayas*) of the various schools of Indian Buddhism describes the reaction of groups outside the Buddhist monastic order to given actions of monastics:

Mūlasarvāstivāda: [te] *'vadhyāyanti, kṣipanti, vivācayanti*

“They thought little [of the monastics,] reviled [them,] spoke disparagingly [about them]”

Theravāda: [te] *ujjhāyanti, khiyyanti, (or khīyanti) vipācenti*

“They thought little [of the monastics], were vexed, spoke disparagingly [about them]”

Mahāsaṃghika: *te ... odhyāyanti*

“They thought little [of the monastics]”

Mahīśāsaka: 諸...譏訶言

“They spoke with criticism, reviling [the monastics]”

Dharmaguptaka: 諸...皆譏嫌言

“They all spoke with criticism, disgusted”

Sarvāstivāda: 諸...譏嫌訶責

“They criticized [the monastics], were disgusted, reviled and blamed [them]”

The grammatical object of the sentence—an individual Buddhist monastic or a group of them—is constant; however, the subject varies widely. In the case of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavīnaya* it is often a nominal phrase that indicates what could be taken either as a denomination of the notable members of society at large or else, more narrowly, of the influential segment of society most likely to sponsor, at least ideally, the Buddhist monastic order: those *brāhmaṇā gṛhapatayah*,

“brahmins and *grhapatīs*”²⁵² However, once a sufficient sample of the huge volume of occurrences of this cliché is considered, we see a wider variety of actors engaged in criticism on Buddhist monastic practices: sometimes, the professional practitioners of non-Buddhist religions; often, Buddhist monastics themselves. The outcome of the social outrage at monastic practices expressed in this small phrase is inevitably the formulation of additional monastic norms on the part of the Buddha, or, less often, on the part of the monastic community itself, as represented by its most senior and authoritative members. In the context of the present discussion, the point that needs to be made is that in the cases where this phrase occurs, social expectations are the main determinant for regulating behavior: What people think about the community is, more than intrinsic considerations on the path of monastic cultivation, what determines regulatory initiatives.

If anything, the frequency of these passages shows that in spite of the abundant injunctions to shun social ties and constraints contained in the more romantic canonical works of the tradition—in fact some of the oldest and most widespread texts like the *Rhinoceros Horn* and the *Chapters on Eights or on Truth* (*aṭṭhakavagga*, *arthavargīya*)—the narrative and normative literature that we deal with here, concerned as it is with reconciling doctrine with the practical concerns of life, placed a central importance precisely on the social expectations of monastic behavior. Although breaking away from the encumbering complexities of social life always remained an element of the mystique of the monastic path, the monastics of the *vinayas* seem not only concerned, but in fact constantly preoccupied with earning the respect of the community that supported them and of society at large.

²⁵² *Grhapati* is a difficult term: please see the previous discussion on some of the meanings that it may have had in 3.1.2–8.

One of the most striking literary features of the *Garland* is an insistent panegyric of the institutional dimension of Buddhist religion; however, either wittingly or unwittingly Kumāralāta gives us clues as to the underlying reasons for the vehemence of his panegyric. Our author has vividly illustrated the extended social prejudices that the Buddhist community may have faced: Kumāralāta’s impassioned praise of the Buddha’s religion goes hand in hand with abundant hints that it may not have been welcomed or well-regarded by many sectors of society during his time.

For example, that ascetics in general and Buddhist monks in particular may have been generally regarded as inauspicious is made clear by the plot of story XXIII,²⁵³ in which as soon as a monk enters the house of a brahmin for alms the ritually significant ridgepole (*wudong* 屋棟, **sthūna*) breaks, shattering in its fall the also ritually significant water pots (*shuiweng* 水瓮, **udakumbha*). The immediate assumption of the brahmin master of the house is that the presence of the monk has brought bad luck upon his house. He says: “what kind of bad omen (*buxiang* 不祥) is this? Such is the evil power of the inauspicious person (*buji zhi ren* 不吉之人) that has come to my house! (斯何不祥? 不吉之人來入吾家, 有此變怪, T4.201. 280b7–10).²⁵⁴ This small vignette is fully consonant with the picture that one would derive from considering other sources from contemporary India and even from modern Sri Lanka.²⁵⁵ The Buddhist insistence on the

²⁵³ On this see Schopen 2014, 446 n.32.

²⁵⁴ Compare Huber 1908, 123, *Quel est cet événement de mauvais augure? C’est un porte-malheur qui a mis le pied dans ma maison pour que cet événement extraordinaire soit arrivé.*

²⁵⁵ See for example, how in the play *Mṛcchakaṭikā* (7.9+, Acharya 2009, 324–325) the mere “sight of a wretched Buddhist monk” is said to be of “bad luck” (*anābhyudayikaṃ śramaṇakadarśanam*), and that this is not a sign of the moral flaws of the character that speaks this line but rather the expression of a widespread prejudice is made clear by the fact the speaker is the exemplary hero of the play, Carudatta. A very similar statement is also made in a story from a narrative collection that shares much with Kumāralāta’s *Garland*, the *Liudu jijing* 六度集經, only preserved in Chinese translation (T3.152..27–29, French translation in Chavannes 1910–1935, i, 184): here, the one

transience of life seems to have suited rituals related with death more than other life-cycle occasions throughout the history of the tradition:²⁵⁶ indeed, there must have been a short distance from the association of Buddhist monks with death to their becoming a bad omen themselves. Kumāralāta subverts this widespread prejudice by having the monk disclose what had actually happened: rather than the calamity having been brought by the monk, it was that a *yakṣa* had taken possession of the brahmin's house and had fled in fear of the monk. This is a clever twist on the part of the writer, but one that clearly concedes to the tangible reality that Buddhist monastics may have elicited what at best were ambivalent feelings from among many in society.

Besides being inauspicious, Buddhist monks may have been assumed to be old and not good-looking. In story LXV, we see the wives of the king utterly surprised that a man like one certain *Sāraṇa,²⁵⁷ “young in years, handsome, of unique looks” (年既少、壯容、貌殊特, T4.201.323c13) could be a Buddhist monk. The most immediate inference is that at least for these palace ladies, Buddhist monks may have been generally expected to be neither young nor handsome, but instead old and ugly. Regarding this specific preconceived notion regarding Buddhist monks, the *Garland* contains interesting suggestions that it may even have been prevalent among the

who refers to the Buddhist monk as an “inauspicious person” (此不祥之人) is a hunter that has previously invited the monk to come for alms. For how even in mostly Buddhist modern Sri Lanka similar beliefs still hold true, on which see Gombrich and Obeyesekere (1988, 265–67); the latter elaborate on the mortuary connotations of Buddhist monks and on why they were traditionally seldom invited to weddings. Such negative stereotypes may have not been exclusive to Buddhist monastics: see Bhalchandra Deo (1956, 397) for an early Jaina story that features these same prejudices.

²⁵⁶ See Cuevas and Stone 2007, 1–31 for an overview of the role of death rituals in the Buddhist tradition.

²⁵⁷ Middle Chinese *Salana 娑羅那. My reconstruction here is tentative, but among the Sanskrit terms that would fit this transcription, Sāraṇa is the only one that I have found attested as a personal name (Monier Williams 1872, s.v.).

Buddhists themselves: Story III is entirely devoted to teaching that younger monks are equally venerable—and equally worthy recipients of gifts and thereby generators of merit—as older monks.

The *Garland* also seems to suggest that Buddhist monks were in general perceived to belong to the lower castes. Stories XVI and LXXVIII illustrate instances of this specific perception, followed narratively not by a refutation of that point, but rather by the usual Buddhist statement that caste is irrelevant. In the first story, the minister Yaśas, who censures king Aśoka's patronage of the Buddhist order on account of the dubious caste composition of the latter, is taught a lesson in modesty, whereas the second story features two royal princes refusing to eat monastic food leftovers, arguing that such food would be ritually impure because Buddhist monks are of “all sorts of mixed family names” (種種雜姓, T4.201.344a23; Huber 1908, 442.)

That, then, Buddhist monks should have cared about combating all these negative stereotypes should not surprise us, and the recipe for uprooting bad reputation and create a good name outlined for monastics by Kumāralāta is a very straightforward one: “If the disciple can hold steadfastly to the rules of training (*jie* 戒) he will be respected and admired by people” (若有弟子能堅持戒為人宗仰, T4.201.268c5–6). In other words, strict adherence to the rules of monastic discipline, beyond any consequences that it may have regarding the cultivation of the monastic ideal, is a sure way to earn respect.

The lay people pictured in the *Garland* display equal eagerness for earning respectability and elevating the reputation of their religion. We will consider this point in detail, but first, the story whose initial moral maxim was just quoted in the previous paragraph—XI—deserves some careful consideration because of the remarkable statements contained in it. The story features a group of monks attacked by thieves while traveling. One of the thieves, we are told, had previously

been a monk,²⁵⁸ and this tells us something about the social background and status of at least some Buddhist monastics in Kumāralāta’s time: Slipping from monkhood into crime evidently did not seem an utter impossibility to the audience of the *Garland*. The thief with a monastic background had once been, moreover, a well-trained monk, and he devises a method to restrain the monks that would avoid the unpleasant task of murdering them by taking advantage of the monks’ strict observance of monastic discipline. “Since” the thief argues “the Law of the *bhikṣus* does not allow them to hurt plants, if we use grass to tie up these *bhikṣus*, they will fear to harm it and will not be able to go into the four directions to tell on us” (比丘之法不得傷草，今若以草繫諸比丘，彼畏傷故終不能得四向馳告, T.201.268c10–11, Huber 1908, 62, lines17–22). Now, this is in all likelihood an allusion to an item featured in the lists of rules of many Indian monastic schools. Although the wording is highly opaque and unusual, the rule is unanimously taken to mean, indeed, that monks should not hurt plants, and that if they do, that they incur a penalty.²⁵⁹ The monks decide to stay where they are and die rather than break a single blade of grass. There is certainly a good deal of narrative hyperbole in this plot twist, but the image evoked here was probably not

²⁵⁸ “Among the thieves there was one man who had once left the house” (賊中一人先曾出家, T4.201. 268c8–9. Compare Huber 1908, 62, “*parmi eux se trouvait un homme qui jadis avait appartenu au clergé*”).

²⁵⁹ This rule is listed under number 11 in the category of “offences causing fall” (*pā(ta)yantikā*, *pācittikā/pāyittikā*) of at least the following four traditions:

Sarvāstivāda: *bījagrāmahūtagrāmapātanāt pā(ta)yantikā*.

Mūlasarvāstivāda: *bījagrāmahūtagrāmapātanapātāpanāt pāyantikā*.

Mahāsāṃghika: *bījagrāmahūtagrāmapātāpanake pācattikaṃ*.

Theravāda: *bījagrāmahūtagrāmapātavyatāya pācittikā*.

The language of these injunctions is obscure, and as the synoptic presentation in Pachow 1955, 126 shows, it created considerable perplexity among ancient Chinese and Tibetan translators. Nevertheless, as far as the Indic commentarial tradition is concerned, Schmithausen (1991, 5–22), who deals with this rule *in extenso*, shows that the compound *bījagrāmahūtagrāma* was generally understood to refer to plants, although a secondary interpretation of *bhūtagrāma* as ‘village of creatures’ or ‘village of spirits’ seems to have had a certain currency too, alluding to the animals that live in vegetation or else to the spirits that inhabit it.

intended to be comical at all: the monks eventually declare that “the Buddha said that all plants/ are a village of spirits”²⁶⁰ (佛說諸草木/悉是鬼神村, T4.201.269c3, Huber 1908, 68, line 13) and this resonates with the belief, richly documented for the ancient and modern Indic world, that plants are inhabited by powerful supernatural entities.

Determined to die, the monks utter in chorus one of the grand poetic speeches that Kumāralāta reserves for important statements on the religious life:

我等今危厄 必定捨軀命
若當命終後 生天受快樂
若毀犯禁戒 現在惡名聞
為人所輕賤 命終墮惡道
(T4.201.69a24–27)

We are now in danger

And will inevitably relinquish our bodies;

After the end of our present lives

We will be reborn in the heavens and experience pleasure.

But, if we offend against the rules of training

In the present we will have a bad reputation

People will judge us as irrelevant and worthless:

²⁶⁰Please see the previous note on *bhūtagrāma* as ‘settlement of spirits.’ Huber’s rendering of *guishen cun* 鬼神村 as “*la demeure des esprits*” (1908, 67) is correct, but not too literal: *cun* 村 is in its most basic sense a ‘village’ (= *grāma*).

When our lives end we will fall into evil destinies.²⁶¹

Future rebirth in the heavens is mentioned here as an incentive to disciplined behavior, but secondly, after the deterrent of the loss of reputation in the immediate present. Much further on into the long speech, the monks take up again a defense of reputation, but this time with a different argument:

願以持戒死 終不犯戒生

有德及無德 俱共捨壽命

有德慧命存 并復有名稱

無德喪慧命 亦復失名譽

(T4.201.269c9–12)

We vow to die by holding to the rules of training,

Not to survive while offending against the rules.

As for the one with virtues and the one without,

Both must give up their life:

Those with virtues and wisdom keep them as long as they live,

And then they also have renown;

Those who live without qualities and destitute of wisdom

Will moreover likewise lose their good name²⁶²

²⁶¹ Compare Huber 1908, 65, “*Nous sommes maintenant en danger / Et nous sommes décidés à quitter le corps et la vie;/ Car ainsi, après la fin de notre vie,/ Nous renaîtrons au ciel et nous goûterons toutes les joies./ Mais si nous violions les commandements,/ Nous aurions mauvaise réputation dans ce monde;/ Les hommes nous mépriseraient/ Et après la mort nous tomberions dans une des mauvaises voies.*”

²⁶² Huber 1908, 67, “*En observant les commandements nous voulons mourir,/ Jamais nous ne vivrons en les violant./ Ceux qui ont de la vertu et ceux qui n'ent ont pas,/ Tous verront finir leurs jours./ Mais le vertueux et le sage,*

This is to say that even if not considering the retribution attached to breaking the rules, reputation remains an incentive to play by the book. And, in fact, one could argue that a strong concern for reputation evinces an internal sense of insecurity. The *grhapatis* of the *Garland* are not vulnerable: they are men well-established in their livelihood and their faith. And yet, as we have seen, the very real possibility of lapsing into poverty elicits deep anxiety in the narratives of the *Garland*. Reading between the lines, it seems that the message embodied in this and other Buddhist narrative collections may have appealed not only to those who were affluent and well-established, but also, and strongly, to those who may have wished to be so. This is eloquently encompassed in a small passage, originally from the *Vinayavibhāṅga* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* but preserved in Sanskrit only in a quotation in the *Divyāvadāna*, that describes the “benefits which are alone sufficient to make a wise man who sees it intent upon entering the order” (*pañcānuśamsān samanupaśyatā paṇḍitenālemeva pravrajyādhimuktēna bhavitum*):

*yeṣāmaḥaṃ dāsaḥ preṣyo nirdeśyo bhujīṣyo nayena kāmaṅgamas teṣāṃ
pūjyaśca bhaviṣyāmi praśamsyaś ca.*

(Cowell and Neil 1886, 302.26–28)

“Those for whom I was a slave, a menial, subject, a servant, a bondman,
for them I will become an object of worship and esteem”

tant que dure sa vie,/ Et après sa mort, aura de la gloire;/ L'homme sans vertu a l'esprit aveuglé durant sa vie,/ Et après sa mort il aura mauvaise réputation.”

One way to achieve that esteem would be embracing the monastic path; another would be making it possible for those wishing to embrace the monastic path to do so by becoming a sponsor. And such sponsorship was allowed by wealth, which is the central topic of the next chapter.

4. The Meaning of Wealth

That the pursuit of wealth is positive, because it allows the religious gift, is a proposition that the narratives of the *Garland* fully support. Kumāralāta, however, does not take the cynical position that the religious gift triggers a simple mechanical requital that exculpates any deed undertaken in the pursuit of wealth. On the contrary, Kumāralāta warns against the dangers inherent in wealth and in performing the religious gift without ardor. The pursuit of wealth in the *Garland* is then much more complicated than it would seem at first: on the one hand its cosmic mechanics are highly intricate and, on the other, it is conditioned upon a personal path of personal cultivation.

4.1. The Parallel Paths of Wealth and Merit in the Machine of Requital

The Sanskrit word *karman*—a term not more explicit in its etymology than English ‘deed’ or ‘action’—has, by the early 21st Century, entered the lexicon of many world languages. Statements to the effect that a given personal relationship or circumstance are “one’s *karma*” are part of contemporary modes of expression in the globalized world: *karma* as used in North American English in this time and place typically refers, in only half-humorous manner, to something annoying or vexing that one is however willing to endure out of the understanding that it comes as a punishment for one’s misdeeds. As it often happens with loanwords, there is here a shift in usage from the source languages from which it originated: an implicit assumption in traditional South Asian discourse on the requital of deeds is that the triggering events may have happened in a number of previous lives,²⁶³ an assumption largely absent from the modern, Western usage of the

²⁶³ At least the canonical texts of some Buddhist schools do, however, speak about the requital of an action taking place within the same life: an āgamic source (*Nibbhedikasutta*, *Aṅguttaranikāya* 6.63=*Madhyamāgama* 111, T1.599b.08 ff, and an independent version, T1.57.851b27), in its threefold classification of deeds includes the category of *diṭṭhadhammavedanīyakamma*, traditionally taken to mean one whose requital is to be experienced in the present

term. Nevertheless, in this case one could argue that something essential has remained from its usage in the South Asian languages in which it was first used: I have heard people in contemporary India referring to the hardships and misfortunes in their lives as “their *karma*” with the same sense of inexorability with which people in 19th Century Protestant England and North America may have spoken about bearing the “lot appointed by God, which would be beneficial if man did not thwart it by his own pride.”²⁶⁴

The doctrine of the requital of acts seems so inherent to the history of religious thought in South Asia that it is easy to lose sight of the fact that it has had an historical trajectory of its own. Indeed, the attainment of a favorable rebirth over and above the idea of breaking the chain of one’s actions has been, with varying degrees of peripherality in elite intellectual discourse, a religious goal throughout Indian history. Accordingly, many centuries intervened in the process that made the doctrine of the requital of deeds, through a long sequence of rebirths, the perceived common denominator of Indian religious thought that it would eventually become. It is particularly important to remark that the traditions that formally recognize the validity of the Vedic corpus—the same traditions that, lumped together, would be branded as “Hinduism” in modernity—

life; likewise, a common and widespread Buddhist tenet is a list of five offenses of immediate requital (*pañcānantarīya*, *mtshams med lnga*, *wu wujian* 五無間).

On the other hand, according to data of the Pew Research center, in 2008 a 22% of Americans self-identified as Christian (and a 24% of the general public) professed a belief in reincarnation (Pew Research Center 2009); apparently, although *karma* and reincarnation do have their place in contemporary American life, these two notions do not seem to intersect, and this underscores the fact that whenever they may co-occur, they do not necessarily have to fuse into a unitary concept: Obeyesekere (2002, 2) draws our attention to the fact that the belief in rebirth or metempsychosis is by no means unique to the South Asian cultural sphere, but that its coupling with a belief in the requital of acts is typologically rare in human cultures.

²⁶⁴ This excerpt is taken from the commentary of the Hebraist Stanley Leathes (1830–1900) *ad* Job 5,6 (1884, vi.13) in Charles John Ellicott’s *Old Testament Commentary for English Readers*.

assimilated these doctrines relatively late: Seminal textual genres as varied as the Purāṇas, the Sanskrit epics, the prescriptive brahmanical compendia (*dharmaśāstras*), and classical medical literature, all of which took their definitive shape only in the early centuries CE, show only a hesitant and unsystematic commitment to the full-fledged doctrine of rebirth and the requital of deeds.²⁶⁵

Bronkhorst (2007) has questioned mainstream understandings of the cultural and geographic affiliation of these ideas. In contrast to the conventional narrative that both of these tenets are contained *in nuce* in the early Vedic tradition,²⁶⁶ Bronkhorst argues that these were elements specific to the culture of Magadha and are initially separate from the ritual brahmanical stock. No matter, however, whether the doctrines of rebirth and the requital of actions stemmed originally from the bosom of the Vedic tradition or not, the first strong and unambiguous statement of these two doctrines, and, most remarkably, of the two incorporated into a unitary system, appears in Buddhist and Jain texts from around the turn of the common era.²⁶⁷ There are of course

²⁶⁵ The scholarly literature on this doctrine is of course vast, and I will not attempt to provide an overview of it here. A good sample-book on this issues as it appears in various textual genres from the time period that interests us here is the volume *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Traditions* (1980) edited by Wendy Doniger, where the editor herself, as contributor, remarks on how “the theory of rebirth does not appear in the Vedas” (p. 3) and how in the Purāṇas it is “a straw man [...] set up to be knocked down;” [J. Bruce] Long hints at how *karma* is only one of the “causal factors” of human destiny at play in the plot of the *Mahābhārata*, with divine intervention, fate, nature, time, and death being equally prominent; Rocher (pp. 61–75) details how Manu’s *Dharmaśāstra* espouses no less than six separate systems of deed-requital; and Weiss speaks about how the medical treatise *Carakasamhitā* has to reconcile fatalistic premises with a system that does not invalidate the efficacy of medical practice (p. 90).

²⁶⁶ The evolution of the limited Vedic notion of *karman* as effective ritual action to the all-encompassing mechanism evinced in Buddhist and Jain texts is the subject of at least two monographic treatments: Tull (1989) and Egge (2002), as also of a section devoted to it (pp. 72–144) in Obeyesekere (2002).

²⁶⁷ If the *lāghulovāde musāvādam adhigicya bhagavatā budhena bhāsita* (presumably the ‘Speech to Rāhula, in regard to false speech spoken by the Blessed One, the Buddha’) in Aśoka’s “Calcutta-Bairāt” (or “Bhabra”) edict is a text closely related with the *Ambalaṭṭhikarāhulovādasutta* in the Pāli *Majjhimanikāya* (*sūtra* 61) and its many

differences in the scholastic formulations of these doctrines in each of these religious movements: the Jain articulation is rather unique in its considering deeds as a physical, dust-like matter that adheres to the soul,²⁶⁸ and the classical Buddhist characterization distinguishes itself by taking volition or intention into account. The Buddhist models of these doctrines are further complicated by the notion of the absence of a self or soul: the problem of a non-existent doer doing palpable deeds with palpable consequences through a number of iterations has always been a theoretical conundrum for the tradition, one for which several solutions have been proposed.

Nevertheless, stepping down from the universe of subtle distinctions necessary to philosophical discourse and to scholastic elaboration, the way in which these tenets manifest themselves in the abundant narrative didactic literature of both traditions is remarkably similar: What we see here—in spite of a generalized lip-service to the doctrine of the illusory nature of the soul in the case of Buddhism—is *de facto* a number of embodied souls that become incarnate many times and in various conditions, conditions that depend upon the deeds of former lives. Escape from the chain of cyclical death and rebirth remains always a lofty goal, but more often than not the narrative reward for meritorious action is a favorable rebirth rather than the final and supra-conceptual “snuffing out” of the world that we know, *nirvāṇa*.

known versions in other languages (Derge, 'Dul ba, Cha 215a6–220a2=Taishō 1442, T 23.760b16 ff., **Sarvāstivāda Madhyamāgama, sūtra*, T1.1.436a12, T1.4.599c20, T1.4. 687b05, T1. 25.158a29) this has interesting repercussions for the present discussion, because this text talks about deeds of body, speech and mind which devoted religious practitioners are in fact able to “cleanse” (*parisodhesum, jing* 淨, *sbyangs*) after having “reflected” or “meditated” (*paccavekkhitvā, guan* 觀, *so sor brtags*), and this would imply that whatever Buddhist doctrine was known to Aśoka, it was in this point somewhat different from what we see in the later texts and in the crystallized version of the scholastics, in which the ripening of deeds, although inexorable, can certainly be cancelled or interrupted, but through a much more complicated and wide-ranging medley of methods.

²⁶⁸ For surveys of the Jaina doctrines on the requital of deeds focused, respectively, on the earliest available scriptures and on the later scholastic tradition, see Krishan (1997, 39–53) and Dundas (1992, 97–103).

4.1.2. Black and White Deeds and Fruits: Isomorphism of Act and Requit

Although in the context of Buddhism, the doctrine of requital is often glossed as one of “moral causation,” I will suggest here that this gloss, at least for the Buddhist narrative literature that concerns us here, while not completely inadequate, fails to convey a number of important nuances. In the first place, the Buddhist tradition is not unequivocal in the sense that only moral actions (understood as behavior to be conventionally regarded as good or bad) give rise to a requital. At least one authoritative scholastic point of view holds that morally neutral action has no “ripening” (*vipāka*),²⁶⁹ but this does not conflict with the possibility that some morally neutral features of the act can be carried on to its requital. A narrative cliché of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* and the narrative collections that are based on it specifies that “of only black deeds there is only a black ripening, of only white [deeds] only a white [ripening], and of mixed [deeds] a mixed [ripening]” (*ekāntakṛṣṇānāṃ karmaṇāṃ ekāntakṛṣṇo vipākaḥ ekāntasuklānāṃ ekāntasuklaḥ vyatimiśrāṇāṃ vyatimiśraḥ*, Hiraoka 2002, 168–169). This statement has been commonly taken to mean that bad deeds prompt a bad requital, good ones a good one, and ones that combine good and bad have a requital that combines those qualities. But I would like to draw the reader’s attention to the chromatic metaphor involved here: It seems to imply that something of the original features of the deed translates into its requital. In other words, it is not only the moral dimension of our acts, but also the specific, defining traits of our acts, that determine their requital.

Story LV of Kumāla’s *Garland of Examples* features an example, otherwise rare in this collection, of a former-life explanation of present events. Here, king Aśoka dialogues with a monk whose breath is perfumed, and the cause of this unusual personal trait lies in the fact that in a

²⁶⁹ See Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharmakośa* 4.45.a-b and its auto-commentary (Pradhan 1967, 227, De la Vallée-Poussin 1923–1931, iv. 105–106).

previous life the monk had sung songs of praise for the former Buddha Kāśyapa. It therefore seems essential, in this story, that an action performed with the physical organ of the mouth be rewarded in the same organ and with metaphorical symmetry.

This isomorphism between action and requital is the bread and butter of such collections as the *Avadānaśataka* and the **Karmaśataka* which, unlike Kumāralāta's *Garland*, are primarily concerned with a self-evident exposition of the fruits of human action through an arc of several lives. In the first story of the **Karmaśataka*, a nun who reprimands her companions in religious devotion and complains about having to feed them as one would feed a dog without receiving any gratitude for it is then reborn as a dog.²⁷⁰ The moral dimension of her insult is reflected in the undesirable quality of her rebirth, but the specific shape that the requital of her acts takes—birth as a dog—has more to do with our psychological delight in poetic justice than with moral considerations. The protagonist of story IV is born hunchbacked on account of having hurt his twin brother's back in a former life, and so on. The moral deed determines the severity of the punishment or reward, but not the specific shape that the punishment takes. The latter seems to be determined by a principle of isomorphism with the triggering event. All of this makes for a cogent explanation of the multiplicity of the world in the acephalous universe of Buddhism and Jainism, where a creator god, if present at all, has no say on the administration of the cosmos.²⁷¹ For our

²⁷⁰ *nga ni khyi mo dang 'dra ba khyed dgang ba dang gso ba 'ba' zhig byed* 'I do nothing but feed and fill you who are just like bitches' Derge, Mdo, Ha, 5b2.

²⁷¹ See, for example, Aśvagoṣa, *Saundarananda* 4.6., in which the poet speaks about the 'creator of what exists' (*bhūtadhātṛ*) with the same rhetorical disengagement with which Baroque poets in early modern Europe would invoke for rhetorical or poetic purposes Greek and Roman gods in a Christian setting.

purposes, it will be useful to note that an inescapable consequence of this model is that moral action expressed through wealth will ripen into wealth.

4.1.3. Transformations of wealth through giving

The previous discussion on the general shape that the doctrine of the requital of deeds takes in middle-period Buddhist narrative literature is a necessary foundation for an examination of one of the most prominent topics in Kumāralāta's *Garland of Examples*, the significance of the religious gift. A mention of the religious gift occurs invariably in conjunction with a discussion of poverty and wealth: The cautionary tales of the *Garland*, several of which will be excerpted below, highlight the fact that, as we have said, meritorious deeds that are expressed in money will be rewarded in money. As such, the point that these tales make explicit again and again is that the religious gift, given to suitable recipients and given with the right intentions, should be literally considered a transfer of funds to one's future lives.

Kumāralāta states in clear terms that wealth is the outcome of the religious gift:

若人精誠以財布施，如華獲財業

(T4.201.341c23–24)

If people sincerely make a religious gift out of their wealth, as flowers they obtain wealth and property (*cai-ye* 財業=^{272*}*paribhoga*).²⁷³

²⁷² On this compound see Karashima 1998, sub *caiye* 財業.

²⁷³ Huber 1908, 429, *Si un homme, dans une intention pure, donne en aumône ses biens, il obtient des richesses en abondance. Si l'on sait cela, il faut de tout son cœur pratiquer l'aumône.* The literal meaning of *ru hua* 如華 is 'like flowers', and although *hua* 華 'flower, flowery' can indeed have the meaning 'splendid, abundant,' I think Huber has translated it in an excessively metaphorical manner.

The mechanism that explains this causal link is, as we may expect at this point, the universal pervasiveness of the requital of deeds:

一切皆由業

布施得財富

(T4.201.315a22)

Everything has its origin in deeds (*ye* 業=*karman*):

The religious gift achieves wealth and riches.²⁷⁴

The mechanism is all-pervasive and inexorable: The rich and the poor participate in the same system and metaphorically receive the same food, whose color varies however according to their previous deeds:

富貴饒財寶

貧者來請求

諸天同器食

飯色各有異

(T.4.201.276a27–28)

The rich abound in riches

The poor come to beg:

The gods eat from the same bowl,

²⁷⁴ Huber 1908, 301, *Tous sont sujets à la loi des rémunérations./ Par l'aumône on arrive à la richesse*. Huber's translation implies that the subject of the verb in the first clause, *yiqie* 一切 'all' refers to people, and takes the verb *you* 由 'originate' to mean 'be subjected to.' My rendering is, I believe, more literal and makes less assumptions about the context of the statement; it also seems to fit better in meaning with the next *pada*.

But the color of the food is different for each.²⁷⁵

One recurrent metaphor that illustrates the subsequent transformations of the religious gift is that of a treasure that follows the individual from rebirth to rebirth:

施為行寶藏

世世恒隨人

(T4.201, 282a20)

The religious gift makes a treasure hoard

That always follows a person, from lifetime to lifetime.²⁷⁶

The treasure, although immaterial, translates into material wealth, and whoever is interested in averting the yoke of poverty in a future life can transmit their wealth by giving it away:

若命終時，欲齎財寶至於後世，無有是處，唯除布施作諸功德，若懼
後世得貧窮者，應修惠施²⁷⁷

(T4.201.272c17–19)

²⁷⁵ Huber 1908, 101, *Les riches, qui ont des biens en abondance, / Les pauvres, réduits à la mendicité, / Et les dieux se servent d'une écuelle identique, / Mais la qualité du riz diffère pour eux.* See Appendix 1.1. for a rationale of my translation and for the āgamic reference contained in it.

²⁷⁶ Huber 1908, 133, *Faire l'aumône, c'est préparer un trésor / Qui nous suit dans toutes les existences.*

²⁷⁷ SHT 638v.v2, /// + *rthaṃ saṃkrāmayiṣyāmīti sa na kasyacid ātmābhiprāyam a...* “Thinking ‘I will transfer wealth (*artha*)’ he [...] to no one [...] his own desire...”

When life ends, wishing to hold on to wealth and to make it reach a later life is impossible: only depleting it in religious gifts one makes merit. If one fears poverty in a later life, one must practice generous giving.²⁷⁸

The last excerpt is the stated moral of story XV in the *Garland of Examples*, which is principally devoted to this topic.²⁷⁹ Here a clever minister instructs king Nanda, a compulsive miser, on how to convey his wealth to the next life. At this point in the story, the king has experienced a revelation of truth after witnessing how a man, buried with a golden coin in his mouth—both narrative elements being rare instances of burial and of the Greek “obol of Charon” in an Indian setting—²⁸⁰was unable to take even that little piece of wealth to the afterlife:

²⁷⁸ Huber 1908, 24, *Si arrivé au terme de la vie on désire emporter ses richesses et ses bijoux dans l'autre monde, cela ne se peut pas. Il n'y a qu'en les dépensant en charités qu'on acquiert des mérites. Si on craint de subir la pauvreté dans une autre existence, il faut pratiquer la charité.*

²⁷⁹ This story may be considered as Kumāralāta's literary recreation of an older story, another version of which can be now found in the *Liudu ji jing* (T 3.152.36b28–c27). A French translation of this story is available in Chavannes 1910–1924, i, 247–250. Lévi in his 1908 study on the sources of the *Garland* did not remark this point.

²⁸⁰ In the story king Nanda has gathered all the wealth in the land and prostituted his own daughter; a young prospective john, desperate to find money to pay for her services, is told by his mother: 汝父死時口中有一金錢，汝若發塚可得彼錢以用自通 (T 4.201.273a2–3) “When your father died, he had in his mouth a golden coin; if you dig his grave you can retrieve that coin and use it to achieve [your purposes]” (cfr. also Huber 1980, p. 85, lines 8–9, *Quand ton père est mort, on lui a mis dans la bouche une pièce d'or. Si tu vas dans son tombeau, tu trouveras peut-être cette pièce, moyennant laquelle tu atteindras l'objet de tes désirs*)

According to a passage of the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* (with parallels elsewhere) edited and translated by Schopen 1997, 215–218, burial is one possible mode of disposal of a dead body, a monk's in this case. Burials in the northwestern area of the Indian world are richly attested for prehistoric times, to the point that some of the ancient cultures that left such burials behind are nowadays mostly known through their funeral goods: see for example Tusa (1977) for the “Gandhāra grave culture” and Kenoyer (1991) for the “Cemetery H culture” in Harappa. Graves surely datable in early historic times to this general area are however rare. The ruins of the Greek colonial city of Ai Khanoum in Bactria (modern Afghanistan) have produced inscribed graves and ossuaries for as late as Kuṣāṇa times in spite of the supposed preference of the Iranian indigenous population for Zoroastrian corpse exposure (Boyce and Grenet 1989, 189–192).

若受後身必須財寶，然今珍寶及以象馬，不可齋持至於後世。何以故？
王今此身尚自不能至於後世，況復財寶象馬者乎，當設何方令此珍寶得至後
身？唯有施與沙門婆羅門、貧窮乞兒，福報資人，必至後世

(T4.201, 273a28–b4)

If one is to undergo a subsequent life, one needs wealth, but then those treasures of the here-and-now and so on up to elephants and horses cannot be held on to and made to reach a later life. For what reason? The king cannot even make his present body reach a later life, how much less treasures and so on up to elephants and horses? Where should one invest so that those treasures reach one's subsequent body? There is only the religious gift to *śramaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas*, to the destitute and beggars, the requital of merit endows people with property, which is bound to reach a later life.²⁸¹

As for “Charon’s obol,” the coin left in the mouth of the deceased to pay for the trip to the netherworld, it seems to be limited as a widespread cultural practice to Greek and Roman antiquity, and to hellenized areas of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, which may include Gandhāra to an extent. I am however not aware of another mention of “Charon’s obol” in Indian sources—see however the previous note—or of any coins ever found in graves in this area.

Stein (1928, ii, p. 646) found Byzantine and Sasanian coins—and imitations of them—in the mouths of human bodies in the Astāna cemetery in Turfan: one belongs to the reign of king Hormizd IV (579–590 CE). The practice of depositing “Charon’s obol” in graves is attested for Sasanian Iran (on which see Bivar 1970), and probably is more closely connected with Sasanian trade than with remote leftovers of Greek influence in Bactria.

²⁸¹ Huber 1908, 86, [*Q*]uand on obtient son existence postérieure, il faudrait posséder alors les richesses [qu'on a maintenant]. Mais ses bijoux, ses éléphants et ses chevaux, on ne peut pas les emporter avec soi dans l'autre monde. Pourquoi donc? Le roi ne peut même pas prendre avec lui dans l'autre monde son corps actuel. Combien moins ses trésors, ses éléphants et ses chevaux! Quel moyen y a-t-il pour faire parvenir ces bijoux dans l'autre monde? Seulement celui de faire la charité aux çramaṇas, aux brahmanes, aux pauvres et aux mendiants. Alors la récompense de nos bonnes actions nous suit dans l'autre monde. Zi ren 資人, which Huber leaves untranslated, I take to be a verb with a pleonastic object ‘endow people with property, reward.’

This passage nicely sums up the main elements that we have encountered so far: Wealth is desirable and good, but its tangible nature poses an obstacle to the carrying of this asset through the cycle of rebirth; however, the religious gift is guaranteed to transform it into a specific kind of merit that in due time will materialize again into wealth.

4.1.4. Taking substance from the insubstantial

Elsewhere in the *Garland*, the transformation of wealth is presented through a yet different metaphor. The transformation of wealth through giving involves giving solidity, stability, or substance to the inherently unstable wealth of this world:

若積財寶危難甚多，智人修施是乃堅牢

(T4.201.282a3–4)

If wealth and treasure are hoarded there are many perils, and the wise man practices the religious gift until he makes them [=wealth and treasures] stable.²⁸²

Story XXVII, which deals with an impoverished Aśoka giving his last possession—half a myrobalan fruit—to the Buddhist monastic assembly, features repeated iterations of this metaphor. The king is shown here committed to the endeavor of religious giving to the very end of his life and to the exhaustion of his financial capabilities. The explanation that he provides for his actions is, however, precisely that he is attempting a transmutation of unstable wealth into stable wealth. The reasons as to why in this story Aśoka, a proverbial benefactor of the Buddhist order, may have been condemned to the much-dreaded state of poverty (an outcome that generosity in religious giving should avert) are complex. The ambivalence of Buddhists in general, and Kumāralāta in

²⁸² Huber 1908,132, [*S*]i l'on amasse des richesses, les dangers qui les menacent sont nombreux. Huber has apparently omitted the second clause of this passage. On what “stable means here,” see Appendix 2.2 below.

particular towards kings—sometimes protectors of the Buddhist Law, but also often, and concurrently, lustful and bloodthirsty parasites—might account for this unusual narrative. It is also likely that the aim of the story is to show by hyperbole the extent of Aśoka’s generosity. Aśoka says that “the substance of his merit has been depleted” and therefore “poverty has overtaken” him (我今福德盡/ 貧窮忽然至, T4.201.283c3).²⁸³ This might be a reference to a widely known story, referenced by Kumāralāta elsewhere in his collection (see §4.1. below) of how Aśoka in a former life as a child gave a handful of dust as a gift to the Buddha. As we will see, the sincerity behind this humble gift may go a long way in multiplying the value of such a gift, but the lesson here seems to be that however much merit one may have stored, its amount is exactly determined, and therefore limited. The fact that Aśoka spent the entirety of his wealth on religious giving, a wealth that presumably arose from his store of merit from previous lives, might be taken, ironically, as the sign of an accomplished task; an unstable, worldly fortune entirely transformed into the kind of para-physical, stable fortune that will “follow man from life to life.” In the following two passages, Aśoka explains how he strove to transform his unstable wealth into stable wealth, and attributes the injunction to do so to the Buddha himself:

I

佛說三不堅

貿易於堅法

²⁸³ For this story we have a parallel in the *Divyāvadāna*, and the word that should correspond to the clause “my merit has been depleted” (我 [...] 福德盡) appears as *bhraṣṭāsthāyatana* ‘broken the support of [my] stability’ in Cowell and Neil’s 1886 edition (p. 430, line 15) although three manuscripts have the opaque variant *bhraṣṭāchāyatana* (?). Vaidya’s 1959 edition amends, without explanation, to *bhraṣṭāsvāyatana* ‘broken the support of [my] fortune’ (p. 280, line 18). If the Sanskrit text had *bhraṣṭāsthāyatana* here, the Chinese rendering might be taken as a paraphrase, or rather a reading “between the lines,” but perhaps not entirely incorrect.

我今合指掌

用易堅牢法

如似融石山

求取於真金

不堅財物中

日夜取堅法

(T4.201.284a6–11)

The Buddha said that the three unstable things

Must be traded²⁸⁴ for stable things:

Now with joined fingers and palms,

I am engaged in trade for stable things.

As in smelting a mountain of stones,

One looks for the true gold,

Among the unstable wealth

Night and day, I look for stable things.²⁸⁵

II

²⁸⁴ The Chinese *maoyi* 貿易 (lit. ‘barter and exchange’) has been a common term for ‘trade’ since Chinese antiquity: the mercantile metaphor here is clear.

²⁸⁵ Huber 1908, 142, *Maintenant je joins mes mains et je me tourne vers le Buddha, / Mon dernier moment est venu. / Le Buddha a dit que les trois conditions instables, / Il faut les échanger pour la Loi stable. / Maintenant je joins mes doigts et mes mains / Pour obtenir en échange la Loi solide. / Comme on fend les rochers / Pour obtenir l’or pur, / Ainsi des richesses instables / Il faut jour et nuit extraire la Loi solide.* What I have translated here as “things” is the polysemous *fa* 法=*dharmah/dharmah*.

佛婆伽婆說：不堅之財易於堅財，不堅之身易於堅身，不堅之命易於堅命。檀越，應生歡喜，以不堅之財隨逐於已至於後世，宜常修施莫使斷絕
(T4.201.284b26–c1)

The Buddha, the Blessed One (**b^wagiab^wa* 婆伽婆 = *bhagavat*) said: “Change unstable wealth for stable wealth,²⁸⁶ Exchange unstable body for stable body, exchange unstable life for stable life.” Donors (**danhuat* 檀越 = *Gāndhārī* **<danavadi>* = /**da:nəvaδ^o*/, Sk. *dānapati*), rejoice: to make your unstable wealth accompany you until you have reached a later life, it is fit to constantly practice the religious gift, never stopping.²⁸⁷

One might wonder if words to this effect were ever considered as having been spoken by the Buddha; if, in other words, this is a canonical formulation. A similar statement is in fact contained at least in one āgamic source, *sūtra* 21.10 of the Chinese *Ekottarikāgama* (*Zengyi Ahan* 增壹阿含, T125). As in the words that Aśoka attributes to the Buddha, three things are said to be “unstable” or “not solid” (*bu laoyao* 不牢要): body, life, and wealth.²⁸⁸ According to the text, the ways to

²⁸⁶ The Sanskrit text of part of this clause is extant: *asārakebhyo bhogebhyaḥ sāram āde...* The last word must have been *ādeyam* ‘to be taken, to be extracted’: this is particularly likely if compared with a verse-hemistich of Haribhaṭṭa’s *Jātakamālā*: *asārāt sāram ādeyaṃ* ‘from what has no substance substance must be taken’ (Hahn 2007, ||6.19||a). Haribhaṭṭa’s verse refers to the body: almost identical wording, this time with reference to wealth and a different inflection of *ā-√dā* can be found twice in the *Avadānaśataka* (*yanv aham asārebhyo bhogebhyaḥ sāram ādadyām* ‘What if now I should take substance from [these] insubstantial riches?’) on which see Appendix 1.1.

²⁸⁷ Huber 1908, 142, [...] *le Buddha Bhagavat a dit: Échangez les richesses périssables pour les richesses durables; échangez le corps périssable pour le corps durable. Que les dānapatis se réjouissent. Leurs richesses périssables les suivent de cette façon dans l’autre monde. Qu’on fasse toujours la charité sans discontinuer.* I understand the conjunction *yi* 以 ‘so that’ that precedes what Huber translates as “[l]eurs richesses périssables les suivent” to make this clause subordinate to the one that follows it.

²⁸⁸ The triad may have been expressed in Sanskrit as *kāyajīvitabhoga*, cfr. *Vimālakīrtinirdeśa*, Potala MS. 23a6–7, 25b6. The second instance listed here is particularly interesting because it provides a formulation of the same

make them “stable” involve various modes of religious behavior that presuppose the isomorphism between deed and requital that I have spoken about before: veneration of those worthy of veneration, being an essentially physical and bodily act, makes the unstable body stable; a stable life is achieved by following the roster of moral injunctions that starts with refraining from taking life; stable wealth is attained by transforming unstable wealth into stable wealth through religious giving. The text says:

若有善男子、善女人，常念 惠施與沙門、婆羅門、諸貧匱者，須食者與食，須漿與漿，衣被、飲食、床敷臥具、病瘦醫藥、舍宅、城郭，所須之具悉皆與之，如是，財不牢要求於牢要

(T2.125, 606c7–25)

If there is a good son or a good daughter who constantly bears in mind to give generously to *śramaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas* and to mendicants, giving meals to whoever needs meals, giving soup to whoever needs soup, giving all the requisites in regards to robes, food and drink, seats and bedding, medicine for sickness and

idea that occupies us here and because it provides what might have been some of the Indic vocabulary involved in such formulations: *asārāt sārādānābhinirhṛtaḥ kāyajīvitabhogapratilambhaḥ* ‘the gain of body, life, and wealth is achieved (*abhinirhṛta*) by taking (*ādāna*) substance from what has no substance.’ The Tibetan version of this passage (Derge, Mdo, Ma, 196b7) adheres closely to the Sanskrit: *snying po med pa las snying po len pas mngon par bsgrubs pa ’i lus dang | srog dang | longs spyod rnyed pa* ‘the gain of body, life, and wealth is achieved through the taking of substance from what has no substance.’ The Chinese versions of Kumārajīva and Xuanzang are at this point either paraphrastic or reflect an Indic original different from the one reflected in the Potala MS. and the Tibetan version: 於身命財起三堅法 (T14, 475.543c19) ‘from body, life, wealth, one achieves three stable elements’; 以不堅實貿易一切堅實行相 引發證得堅身命財 (T14, 476.567a5–6) ‘elements not stable and true are traded for such that are stable and true, so as to achieve the gain of stable body, life and wealth’ (cfr. also Lamotte’s rendering based on Xuanzang and the Tibetan version (1982, 214, §III.72): *les gains du corps, de la vie, et des richesses [...] résultant du fait de prendre du solide dans ce qui n’est pas solide [...]*).

emaciation, house and city,²⁸⁹ in this way their wealth, which is unstable, attains stability.

There is good evidence to think that this canonical category in particular may not have been a dry piece of doctrinal arithmetic relegated to the depths of the “numerical” canonical collections. Three similar passages from the **Mahīśāsakavinaya* illustrate how Buddhist monastics may have employed the discourse on the instability or insubstantiality of wealth in the context of soliciting donations (T22.1425.304b22–28, 323c23–28, 395a28–b4). In all three cases, the brief sermon regarding the instability of wealth is given as a response to an offer of a donation and is aimed at urging donors to carry out their offer as early as possible. It is crucial to clarify here, as only a brief excerpt is given, that the offense that prompts the rule of monastic behavior framed by this narrative has nothing to do with the monk’s sermon and his cajoling techniques. Instead, what happens is that later on in the narrative, the nefarious monks of the “group of six” learn of the donor’s offer and attempt to appropriate the donation, which was originally intended for the whole assembly. This leads the Buddha to formulate a rule against such predatory practices. The monk in the passage below does not incur any improper behavior when reminding his benefactors of their own mortality and of the uncertainty involved in the possession of wealth:

佛在舍衛城，有一乞食比丘，時到著入聚落衣，持鉢入城，次行乞食。
到一家，有一女人語比丘言：尊者，某日我當供養僧并施僧衣。比丘言：善
哉姊妹，以三不堅法，易三堅法身命財也，應疾為之，財物無常多有諸難
(T22.1425, 323c23–28)

²⁸⁹ The mention of “house and city” (*shezhai, chengguo* 舍宅、城郭) is extremely unusual and does not make good sense, but the Chinese text is very explicit here.

The Buddha was in Śrāvastī. There was a monk begging for food; when the time came, he wore the robe fit for entering a village and holding his bowl entered the [city] walls, begging for food in proper sequence. He arrived at a house; there was a woman that said to the monk: “Venerable, some day or another I will worship the Assembly and provide monastic robes.” The monk said: “Very good, sister: those three unstable things (*fa* 法=*dharmāḥ*) you are exchanging for three stable things, namely body, life, and wealth. You must do this quickly, because material wealth is impermanent and abounds in danger.”

This short sermon presents the imperative to achieve the religious gift quickly and without delay as the necessary conclusion of the consideration of the dangers inherent in wealth. In the story of Aśoka in poverty, the destitute emperor issues a final speech in which he touches upon his own decadence and mortality, as well as the threat that family and friends represent to wealth in one’s final hours:

其家親屬等
若知必死者
已雖有財物
不得自在施
安利獲錢財
值遇福田處
便可速施與
若於身強健
及已病苦時
宜常修布施

(T4.201, 283c21–27)

If relatives and friends

Know one is about to die,

Although one may have had wealth,

[It] will not be easy to give.

If while in peace and advantage one obtains money and wealth,

And finds a field (=recipient) to make merit,

Then may one quickly give it away.

When the body is strong and healthy

Even up to the time of the sorrows of disease

It is fitting to constantly practice the religious gift.²⁹⁰

4.1.5. The Dangers or Threats to Wealth and in Wealth

Aśoka's final speech lists "relatives and friends" as a threat to the wealth of the moribund. This topic of the threats to wealth is one that certainly interested Kumāralāta, who elaborates richly on what exactly these threats are in story XXV. This story features another instance of a personal estate largely given away and transformed into a store of merit. Most of the narrative action takes place in the initial scene:

一國王謫罰商賈，而告之言：汝所有財悉疏示我。估客至家，思惟先來所施之物，施諸乞兒一食之食，乃至并施鳥獸所有穀草，悉疏示王。王見

²⁹⁰ Huber 1908, 141, *Quand la famille et les parents/ S'aperçoivent que vous allez mourir./ Vous avez beau être riche./ Vous ne pourrez plus faire l'aumône à votre guise./ Les richesses qu'on gagne au temps de la prospérité./ Dès qu'on rencontre un « Champ de Bonheur »/ Il convient de les donner vite en aumône./ Quand vous êtes encore en vigueur/ Et avant que les maladies ne vous assaillent./ Faites la charité continuellement.*

是已問言：如此之事何故疏來？估客答言：王先約勅所有財物悉疏示我，我所有財疏牒者是，即說偈言：

五家共有者

今悉在家中

我今所牒者

無有能侵奪

如此所牒者

王賊及水火

皆所不能侵

(T4.201.282a4–13)

A king imposed a fine on a merchant and said: “Disclose to me all the wealth that you have.” The trader went home and considered all he had previously given in gifts: gifts of food to mendicants, meal by meal, up to grains and herbs given to birds and beasts. All this he disclosed to the king. The king, seeing this, said: “Why do you disclose to me such matters?” The trader said: “The king first decreed that I was to disclose all the wealth I have; I have disclosed all the wealth that I have, and this is the document.” Then he said in verse:

“What the five family members will share

Is all here in my household

My document of today

Contains what cannot be stolen.

What is here reported

Kings, thieves and so on, up to fire and water

Cannot take away”²⁹¹

The actions of the merchant seem not to be intended as a facetious ploy to elude the king’s demands, and the narrative that follows suggests that the king, either too aware of his own penchant for predatory fiscal practices or too obtuse to grasp even open criticism, does not mind being paired with thieves and natural calamities. By the end of the story, the monarch praises the merchant’s commitment to achieve a stable, permanent wealth such as has been transformed into merit through religious patronage. The merchant’s verse explanation may seem odd at first sight; however, investigation into doctrinal literature makes clear that the “five families” (*wu jia* 五家) are a canonical list of five “threats to wealth” which include the “kings and thieves [...] fire and water” mentioned within the same passage. One āgamic formulation of this list finds a concise exposition in the tiny *Bhogasutta* of the Pāli *Āṅguttaranikāya* (5.227):

pañc’ime bhikkhave ādīnavā bhogesu, katame pañca: aggisādhāraṇā bhogā, udakasādhāraṇā bhogā, rājasādhāraṇā bhogā, corasādhāraṇā bhogā, appiyehi dāyādehi sādharmaṇā bhogā (Hardy and Morris 1885–1900, iii 260)

These five, monks, are the dangers (*ādīnava*) in riches: riches are shared (*sādhāraṇa*) with fire, riches are shared with water, riches are shared with the king, riches are shared with thieves, riches are shared with inimical heirs.

²⁹¹ Huber 1908, 132, *Il y avait un roi qui infligea une amende à un marchand et il lui dit: « Apporte moi une liste de tous les biens que tu possèdes. » Quand le marchand fut rentré chez lui, il songea à tout ce qu'il avait donné en aumône jusqu'alors; toute la nourriture qu'il avait donnée en aumône aux mendiants et jusqu'aux grains et aux herbes donnés aux oiseaux et aux bêtes, il les nota pour le roi. Quand le roi vit cela, il demanda: « Pourquoi me notes-tu cela? » Le marchand répondit: « Le roi a précédemment ordonné : Apporte-moi une liste de tous les biens que tu possèdes! La liste de tous les biens que je possède, la voilà. » Puis il dit en vers: Les biens communs de ma famille /Se trouvent tous chez moi./ Ce que j'ai mis sur ma liste,/ Ce sont (les biens) qui ne peuvent pas m'être dérobés,/ Les biens de cette liste/ Ni le roi, ni les voleurs, ni l'eau ni le feu/ Ne peuvent me les arracher.*

The Chinese rendering of these five items as the “five families” is odd indeed, but widespread, as it appears several times in the large corpus of Indic Buddhist *sūtra* texts translated into Chinese in the early centuries CE. In Sanskrit, the *Jātakamāla* of Āryasūra, whom I would classify as a literary successor of Kumāralāta, also contains several instances of the list.²⁹²

The stated moral of the story of the merchant, on which we have already remarked, is that “if wealth and treasure are hoarded there are many perils, and the wise man practices the religious gift until he makes them stable.” Equally fitting would be the didactic point of the story of king Nanda, namely that the religious gift makes possible the thought “I will make wealth reach the next life” (*[*paralokaṃ*][*a*]*rthaṃ saṃkrāmayiṣyāmīti*, 財寶至於後世, T4.201. 272.c17). In sum, the religious gift transforms worldly riches that are inherently fraught with dangers, into immaterial ones that will fructify again as wealth in the future.

4.1.6. The Gift as a Transfer of Funds to the Afterlife

Schlieter (2013) scrutinizes the metaphor of *karma* as a “heavenly bank account” in modern scholarly literature on Buddhism and concludes that that specific metaphor is not clearly detectable anywhere in the scriptural canon of the Theravāda school. That may well be true; however, if we disregard the fact that a “bank” would certainly be an anachronism in early historic India—guilds or corporations were much more likely depositaries or trustees of money—the case is that in Kumāralāta’s *Garland* and some of the texts considered here, the implicit metaphor that explains the religious gift is indeed that of an exchange of financial instruments; of, once again, a transfer of funds to the next life. These are, in fact, the exact terms used in a passage, presently only

²⁹² See appendix 1.2 for a survey of instances of this canonical list.

available in Tibetan, from the section on the discipline of nuns, the *Bhikṣuṇīvinayavibhaṅga* that is part of the large *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. Here a *grhapati* who thinks he is about to die—a situation that may be already familiar to the reader—has donated his entire estate in religious gifts. When the nun Sthūlanandā arrives to ask for her share of the donation, the mortified householder replies:

*phags ma khyod ci'i slad du ches sngar ma byon bdag 'gum par 'gyur
pa 'dra nas bdag gis thams cad 'jig rten pha rol du bskyas lags so*

(Derge, 'Dul ba, Ta, 123b1)

“Noble One, why did you not come earlier? When it appeared that I was to die I transferred²⁹³ everything to the other world.”

Things do not go well for Sthūlanandā: The householder gives her a promissory note, that another man had given to him, and when the debtor is unable to pay it, Sthūlanandā threatens to take him to court; however, the Buddha bans the practice and Sthūlanandā gets nothing. From the point of view of the *grhapati*, though, being unable to give to an ascetic is both a humiliation and a missed opportunity for merit-making. If we were to extrapolate from this *Vinaya* passage and see the narratives of the *Garland* that we have considered here in its logic, the implicit advice of Kumāralāta seems to be that the balance of investments of the merchant—part of his estate in this world and part in the future—is more sensible than the reckless prodigality of Aśoka who, being only a king and inexperienced in careful business administration, perhaps does not know better.

²⁹³ Jäschke 1997 [1881]: sub *skya* gives “to carry, convey to a place (a quantity of stones, wood, water, etc.).”

4.2. Cosmodicy: A Justification of Poverty and Misfortune

4.2.1. Poverty as a Source of Suspicion

At least two prominent historians of early India—Kosambi (1956, 240–294) and Thapar (2002, 209–279)—portray the period “between the empires” as one that was defined, just as Renaissance Germany and Italy, by a volatile political scene contrasted with a robust monetized economy based on trade. In this scene of vigorous commercial boom coupled with the social mobility that it must have entailed, the hyperbolic expression of caste ideology voiced in a text like the *Law Code of Manu* might seem out of place. By presenting a human universe entirely subordinated to the privileges of hereditary caste, the text reads like a manifesto against social mobility, and, in particular, against a definition of social position based primarily on monetary income instead of genealogical privilege. There are, however, passages where the *Code* seems to relent in its rhetoric: Once the text strays from its description of ritual prerogatives and ventures into its own vision of the secular order, the clean-cut division between upper and lower castes, paramount in the realm of the ritual, seems secondary to other forms of social privilege. It would appear from the following passage as if the fact of being a male with, presumably, some form of financial assets (if nothing else the bare capacity for labor) should be sufficient grounds to be allowed alternative forms of payment of a royal fine:

kṣatraviṣṭsūdrayonis tu daṇḍaṃ dātum aśaknuvan
ānṛṇyaṃ karmaṇā gacched vipro dadyāc chanaiḥ śanaiḥ
strībālonmattavṛddhānāṃ daridrāṇāṃ ca rogiṇām
śiphāvidalarajjvādyair vidadhyān nṛpatir damam
(*Māṇavadharmaśāstra*, 9.29–30, Olivelle 2005, 751–752)

When a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra is unable to pay a fine, he should acquit himself of the debt through work; a Brahmin, on the other hand, should pay it off in installments. The king should punish women, children, the insane, the elderly, the poor, those without guardians, and the sick with a lash, a cane, a rope, and the like. (tr. Olivelle 2005, 171)

Presumably, the categories of people listed among those whose fines should *a priori* be commuted into physical punishment are here implied to without even that last financial asset represented by the labor quota of an adult male. The *Code* affords a curious treatment to these same categories of people by placing them in a liminal area of legal personhood: the lame and insane cannot bear witness (8.66), and women only regarding other women (8.68). All of the above, either explicitly named or covered under the label of “dependents” or “subservients” (*adhīna*) are barred from carrying out transactions on their own (8.163). The people listed among those to be punished are, now as then, the most vulnerable members of any given human society, but this characterization may not have been perceived as the most salient feature of the disenfranchised in early India. In light of the widespread assumption that everything derives from a ripening of previous deeds, disadvantage stands out as the very tool with which a blindly even-handed universe punishes and retaliates. Poverty, as these other categories, seems in this passage of the *Code* to be more of an explicit marker of past faults than a factor of leniency.

Some passages in the *Treatise on State Interest*, the *Arthaśāstra*, suggest that, in fact, the secular order of the time might have indeed deliberately targeted precisely the most vulnerable. Section §4.6 of the *Arthaśāstra* deals with preemptive arrest (*abhigraha*). The section on “arrest on suspicion” (*śaṅkābhigraha*) lists a number of people to be arrested as suspicious of a crime on

account of their very situation. Among the people to be targeted by the officials termed in the treatise “collectors” (*samāhartṛ*), the very first two listed are:

kṣīṇadāyakuṭumbam, alpanirveśam

(Kangle 1960, 462)

Someone whose inheritance and family fortune have been depleted,
someone receiving a paltry wage... (tr. Olivelle 2012, 234)

Not much later in the text, the list of people to be arrested “on deeds” (*karman*) when something has been stolen from inside a house likewise starts with the following:

*puruṣam āsannaṃ vyaśaninaṃ [...] striyaṃ vā daridrakuḷām
anyaprasaktāṃ vā paricārajanāṃ vā tadvidhācāram*

(Kangle 1960, 464)

[A] man close by who has fallen on hard times [...] a woman from a poor
family or enamored of another man; a domestic servant of similar conduct. (236)

These passages suggest that poverty alone may have constituted grounds for criminal suspicion. Other passages, however, imply that poverty may have been seen as the outcome of indolence. One verse in the mass of “unrelieved doggerel”²⁹⁴ of the *Dharmasamuccaya*, a compilation of the metrical portions of the massive doctrinal treatise *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*,²⁹⁵ expresses the thought that the poor are such on account of

²⁹⁴ This literary judgment is John Brough’s (1962, xxi).

²⁹⁵ The *Dharmasamuccaya* is of uncertain but likely early date. According to Lamotte (1958, 638), the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* is an “*œuvre du hīnayāna tardif*,” which in the *hīnayāna-mahāyāna* chronological scheme current in Lamotte’s time denotes in all likelihood the early centuries of the common era. As Lamotte also points out (p. 698), the fact that the realms of rebirth in this work are five and not six may speak of a relatively early date for the work. According to Scherrer-Schaub (2015, 16–17), a fragmentary Sanskrit manuscript of the

their sloth. The implicit assumption is that such sloth (*kausīdya*) is the fault of a previous life, and that it acts as a cause for present poverty. The compiler of the *Dharmasamuccaya*, Avalokitasimha, prefaces the verse in question with the following gloss: *mānavānām nirdhanatve kausīdyaṃ kāraṇam* ‘as for the lack of wealth among men, the cause is sloth.’ The verse from the *Dharmasamuccaya* is more colorful than its gloss in its description of this point:

nirdhanāḥ paśubhis tulyās

te narā duḥkhabhāginah

parapiṇḍāsino dīnāḥ

kausīdyaṃ tatra kāraṇam

(Caube 1993, 201, §20. 25)

Equal to animals are those men without wealth,

Whose lot is suffering (*duḥkhabhāginah*)

Eaters of the morsels of others, needy.

Sloth: there is the cause.

It would seem then that here, as in some brands of contemporary political discourse, poverty is not to be pitied, as it evinces personal wrongdoing and lack of responsibility.

4.2.2. Poverty as Social Death

The evidence of cultural prejudices against the poor evinces a world in which, in spite of some nostalgic reminiscences of an imagined pre-urban order among some, property and income were

Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra was recently identified in Tibet and is currently being edited; up until now, only the Chinese (T 721+722) and Tibetan (Derge, Mdo, Ya 82a - Śa 229b) versions were known.

key determinants of social status. As such, in this section we will examine a particularly pervasive metaphor that illustrates one's lack of financial stability: poverty as social death.

Like the *Code*, the great Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata*—the main part of whose redaction, although clearly not its inspiration, is generally thought to have taken place in the early centuries CE—presents us, at least on the surface, with the picture of a world very different from the one that we might gather from other sources. The world of the epics is one of feudal warring clans among whom the militaristic values of honor and loyalty reign supreme. At points, the epic takes a very archaic view of financial disenfranchisement as a non-structural and purely ritual function of social role. In the most dramatic section of the *Book of the Assembly (Sabhāparvan)*, the hero Yudhiṣṭhira ends up betting and losing his brothers, himself and finally his wife Draupadī in a game of dice. Draupadī starts a long legalistic argument between winners and losers by asking whether her husband was allowed to bet her as his property in the first place. The legal injunction adduced by the winning Kauravas is expressed in the following hemistich:

trayaḥ kileme adhanā bhavanti

dāsaḥ śiṣyaś cāsvatantrā ca nārī

(Mahābhārata 2.63.1ab)

Three indeed are these who are without property (*adhanā*)

The slave, the student, and the woman, who is without independence.

The validity of this legal maxim is recognized by both parties, and while initially it seems to provide support for the claim of the winners (the wife of a slave like Yudhiṣṭhira who has bet and lost himself is no longer his property), artful disputation eventually brings a legal victory for the losers that retroactively invalidates the bet itself (he who has bet and lost himself like Yudhiṣṭhira cannot have effectively bet anything else). Draupadī's contention that she was not her

husband's property is not, however, the winning argument in this case, and is addressed only to the extent that she is indirectly said to be *asvatantrā*, 'not-independent,' and therefore not even the owner of her own self. Be that as it may, the view posited in this bit of the imagined chivalric world of the epic is that a lack of financial means is inherent to certain social roles which, in the case of the student and the slave, may even be temporary or at least not definitive.

In other parts, however, the epic is decidedly less nostalgic. In a different episode, the same Yudhiṣṭhira, now in exile in the forest, voices a different opinion on what being financially destitute means. In this case, the statement on poverty comes up casually, embedded among the answers that Yudhiṣṭhira provides to a *yakṣa* who has poisoned the hero's brothers and demands a correct answer to a number of riddles as a requisite to bring them back to life. The *yakṣa* is none other than Yudhiṣṭhira's own father, the god Law (*Dharma*), in disguise. This lends especial legal authoritativeness to the exchange:

yakṣa uvāca

mṛtaḥ katham syāt puruṣaḥ katham rāṣṭram mṛtaḥ bhavet

śrāddham mṛtaḥ katham ca syāt katham yajño mṛto bhavet

yudhiṣṭhira uvāca

mṛto daridraḥ puruṣo mṛtaḥ rāṣṭram arājakam

mṛtam aśrotriyaḥ śrāddham mṛto yajñas tv adakṣiṇaḥ

(3.297.58–59ab)

The *yakṣa* said:

How would be a man dead? How would a kingdom be dead?

How would the ancestral offering (*śrāddha*) be dead? How would the sacrifice be dead?

Yudhiṣṭhira said:

Dead is the poor man, dead is the kingless kingdom

Dead is the ancestral offering without a brahmin, dead is the sacrifice
without a gift for the officiating priest (*dakṣiṇa*).

Much later on in the epic, Yudhiṣṭhira makes a statement to the very same effect, this time not as an abstract bit of dharmic knowledge but instead as a painful reference to the penury of his own family within a long complaint addressed to Kṛṣṇa:

dhanam āhuh paraṃ dharmam dhane sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam

jīvanti dhanino loke mṛtā ye tv adhanā narāḥ

(5.70.23 cd)

They say that wealth is the utmost law (*dharmā*):

Everything is based on wealth

They live, those with wealth, in the world,

But dead are those without wealth

The statement seems out of character if we consider the aristocratic and militaristic values that Yudhiṣṭhira embodies, but the “they say” that he premises to his statement speaks about a notion that may have been widespread in the world and which informs the epic: The vibrant monetized India “between the empires,” rather than the legendary pre-urban order from which the epic draws its inspiration.

From the point of view of literary tropes, the equation between poverty and death is pervasive and crosses over texts of many different genres and religious affiliations. In the specific context of Buddhist literature, one particularly blunt statement to this effect appears in the *Maitrakāṇyakāvadāna*, a novella that may have been initially part of the *Jātakamālā* of

Gopadatta,²⁹⁶ but nowadays is known mostly through a version included almost *verbatim* in the *Divyāvadāna*. The story is well known and has many other literary incarnations.²⁹⁷ Here the eponymous protagonist of the story counters the pleas of his mother to not undertake the dangerous profession of overseas trade with the following statement:

varam naiva tu jāyeran ye jātā nirdhanā janāḥ

jātasya yadi duḥkhāni varam mṛtyur na jīvitam

(Cowell and Neil 1886, 498.21–22)

Better had they never been born,

Those people born without wealth.

If the one who is born [is to] have sufferings

Better is death than life.

In his *Garland*, Kumāralāta never states that the poor had better never have been born, but occasionally his descriptions paint an equally grim picture of what poverty means. In story V of the *Garland*, a Buddhist *upāsaka* confronts a brahmanical ascetic and attempts a *reductio ad absurdum* of the idea that bodily mortification should have any merit or religious value:

若以無衣食， 儼形尼乾等

造作諸勤苦， 以為苦行者

餓鬼及畜生， 貧窮諸衰惱

斯等處艱難， 亦應名苦行

(T4.201.264a3–6)

²⁹⁶ Hahn 1992, 1–16.

²⁹⁷ For a comprehensive survey of these versions see Klaus 1983

If on account of being without clothes and food,
 The *nigians 尼乾 (=nirgrantha) and others of naked bodies
 Who perform all austerities of exertion
 Should be thought of as ascetics,
 Then hungry ghosts, and domestic animals,
 And those afflicted with poverty,
 All of these dwelling in misfortune
 Also should be called ascetics.²⁹⁸

The point of greatest interest here is that the sufferings of the poor are equated with those of two non-human realms of rebirth and this sets them apart—it *alienates* them—from the common social frame of reference of the characters of the *Garland*.

4.2.3. Hindrances caused by poverty

Beyond the question of what specific literary metaphor expresses the severe hindrance that poverty poses—whether being poor is being dead or on par with animals and ghosts—the question of what exactly is it that poverty hinders is one to which contemporary sources provide a variety of answers. A particularly rich and sustained exploration of the consequences of poverty occurs in an early Sanskrit play that we have now only in two separate derivative revisions, *Poor Cārudatta* (*Daridracārudatta*) and *The Little Clay Cart* (*Mrcchakaṭikā*), whose riotously materialistic

²⁹⁸ Huber 1908, 37, *Si les Nirgranthas au corps nu/ Et ceux qui s'adonnent aux macérations/ Sont appelés des ascètes./ Alors les démons faméliques et les animaux sauvages./ Les pauvres et les affligés./ Eux qui demeurent dans une misère extrême./ Doivent aussi être appelés des ascètes.* Huber takes the phrase *pinqiong zhu sangnao* 貧窮諸衰惱 as an enumeration ([/]es pauvres et les affligés), but I personally find odd that the pluralizing particle 諸 *zhu* be attached only to one of the members and interpret the first adjective as attributive of the nominalized second.

narrative contrasts with the more ideologically charged sources that we have considered so far in this section. The literary exploration of the topic of poverty and financial disenfranchisement occupies much of the plot and of the poetic monologues of the eponymous protagonist, but the one topic that emerges once and again is how poverty creates ostracism:

satyaṃ na me vibhavanāśakṛtāsti cintā
bhāgyakrameṇa hi dhanāni bhavanti yānti
etat tu māṃ dahati naṣṭadhanāśrayasya
yat sauhṛdād api janāḥ śithilībhavanti

(Acharya 2009, 24)

I am not really worried by the loss of wealth;
Wealth comes and goes with fortune's stride.
But it makes me sad that people slacken
Their friendship as soon as wealth is lost.²⁹⁹

(tr. Acharya 2009, 25)

As we will see, Kumāralāta's vision of poverty is likewise nuanced, but for the moment let it suffice to point out that Cārudatta, the only character in the play to display a modicum of heartfelt religious piety, elaborates at one point in the narrative on a different downside of poverty—the impediment to performing the religious duties that befit a brahmin householder like himself. In a

²⁹⁹ The *Daridrācārudatta* version differs in some places but the meaning is essentially identical: *satyaṃ na me dhanavināśagatā vicintā / bhāgyakrameṇa hi dhanāni punar bhavanti / etat tu māṃ dahati naṣṭadhanaśriyo me / yat sauhṛdāni sujane śithilībhavanti* (Esposito 2004, 105).

vasantatilaka couplet that occurs almost without divergence in the two versions of the play³⁰⁰ and which is, in fact, the one with which the character is first introduced to the audience, Cārudatta complains on how the quality of the of the food oblations of his household (*bali*) has significantly worsened:

yāsām baliḥ sapadi madgṛhadahalīnām
haṃsaiś ca sārasagaṇaiś ca viluptapūvahaḥ
tāsveva pūrvabalirūḍhayavāṅkurāsu
bījāñjaliḥ patati kīṭamukhāvalīḍhaḥ
(Acharya 2009, 22)

Once near the doorsteps of my house the offering that I flung
Was filched by swans and cranes flying down in flocks.
Now on the same—but sward-swaddled—steps,
A handful of dry seeds lies, by worms slowly licked
(Acharya 2009, 22)

Cārudatta’s friend, the Prakrit-speaking brahmin Maitreya, has previously told us that Cārudatta has just come from performing the “divine duties” (*devakajja=devakārya*) and that when Cārudatta utters this mournful verse he is proceeding to bring the oblation for the household deities (*gihadevadānaṃ bali=gṛhadevatānāṃ bali*). From this brief scene, it is difficult to know for certain what regimen of domestic sacrifices Cārudatta may have been imagined to follow. If his regimen bore any resemblance to the system of the “five great domestic sacrifices” (*pañcamahāyajña*) that

³⁰⁰ The *Daridracārudatta* couplet is essentially identical, but at the end of *pada* b, Manuscript C instead of the adjective *viluptapūvahaḥ* ‘previously stolen [by geese—*haṃsa*—and cranes],’ which refers to the oblation, it has *vibhaktapuṣpaḥ* ‘with its flowers in proper arrangement’ (Esposito 2004, 12n.18).

the *Law Code of Manu* (3.68–121) and other manuals prescribe for the brahmin householder, then after having performed Vedic recitation and the offering to the household fire and the major gods, Cārudatta would have gone out of and around his house offering food oblations (*bali*) to a multifarious range of recipients that begins with the god Indra and ends with worms (*krmi*, 3. 92), passing through other gods, deified features of nature, and animals. In a previously occurring aphorism in 3.70, the food oblation is defined as *bhauta*, i.e. having as its recipients the *bhūtas*, a term that in this context should be understood as a denomination of the living—or those thought to be living—as broad and indefinite as English “beings” or “entities.” The “beings” who receive the food oblation in the *Manu* passage seem to be arranged according to hierarchy, and from this it would follow that poverty has prevented Cārudatta from performing the prescribed domestic oblation for all but the very lowest category of recipients.

Although at least one relatively old Pāli collection portrays the Buddha as apparently not opposing this specific mode of food oblations (*bali*) to “beings” (*bhūta*),³⁰¹ the Buddhist protagonists of the stories of the *Garland* do not mention these offerings or the impediment to performing them that poverty might entail. Instead, they are shown worried about the way in which poverty hinders them from performing a different religious duty, the gift. Story XXII presents us with a beggar girl whose story we will revisit at length; however, what interests us now is that in the beginning of the story the girl, wishing to give something to a group of Buddhist monks but unable to do so, tells them: “As the ocean, the abode of treasures, men worship you: I alone, poor,

³⁰¹ *Suttanipāta*, v. 225. The *Scripture on Jewels* (*Ratanasutta*) to which this verse belongs is included in what may also be a reasonably old collection, the *Khuddakapāṭha*, on which see von Hinüber (1996, §86–87, §95, §97).

have nothing to give”³⁰² (善哉聖僧，譬如大海眾寶窟宅，眾人供養；我獨貧窮無物用施，T.4.201.279c5–6). Another instance of chagrin regarding the hindrance that poverty poses to performing the enjoined religious gift occurs in story LXXV. Here an old couple in dire poverty is faced with the same dilemma. The husband (the only speaker on behalf of the two throughout the narrative) complains using words similar to those of the girl, but adding a detail that may be already familiar to the reader: The great mishap of poverty is that one, having given nothing in this life, will be destined to a future life in poverty.

此國中人無量百千，皆悉修福供養眾僧，我等貧窮值此寶渚，不持少寶至後世者，我等衰苦則為無窮，我今無福將來苦長

(T.4.201.341c26–29)

“In this country, countless hundreds of thousands of men all practice merit by venerating the monastic assembly, but we have been attached poor to this land of riches not owning even scant treasure to transmit to the next life. Our misery will have no end. Now we have no merit and our future suffering will be long”³⁰³

The opposite of poverty, wealth, allows the plenitude of the religious gift: That wealth is good is clear from a passage of story XXXIII on which we have already commented,³⁰⁴ in which

³⁰² Huber 1908, 120, *Comme l'océan est le réceptacle de tous les joyaux, ainsi tout le monde vous fait des offrandes. Moi seule je suis pauvre et je n'ai rien que je puisse vous donner.* A fragment of the Sanskrit text is extant in MS I, although, alas, it does not include the most interesting portions. It has: *kim ahaṃ saṃghāya dāsyāmīty utpannai...* (SHT 21/30, v3–4) “having given rise to the [thought:] ‘what will I give to the Monastic Assembly?’”

³⁰³ Huber 1908, 429–430, *Dans ce royaume il y a d'innombrables centaines et milliers de gens, qui tous pratiquent le mérite spirituel et qui font des offrandes aux bhikṣus. Nous sommes dans la pauvreté; et si nés dans ce pays de joyaux, nous ne gagnons même pas une petite perle, nous serons dans une misère sans fin dans notre vie future. Si dans cette vie je n'acquiers pas de mérite, je tomberai dans une longue misère dans l'autre.*

³⁰⁴ See pp. 166, 209.

the mere sight of a wealthy man in a city prompts a peasant to formulate the resolution to follow a religious path and engage in religious giving in order to attain wealth and social prominence in a future life. As we will see, moreover, in story XC the enlightened Buddha is likened to the merchant Śamkhabhaṭṭa—the protagonist of the story—who has accumulated great wealth in his travels and returns to his native town to great acclaim.³⁰⁵

4.3. The stringent requirements for enrichment: a disciplined sensibility

4.3.1. The right emotions for the right deeds

One might be inclined to think, then, that Kumāralāta’s stories advocate the accumulation of wealth as long as it is addressed towards the religious gift. However, they seem instead to propose a more complex method of personal cultivation, one in which the accumulation of wealth and the religious gift are certainly important factors, but by no means the only ones.

To begin with, wealth in the world of the *Garland* is fraught with dangers. As we saw above, the material wealth of this world is inherently subject to a number of perils, in particular the five “family members”—kings, thieves, water, fire, and inimical relatives—that have a “share” in it. For the untrained, or, that is, for those who, lacking the guidance that the Buddhist path

³⁰⁵ “Śamkhabhaṭṭa obtained wealth, and the townsfolk and relatives came to welcome him. The Buddha is like this, in that when he became a Buddha gods and men, ghosts and dragon-kings and so on came to worship [him]” (稱伽拔吒 為得財物，鄉曲宗眷 設供來迎，佛亦如是，既得成佛，人天 鬼神 諸龍王等 悉來供養，T.4.201.348a21–23). See also Huber (1908, 462): *C’est parce que Tch’eng-kia-pa-tch’a avait gagné des richesses que ses parents du village préparèrent des offrandes et vinrent à sa rencontre. Il en est de même du Buddha: quand il fut devenu Buddha, les hommes, les Devas, les Esprits et les rois des Nâgas vinrent tous l’honorer.* The merchant’s name is attested once in the Sanskrit, in MSI, SHT 21/98 r.4; in the Chinese version it appears as *C’ingiab^wat’ua 稱伽拔吒. Only one word from the Sanskrit text of this passage survives in MS I (SHT 21/98 r.4.) ...staraguṇān iva, which, if it may perhaps be restored to something like *vistaraguṇān iva [prāpya], would mean ‘[having] obtained an array of excellences’ and would refer to both Śamkhabhaṭṭa and the Buddha.

provides, are easily misled by greed, enduring poverty is certainly a better path than attempting to obtain monetary gain through immoral means. This is the moral teaching of two stories on thieves, stories IV and XXXV. In the first story, the thief steals the pearl that adorns a *stūpa* and when he is caught is told how his inability to endure his poverty has been his very downfall.³⁰⁶ The second story is particularly interesting because, as often is the case in Kumāralāta’s stories, a sudden epiphany brings not only an abiding change of heart but also one in fortune: The very moment in which the thief desists from his criminal intent and embraces his poverty is the one that marks a change in his bad luck. The thief of the story is the son of a royal official who has fallen on hard times. After entering the royal palace, our thief, ravenous, picks up a tray of lamp ashes mistaking them for flour and mixes the ashes in water to drink. Finding the unappetizing brew actually drinkable, the thief thinks:

灰猶可食，況其餘物？我寧食草，何用作賊？先父以來不為此業
(T.4.201.290b16–18)

“Ashes can be eaten: how much more other things? I would rather eat grass:
What is the point in becoming a thief? My ancestors never practiced this trade.”³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ “As a man who fearing to be punished through a beating / Ends up condemned to decapitation / [You], fearing the suffering of poverty / Have given rise to this foolish intention / And not comfortable in a small state of deprivation / Will now endure evils without end.” (如人畏杖捶，返受於斬害 / 畏於貧窮苦，興此狂愚意 / 不安少貧乏，長受無窮厄, T4.201.263a12–15) See also Huber 1908, 32, *Tu ressembles à un homme qui, pour échapper à des coups de bâton, / Encourt la peine de la décapitation: / Pour échapper aux maux de la pauvreté, / Tu as formé un projet insensé; / Ne voulant pas souffrir un peu de pauvreté, / Tu t'es attiré des misères sans fin.*

³⁰⁷ Huber 1908, 174–175, *Si je puis manger des cendres, je pourrai manger à plus forte raison les autres aliments. Il vaut donc mieux que je mange de l'herbe. A quoi bon faire le voleur? Depuis le temps de mes ancêtres jusqu'à présent (personne de nous) n'a exercé ce métier.*

The king eventually notices the thief, and interrogates him on why he would leave the palace empty handed. Having heard the thief’s explanations, the king reinstates him in what had been his father’s post as an official. The most puzzling point in the story is the link between the thief’s change of heart and the change in his luck. The reader might have noticed, though, that at least in theory, luck or fortune should play no role in this universe. The *Garland* addresses this point in the initial moral apophthegm that precedes the narrative, which in its no longer extant original Sanskrit may have been expressed in more elegant, or at least less redundant language:

諸欲求利者，或得或不得，有真善心者不求自得利實，無真善心者為
得貪利，故應作真善心

(T.4.201.290a19–21)

Among those who look for profit, some find it, some do not. Those with a genuinely wholesome thought do not seek profit and wealth (*li-shi* 利實),³⁰⁸ which are achieved by themselves (*zide* 自得); Those without a genuinely good thought, in order to obtain the coveted profits, should first produce a good thought.³⁰⁹

We are faced here with a notion that plays an important role in the world of the *Garland* and which complicates the hegemony of acts and their requitals in the mechanics of the narrative universe of the *Garland*: The “good thought” (*shanxin* 善心) of this passage may have corresponded in the

³⁰⁸ If taken as a concatenative compound or an enumeration these meanings for the individual members of *li-shi* 利實 are well attested in the classical language. The phrase or compound seems however to be rare.

³⁰⁹ Huber 1908, 173, *Parmi ceux qui cherchent la fortune, il y en a qui la trouvent et il y en a qui ne la trouvent pas. Celui qui a un cœur excellent, trouve le fruit de la fortune sans le chercher. Celui qui n'a pas un cœur excellent, doit acquérir un cœur excellent, s'il veut obtenir la fortune désirée.* Huber construes differently the second clause: I find *buqiu zide li-shi* 不求自得利實 a bit awkward as “*trouve le fruit de la fortune sans le chercher*,” not only because of a syntactic anomaly (a concatenation of verbs with a single object) but because it leaves *zi* 自 ‘[by] oneself’ untranslated, and I would rather read it as “do not seek profit and wealth, which are achieved by themselves.”

Sanskrit to something like *kuśalacitta* ‘good thought’ and conveys a notion widely appealed to in Buddhist discourse of the period. In spite of ample scholastic elaborations on it, the concept remains rather vague; however, it is significant because in spite of its humble appearance it is indicative of a distinctive feature of Buddhist doctrine, identified as such—i.e., distinctive—by both the Buddhist tradition itself and others, namely the emphasis on intention. As much as Buddhist doctrines share with those of Jainism, the role of intention in the accumulation of deeds seems to have been a mutually recognized point of controversy (*kathāvatthu*, *you suolun* 有所論) between the two traditions as depicted in an āgamic source, the *Speech to [the Householder] Upāli* (*Upālisutta*, *Majjhīmanikāya* 56=*Youpoli jing* 優婆離經, *Madhyamāgama* 11.133). Here, in the course of the discussion between the Buddha and the Jain teacher Nāṭaputta, traditionally identified with the *tīrthamkara* Mahāvīra, the point is made that while for the latter deeds of mind, body, and speech are all independent sources of requital, for the former the last two—deeds of body and of speech—are subordinate to the deeds of the mind. The Jain retort to this position is more vivid than the sober formulation of the Buddha. One passage of the Jain *Sūyagaḍa* (II.26–30) illustrates the Buddhist position with a darkly comical *reductio ad absurdum*: If the intention to kill is the only relevant factor in a killing, then if someone stabs a gourd thinking it is a child, the gourd-stabber would be guilty of murder; conversely, if someone kills and roasts a man having mistaken him for a lump of cakes made from the residue of seeds used in oil-making (*piṇṇāgapinḍi*),³¹⁰ the

³¹⁰ Such would be the the most straightforward understanding of this rare compound if its components are taken to be equivalent to Skt. *piṇyāka* ‘cake of oil-making residual seeds’ and *piṇḍa* ‘lump.’ The epic occurrences of the term *piṇyāka* suggest that the item that it designates must have been used as a very humble source of food, often unfavorably juxtaposed to the still unpressed, oil-rich seeds (*kaṇa*) (*Mahābhārata*, 12.161.34, 12.289.43). The scholastic Jain understanding of the term *piṇṇāgapinḍi* is however different, namely “grain silo,” but this reading is entirely dependent on a rather late Sanskrit commentary, on which see Jacobi 1895, 414, n.3, who nevertheless sticks to it in his translation.

resulting meal would be one “fit for buddhas to break their fasting with” (*buddhāṇa taṃ kappai pāraṇāe*, Bāmṭhiya 2005,171).

It seems, then, as if the repentance alone of the thief would constitute a basis for “profit and wealth to be achieved by themselves.” One might therefore extrapolate that the “good thought” of the thief constitutes a deed of the mind that can trigger a response from the machine of requital. The case of the thief is, however, slightly atypical in that the object of his “good thought” is an abstract moral consideration; whereas, more often than not, the content or concomitant of “good thoughts” in the *Garland* is a *feeling* typically expressed in the *Garland*, as elsewhere in Buddhist discourse of this time, with derivatives of the lexeme *pra-√sad*, and especially with the noun *prasāda*, whose ample semantic range has been rendered by Schopen with the terms “joy, faith, favorable disposition, gratitude, pious feeling [...]” (2000, 161–162, n. V.18). A necessarily detailed examination of the term follows below.

4.3.2. Favorable dispositions: *prasāda* and *kuśalacitta*

The Sanskrit verbal lexeme *pra-√sad* and in particular its nominal form *prasāda*, with their Middle Indic cognates, are rich and varied in meaning in the usage of the various Indian Buddhist traditions, on which see Rotman (2009, 65–150) and Schopen, for the past participle *prasanna* (2004, 228–229, 252 n.39). The physical sense of *pra-√sad* that may underlie all the succeeding layers of metaphoric usage could be ‘to settle’ or ‘to sediment’—coincidentally both English cognates of *√sad*—when referred to water, and therefore ‘to become clear.’ This usage is illustrated in a popular gnomic couplet that appears grafted onto a number of sources, the earliest of which is perhaps the *Law Code of Manu* (6.67):

phalaṃ katakavṛkṣasya

yady apy ambuprasādakam

na nāmagrahaṇād eva

tasya vāri prasīdati

Even if the fruit of the *Kataka* tree

Has the property of clearing water (*ambuprasādaka*),

Water does not become clear (*prasīdati*)

Out of the mere mention of its name

As for the *Kataka* (*Strychnos potatorum* ‘Nightshade of Drinkers’), Monier Williams 1872, s.v. tells us that “one of the seeds of this plant being rubbed upon the inside of the water-jars used in Bengal occasions a precipitation of the earthly particles diffused through the water and removes them.” The fruit seems to be still used for this purpose, and in a modern scientific experiment, a solution of *Strychnos Potatorum* was found to perform as a coagulant for turbid water as properly as the chemical coagulant alum (Deshmukh et al. 2013)—*pace* Olivelle 2005, 291, n.6.66.

At least in the understanding of the Chinese translator, Kumāralāta’s usage of *pra-√sad* covers the entire and variegated semantic gamut that one might see in the entries for *pra-√sad* and *prasāda* in Monier Williams 1872, s.v.:

- 1) “**be pure, clean, serene**”—XLIII, 21/48 r2 *śa(śī pra)sannāṃśur ivodi[ta]* ‘like the Hare-bearing [moon] risen with pure (*prasanna*) rays’=嚴淨如秋月 (T4.201.294a2)
‘Ornate and pure like the autumn moon,’ LXIII, SHT 21/79 v1 [*diśa?*]*ś ca bhṛśaṃ praseduḥ* ‘and the directions (=the sky) became eminently clear’=四面皆清明 (T.4.210.323b22) ‘the four directions were clean and pure’ (see, for another occurrence of the same Sanskrit phrase, Kalidāsa, *Raghuvamśa*, 3.14a);

- 2) “**be satisfied**”—XXX, SHT21/38 r1, *prasanna*=意滿足 ‘having one’s wishes fulfilled’ (T.4.201.286c24);
- 3) “**be pleased**”—XXII, SHT21/30 v3 *jātaprasādā* ‘having given rise to *prasāda* (joy?)’=心懷歡喜 (T4.201.279c4) ‘[her] heart, harboring joy,’ LXVII, SHT 21/85 v5 (+AW) *mayi prasannaḥ* ‘he is [again] *prasanna* (pleased? well-disposed?) towards me’ (said by the heterodox teacher Purāṇa upon hearing that a former follower has invited him to his house)=還來歸我 (T4.201.328a9) ‘he has again taken refuge in me’;
- 4) “**be appeased>have mercy, show favor**”—XLII, SHT 21/57 v4, *b[r]ah[m]acāribhir uktaḥ [pra]sādaya bha[ga]vantam iti* ‘He was addressed by the practitioners of Pure Conduct (*brahmacāribhis*) [with the words]: ‘Make the Blessed One have mercy (*prasādaya*)’=同梵行者[...]即欲請佛求哀懺悔 (T4.201.306a19–20) ‘Then his fellow practitioners of **B^uam*-Conduct (*brahmacarya*) [...] entreated [him] to beg the Buddha to take mercy on [his] repentance,’ XX, SHT 638x v4, *prasīda kuru mayi dayāṃm* ‘show mercy; do me favor’=愍我願除却 (T4.201.278c18) ‘take pity on me and remove [this curse from me]’, LXX, 638 dd, Blatt 421 r2, *me prasīda* ‘take pity on me’=願垂哀憐愍 (CBETA, T04, no. 201, p. 338b15) ‘deign to show your mercy’, *ibidem*, r3, *tvatprasādān na tatrāḍya gaccheyam gurviṇī satī* ‘by your mercy may I not go there [=to the king’s abattoir], being with fawn’ (said by a pregnant doe to the king of deer)=今願救我胎 (T4.201.338b19) ‘Now deign to save my unborn young.’

In at least one occurrence, Kumāralāta might have used *prasāda* in the mainstream but specialized sense of ‘ceremonial offering of food.’ In the Chinese text of story LXXVII, the god

Brahmā, upon learning that one Śrīgupta is scheming to invite the Buddha for a poisoned meal, says: 願佛不須往 迴還 (T4.201.329c13) ‘may the Buddha not go [to Śrīgupta’s] and return instead.’ This might roughly correspond to the isolated word *prasādavinivarttī* (SHT 21/87 r1) ‘turning back from the *prasāda*’ in the Sanskrit fragmentary text.

Also at least in one case, in the initial moral of story XLVI, *prasāda* must be understood as having a technical doctrinal meaning in the compound *avetyaprasāda*: SHT 21/51 v3, *avetyaprasādāya prayatitavyaṃ* ‘effort must be made towards *avetyaprasāda*’=應勤修四不壞淨 (T4.201.298b16) ‘one must be diligent in practicing the four undecaying purities.’ The *avetyaprasādas* are comprehensively treated in Schlosser and Strauch (2016, §3), from which I have extracted the following information. In its general scholastic formulation, the *avetyaprasādas* are four, with its three initial elements being the “Three Jewels”—Buddha, Law, and Assembly—and the fourth Proper Behavior (*śīla*, *sīla*). The initial member of the compound, *avetya-*, is obscure and might have originally meant either “[attained by] having understood” or “unbreakable”. Although it and its Pāli cognate *avecca-* have been understood by modern and ancient exegetes as the gerund of the verb *ava-(ā)-√i* ‘understand,’ these terms are also likely to be reinterpretations of an older word that surfaces in Gāndhārī as *abheja* (i.e. *abhedyā* ‘unbreakable’), which undoubtedly underlies the Chinese rendering *buhuai* 不壞 ‘un-decaying’ and is also sporadically attested in its Sanskrit form in Sanskrit texts. In this case, re-etymologization seems to be involved in the divergence of meanings. On the basis of a wide-ranging analysis of scholastic interpretations, Schlosser and Strauch propose the English rendering of “unbreakable confidence” or “unbreakable trust” (p. 78), and it is likely that similar scholastic interpretations of the concept underlie the most common Chinese and Tibetan renderings of the word *prasāda*, both well attested in the respective versions of Kumāralāta’s *Garland*: *xin* 信 ‘trust, belief,’ *dad* ‘belief, trust, loyalty.’

Although the term *prasāda* does not occur in the Sanskrit fragments of story I, the only one for which we have a Tibetan version, *xin* 信 and *dad [pa]* map onto each other three times in this story: T4.201.257c15–16=Derge, *Spring*, Nge, 144b1, 258b11=145a4–5, 258b20=145a7. In the places where the Chinese text can be compared against the Sanskrit fragments, the word *prasāda* is rendered by *xin* 信 at least four times, but not only by it: XX, SHT 21/5 v2, *prasādahetuḥ* ‘because of *prasāda*’=故吾今者敬信情篤 (T4.201. 260a12) ‘because of this now I have respect, trust (*xin* 信), and sincere emotion,’ *ibidem*, v4, [*jā?*]*taprasādā* ‘[having engendered?] *prasāda*’=深信心 (T4.201.279c10) ‘[her] heart, with deep trust (*xin* 信)’ SHT 21/39 r3 , XXXI, *prasādajanitanetramukharāgā* ‘with emotion in the face and eyes engendered by *prasāda*’=倍生信心容顏怡悅 (T4.201.287c24) ‘having engendered even more of a trusting (*xin* 信) heart, his face gleaming with joy,’ L, SHT 21/55 r3 *prasādo*=深生信敬 (T4.201.302c22) ‘having deeply given rise to trust (*xin* 信) and respect.’ In view of this evidence it seems likely that most or all the occurrences of *xin* 信 ‘trust’ in the Chinese version of the *Garland*—some hundred and fifty or so—reflect in fact an underlying *prasāda* in the Sanskrit text.

As for the meaning “trust,” Schopen (2004, 63–64, 145, 167, n. 68) has suggested the meaning “trustworthy” for Tibetan *dad pa can* when attributed to laybrothers entrusted with the care or administration of monastic funds, although the underlying Indic word in these passages might be different from *prasāda* or its derivatives. According to Lokesh Chandra 1959–1961, s.v., *dad pa can* corresponds in the Tibetan translations surveyed by him to either the noun *śraddhā* ‘trust’ or its derivative adjective *śrāddha*.

Although I have invariably followed the principle of rendering the Chinese text as literally as possible and without regard for the Indic terminology that may underlie the Chinese version, I will exceptionally opt here to render *xin* 信 with phrases close to ‘favorable disposition’ or,

attributively, ‘favorably disposed’ which, vague and open ended as they are, leave room for the still unsettled polysemy of Indic *prasāda*.

As for the term *shanxin* 善心, literally ‘good heart (or, metaphorically, ‘thought’), an examination of a good sample of its occurrences has convinced me that its use in the Chinese translational corpus is unsystematic and that it has been deployed to render a wide variety of concepts. In the case of the Chinese version of the *Garland*, it seems that, for once, the most mainstream interpretation of the term may be adequate: Nakamura (1975, 850c) and Hirakawa (1997, 260) tell us that *shanxin* 善心 corresponds to Skt. *kuśalacitta* ‘good thought,’ or ‘wholesome thought.’ The term is explained at great length in scholastic literature, but the abstraction necessary to philosophical discourse makes it sometimes difficult to gain a concrete impression of the role this notion may have played. At least once in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*, a mention is made of someone dying while having a “good thought” (*kuśalacittaḥ kālagataḥ*) and being immediately born among the gods (*Samghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1977–78, i.68). In this story of deathbed salvation, the protagonist is the *yakṣa* Kuṃbhīra, who dies while striving to thwart an assassination attempt directed towards the Buddha. The text goes on to explain that as soon as the son or daughter of a god are born, he—the brusque change in grammatical subject is in the original—starts pondering three questions, namely “from where had [he] passed away, where had [he] been born, [and] on account of what deed” (*kutaś cyutaḥ kutropapannaḥ kena karmaṇā*). The young god that had previously been Kuṃbhīra sees (*paśyati*) that, regarding the third question, he “had been favorably disposed towards the Blessed One” (*bhagavato ’ntike cittam abhiprasādyā*). The passage equates the “good thought” of Kuṃbhīra with the notions alluded by the unendingly vexing lexeme [*abhi*]-*pra*-*√sad* on which we have commented before. In a note rich in insights on these terms, Schopen (2000, 161, n.V.18) has shown that the experience of being “with a mind

deeply moved” (*cittam abhiprasādyā*) typically occurs in the two contexts of the moment of death and the the emotional prelude to a donation to the monastic community brought about by an encounter with a “Buddhist person, action or object” (ibidem). In regard to the Chinese term *shanxin* 善心 (=kuśalacitta) and the conceptual overlap that I propose with the lexeme *pra-√sad*, it may be opportune to note that Bareau (1962, 249) has remarked on a passage of the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* where the Buddha is made to say that at the moment of worshipping a *stūpa* a “good thought” (*shanxin* 善心) is more important than the gift itself. He says: “a hundred thousand carts of pure gold/ put to use to make a donation,/ are not worth what one good thought/ when worshipping the *stūpa* with flowers and perfumes” (百千車真金/ 持用行布施/ 不如一善心/ 華香供養塔, T22.1425.497c14–15).

The overlap and virtual equivalence between “good thoughts” and feelings of *prasāda* in the *Garland* will appear once and again in the excerpts with which we will deal below. Examples of the kind of donation-inducing *prasāda* are frequent in the *Garland*, but not all instances of the word *xin* 信 ‘trust’, which I have proposed to be equivalent to the lexeme of *pra-√sad* in the Chinese translation feature a donation.³¹¹ What the occurrences of *xin* 信/**pra-√sad* share is, however, the fact that the object of the feeling designated by these terms is indeed almost always something or someone connected with the Buddhist religion. And yet, conversely, depictions of the act of giving are generally accompanied by a discussion of the role that *prasāda* plays in it. The emotion that the term evokes is undoubtedly the correct (and required) state to perform the religious gift. All of this becomes less arcane if we consider that one fairly encompassing English rendering of *prasāda* as used in non-Buddhist sources would be “favor.” Although the English

³¹¹ See, though, pp. 283ff. on a different take on the relationship between donation and *prasāda*.

word fails to convey the nuances of strong emotion and relish that set the Buddhist usage apart, both the English and the Sanskrit can potentially indicate a) state of approval, support, liking, or preference, b) an act of kindness or generosity, and b) a gift or token of affection (in English, as in the phrase “party favors”) wherein the mood to give and the gift are in the usage of these terms only points of a semantic continuum.

Beyond these functional considerations on the usage of these words, it might be appropriate to underline that, as difficult as it is to pin down, the sentiments that *pra-√sad* and *prasāda* designate in the *Garland*, as also in much of contemporary Buddhist literature, reference an inner state, a mode of emotional reaction. Trainor (1997, 82–84, 175–76) has suggested that, in the context of the Ceylonese *Great Chronicle* (*Mahāvamsa*), the lexeme [*sam-*]√*vij*/[*sam*]vega constitutes with *pra-√sad/prasāda* a dyad of emotional states in which the former is an initial “shock” brought about by a sudden epiphany of truth, whereas the latter would be a state of “serene joy” that follows it. Etymology could be adduced in support of this interpretation: The non-metaphorical meaning of *pra-√sad* is ‘to settle’, with reference to water; √*vij* means, by contrast, ‘to shake, to tremble’.³¹² Although this distinction might work well for the *Great Chronicle*, other usages of these terms suggest that they were conceptually associated in other ways. In story XVI of the *Avadānaśataka* king Ajataśatru, having banned his citizens from worshipping the Buddha, sees the gods worshipping the Buddha from the terrace of his palace and suddenly feels first regret (*vipratisāra*) and then *prasāda*. The citizens, having witnessed the same event, become “endowed with strong emotion (*vega*) towards the Law [of the Buddha]” (*dharmavegaprāptāḥ*) (Speyer

³¹² See also Schopen 1997, 116–17 and 2004, 32–33 for derivatives of *sam-√vij*, with *samvejanīya* as “to be powerfully experienced” and also Coomaraswamy 1943, in which *samvega* is characterized as “aesthetic shock.”

1906–1909, 90. 10–11; French tr. Feer 1891, 73–64). As such, what we have here seems to be an overlap between the meaning of the two terms.

From the entirely different realm of high scholasticism, Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośa* juxtaposes the “strong emotion of *prasāda*” (*prasādavega*) to “the strong emotion of evil inclinations (*kleśavega*).” In this instance, it seems that *prasāda* can generate or even be equated with strong emotion. Importantly for the present discussion, this passage occurs in the section that Vasubandhu devotes to the doctrine of the requital of deeds: Both of these kinds of strong emotion are in themselves subject to a requital. Also interesting is the example given for the kinds of things that these two kinds of strong emotions prompt one to perform: whereas “the strong emotion of evil inclinations” leads one to “killing, enslaving, and beating” (*vadhabandhanatāḍana*), the “strong emotion of *prasāda*” leads one to paying homage to *stūpas*.³¹³

Story XXXIV³¹⁴ shares important elements with the story of the thief: an act of greed, a change of heart, and a change of luck. Here, a peasant hears the Buddha warning Ananda to avoid a poisonous snake and then the peasant approaches to see the poisonous snake by himself, which turns to be so only metaphorically: What the Buddha has seen is an exposed treasure hoard. The

³¹³ The text of the one extant Sanskrit manuscript from Tibet has here *stavavandana* ‘praise and homage’ in Pradhan’s edition (1967, 210.16): Paramārtha’s Chinese version and the Tibetan agree, though, in having here “paying homage to *stūpas*” (作禮塔, T29.1559.231a24; *mchod rten la phyag ’tshal ba*, Derge, Mngon pa, Ku, 179b1), i.e. **stūpavandana*; Xuanzang’s Chinese has “paying homage to the Buddha(s)” (作禮佛, T29.1558 74a7) and this underscores the functional equivalence between the Buddha and the *stūpa*.

³¹⁴ One of the unedited fragments of the Kucha Manuscript may be part of this story, see appendix 2, SHT 21/135.

peasant appropriates it, but by doing so raises the suspicions of the fiscal department of the king.³¹⁵ Arrested for not reporting the find and therefore incurring a violation of the tax code, the peasant realizes the metaphorical truth of the Buddha’s words and laments his greed. The king then hears the peasant’s lament and takes it as a sign of his having “now become capable of a favorable disposition (*xin* 信=**prasāda*) towards the compassionate great sage (=the Buddha)” (今能信敬悲愍之大仙, T4.201.290a8)”. In the conclusion of the story, the king returns the treasure hoard to the peasant as “a dazzling requital for being now favorably disposed (*xin* 信=**prasanna*)” (信故現得於花報, T4.201.290a17) towards the Buddha. The story is interesting in that it provides a lively illustration of how the royal administration is quite literally one of the “five dangers” or five share-holding “family members” of wealth of which we have spoken before; however, a subtler danger of wealth engaged in this story, especially of such suddenly acquired wealth as here, is the possibility of not knowing how to spend it properly. As we have seen, and will see further below, wealth should be at least partly spent in religious gifts, but our peasant has spent it all in “clothes and food” (*yi-shi* 衣食). One would say that, being unused to wealth, to acquiring it and to spending it, our man has made himself an obvious target for the king’s tax collectors, not to speak of the missed opportunities at merit-making that his hedonistic approach to spending entails. Besides this, though, the point that interests us here is that the experience of a “favorable disposition” (*xin* 信=**prasāda*) towards the Buddha is here the explicit cause of a requital, and one of a monetary nature.

³¹⁵ Hidden coin hoards are a characteristic feature of South Asian archeology, being especially numerous in the northwestern region of the subcontinent where Kumāralāta may have lived, on which see Bopearachchi 2011. The casual find of these coin hoards must have been common enough for the treatise on governance *Arthaśāstra* to include a whole section (4.1.49–55) with instructions on how to tax it.

Story X of the *Garland* is an eloquent praise of parsimony and thrift: the character that Kumāralāta presents here is simply characterized as an *upāsaka* that “someone derided as very poor” (有人譏呵云最貧窮, T4.201.267c28). As we have seen before,³¹⁶ in the context of the *Garland*, poverty should sometimes be understood as relative to the wealth of its most prosperous characters. Indeed, what this story highlights about this anonymous character is his thrift and his being contented with little. The narrative implies that our man is commendable in his ability to endure poverty with dignity; however, towards the end of the story, the *upāsaka* declares that he does not consider himself poor:

能信三寶者

是名第一富

我今敬三寶

以信為珍玩

(T.201.268a8–9)

Being favorably inspired (*xin* 信=**prasanna*) towards the Three Jewels

Is what is called the foremost wealth

I now worship the Three Jewels

And that favorable disposition is [my] treasure³¹⁷

We have seen before another kind of immaterial wealth, namely the merit accrued from religious giving. The merchant of story XXV lists as his wealth whatever he has spent in religious donations, his assets in this world being shared by the “five family members.” What we see here

³¹⁶ See pp. 164ff.

³¹⁷ Huber 1908, 59, *Si l'on a foi dans le Triratna./ Cela s'appelle être le premier des riches./ Je révère le Triratna./ Et la foi est mon joyau.*

is a different kind of immaterial wealth that seems to stem not from actual religious gifts but from the special emotional mood that is best suited and most conducive to the religious gift. In sum, we could take this statement to mean that this man's otherworldly treasure is not so much the merit of his giving as that of his emotional drive to do so.

The focus of this story being the ideal disposition to give in isolation from other factors, it is difficult to envision how Kumāralāta may have understood the way in which disposition and action conjugate with each other. In story XIV we find the historical Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniṣka distributing alms to a group of beggars. One of his ministers questions what he sees as an act of profligacy on the part of the monarch who explains—as we might expect at this point—that the beggars must have been, like himself, greatly rich in former lives, though they failed to transfer their wealth through a regimen of religious donation. The minister has a sudden realization and, endowed with a new insight, praises the actions of Kaniṣka. The minister tells us that Kaniṣka has been blessed with a unique combination of favorable factors:

人身極難得

信心亦難生

財寶難可足

福田復難遇

如是一一事

極難得聚會

(T4.201.272b25–27)

A human body is extremely hard to obtain

A favorable inspiration (*xin* 信=**prasāda*) is likewise hard to engender³¹⁸

Wealth alone is hardly enough;

A field of merit is hard to encounter again.

This is how these things are one by one:

They are even harder to encounter together.³¹⁹

Among the four, the first and last are rather conventional in the Buddhist rhetoric of this period. Certainly, all known Buddhist traditions insist on the unique fortune that a human birth represents.³²⁰ I would like to draw the reader's attention, however, to the elements framed by this general encomium of a human birth and its possibilities: Wealth "can hardly be enough" and what

³¹⁸ The Chinese *sheng* 生 could of course be both the transitive 'to engender' and the intransitive 'to arise', and in the absence of the Sanskrit text it is impossible to formulate a further judgment on how much personal agency is attributed to the process of the arising of *prasāda*. It is interesting to note that this process is typically referenced through a nominal construction with the terms *prasādayāta* and *jātaprasāda*, lit. 'with *prasāda* born [within]': the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* and its derivative narrative collections favor the former while Kumāralāta and his literary followers Āryaśūra and Haribhaṭṭa the latter, more in line with classical Sanskrit grammar. These two compounds leave us largely in the dark about the extent to which *prasāda* is a spontaneous reaction or something to be voluntarily nurtured, but another clichéd idiom to refer to this process (*cittam abhiprasādyā*) involves the causative, and this suggests to me that at least in some cases a significant deal of personal agency was at play.

³¹⁹ Huber 1908, 82 : *Il est très difficile d'obtenir un corps d'homme; il est difficile aussi de naître avec un cœur croyant; les richesses, un champ de mérite, il est difficile de les rencontrer. S'il en est ainsi de ces avantages un à un, qu'est-ce donc de les obtenir tous ensemble!*

³²⁰ This could be interestingly juxtaposed to the points of view occasionally met with in the epics, which in this case I will take as representative of some trends of thought current among at least some of the priestly and military aristocracy: in *Mahābhārata* (1.1.92) we are told about the mysterious wife of king Śaṃtanu, who marries him on the condition that he will never question her actions. Then, over the years, she drowns in the Ganges seven of their eight sons as soon as they are born. Śaṃtanu's wife turns out to be the goddess Ganges/Gaṅgā incarnated, who mercifully released from the humiliation of a human birth the Vasu gods who had been cursed to that punishment by the sage Vaśiṣṭha.

is truly “hard to engender” is the “inspiration” (*xin* 信=**prasāda*) to transform that wealth through the religious gift.

4.3.3. Failures of Gift-Giving: Lack of Enthusiasm, Lack of Lofty Goals

Kaniṣka enjoys the proper disposition and the means to accomplish it, though Kumāralāta seems to have delighted in exploring the narrative possibilities that different combinations of the thought or disposition to give and the act of giving allows. The story of the poor *upāsaka* explores the possibility of the right feelings without the means to take them to fruition whereas two other stories present us with donors who, lacking the right intentions or the right feelings, receive the narrative reproach of our author.

In the first of these stories, XXII, the beggar girl that we have previously encountered sees a group of monks celebrating their “feast of the fifth year” (*pañcavārṣika*) and begs for food from them: “having seen that great group of people ready to give, she [became] inspired with favor” (*mahājanaṃ ca pradānābhimukham avekṣya jātprasādā*, SHT21/30 v3).³²¹ After this, the beggar girl donates all she has—two copper coins—to the monks. The Elder of the Assembly pronounces some stanzas praising her “thought” or “intention” (*yi* 意, T.4.201.279c14) and then she proceeds to formulate what has been usually rendered in English as a “vow,” or “aspiration,” and which in the Sanskrit text almost certainly was the term *praṇidhāna*. This device is ubiquitous in the Buddhist narratives of this period,³²² and allows the owner of religious merit to direct it towards a

³²¹ The Chinese has here “having begged for food from the monks, seeing the assembly, her heart was filled with joy” (於會乞食，既觀眾僧心懷歡喜, T4.201.279c4).

³²² One 1st Century CE manuscript (British Library Gāndhārī Fragment 16), part of a collection of short *avadānas*, contains the phrases (**pra*)[*ni*]*śano upadayadi* (= *praṇidhānam utpādayati*) (Lenz 2003, v39) ‘he gives rise

desired reward. Such rewards need not, at least in this narrative genre, be particularly lofty or otherworldly: As we have seen before, the “vow” to be reborn in a rich family occurs abundantly in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* and its literary derivatives. Although these “vows” are relatively infrequent in the *Garland*, and this underscores Kumāralāta’s preference for psychological exploration rather than for the explicit display of the causality of act and requital, the beggar girl’s “vow” follows a similar trend of thought, although with a some rather unique traits:

願我生死中， 永離於貧窮，

[...]

由此功德故， 速成所願果，

所種微善心， 身根願速出

(T4.201.279c21–25)

I vow (*yuan* 願) that I, within the cycle of birth and death

May I always be free from

[...]

On account of my merit

May the fruit of my vow quickly be achieved;

As for the good thought that I have sown

to a resolution (*prañidhāna*)’ and *purvaprañiṣi* (= *purvaprañidhi*) *vistare yaśayupamano siyadi* ‘let [his] earlier resolutions be developed in detail according to the model’. It seems, though, that the term *prañidhāna* and its Middle Indic cognates are largely unknown to the contemporary donative inscriptions, exactly where one would expect to find them, although, if we take it to be a designation of a genre, it might not be surprising that it does not show up in texts of that genre (modern epitaphs typically do not contain the word “epitaph,” etc.).

I vow that it may sprout (*chu* 出) in [my] present body³²³

The first unusual point of this passage is the request that the reward of her merit should ripen in her present life, a theoretical possibility that is rarely featured in the narrative literature.³²⁴ For our purposes, the most interesting feature of this passage is that it makes it explicit that it is her inner state of inspiration rather than her very modest gift that will accrue merit for her. The initial moral reflection of the story suggests that it is precisely the combination of the gift with the “inspiration to favor” that accomplishes an incommensurate requital:

夫修施者在勝信心，兩錢布施果報難量 (T4.201,279c1–2)

As for the of the religious gift, when done in a favorable disposition, even from the giving of two coins, the requital is hard to measure.³²⁵

The beggar girl’s aspiration fructifies as she desired: the king walks by, and falling in love with her, makes her his queen. The beggar queen arranges a new donation to the monks, this time an exceedingly lavish one; however, the Elder of the Assembly detects that the intensity of her feelings has dwindled, and therefore rejects her gift with the following stern pronouncement:

³²³ Huber 1908, 121, *Puissé-je dans mes existences / Être à jamais délivrée de la pauvreté! [...] Puissé-je pour mon mérite/ Obtenir bientôt le fruit de mon vœu! Ce que j’ai semé d’un cœur excellent, / Puissé-je vite le moissonner sur moi.* My understanding of the last *pāda* is different from Huber’s: although the word *yuan* 願 could be ‘vow’ either in the nominal and verbal usages of the English word, there is nothing in the original that corresponds to the idea of “fruit.” A word by word gloss of the Chinese would have: physical-body+vow+quickly+manifest, which I have opted to construe as above.

³²⁴ See, however, the moral point of story XXI: 無戀著心一切能施，得大名稱現世獲報，是故應施不應吝著 (T.4.201.279a15–16) “Who, with unflinching heart can give all, obtains the requital of great glory in this life, and for this reason one must give and not be a miser.” See also Huber 1908, 117, “*Celui qui est capable de donner sans hesitation tout en aumône, aura une grande gloire et sera récompensé déjà dans ce monde. C’est pourquoi il faut donner l’aumône et il ne faut pas se montrer avare.*”

³²⁵ Huber 1908, 119, *L’exercice de l’aumône est estimé d’après la pureté de l’intention (de celui qui donne). Celle qui n’a donné en aumône que deux pièces de monnaie, a obtenu une rétribution qui n’est pas mesurable.*

不以錢財多， 而獲大果報，

唯有勝善心， 乃得大果報

(T4.201.280a10–11)

Not on account of much money [given],

Does one obtain a great requital

Only through good thoughts

Does one attain a great requital.³²⁶

The last story that we will consider here, XXXVII, gives us a different version of the final part of the beggar queen's story. A donor invites the monastic assembly for a sumptuous meal, and yet the Elder of the Assembly is able to sense the donor's intentions: he wants to become rich. The Elder behaves brashly towards the donor, wishing him, with cold sarcasm, no wants or scarcities in his future rebirth in hell. As a coda to this shocking breach of etiquette, the Elder pronounces the following verses:

施者所生處， 財寶極廣大，

[...]

戒能得生天， 施能備眾具，

所作為解脫， 必盡於苦際

譬如種藕根， 花葉悉具得，

其根亦可食。 修行於施戒，

親近解脫林， 快樂喻花葉，

根喻於解脫。 是故修戒施，

³²⁶ Huber 1908, 122, *Ce n'est pas pour (avoir offert) beaucoup d'argent / Qu'on obtiendra une rétribution importante; / Seulement ceux qui offrent dans une intention sublime / Obtiendront une rétribution importante.*

必當為解脫， 不應為世利

(T4.201.291b8–21)

What motivates (*sheng* 生) [his] gift

Is a great expansion of wealth

[...]

Through the principles of training (*jie* 戒) one obtains divine rebirth;

The gift can provide one with all the requisites,

Yet what one does must be for the sake of liberation:

One must deplete the realm of suffering.

After planting a lotus root

It grows whole with leaves and flowers:

Only the root, however, can also be eaten.

When practicing the restraints and the gift,

One approaches the grove of liberation,

The leaves and flowers are a metaphor of enjoyment (*kuaile* 快樂=**sukha*,

**bhoga*?);

The root is a metaphor of liberation,

And so when practicing the restraints and the gift

It must be towards liberation,

And not towards any worldly gain.³²⁷

³²⁷ Huber 1908, 179–180, *Le but de la charité qu'il a faite/ (C'est d'acquérir) des richesses immenses [...] En observant les défenses on peut obtenir de naître dans le ciel./ Par la charité on se procure tous les biens;/ Mais on doit la faire en vue de la Délivrance finale./ Et pour échapper au domaine de la Douleur./ De même que dans le cas des racines de lotus/ On peut prendre les fleurs et les feuilles (de ces lotus),/ Mais leur racine aussi est mangeable,/*

Let us not consider for the moment the incongruousness of this scene of a generous donor being publicly denounced in a work that encourages people to spend their wealth in religious giving. The donor craves wealth, and does what he is supposed to do: give liberally. The words of the Elder not only do not deny, but actually affirm, that future wealth is the necessary outcome of the religious gift. How the aspiration to final emancipation fits into this scheme remains unclear. What the metaphor of the lotus suggests is a highly paradoxical formula which postulates that the concomitants of the effort to disengage oneself from the world are precisely wealth and success. If we were to judge this state of affairs from the point of view of doctrinal coherence we might be forced to point out a central contradiction: On the one hand, the requital of deeds should go its own way, with inexorable precision; on the other, the right frame of mind and the right emotional education play a role that in this passage seems to override the very inexorability of the requital of acts. In other words, the lavish gift of the beggar queen should produce its requital, and if we were to apply the principles of the doctrinal mainstream, her making her gift while under the influence of the strong emotions evoked by the term *prasāda* should prompt a positive requital of its own; how, however, the decrease of inner religious fervor can actually invalidate one's gift is unaccounted for.

Although we do not have them, we know that Kumāralāta authored also works on scholastic philosophy. If we could read them, we might be able to see the theoretical acrobatics by

*Quand on observe le commandement prescrivant de de faire la charité,/ Et quand on s'approche de la forêt de la Délivrance,/ (On gagne) des joies qui sont pareilles aux fleurs et aux feuilles (des lotus),/ Mais la racine (des lotus) est comparable à la Délivrance./ Voilà pourquoi il faut observer les Défenses et faire la charité/ En vue d'obtenir la Délivrance,/ Et non pas pour gagner les gains de ce monde. The Sanskrit for this portion is marginally preserved: *kāmaṃ [...] puṣpava [...] mokṣaṃ ca śālūkavat + tasmāc chīlasahāyena mokṣ...* “desire [...] like flowers [...] liberation [is] like the lotus root [...] therefore, liberation accompanied by discipline...”*

which he may have reconciled these tensions. He may have argued that dwindling enthusiasm is in itself due to the influence of unwholesome intentions, or otherwise that the greed involved in the expectation of a requital spoils or counteracts the merit accrued from the religious gift.

One verse found in various traditions of *Verses of the Law* (**Dharmapada*), one of whose Sanskrit versions Kumāralāta certainly knew as he quoted liberally from it both in his grammatical treatise *Kaumāralāta* and in the *Garland*,³²⁸ implies that wealth and the search of wealth do not harm those intent upon final emancipation:

<i>hananti bhogā dummedhaṃ</i>	<i>durmedhasaṃ hanti bhogo</i>	愚以貪自縛
<i>no ve pārāgavesino</i>	<i>na tv ihātmaḡaveṣiṇam</i>	不求度彼岸
<i>bhogataṇhāya dummedho</i>	<i>durmedhā bhogaṭṛṣṇābhir</i>	貪為財愛故
<i>hanti aññe va attanaṃ</i>	<i>hanty ātmānam atho parān</i>	害人亦自害 ³²⁹
(Mizuno 1981, 232, §355)	(Mizuno 1981, 233, § <i>Kāma</i>	(T.4.211.603a14–15)
	16)	The fool impedes himself with greed/
Riches destroy the fool,	Wealth destroys the fool,	Not the one who looks for the
Not indeed the one who looks	Not indeed the one here who	other shore/
for the other side./	looks for the self./	Because of greed, which is the
Through thirst for wealth the	The fool through thirsts for	love of wealth,/
fool/	wealth/	

³²⁸ See Lüders 1926, 60–65 and 1940, 698ff.

³²⁹ The verse occurs, other than here, in three other translations of *Verses of the Law* (T4.210.571b10–11, T4.212.630b26–27, T4.213.778b7–8), but the Chinese translation in these four sources is largely identical and must stem from a single source.

Destroys others and himself. Destroys himself and others. He harms others and also harms himself/

The reason why “riches destroy the fool” should probably be sought in greed. According to the *Garland*, if a man is without desire for wealth, he can safely amass as much wealth as he likes:

夫少欲者不在錢財多諸寶物。何以知之？如頻婆娑羅王富，有國土、象馬、七珍，猶名少欲。所以者何？雖有財寶，心不貪著，樂於聖道，以是之故，雖復富有七珍盈溢，心無希求名為少欲。

(T4.201.263c25–264a1)

Whether a man has few desires does not depend on how much his wealth is or his jewels. How do we know this? King Bimbisāra was rich, had his kingdom, elephants and horses, the seven jewels, and he still was called a man of few desires. Why is this so? Although he had wealth, his mind did not covet it, and he rejoiced on the holy path. For this reason, although he was rich and had the seven jewels in plenitude, as his mind did not have the slightest craving he was called [a man of] few desires.³³⁰

³³⁰ Compare Huber 1908, 36–37, “[...] avoir peu de désirs ne dépend pas de la quantité de richesses et de choses précieuses qu’on possède. Comment peut-on comprendre cela? Par exemple le roi Bimbisāra était riche, possédait un royaume, des éléphants, des chevaux et les sept joyaux. Pourtant on l’appelait un homme de peu de désirs. Et pourquoi cela? Bien qu’il possédât des richesses et des joyaux, son cœur ne s’y attachait pas, mais il se réjouissait dans la sainte Voie. Voilà pourquoi, bien qu’il fût riche et qu’il possédât les sept joyaux en abondance, il ne nourrissait pas de désirs dans son cœur et on l’appelait un homme de peu de désirs.” Huber translated *you* 猶 as *pourtant*, but it also can be used as an adversative conjunction (“in spite of that, yet”), and I think that is the sense here.

Bimbisāra is not a fool because he is not blinded by wealth and has his mind on the path. In the *Verse of the Law* quoted above, the exact characterization of those immune to the dangers of wealth varies across versions, but both “[one] who seeks the self” (*ātmagaveṣin*) or “[one] who seeks the other shore” (*pāragavesin*, *qiu du bi'an* 求度彼岸) are conventional metaphors for the seeker of the final emancipation, *nirvāṇa*.

As in the speech of the Elder, the reason why the quest for emancipation should validate the acquisition of wealth is not made explicit. Independently of the how this may have worked in the theory, both passages express an admonition to keep in mind a higher goal, an especially difficult and abstract goal, that presumably, then as now, did not appeal to the majority and here sits uncomfortably at odds with the mechanism of gift, sentiment, and merit so richly depicted elsewhere in the *Garland* and other Buddhist narrative collections. In spite of the Elder’s words, we should bear in mind that the beggar queen wishes that the requital of her inspiration—not of her gift, in her own words—might be simply never to be poor again in any of her “future deaths and births.” Similarly, we have also remarked how, in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* and the narrative collections that derive from it, the wish to be reborn in wealth as the result of one’s meritorious deed is frequent and no blame or stigma seems to be attached to it.

The theoretical problem stands, and it may indeed have bothered Kumāralāta, a philosopher and an intellectual. If for a moment we step out of the realm of didactic narrative and explore what the epigraphic record has to say about these points, we would see less tension. In donative inscriptions of Gangetic India from around the turn of the common era, the Middle Indic term *pasāda* (*prasāda*) occurs instead of the more common *dāna* ‘gift.’ As we have seen before, *prasāda* as functionally and semantically equivalent to ‘gift’ is well-attested in Sanskrit, and this epigraphic usage blurs the distinction between the feeling conducive to religious giving and the

act of carrying it out—the disposition and gift occupy one single conceptual space.³³¹ Closer to Kumāralāta in time and space, the famous early 1st Century donative inscription of king Senavarman, king of Oḍi (perhaps in modern Swāt), which we have already studied in connection with the term *grhapati*, records, on a gold sheet, the repair of a damaged *stūpa* that the king funded. One passage of the inscription juxtaposes his “giving” (*dane=dāna*), “religious gift” (*devasame=deyadharmā*), “faith” (*ṣadha=śraddhā*), and “favor” (*prasade=prasāda*):

aya me dane devasame aya ca ṣadha ye ca prasade se kimatraye hoto?

[*chāyā: idaṃ me dānaṃ deyadharmā iyaṃ ca śraddhā yaś ca prasādo sa kimātrāyā bhavatu?*]

(Salomon 1986, 265. 11c-d)

This my giving—a religious gift—and this faith, and this favorable disposition (*pras^āde*)—of what measure shall it be?³³²

No knotty theoretical considerations seem to encumber Senavarman’s notion of the meaning of his actions. He has performed his religious duty, the gift, and has done it moved by the right

³³¹ Given the irregular marking of long vowels in early Brāhmī donative Buddhist inscriptions, the Middle Indic form *pasāda* (<Skt. *prasāda*) can often be indistinguishable in writing from *pāsāda* (>Skt. *prāsāda*) ‘terrace, upper level of a building’; even when long vowels are marked, if geminate consonants are not written (and this is the case for the most part), the two terms can be rendered identically in writing (*pāsāda=passāda* (*Zweimorengesetz*)=<*pasāda*>). There are, however, cases in which the setting and context of the inscriptions—most compellingly their being inscribed upon railing posts and beams—makes it highly likely that *pasāda* is being used instead of the much more usual *dāna* ‘gift’: Tsukamoto (1996–2003, i. 515) has noted that this usage is especially well attested in the site of Pauni (Tsukamoto 1996–2003 i, Pauni §3, 516; §17–18, 519; §22, 520; §27, §30, 521), but also marginally elsewhere (Tsukamoto 1996–2003 i, Sañcī §859, 880; §884, 884, Mathurā §87, 674). In the later Sanskrit inscriptions, *prasāda* also occurs occasionally in the sense of ‘gift’: in the probably 4th Century Devnī Morī reliquary inscription, the compound *sugataprasādakāmo* (Tsukamoto 1996–2003 i, Devnī Morī §1, 395, verse ||6||) may mean “wishing to make a gift to the Well-Gone (=the Buddha).” See however (though see Schopen 2005, 243–244, n. 35).

³³² My translation is based on the one of Salomon 1986, 271, with tweaks to his choice of vocabulary for the sake of consistency.

emotions, in the right frame of mind. As such, the requital of these pious deeds is assumed as a certainty, although its full extent (hopefully bountiful) is unknown. For the rest, Senavarman does not formulate other aspirations other than the conventional benefit of his family and of all the creatures of the universe. The end of the cycle of birth and death, although mentioned (12.c-d), does not seem a clear personal goal.

We would expect that Kumāralāta, as a monastic author, should be invested not only in encouraging the act of religious giving, but also in placing it on a position of moral preeminence beyond reproach. The public criticism (and humiliation) of the beggar queen and of the interested donor for making their religious gift either in a state of lesser enthusiasm than before or interested in utilizing the merit-machine for their own future advantage seem somewhat disconcerting: Kumāralāta does not engage in a full explanation of their wrongs. Both would appear to be following the general Buddhist teachings on the gift, and Kumāralāta's choice to criticize their behavior so forcefully might conceivably have alienated the support of donors. There are, however, ways of imagining an explanation. The human tendency to harmonize cognitive dissonance, i.e., to reconcile contradictory beliefs or ideas by reconfiguring them, has been a particularly fruitful device in modern psychology. If we were to deploy it here, we could hypothesize that one may not be inflamed with religious sentiment or guided towards particularly lofty goals at the moment of giving, but that if those need to be necessarily the concomitants of the gift, the gift itself may become an explanation. In other words: If I give, it must be because my feelings are right, because my intentions are right.

Less hypothetical is, however, the fact that in these two stories Kumāralāta marks a departure from the body of doctrine and narrative that preceded and informed him. His is an appeal—a very militant one—for the cultivation of an inner sensibility, of a complex of attitudes

and emotions. If my suggestion that the *Garland* represents a strong statement of the values of a social class made during a moment of crisis proves correct, then this would account for the sententious, militant, vaguely puritanical tone. In his *Garland*, Kumāralāta extols the acquisition of wealth and makes it the very expression and outcome of a carefully cultivated emotional disposition.

5. Translations

We have considered so far only excerpts from the stories in the *Garland*. A real taste of their flavor, though, can be gained only by considering them as a whole, and the preceding discussion has meant to provide a lens to read these stories. Below are included three that provide a good samplebook of the rich repertoire of Kumāralāta’s moral thought. We will see in these stories how a great deal of personal discipline and restraint confer on the layman the same heroic dignity of the monastic (5.1), and how a man learns that it is only through constant work that personal ambition is achieved, in a plot that puns on the various meanings of the Sanskrit word *karman* (5.2). The last story is a celebration of the worth of the businessman, compared there to the Buddha himself (5.3).

5.1. IX. An Upāsaka Refuses Easy Monetary Gains

The topic of this story—what the upright man is to do when faced with the possibility of enriching himself in a short time—is shared with yet another story from Kumāralāta’s *Garland*, XXXIV. As we have noted, these two stories are mirror images of each other: the protagonist of the one translated below refuses to take for himself an adventitious treasure cache, whereas the one of story XXXIV discussed above takes the treasure only to be faced with disastrous and immediate consequences—the man is apprehended by the king’s fiscal department, prosecuted, and sentenced to death.

The apparent point in the story is that since treasure hoards belong to the king, they are better left undisturbed:³³³ instead, legal sources of revenue, or, in their absence, dignified poverty,

³³³ See p. 290, n. 337 below.

are a preferable path. But the fear of repression is only a side thought here, whereas such fear is a prominent topic of story XXXIV. What Kumāralāta does here, instead, is deliver an encomium of the virtue of *alpecchatā*, “having few desires,” a trait that translates into frugality and an unwillingness to acquire assets not earned through one’s own economic activity. The honest parsimony of the righteous man is presented here as a path of this-worldly asceticism through which the lay can attain the same level of religious achievement as the monk. Indeed, a point of great interest in this story is the explicit equation of the virtuous *upāsaka* with a monk in every way, “even without the outer marks,” (*liṅagrahaṇam ṛte ’pi*) which the Chinese translator glossed as the “monastic robes” (*fayi* 法衣). There is probably a rhetorical function in this statement, nonetheless Kumāralāta points here to a blurring of the boundaries between lay and monastic, or at least to a code of behavior shared by both categories of members of the Buddhist community.

Our *upāsaka* is said to be “poor” (*pin* 貧) although his poverty must be understood as relative, since he is also said to preside over a household with “wife, children, relatives, slaves and servants” (妻、子、眷屬、僮僕、使人). Perhaps, then, he is to be seen, similar to the much better characterized protagonist of story XLIX, as a land-owning peasant whose household is described in very similar terms, but who is also described as “poor.” Furthermore, as we have already noted (3.1.3, p. 296), the umbrella-term *gṛhapati* may also have included such people.

復次，欲如肉搏眾鳥競逐， And now: “Desire is like a lump of flesh³³⁴ birds compete to get
有智之人深知財患而不 hold of; the wise know well the afflictions of wealth and do not
貪著。 covet [it].”

(T4.201.267a4–5)

我昔曾聞，修婆多國時有 As I heard once,³³⁵ in the kingdom of Suvastu (Swāt) there was a
比丘，於壞垣壁見有伏藏, *bhikṣu*. He saw a hidden treasure in a wall; there was a big copper
有大銅瓮滿中金錢，將一 pot full of gold coins. He showed the spot³³⁶ to a poor *upāsaka*,
貧優婆塞而示之處，即語 saying: “You can take this treasure for the necessities of life
之言：可取是寶以為資 (*zisheng* 資生).” Then the *upāsaka* asked the *bhikṣu*: “When did
生。時優婆塞問比丘言： you see this?” The *bhikṣu* answered: “I saw it today for the first
何時見此？比丘答言：今 time.” The *upāsaka* said: “It is not today that I [first] saw this

³³⁴ Compare SHT 21/24.r1, *māmsapēs...* “A lump of flesh.”

³³⁵ This is a literal translation of the Chinese and it may strike the reader as a rendering of the well-known stereotypical opening phrase of Indic Buddhist *sūtras*: *evaṃ mayā śrutam/evaṃ me sutam/eva me śuḍa* “thus I have heard,” or the like. The stereotypical phrase that opens each and every story in Kumāralāta’s *Garland* in the Sanskrit fragments, although not preserved for this one, is however different: *tadyathānuśruyate*, which would translate literally “as it is heard” or “as it is transmitted.” On the meaning and significance of this phrase see 2.3.3.

³³⁶ Compare SHT 21/24 r2, [*su*]vastuni kila bhikṣuṇā jīrṇagrhe kuḍyāntargato nidhir upalakṣitas tena sa
“In Swāt, a monk found within an old house, concealed in the wall, a treasure. He... it...” *Suvāḥ/stu* is the archaic Vedic (and Epic) name of the modern Swāt valley and the etymon of the modern toponym. The region was also known in Buddhist Sanskrit as Oḍḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyāna. Its Gāndhārī cognate *Oḍi* is attested in the 1st Century CE inscriptions of king Ajitasena (Fussman: 1986, 1) and Senavarman (Salomon 1986, 264, line 1b), and it is also perhaps the partial etymon of the modern toponym Uḍe-grām, which has yielded rich archeological finds (see Bagnera 2006). *Oḍi* was at least during the rule of Senavarman a Kuṣāṇa protectorate (Salomon 1968, 288), but it may have been an independent polity by Kumāralāta’s time. Regarding the choice of the toponym here, it is telling of Kumāralāta’s advocacy for high Sanskrit literary style that he chooses the quaint archaism *Suvastu* instead of the then more current vernacular toponym *Uḍḍiyāna*. On Suvastu see also pp. 39, n. 70.

日始見。優婆塞言：我見 treasure; I saw it a long time ago, but I have no use for it. Now,
 是寶非適今日，久來見之， listen well: I will declare the afflictions of treasures. Taking this
 然我不用。爾今善聽，我 treasure one would be known by the king, one could even be
 當說寶所有過患。若取 executed, or be charged a fine (*zhe fa* 譴罰), or be jailed:³³⁷ such
 是寶為王所聞，或至於死， sufferings are uncountable.” And then he said in *gāthās*:
 或被譴罰，或復繫閉，如斯
 等苦不可稱數。即說偈
 言：

(T4.201.267a5–13)

我見是寶來	Down to when I saw this treasure
歷年甚久遠	The calendar years go far back;
此寶毒螫害	The sting of the poison of this treasure
劇彼黑毒蛇	Is more terrible than [that of] the black poisonous snake.
是故於此寶	For this reason, regarding this treasure,
都無有貪心	[I] have no thoughts of greed.
觀之如毒蛇	Seeing it like a poisonous snake ³³⁸
不生財寶想	The thought of “treasure” does not arise.

³³⁷ At least according to the *Arthaśāstra*, treasure hoards were indeed conceived of as the property of the king, and appropriating them would be a punishable offense; see p. 271, n.315. Section 4.79 of the same treatise deals with ways to detect people with undisclosed sources of income.

³³⁸ The motif of the treasure cache as a “poisonous snake” is shared with story XXXIV, already mentioned, although much more prominent (and central to the plot) there. A previously unidentified fragment of the snake passage in story XXXIV might be fragment SHT 21/135, on which see Appendix 2.

繫閉被謫罰	Being jailed, fined,
或時至死亡	Or, in time, even being executed,
一切諸災害	Are all calamities
皆由是寶生	That would arise from this treasure.
能招種種苦	It can summon all sorts of suffering,
為害甚可怖	It does frightful harm,
故我於寶所	And so, I, in regard to this treasure cache,
不生貪近想	Do not harbor the thought of approaching it with greed.
群生迷著寶	People are lost in their attachment to treasures
謂之為珍玩	And they call them “precious things.”
寶是危害物	Treasures are dangerous and harmful things
妄生安善想	Foolishly one gives rise to the thought “[it is] good” (妄生安善
有如斯過患	想). ³³⁹
何用是寶為	There being such afflictions

³³⁹ Huber (1908, 55.3) renders this hemistich as “*en vain y met-on sa confiance*,” but this is unlikely: *anshan xiang* 安善想 (good+thought) as “trust” (*confidence*) is especially problematic. In Medieval Buddhist Chinese, *anshan* 安善 typically means “well, in good health,” and a good example of this usage is a passage from an early medieval version of the *Śyāmakajātaka*, preserved in four different recensions in the Taishō canon (T174+T174a-c). In that passage, a king visits the elderly parents of the protagonist of the story. They welcome the monarch with the following polite banter: “Is the king’s body well (*anyin* 安隱)? Are the wives at the palace, the princes, the ministers and relatives, and the people all well (*anshan* 安善)?” (T3.174.437b23–24=T3.175a439b15–16=T3.175b441a29–b1=T3.175c443a18–19). The *Mahāvastu* contains a quite similar *Śyāmakajātaka*, in which the corresponding passage is *kaccid mahārāja antaḥpure kumārāmātyeṣu balavāhanakośakoṣṭhāgāreṣu kṣemaṃ nirītikaṃ nirupadravaṃ paurañānapadā anuvartanti?* (Senart 1882–1897 ii 216) which Jones (1949–1956, ii 206) translates as: “Can it be, now, that your citizens and provincials enjoy happy and inviolate peace (*kṣema*) in your palace, among your princes and ministers, in your army, in your treasure house and granaries?” If, as in the *Mahāvastu* passage, *anshan* 安善 mapped here onto Sanskrit *kṣema*, the semantic range would be considerably broad: Monier Williams 1872, s.v. gives for *kṣema* used as a noun “abiding at ease, safety, tranquillity, peace, rest, security, any secure, easy or comfortable state, well-being, weal, happiness.”

如是膿污身	What use is there for treasure? ³⁴⁰
趣自支軀命	As much as this body polluted with pus ³⁴¹
會當捨敗滅	Is absorbed in the sustainment of its bodily life (趣自支軀命) ³⁴²
何用珍寶為	It will certainly (<i>hui dang</i> 會當) be discarded and perish
譬如火投薪	What use is there for treasure?
無有厭足時	Like when firewood is thrown in, the fire
人心亦如是	Never has enough (無有厭足),
希求無厭足	The human heart is also like this
汝若憐愍我	It wants and never has enough (無厭足).

³⁴⁰ Compare SHT 21/24v2 ...*te anarthenārthasamjñena tena me kiṃ prayojanam* “... what use do I have for this worthless [...] under the concept of ‘profit’”

³⁴¹ Compare SHT 21/24 v2 *dhāryate pūtikāyo 'ya[m]*... “This body of filth continues to live [...]”

³⁴² Huber’s (1908, 55.7) rendering is evidently tentative guesswork “*depuis que nous sommes doués de membres et de vie,*” understanding *zhi* 支 ‘branch, to support’ as a defective spelling for its *zhi* 肢 ‘limb.’ The opaque phrase *qu zizhi* 趣自支 can plausibly be understood as “[it] keeps occupied (*qu* 趣) in its own (*zi* 自) sustainment (支).” That the compound *zizhi* 自支 alludes to the maintenance of one’s physiological livelihood is made clear by a passage of the mahāyānic *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* translated by Dharmakṣema (385–433 CE). Here the blacksmith Cuṇḍa, annoyed by the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī’s fastidiousness regarding the Buddha’s last meal retorts: 如來昔日苦行六年, 尚自支持, 況於今日須臾間耶? [...] 汝今實謂如來正覺受斯食耶? [...] 如來身者, 即是法身, 非為食身如來身者, 即是法身, 非為食身. (T12.374.374c4–9) “[I]n the olden days the Tathāgata underwent asceticism for six years and yet sustained himself (*shang zizhi chi* 尚自支持). Why wouldn’t he be able to endure for a few more moments today? [...] [A]re you actually saying that the Tathāgata in his perfect enlightenment will partake of this food? The body of the Tathāgata is none other than a body of dharma and not a body [that is sustained by] food” (tr. Blum 2013, i. 45). Let one further example of the usage of the term suffice here. In a narrative commentary to the *Dharmapada/Udānavarga* translated in the late 3rd Century, we see two children complaining in private about the household in which they were reborn: among the many things they say, there is 食飲麤惡纔自支身 (T4.211.587c21–22) “[In this house] food and drink are coarse and bad and barely sufficient to sustain our own bodies (*cai zizhi shen* 纔自支身).” The syntax of the passage is slightly opaque in the verbal force of the compound *zizhi* 自支, which one would expect to be either a noun (“self-sustainment”) or a verbal phrase (“to sustain oneself”); the sense is however clear.

教我少欲法	If you have mercy on me,
云何以財寶	Teach me the law of having few desires: ³⁴³
而以見示語	Why did you, by means of this treasure
夫少欲知足	Speak to show it [to me]?
能生大利樂	Having few desires and knowing what is enough
若其多欲者	Can give rise to the bliss of great benefits
諸根恒散亂	If one has many desires
貪求無厭足	One's senses will always be in disarray. ³⁴⁴
希望增苦惱	Greed never has enough,
然此多欲人	Hope increases suffering.
常生於欲想	So, men of so many desires
貪利無有極	Always give rise to thoughts of desire.
如摩竭魚口	They desire profits without limit,
而彼少欲人	Like the mouth of the <i>makara</i> fish (如摩竭魚口)
無貪求苦故	But as for men with little desires, ³⁴⁵
心恒懷悅豫	Not having the afflictions of greed,
歡慶同節會	Their heart always harbors joy

³⁴³ Compare: SHT 21/24 v3, (*a*)*nukrośa eva vā alpecchatāyām yatnena mān nigrhya ki[m]* “Or if, being compassionate, you, having with effort restrained me (read *mām nigrhya*) towards having few desires.”

³⁴⁴ Compare SHT 21/25 r: *labhat[e] vy[ā]kulendriyaḥ 5 mahecchaḥ samkalpavra* “he whose senses are deranged obtains [...] one of great desires [...] a vow of determination.”

³⁴⁵ Compare SHT 21/25 r2, [*u*]*paśāntiṃ na labhate janas tv alpeccho yaḥ satatam iha tasyo* “Does not attain [p]eace, but the one of few desires who always here [...]”

(T4.201.267a14–b8) They rejoice as much as in a festival (歡慶同節會)³⁴⁶

時優婆塞讚歎少欲知足 Then as the *upāsaka* praised the law of having few desires and
之法，彼比丘生希有想而 knowing what is enough, the *bhikṣu* gave rise to the thought of
讚之言：善哉善哉，真是 amazement and praised him saying: “Very good very good! You
丈夫。雖無法服心已出 are really a proper man (丈夫). Although you do not have the
家，能順佛語知少欲法， garments of the law your heart has already left the house,³⁴⁷ as you
而此少欲諸佛所讚。比 comply with the words of the Buddha regarding knowing what is
丘言：汝之所說總而言之， enough; this having few desires is praised by all Buddhas.” The
深見譏呵令我愧踏。汝 *bhikṣu* [then] said: “What you said was well thought and then
今處家，妻、子、眷屬、 spoken, you cleverly saw that in chiding me I would be ashamed.
僮僕、使人，正應貪求以 Since you are now “in the house”—wife, children, relatives, slaves
用自營，能隨佛語讚歎少 and servants—you should precisely covet the means to provide for
欲。假使有人以鐵為舌， yourself (正應貪求以用自營).³⁴⁸ And yet you can follow the
無有能呵少欲知足。我 words of the Buddha and praise having few desires. Supposing
今雖復剃除鬚髮身服法 there was a man with iron for tongue (以鐵為舌),³⁴⁹ he would not

³⁴⁶ Compare Huber (1908, 55.33): “*Il jouit du bonheur et du contentement.*” *Jiehui* 節會 in the sense of “festivity, festival, holiday” is clear and well attested: I am uncertain about what guided Huber’s rendering in this case.

³⁴⁷ Compare SHT 21/25 r3, *sādhu sādhu satpuruṣa tvam hi lingagrahaṇam ṛte ’pi bhikṣur ya...* “Good, good, good man, in spite of not having taken the external marks [of monkhood] you in fact are a monk, you who...”

³⁴⁸ Compare SHT 21/25 v1, *pratyādiṣṭo ’smi bhavatā yas tvam lobhapadasthānam api grham an...* “I have been surpassed by you who [...] the home, the very seat of greed.”

³⁴⁹ I assume this to be a reference to someone under torture: an “iron tongue” could be most idiomatically be expressed in Chinese as **tieshe* 鐵舌; *yi tie wei she* 以鐵為舌 reads instead more like “having iron for a tongue,” or

衣相同沙門，然實不知沙門之法，而方教汝多欲之事，不能稱述法王所讚少欲之法，是諸善源，如佛修多羅中亦說少欲為沙門本：“如來昔日乞食訖，若有餘食，或時施與諸比丘等，或復置於水中用與諸蟲。爾時有二比丘乞食

be able to speak against paucity of desire and knowing what is enough. Now, although I have shaven hair and beard and my body wears the garments of the law and I am in every way similar to a *śramaṇa* (相同沙門), in truth I do not know the law of the *śramaṇa* and so I taught you the law of many desires,³⁵⁰ and was not able to narrate the law of having few desires praised by the king of the law: it is the source of many benefits. Also in the *sūtras* of the Buddha it is said that having few desires is the basis of the *śramaṇa*.³⁵¹ “When the Tathāgata begged for

“in the place of the tongue.” The removal of the tongue is prescribed by the *Arthaśāstra* (4.10.21) for a range of speech offences—speaking against the king, revealing state secrets, spreading “false” rumors—but the section on interrogation through torture (8.83) does not mention harming or cutting the tongue. If this is not a reference to torture, and if the point is that an “iron tongue” is one impervious to lying, the metaphor is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, not a common one in the literature of this period.

³⁵⁰ Compare SHT 21/25 v2, [*alpeccha*]tāviraḥitasya liṅgamātrakena śramaṇabhāvaṃ pratijānīyā “[I] claim the state of a monk only to the extent of its outer marks (*liṅga*), being deprived of [having few desires]”

³⁵¹ What follows here is likely to be a quotation from an āgamic *sūtra*. The vignette presented here is identical with one found in the Chinese *Ekottarāgama* (18.3=T2.125.587c16–589a8) and *Madhyamāgama* (8.88=T1.26.569c24–570b24) as well as the Pāli *Majjhimanikāya* (1.3). The Sanskrit text corresponding to this section is woefully broken (see the following three footnotes), but there is enough in it to suggest that this must be an actual quotation of the text of an āgamic source rather than a literary paraphrase. To begin with, the noun *bhakta* in the sense of “meal” is characteristic of Buddhist Sanskrit. Also, the noun *rātriṃdiva* “a night and a day” has equivalents in the Pāli version (*rattindiva*) and the Chinese ones (*yezhou* 夜晝, *yiri yiye* 一日一夜). In these parallels, the word is used to express the idea that it is better to endure some discomfort than engaging in greed: the Pāli text makes the fasting monk say *jighacchādubbalyena evaṃ imaṃ rattindivaṃ vītināmeyya* “I will spend a night and day with hunger and weakness”; in the Chinese *Ekottarāgama* parallel, he is said to have “spent a day and night in suffering and discomfort” (一日一夜苦而不安隱). The context makes very likely that what we have in the Sanskrit fragment of the *Garland*, *rātriṃdivaṃ kisareṇā*..., was part of a sentence to the effect that “[the monk spent] a night and day with difficulty,” *kisareṇa* being the well-attested Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit cognate of Sanskrit *kr̥cchra* “difficult[y], trouble” (see Edgerton 1953, ii s.v.) instead of the conjectural “kind of sweet-smelling substance” (*Art wohlriechender Stoff*) that Lüders postulated (1926, 43) without explanation. Given that some of the actual wording in the Sanskrit fragments of

不足，而有飢色從外來 food, if there were leftovers, he either gave it to the monks, or put
 入，佛既見已而語之言： it in the water for it to be enjoyed by bugs. There were two *bhikṣus*
 今有餘食，汝能食不？一 whose food was not enough and who entered from the outside
 比丘言：如來世尊說於少 looking hungry. The Buddha, seeing them, said: ‘I have food
 欲有大功德，我今云何 leftovers today: would you eat them?.’³⁵² One *bhikṣu* said: “The
 貪於此食而噉之耶？一 Tathāgata, the World-Honored said there is great merit in having
 比丘言：如來世尊所有餘 few desires; should I today covet this food and swallow it?”³⁵³
 食難可值遇，梵釋天王等 The other *bhikṣu* said: “the food leftovers³⁵⁴ of the Tathāgata are

this passage does match the wording in the received āgamic/nikāyic versions, and that wording belongs to the lexical repertoire of the so-called “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit” which Kumāralāta sedulously avoids in his own writings, but upon which he bestows a particular dignity as the language of the *sūtras* (see 2.3.1), I believe the case can be made that here Kumāralāta is actually quoting from the Hybrid Sanskrit *āgamas* known to him. The parallels to this passage were not noticed by Lévi in his important article on the sources of the *Garland* (Lévi 1908, 100).

³⁵² Compare: SHT 21/25 r3, *me bhaktena bhaktakāryam asti ca me piṇḍapā[t]o* “And the duty of my meal is [accomplished] with food: my round of alms [...]” See also note 354 below.

³⁵³ Compare SHT 21/26 r1, *...pya taṃ rātriṃdivaṃ kisareṇā...* “Having [...] that night and day, with difficulty.” See also note 351 above.

³⁵⁴ Compare SHT 21/26 r2, *...nāvaśeṣaṃ ṛṣeḥ āy...* “The [food] leftovers of the Sage.” See note also note 16. The apparent dichotomy here is whether the food remains of the Buddha are to be treated as a miraculous relic or as regular food that appeals to our physiological instincts, but another story from the *Garland* makes it seem that this is not the case: story LXXVIII is entirely devoted to the topic of the sacramental consumption of monastic leftovers by laypeople. This scene is echoed in the 9th chapter of the *Vimālakīrtinirdeśa*, where the eponymous Vimālakīrti requests the “leftovers of consumed food” (*bhuktāvaśeṣa*) from the buddha Sugandhakūṭa as they “will perform the task of a buddha in the Saha world (=this world)” (*sahe lokadhātau buddhakṛtyaṃ kariṣyati*, Potala MS. 55a6–7). At a later point, Vimalakīrti encourages the assembly to consume those leftovers of the “ambrosial food of the Tathāgata, infused with compassion” (*tathāgatāmṛtabhojanaṃ mahākaruṇābhāvitam*, Potala MS 57a4–5). Likewise, in a passage of the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (Derge, ‘*Dul ba*, Nya, 24a1–26a1, also *Divyāvadāna*—Cowell 1886, 177.11–179.20), the intake of the Buddha’s food leftovers (initially supposed to have been Ānanda’s, which underlines the functional equivalence of the Buddha’s leftovers with those of any monk) seems to operate a miraculous change of heart—and of luck—in the protagonist of the episode, Svāgata. Now, an interesting fact is that a couple of nikāyic passages, one in the Pāli *Mahāparinibbānasutta* and one in the little *sūtra* on the brahmin Bhāradhvāja’s rejected

皆悉頂戴而恭敬之。我 hard to come by; Brahma and Indra, king of the gods, all put it on
 今若食，當益色力安樂辯 their heads and worship it.³⁵⁵ If I eat it I will be full of beauty and
 才。如是之食甚難值遇， strength, happy and eloquent (當益色力安樂辯才). Such food is
 云何不食? 於時世尊讚不 hard to come by: why should I not eat it?” Then the World-
 食者：善哉比丘，能修佛 Honored praised the one who would not eat: “Good, *bhikṣu*, you
 教行少欲法。此一比丘 are able to put in practice the behavior taught by the Buddha, the
 雖順佛語，食佛餘食，佛不 law of having few desires.” The other *bhikṣu* although he complied
 讚歎。是故當知，少欲之 with the words of the Buddha, ate the Buddha's leftovers, and the
 法，佛所印可教戒之本。” Buddha did not praise him.” For this reason, one must know the
 即說偈言：(T4.201. law of having few desires. What the Buddha marked with his
 267b9–c3)

offering of food to the Buddha, on both of which see p. 24ff, the food leftovers of the Buddha are said to be undigestible and actually dangerous: the leftovers of the Buddha's last meal must be buried; those of the one offered by Bhāradhvāja sizzle and bubble when thrown in the water. Strong (1992, 49ff.) has treated the general uneasiness displayed by the Indian Buddhist tradition regarding the disposal of monastic food leftovers, talking about a “sort of taboo” on “consuming *bhikṣus*' leftovers.” To the passages mentioned already, he adds also some from the Theravāda *Vinaya* that prescribe that monastic food leftovers be either eaten by other monks or disposed of in places where they cannot be eaten. If what we have indeed is an earlier stage in which lay consumption of monastic leftovers was generally tabooed and a more recent one in which it was practiced in a ritual context, story LXXVIII of Kumāralāta's *Garland* provides a clever attempt at a reconciliation of these two contradictory views: in the story, the meal of monastic leftovers is undigestible only to two princes who question the ritual purity of food touched by a monastic assembly that includes people from all castes. Here, the eunuch who provides the meal of leftovers and his family and friends manage, through the strength of their devotion, to eat food that otherwise would be harmful or undigestible. Be that as it may, the *Garland* does not seem to dismiss at all the beneficial qualities of the lay consumption of monastic leftovers: the eunuch of story LXXVIII says: “eating these leftovers, I remove my afflictions” (食彼殘食能破我患, T4. 201. 344a20–21). What is at stake in this story is by no means a contrast between a superstitious belief in the supernatural properties of the Buddha's (or any monk's) leftovers against the practice of monastic austerity, but rather the priority of two religious principles that although clashing in this case are both valid.

³⁵⁵ Story LXXVIII also alludes to the practice of honoring monastic leftovers by placing them in one's head (T4.201.344b1=Huber 1908, 442.22).

	authority can be taught as the basis of the precepts (佛所印可教戒之本).” Then he said in <i>gāthās</i> :
欲得法利者	Whoever wants to obtain the profits of the Law,
應當解少欲	Must understand having few desires.
如此少欲法	Such law of few desires
聖莊嚴瓔珞	Is the splendid ornament of the wise. ³⁵⁶
今世除重擔	In this life it removes heavy burdens:
無憂而快樂	[Makes one] without worries, and happy.
乃是大涅槃	In regards to the great <i>nirvāṇa</i>
宅室之初門	It is the entrance door of the main house.
關制魔軍眾	It keeps at bay and controls the army of Mara
要防之隘路	And the strategic roads of the crucial passes (要防之隘路).
度於魔境界	It crosses through the realm of Mara,
無上之印封	It is a supreme [travel] document.
持戒如巨海	The holding of the principles of training is like the great ocean,
少欲如海潮	Human desires are like the tide:
能為眾功德	For merits
密緻之覆蓋	It is a thick cover. (密緻之覆蓋) ³⁵⁷

³⁵⁶ Compare Huber 1908, *est un collier venerable et élatant*. Huber understands *sheng* 聖 ‘wise, noble, holy’ as an adjective of *yingluo* 瓔珞 ‘ornament, jewellery.’ I find prosodically atypical a concatenation of a monosyllabic and a disyllabic adjective, and would rather read *sheng* 聖, which usually maps closely into Sanskrit *ārya* and its cognates, nominally (“the wise”).

³⁵⁷ Compare SHT 21/27 r2, ...*nadhananidhicchāda* “The cover of a treasure cache...”

貪求疲勞者	For those fatigued by greed ³⁵⁸
憩駕止息處	[It is] a resting place to perch (憩駕止息處).
親近少欲者	Approaching having few desires
如似擊牛乳	Is like milking a cow's milk:
酪酥醍醐等	Cheese, butter, curds and so on (酪酥醍醐等)
因之而得出	All originate in it.
少欲亦如是	Having few desires is also like this
出生諸功德	They give rise to all merits
能展手施者	As for those who give with open hands, ³⁵⁹
此手名嚴勝	Their hand is called 'victorious' (嚴勝).
受者能縮手	The recipient can withdraw the hands:
嚴勝復過彼	Victorious is also that one. ³⁶⁰
若人言施與	If a man says: "[I] give"
是語價難量	The price of these words is hard to measure
受者言我足	[But] if the recipient says: "I have enough"
難量復過彼	That too is hard to measure.
若欲得法者	If one wants to attain the law,
應親近少欲	One must approach having few desires.

³⁵⁸ Compare SHT 21/27 r2, *jaṇamater g[ā]traviśrāma...* "... of the mind of people [...] fatigue of the limbs..."

³⁵⁹ Compare SHT 21/26 v1, *pāṇir grhṇīṣveti prasārito* "one hand [...] extended [saying]: 'Take'."

³⁶⁰ Compare SHT 21/26 v2, *...nenaitad vacanaṃ jitaṃ bhavat[i]* "Its name is 'Victorious'."

十力說少欲	The One of Ten Powers said having few desires
即是聖種法	Is the seminal law of wise.
少欲無財物	Few desires that do not include wealth
增長戒聞慧	Enhance the precepts, the obedience (聞), and wisdom.
如此少欲法	Such law of having few desires
出家之法食	Is the lawful food of those who have left home.
雖有渴愛等	Although there be love-thirst and so on
終不能擾惱	In the end it cannot torment us
且置後世樂	It buys the joy of the next life
現在獲安隱	And protects the calm in this one.

(T4.201.267c4–25)

5.2. LIX. A Man Learns That Only through Work and Deeds Seed Matures into Fruit

Story LIX presents us with a “poor” man who wants to be rich. The poverty of this character should perhaps be taken *cum grano salis* and be understood as relative. The decisions the man takes suggest that he would have been the owner of a plot of land and also the head of an extended family: compared to the masses of enslaved, servile, indentured, and sharecropping peasants that made up the bulk of the population in pre-industrial societies our man may have been comparatively well-off. As we remarked before,³⁶¹ Chakravarti (1987, 65–93) squarely identified the term *gahapati* in the context of the Pāli texts with a land-owning “agriculturalist:” although this understanding is probably too reductive land, together with the labor and infrastructure needed

³⁶¹ See p. 60–61, 166.

to make it fructify, is listed, for example, among the economic assets of the wealthy urban *gāhāvai* (= *grhapati*) Ānanda in the Jaina text *Uvāsagadasāo*.³⁶² The protagonist of this story may well have belonged to the *grhapati* class although the people on whom this literary character was based may not have been regarded as equals by the urban business classes.

The story deals with the requital of deeds (*karman*), and since this is the main concern of vast amounts of *avadānas*, this would seem to make for fairly unpromising reading, but Kumāralāta manages to treat this rather commonplace topic with an original twist. As usual, Kumāralāta here engages with only the barest narrative account of specific deeds and their requital, being much more interested in the minute description of the climactic moment in which the protagonist has a revelation of truth.

Our man, whose name is not given, beseeches a god that may or not be Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa/Vāsudeva to make him rich.³⁶³ The god sets about to determine the merits of the man's deeds in his former life to decide whether or not to bestow favor on him. According to other statements made by Kumāralāta in his *Garland*, on which we have remarked before,³⁶⁴ the requital of deeds is inherent to the blind mechanics of the cosmos, and presumably divine intervention should have no place in this scenario. The role of the god is therefore as narratively expedient as it is theoretically superfluous. Moreover, this might be yet another instance of the Buddhist strategy to coopt the gods of popular devotion and assimilate them in a way that would not make their cult incompatible with the Buddhist religion. The moribund head of the Vedic pantheon,

³⁶² See p. 154.

³⁶³ See also p. 59 on the cult of Vāsudeva in Gandhāra.

³⁶⁴ See 4.1. and 4.2.

Śakra/Indra, was successfully cast in Buddhist narrative as an aid to the administration of cosmic justice and as a keen devotee of the Buddha.³⁶⁵ If the “Blessed God” (*bhagavān devaḥ*) of this story is really Vāsudeva, we would have then a similar case of appropriation, here of an ascending divine figure that was to achieve great prominence.

It is, however, in its treatment of the requital of deeds that Kumāralāta’s literary craft shows itself most vigorously. The story plays with the two senses of the Sanskrit word *karman*: as a nominal derivative of the verb “to do” (\sqrt{kr}), *karman* is both a “deed” in the religiously imbued sense of an action that prompts a cosmic requital, but also “work” or “task” in the most practical, every-day sense of these two English glosses. The religious deed that generates a good requital in a future life—the financial effort put into the religious gift—is explicitly compared here with the labor one puts into administering wisely one’s financial assets.

Finally, we should remark here that, as repeatedly in his stories, Kumāralāta warns the reader against the expectation of easy financial gains: the increment of wealth that permits the religious gift is to be achieved only through one’s constant effort and work; accordingly, unwillingness to assume that undertaking mars both economic advancement and religious merit.

復次，眾生造業各受其 Now, creatures craft their deeds and each receives their
報。我昔曾聞，有一貧人 requital.
作是思惟：當詣天祠求於現
世饒益財寶。作是念已語
其弟言：汝可勤作田作好

³⁶⁵ See story LVI of the *Garland* for one narrative example of Indra in this role. There, as the god in this story, Indra disguises himself as a human to test the moral fiber of men.

為生計，勿令家中有所乏 短。便將其弟往至田中， 此處可種胡麻，此處可種 大、小麥，此處可種禾并 種大、小豆。示種處已向 天祠中，為天祀弟子，作 大齋會，香華供養，香泥 塗地，晝夜禮拜求恩請

As I heard once,³⁶⁶ there was a poor man³⁶⁷ who thought: “I will visit the temple of the Blessed God and ask for prosperity and wealth in the present life.”³⁶⁸ After having had this thought, he said to his younger brother: “You can diligently do what needs to be done in the fields to make a livelihood (*shengji* 生計); let there be no shortage in [our] home.” Then he took his brother to the middle of the field, [saying]:³⁶⁹ “Here you can plant hemp, here you can plant big and small grain (=barley and wheat), there

³⁶⁶ See pp. 118, 143, 289, n.335 on this introductory formula.

³⁶⁷ Compare SHT 21/68r 3, ...*my[e]na phalan nānveṣṭavyam — tadyathānuśrūyate ka(śc)[i]d alpapāricchadaḥ puruṣo dā[r]id(ry)ā[bh]i* “...fruit is not to be sought after. As it is transmitted: one man of little means, (**abhibhūta* ‘oppressed’?) by poverty”

³⁶⁸ Compare SHT 21/68r 4, *yāsyāmy ahaṃ bhagavantaṃ devaṃ dāridryanāsāya [prasā...* “I will go to the Blessed God, [and] (**prasādayisyāmi* ‘I will propitiate [him]’?) for the destruction of [my] poverty.” It is difficult to tell whether the *bhagavān devaḥ* here is just a “blessed god” in a general sense or the one that by Kumāralāta’s time had started to be known mostly with this epithet, Kṛṣṇa/Vāsudeva/Viṣṇu. The *Mahābhārata* uses the nominal phrase *bhagavān devaḥ* to refer to a number of gods, but repeatedly only to Rudra/Śiva and to Kṛṣṇa/Vāsudeva/Viṣṇu, and often in the absence of other epithets: see, for example, *Mahābhārata* 3.31.35, 6.62.1, 12.200.13, 12.271.59 (of particular interest since in the verses that follow the identity of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu is revealed to the reader, which according to Härtel 1987, 586–587 became a mainstream notion only in Gupta times), 12.272.31, 12.323.11, 12.326.98, 12.327.1, 12.331.52. The Indo-Greek ambassador Heliodoros described himself as a *bhāgavata* “follower of the Blessed One (*bhagavat*)” in the 1st or 2nd Century BCE inscription that he had engraved in the famous “Besnagar pillar” to commemorate the erection of a pillar for a Garuḍa-statue in honor of Vāsudeva (Sircar 1942, i 90–91). Notice also, à propos, that in this inscription Vāsudeva is given the same epithet *devadeva* “god of gods” as in one of the *Mahābhārata* passages mentioned above, 12.323.11. The cult of Vāsudeva is well-attested in Kumāralāta’s native Gandhāra for his period: the most comprehensive and up to date survey on the archeological, art-historical and numismatic evidence can be found in Samad (2011, 71–85), with abundant references to earlier scholarship, to which we might add that the only Kuṣāṇa ruler bearing an Indic name was called precisely Vāsudeva, who ruled during the early 3rd Century, perhaps during Kumāralāta’s own time.

³⁶⁹ Compare SHT 21/68r 5, ...*vāraṇaṃ gatvā kṣetrāṇi darśayisyāmi — [y]e...* “having gone to the [...] I will show [him] the fields, which...”

福，悵望現世增益財產。 you can plant rice, and plant big and small pulses (=peas and
爾時天神作是思惟：觀彼 lentils).³⁷⁰ After showing the spots for the crops he went to the
貧人於先世中頗有布施功 temple of the god, became a disciple of the temple and arranged
德因緣不？若少有緣，當 great fasts,³⁷¹ worshiped with flowers and perfumes, smeared the
設方便使有饒益。 ground with perfumed paste, day and night paid homage asking
(T4.201.314c15–25) for favor and requesting good fortune, hoping for an increase of
wealth and property in his present life. Then the god had this
thought: “I will see whether this poor man had in previous lives

³⁷⁰ Such would be a straightforward rendering of the Chinese text. As far as what the Sanskrit text, not extant here, might have had, we must remark that the agricultural crops in the Chinese text seem to correspond roughly to a clichéd list of the “five crops” (*wugu* 五穀) whose elements are, however, variable. The taxonomy of crops based on distinctions of “big” and “small,” e.g., *damai* 大麥 “big grain (=barley),” *xiaomai* 小麥 “small grain (=wheat),” is however, entirely Chinese. The most likely explanation is that the Chinese translator substituted a Chinese stereotyped list of agricultural crops for an Indian one.

³⁷¹ The Chinese *zhaihui* 齋會 would generally indicate a typically vegetarian meal offered for the monastic assembly (a “fast” in the sense of the abstention from meat), but the Sanskrit suggests otherwise. Compare SHT 21/68v1, *kṣetrāṇi darśayitvā devakulaṃ praviśyopavā[sam]...* “having shown see the fields, having entered the temple, [he took up?] fasting.” The Chinese passage that states that our man “became a disciple of the temple” (為天祀弟子) is, in the light of the Sanskrit, a gloss or insertion of the Chinese translator: moreover, Huber’s (1908, 239) rendering of the Chinese text, *il se fit prêtre dans le temple du deva*, is misleading, as *dizi* 弟子 is typically the follower or disciple of a teacher or religious movement. A further qualification of this scene is that god-temples may have been during this period a fairly recent innovation generally seen with distrust by many. The foci of orthodox Vedic sacrifice were the home or else ground consecrated and unconsecrated for the occasion, without previsions for permanent buildings. Schopen ([2004] 2014, 339 and notes) remarks on how the *devakulas* may have been regarded as dubious places that are best avoided, or resorted to as a shelter only in case of necessity. To the sources that he adduces there, I would add here verse ||64|| (as per the numbering in Weber 1881) of the lyrical collection of Mahārāṣṭrī verse, *Sattasāī*, where the empty temple is described as a desolate and melancholy place, fit only for clandestine sexual encounter (reading *sūla*—*śūla*—as a pun: “splinter/prostitute” as suggested in Weber (1870, 96 n.2). In a similar vein, the *devalaka* that has been variously interpreted to be either an “attendant on an idol” (Monier Williams 1872, s.v.) or a “temple priest” (Olivelle 2005, 116) is deemed by the *Mānavadharmasāstra* (3.152) as an “unfit invitee” to an ancestral sacrifice (*śrāddha*) in a respectable brahmin household.

many foundations (*yin-yuan* 因緣)³⁷² of religious giving and merit or not. If he has even the least grounds, I will arrange (*she* 設) the means for him to grow prosperous.”³⁷³

觀彼人已了無布施少許因緣，復作是念：彼人既無少許) foundations, [the god] had this thought: “As that man has no foundations, and now wholeheartedly (*jingqin* 精勤) beseeches me, it is in vain that he does his penance; he will not have prosperity and will only further enrage me.” Then [the god] transformed into the [man’s] younger brother and came into the temple and then the older brother said: “What did you sow? What are you coming for?”³⁷⁴ The [god,] that had transformed himself into the man’s younger brother, said: “I also want to come to ask the god to bring about divine happiness and to request clothes and food. Although I have not sown, through the power of the god, the crops of the field will by themselves become sufficient.”

³⁷² *yin-yuan* 因緣 is an indigenous Chinese term meaning “causes” or “connections”: in translations of Buddhist scholastic texts it can render the compound *hetupratyaya* “direct and indirect causes” (Karashima 1998, s.v.); however, in general, the compound can be simply a “cause” or a “factor.”

³⁷³ Compare SHT 21/68v2, ...*vaṃ dāsyāmīti — upāyapūrvvakam punar evaṃ vārayi...* “I will give [...] having first the means, then (*vārayiṣyāmi*, ‘I will bestow?’)[upon him?] [...]”

³⁷⁴ Compare SHT 21/68v3, ...*na ca puruṣeṅokto yadā tvaṃ mayā karmaṇi ni(yu)ktas tat kimartham āgato ’s[ī](i)* “and he was addressed by [...] the man [with the words:] ‘If I entrusted you to a task (*karmaṇi*), then why have you come?’” Notice how here the “task” entrusted to the younger brother is expressed with the Sanskrit term *karman*.

有收獲無有是事。 The older brother reproached the younger saying:³⁷⁵ “Is there a
(T4.201.314c25–315a4) field in which without sowing seed one can look forward to any
profit? There is no such thing.”

即說偈言： And then he said in verse:

四海大地內	“Within the four seas
及以一切處	Or in any other place
何有不下種	How would it be possible that not sowing seed
而獲果實者？	One could reap a harvest?”

(T4.201.315a5–6)

爾時化弟質其兄言：世間 Then the [god] that had transformed into the younger brother
乃有不下種子不得果耶？ praised his brother saying:³⁷⁶ “Is it the case that in the world one
兄答弟言：實爾，不種無 does not reap a harvest without sowing?” The elder said to the
果。時彼天神還復本形。 younger: “That only is the truth. Without sowing there is no
(T4.204.315a7–9) harvest.” Then the god returned to his original form and said in
verse.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁵ Compare SHT 21/68v4, *(dh)ānyāni tāny ayatnād bhaviṣyamti 1 tac ca vacanam upaśrutyā sa puruṣaḥ paramakopakupitaru* “those crops will come to be without effort ||1|| Having heard his speech that man (**paramakopakupitaruṣṭah* ‘angered and incensed with supreme irritation?’)...”

³⁷⁶ Compare SHT 21/68v5, *...nāyām yad bījam aprakīrya kṣetrāt samavāpyate dhānyam 2 tataḥ sā tasya bhrāṭṛrūpa* “in a [...] that having not sown seed, crops may be harvested from the field ||2|| Then that [**devatā* ‘deity’?] under the form of the brother...”

³⁷⁷ Compare SHT 21/69r1, *suniścīto bhavān yad bījābhāvāt phal(ābhāva) [i]ti — [sa u]vāca bādhaṃ suniścī[ti] ’smī(ti) tataḥ sā devat(ā) [s]varū(pam) [...] uvāca || yadi svayam [i]ma(m) “ ‘...you have well understood that from the absence of seed there is absence of fruit.’ He said: ‘Indeed I have well understood.’ Then that deity [taking up again his?] original form [...] said: ‘If this [...] by itself.’”*

即說偈言：

汝今自說言	“Now you have said yourself
不種無果實，	That without sowing there is no harvest.
先身無施因	Lacking the foundations of giving in previous bodies,
云何今獲果？	How would you today obtain fruit？
汝今雖辛苦	Although now you have exerted yourself
斷食供養我	Stopping eating and making offerings to me
徒自作勤苦	In vain you have made yourself do penance,
又復擾惱我	And in doing so have also irked me.
何由能使汝	Whence could I make you
現有饒益事？	Have in the present the state of abundance？
若欲得財寶	If you wish to attain much wealth,
妻子及眷屬	Wives, children, and family,
應當淨身口	You must maintain purity of body and speech
而作布施業	And perform the task (<i>ye</i> 業, <i>*karman</i>) of the religious gift.
不種獲福利	As for not sowing and receiving benefit,
日月及星宿	Sun, moon, and the constellations of stars
不應照世界	Are not bound to illuminate the world
以照世間故	[But] since they do illuminate the world
當知由業緣	One must know it is by reason of their deeds:
天上諸天中	In heaven, among the gods,
亦各有差別	Each have their differences,
福多威德盛	With much merit, they have dazzling splendor

福少虧威德	With little merit, they have barely any ³⁷⁸
是故知世間	Therefore, we know that in the world
一切皆由業	Everything comes from deeds.
布施得財富	The religious gift obtains riches;
持戒生天上	Upholding the rules of training obtains heavenly rebirth.
若無布施緣	If one has not foundations of religious giving,
威德都損減	Splendor is diminished and exhausted.
定慧得解脫	Concentration and wisdom obtain liberation;
此三所獲報	These three kinds of requital ³⁷⁹
十力之所說	Are the ones spoken by the One of Ten Powers.
此種皆是因	What we sow are all foundations.
不應擾亂我	You must not bother me
是故應修業	And for this you must rather cultivate the deed
以求諸吉果	In order to seek auspicious fruit. ³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ Compare SHT 21/69r2–4, ...yam ātmānam upavāsena kliśn(āsi tvam a)pārthakam 3 yathā bījād ṛte nāsti dhānyānām phalasaṃbhavaḥ karmabī(jā)d ṛte tadvan naivāsti phalasaṃbha(vaḥ 4) [...] kaḷatrāṇām yadi vistaram iccha(si kā)yavākkṣetrayoḥ śuddhaṃ karmabījaṃ prakīryatām 5 śrīvṛddhī śaknuyuḥ kartuṃ devāḥ karma vinā yadi — ...m aviśiṣṭā bhavet pra[bh](ā “...have bothered yourself with fasting in vain ||3|| As without seed there is no abundance of fruit in crops, without the seed of deeds in the same way there is no abundance of fruit. ||4|| If you want an increase of wives, pure seed must be sown in the two fields of body and speech ||5|| If the gods were able to achieve both glory and success without deeds ... [their] light would be unremarkable.” Judging by the Sanskrit text, the portion in the Chinese that gives the example of the heavenly bodies as an instance of the luster that that the gods achieve through their deeds might be an illustrative gloss added by the Chinese translator.

³⁷⁹ Generally understood to be in the present, in the next birth, and in subsequent rebirths.

³⁸⁰ Compare SHT 21/69v1, ...[sa]dā k[i](ṃ) m[ā](ṃ) vṛthā bādha[s]e ... labhya iti “...why do you always pointlessly bother me ... ‘gain’”

(T4.201.315a10–27)

5.3. XC. A Merchant Returns to His Country Rich; The Buddha Returns to the World Awakened

The *Garland* begins and ends with stories of Gandhāran merchants travelling abroad. In this case, the fact that the merchant is a follower of the Buddha’s religion is only a side note. The story begins by presenting the merchant Śāṅkhabhaṭṭa, who built a Buddhist monastery in his city, and Kumāralāta remarks that the monastery still stood in his own time. As such, Kumāralāta locates Śāṅkhabhaṭṭa in a historical, rather than legendary, past. The point of this story is not, as in story I, to highlight the devotion or probity of the protagonist, these qualities being simply hinted at by the casual mention of the construction of the monastery; rather, it is Śāṅkhabhaṭṭa’s skill in business and his triumphant return to his native town—having transformed himself into a rich man—that Kumāralāta explicitly likens to the return of the Buddha to the world after his awakening.

Story XC, the last in the collection, exhibits the features of the last decade of the collection, in which we have a series of short vignettes from which an explicit comparison is drawn at the end. The story makes parallel between the wealth accumulated by Śāṅkhabhaṭṭa in his travels and the enlightenment of the Buddha, postulating that it is on account of these achievements, and not for the sake of their own selves, that the world reveres both of them. In the story, Śāṅkhabhaṭṭa plays a practical joke on his relatives who looked down on him in the times of his poverty. Although some of Kumāralāta’s stories have a clearly humorous bent,³⁸¹

³⁸¹ Story XL is, I believe, a narration with a clear humorous purpose: a monk grabs through the crack of the door the hand of a thief that is trying to enter the monastery by night; the monk proceeds to beat the thief’s hand with

it seems unlikely that the facetious note is the main point here because the story is the last one in the collection and because the comparison refers to none other than the Buddha himself. Taken, then, at face value, the parable seems to provide illustration for a curious ramification of the Buddhist doctrine of the insubstantiality of the self: It is not the individual, but its achievements, that count, and in this case the achievement of the *gr̥hapati* in his attainment of prosperity is explicitly equated with the ascetic's attainment of enlightenment.

Śāṅkhabhaṭṭa, the name of our protagonist, presumably means something like, “He whose lord is the conch,” and it is therefore a name with *vaiṣṇava* overtones on account of the conch being an important iconographic attribute of Viṣṇu. This suggests once again, and as we have remarked elsewhere,³⁸² that the diffusion of the Buddhist religion in Gandhāra was perhaps not as pervasive as we might think. Śāṅkhabhaṭṭa belongs to the *gr̥hapati* class, but the story makes evident how easily bankruptcy could befall the family of a *gr̥hapati*. This fear of impending financial loss underlines what might have been a common—and real—concern for the intended audience of this and other collections of Buddhist narratives. The name of Śāṅkhabhaṭṭa's town is rendered in Chinese as **Pwaklahuəla* 博羅吁羅: this could conceivably be a rendering of **Vajiraūra*, the expected Gāndhārī outcome of the Vajrapura that Dani (1963, 3) suggests as the etymon of the modern toponym Bajaur. Whether or not Bajaur could have

a stick, screaming for each of the three blows one of the ritual “refuges” (*śāraṇa*) in the “Three Jewels” (=refuge in the Buddha, in the Law, in the Assembly). The terrified thief repeats what he hears and is instantly converted by this inadvertent profession of faith. He however delivers at the end what seems to be a humorous punchline: “Certainly it is because the Omniscient/ Has taken pity on me/ That he instituted the ‘three refuges’:/ In the triple world/ He spoke of only three refuges/ Because had there been a fourth/ I would have been truly ‘without refuge’!” (決定一切智/以憐愍我故/是以說三歸/不說有第四/為於三有故/而說三歸依/若當第四者/我則無歸依, T4.201.292b14–17).

³⁸² See p. 55.

been under the jurisdiction of Taxila—rather than of the more proximate Puṣkalāvātī/Peshāwar—is uncertain, but in the area of Bajaur there are ruins of a Buddhist monastery that, although not yet studied, are apparently the source of an important collection of birch-bark manuscripts and secular documents in Gāndhārī (Strauch 2008, 103).

復次，我昔曾聞，竺叉尸羅國有博羅呼羅村，有一估客名稱伽拔吒，作僧伽藍，如今現在。稱伽拔吒先是長者子，居室素富，後因衰耗遂至貧窮，其宗親眷屬盡皆輕慢不以為人，心懷憂惱遂棄家去，共諸伴黨至

Again, as I once heard: In the country of Takṣaśilā there is the town of *Vajrapura. There there was a merchant called Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa who built a *saṃghārāma* that still stands today. Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa was the son of a **grhapati*,³⁸³ and his household was at first rich, but as it declined and drifted towards poverty, his blood relatives despised it and did not recognize it [as kin]. Harboring worries, he left his family and went away with some companions to the Greek-speaking west.³⁸⁴ He won enormous wealth and returned to his native land.

³⁸³ That *changzhe* 長者 ‘important person, notable’ renders *grhapati* is made clear by the passage SHT 21/81 v2–3=T4.201. 326c4–7, where *grhapatiputra* is rendered in Chinese with *changzhe-zi* 長者子.

³⁸⁴ *Daqin [guo]* 大秦[國] has been since Han times the most common Chinese designation for the Roman empire, which during its moment of greatest extent controlled as far as the deltas of the Tigris and Euphrates in Mesopotamia. Buddhist sources of the early centuries of the Common Era suggest that Daqin was contiguous with Parthia (Anxi 安息) and that would be consistent with that scenario (see, e.g. *Da zhidu lun*, T25.1509.243a10). As for what the Sanskrit text, not extant here, may have had, it seems though that it could have been the generic *yavana*. In the list of the scripts mentioned by the young *bodhisattva* in the classroom, unlike in the extant Sanskrit *Lalitavistara*, Dharmarakṣa’s 4th Century “Old *Lalitavistara*” has as its 7th item “the script of Daqin” (*daqin shu* 大秦書, T3.186.498b5), and the *Benxing ji jing* 本行集經 (**Abhiniṣkramāṇasūtra*?), translated by the Gandhāran Jñānagupta contains the same episode and the same list, but the following text occurs as its seventh item: “The script of **Yam*”*ini* (read [the character] 寐 as the initial of **m*^w*añ* and the final of **bi* [=**m*^w*i*]): (In the Chinese language this would be

大秦國，大得財寶還歸本國。

(T4.201. 347c29–348a5)

時諸宗親聞是事已，各設飲食香華妓樂於路往迎。時稱伽拔吒身著微服在伴前行，先以貧賤年歲又少，後得財寶其年轉老，諸親迎者並皆不識，而問之言：稱伽拔吒為何所在？尋即語言：今猶在後。至大伴中而復問言：稱伽拔吒為何所在？諸伴語言：在前去者即是其人。時宗親往到其所，而語之言：汝是稱伽拔吒，云何語我乃云在後？

When his blood relatives heard this, each of them prepared drinks and food, perfumes and flowers, and dancing and music on the side of the road to welcome him. Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa was traveling in disguise (*weifu* 微服) and walked ahead of his companions. At the time of his poverty he had been young; later, acquiring wealth, he had become old. The relatives that had come to welcome him did not recognize him and asked him: “Where is Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa?.” He pondered for a moment and then said: “He is to the rear.” They went to the midst of the caravan and asked: “Where is Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa?” His companions said to them: “He is the one who walks ahead.” Then the relatives walked there where he was and said: “You are Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa! Why did you say ‘he is to the rear?’”

the script of Daqin)” (耶寐亡毘反尼書隋言大秦國書, T3.190.703c13). I think that it is likely that what the seventh item in the list of the “Old *Lalitavistara*” quoted by the *Abhiniṣkramāṇasūtra* was *yāvanī*, which is an attested Sanskrit name for the Greek script and occurs, for example, also in a list of scripts in the *Mahāvastu* (Senart 1882–1897 i 135); it should be borne in mind that Greek, and not Latin, was the language of the eastern Roman Empire, and so referring to the Roman Empire as *yavana* would involve, from the Indian point of view, no inconsistency as it indicated little else than Greek speakers, and eventually almost any foreigners from the west.

稱伽拔吒語諸宗親言：稱伽拔吒非我身是，乃在伴中駝驢馱上。所以然者？我身頃來，宗親輕賤初不與語，聞有財寶乃復見迎，由是之故在後馱上。宗親語言：汝道何事，不解汝語？稱伽拔吒即答之言：我貧窮時共汝等語不見酬對，見我今者多諸財寶，乃設供具來迎逆我，乃為財來，不為我身。

(T4.201. 348a5–20)

發此喻者，喻如世尊，稱伽拔吒為得財物，鄉曲宗眷設供來迎，佛亦如是，既得成佛，人天鬼神諸龍王等悉來供

Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa said to his relatives: “Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa is not this self of mine here: he is on top of the donkeys, camels, and other beasts of burden of the caravan. How is this so? This self of mine now, my relatives despised and could not bring themselves to so much as address with words, but when they heard that I have wealth, they look for me to welcome me. For this reason, I say that [Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa] is on top of the beasts of burden.” The relatives said: “What is it that you are saying? Could you explain?” Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa answered: “When I was poor and spoke to you, you would not deign to even look at me to answer; seeing that now I have much wealth, then you set out all manner of gifts and come to welcome me, and it is for wealth that you come, and not for the sake of my own self.”

In giving this example (*yu* 喻) we draw an analogy with the World-Honored One: Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa attained great wealth and his relatives in his hometown set out gifts and came to welcome him. Just so [thought] the Buddha.³⁸⁵ “As I became a buddha, men, gods, *yakṣas*,³⁸⁶

³⁸⁵ Compare SHT 21/98r1 (*bha*)*gavato buddhir utp(an)[n](ā)* “an idea occurred to the Blessed One.”

³⁸⁶ Although *guishen* 鬼神 could refer to various supernatural entities, in early Chinese translations it is often a rendering of Skt. *yakṣa* and its presumed Middle Indic cognates: I have here translated based also in the ubiquitous

養，非來供養我，乃供養
作佛功德。我未得道時、
無功德時，諸眾生等不共
我語，況復供養？是故當
知供養功德不供養我，雖
復廣得一切諸天人等之所
供養亦無增減，以觀察
故。

(T4.201. 348a21–27)

the kings of the *nāgas* and so on came to worship; they did not, though, come to worship me, but to worship the qualities of the Buddha. When I had not yet attained the way, when I had no qualities, the creatures would not even speak to me,³⁸⁷ how much less worship me? For this reason, one must know that they worship my qualities and do not worship me. In spite of obtaining the general worship of gods, men, and so on, in this there is [for me] neither increase or decrease, because I have observed clearly.”

Skt. list of supernatural beings, *devanāgayakṣagandharvāsuraḡaruḡakinnaramahoraga*, in which *yakṣa* is in the third place.

³⁸⁷ Compare SHT 21/98r2 ...*nmapar(i)vartt. [...]* [*r*] (*a*)*p*[*i*] *satvair nābhāṣṭaḥ*. If ...*nmapar(i)vartt...* could be restored to something like *janmaparivarteṣu*, this would give something like “in the cycles of rebirth was not addressed by people/creatures.” It is by no means certain that the abrupt shift to 1st person narration adopted in the Chinese translation of this passage was part of the Sanskrit original. The participle *ābhāṣṭa* is noteworthy because it is one of the few “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit” forms that Kumāralāta uses: compare with Pāli *bhaṭṭha* and Edgerton (1953): sub *ābhāṣati*. It occurs also, though, and apparently only once, in the *Mahābhārata* (3.126.28).

人天阿修羅

Men, gods, *asuras*

夜叉乾闥婆

Yakṣas and *gandharvas*

如是等諸眾

These and other creatures

亦廣設供養

Have widely set out their worship.³⁸⁸

佛無歡喜心

But the Buddha harbored no joy

以善觀察故

Because he observed well:

是供諸功德

“These worship my qualities,

非為供養我

They do not worship me.”

如稱伽拔吒

Just as Śāṅkhabhaṭṭa³⁸⁹

指示諸眷屬

Indicated to his relatives:

稱已在後者

“Śāṅkhabhaṭṭa is at the rear.”

其喻亦如是

So goes his parable.

(T4.201.348a28–b4)

³⁸⁸ Compare SHT 21/98r3 ...*tvād ata eva caitad ucyate || dr̥ṣṭvā natān sura...* “out of [...] then this is said: Having seen the gods [...] bowing.” Here probably the Chinese translator misinterpreted the poetic *sura* “god” as the very common *asura*.

³⁸⁹ SHT 21/98r4 ...*staraguṇān iva śaṅkhabhaṭṭaḥ*. If ...*staraguṇān* can be restored to something like *vistaraguṇān* this would give “like [the Buddha having attained] the qualities of abundance, Śāṅkhabhaṭṭa...”

6. Recapitulation and Afterthoughts: What Does an Examination of the Garland Offer to the Study of Indian Buddhism?

This dissertation—this disquisition—has taken me in various different directions, and although I feel that its substance lies in the detail, in the temporary departures from the main problem we set out to investigate, it seems appropriate to outline here in broad strokes the main themes that run through the project and to pinpoint what contribution the project makes to the fields of Buddhist studies and of South Asian history. This dissertation's main goal was to explore the specific elements that characterize the affinity between the mercantile class of early historic India and the Buddhist faith through an examination of the *Garland of Examples* by the 3rd Century Gandhāran monk, poet, philosopher, and grammarian Kumāralāta. Kumāralāta's eventful 3rd Century was one of transition towards a new phase of Indian history in which trade and a monetized economy would play a much lesser role than they had in previous times. The *Garland*, with its rich portrayal of the religious sentiment of a specific social class, was thus composed at a time of crisis and change. I am attracted to works that capture the poignancy of the end of an era like the *Garland* does; it is this scenario that fascinated me in the first place and the one I set out to investigate.

In order to do so, though, a consideration of the text in all its extant versions, individual manuscripts, and printed incarnations was a necessary first step. The text survives in its original Sanskrit only in fragments of six manuscripts, and so all of those, as well as the single complete version in Chinese (T201), and the various extant fragments and quotations preserved in Chinese, Tibetan, and Tangut had to be considered too.

My philological survey of this sadly fractured text proved, I think, fruitful. My most significant contribution on this front is perhaps my identification and preliminary edition of fragments from three previously unknown manuscripts of the *Garland* from Bāmiyān currently in

the Schøyen collection in Oslo and one currently in the National Museum of Afghanistan in Kabul (Appendix III). These manuscripts are particularly significant because the three previously known manuscripts—Kucha, Khotan, Turfan—all come from the same area, namely the basin of the Tarim river. These new fragments from eastern Afghanistan—the Bactria of antiquity—indicate a far wider diffusion of the work in ancient times. Moreover, my edition of 24 small unedited fragments of the Kucha manuscript (Appendix II) also adds to our comprehension of Kumāralāta’s lexicon and style. I have also proposed a new translator for the Chinese version of the *Garland* (2.2.3.), elucidated the relationships between several important references to Kumāralāta and his work in Tibetan sources (2.2.2.), and assessed the Tangut partial version of the collection, never before considered in connection with Kumāralāta’s work (2.2.5.). However preliminary, I hope that my philological survey of the *Garland* can be a useful instrument for future work on the collection. A goal for my own future is an annotated English translation of the Chinese version of the *Garland* that takes into account the information that can be gained from all the other known versions.

By doing a survey of the text I hope to have fulfilled to some extent what was also from the beginning an ancillary goal of my project: to bring Kumāralāta’s *Garland* back into the scholarly conversation. The various merits of the collection—its literary quality, the wealth of its historical and doctrinal detail, its transitional position—did not go unnoticed among the scholars of Lévi and Lüders’ generation, but for the last century or so the collection has failed to inspire much interest.

I conceive the philological survey, though, only the preliminary work for an exploration of what the *Garland* may have meant for its audience in its own time. I have striven then to draw context from a wide range of contemporary sources, both literary and epigraphic, and have also made the point of considering non-Buddhist sources. These, in my opinion, are best able to show

us the position that the community richly described in the *Garland* may have occupied in the larger context of Indian society.

The Buddhist community as portrayed by Kumāralāta in the *Garland* consists of an urban mercantile class, among which the pursuit of wealth was of equal importance to the practice of a course of personal religious cultivation, and my investigation has led me to believe that the two are not only intimately and mutually related, but in fact interdependent. Kumāralāta's religious vision of wealth is particularly nuanced and has been an important focus of the work presented here; the religious sensibility that his collection emphasizes hard work, thrift, industriousness, practical and rational decision-making and also a somewhat *bourgeois* concern for respectability. If anyone is reminded here of the main theses of Max Weber's 1904 *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (*Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*) I would not deem such comparison misguided. In view of the criticism of Weber's ideas that has piled up over more than a century since the publication of the *Protestant Ethic*,³⁹⁰ taking Weber as a direct methodological or theoretical model would be problematic, but Weber's revolutionary intuition that religious doctrine and economic behavior should be studied in tandem was, though, an inspiration for me. I feel I do not need to cover my bases on this front too much: In his broad historical study on the Theravāda tradition (1988), Gombrich makes comparisons between that tradition and Calvinist Christianity in no less than five passages (78, 81–82, 191, 197). Aware of the limits of the historical parallel, I still believe that in the case of Kumāralāta's *Garland* Weber's vision of how the Calvinist notion of predestined salvation and nascent forms of capitalism conjugated in early modern Europe is enlightening.

³⁹⁰ See Lehmann and Roth 1987 for a survey of polemics and criticisms.

However, one more relevant contribution of my work for the field of Buddhist studies is that it complicates the general notion of “Protestant Buddhism” first postulated by Obeyesekere in his influential 1970 article “Religious Symbolism and Political Change in Ceylon” and in subsequent work. Obeyesekere’s formulation of his thesis is well nuanced, but the main force of his argument lies in the observation that the specific brand of Buddhism preached by 19th Century Sri Lankan reformers like Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864–1934), which is at the root of the forms of Buddhism that eventually became popular in the west, was the outcome of the contact of the Theravāda tradition with the Protestant sensibility of the British colonizers. Concepts like religious practice as a personal responsibility, the emphasis on heartfelt inner belief, and the advocacy of meditation as the true religious practice to the detriment of ritual and liturgy would then all be features adapted from Protestant Christianity in the 19th Sri Lankan Buddhist context. These adaptations proved later on crucial to the spread of the religion beyond its original Asian homeland. Although I concur with Obeyesekere’s interpretation, my work points towards the elements in the ancient tradition that perhaps made such adaptations and transformations possible at all, lying dormant in the historical tradition of the Buddhist religion. The religious sensibility espoused in the *Garland* sets, I believe, an interesting historical precedent for Obeyesekere’s “Protestant Buddhism” and suggests that not all that is “Protestant” in the brand of Buddhism described by Obeyesekere—its good middle-class system of values—is necessarily a western feature imported in modernity.

I have just dealt with an idea that is implicitly in the background of the dissertation and that I suspect the reader may have noticed although I mentioned it only in these final notes; let there be here also a note on something the reader may have expected to find and did not. As recently ancient manuscripts of Mahāyāna *sūtras* in Gāndhārī have come to light like a 1st Century *Perfection of Wisdom* (Falk and Karashima 2012, 2013), and since Kumāralāta’s time seems to

have been the seminal era of the Mahāyāna, a genre that was in the long run to become remarkably successful in Buddhist Asia, the reader may have expected to find references to the Mahāyāna in my examination of the *Garland*. However, my survey did not lead me at any point to postulate Mahāyāna elements in Kumāralāta's work. In terms of scripture, Kumāralāta quotes only from the āgamic corpus, and regarding his relationship with the monastic establishment to which he belonged, although there are in the *Garland* occasional admonitions aimed at it, there is nothing like the virulent diatribes of the Mahāyāna *sūtras*. Rather, the picture that we get from the collection is that of a tightly knit community, bound by faith and social class and articulated in a twofold structure that implies the interdependence of the laity and the monastic assembly. One could read, though, stories like the one of the magician (XXIX) as displaying affinities with certain scenes of shocking miracles in the Mahāyāna texts. In the story of the *Garland* a magician comes in front of a group of monks and conjures up a woman with whom he engages in intercourse; He then savagely destroys his magical creation to the utter shock of the monks. The magician remarks then that the woman, like everything else in the world, was an illusion, and the monks are taught a lesson. This story is a Rohrschach test of sorts on which one can read whatever one may be inclined to read. If this is at all related to a Mahāyāna insistence on the emptiness of things (*śūnyatā*, etc.), though, this story is as far as Kumāralāta goes in his engagement with it.

I have aimed in my work on the *Garland* to understand a moment in history and also to explore the work of an author who sought to portray the community to which he belonged in rich detail, an author who evidently understood well what was at stake in the changes that were starting to be wrought upon the Indian world during his time. If my vision is in any way controversial, if it elicits objections or criticism, I will be happy because it will mean that Kumāralāta's *Garland*

will be again part of the conversation, and that his carefully constructed stories will speak once again and pose us questions. *Vaḥ siddham astu!*

Appendix 1, Some Āgamic references in the *Garland*

Kumāralāta's *Garland* is a dense web of quotations from and allusions to the āgamic corpus that was known to him, the lost Sanskrit Buddhist canon of the north that we have now only in fragments. This appendix presents a detailed treatment of some of the scriptural references that occurred in the previous discussion.

A1.1. The bowl whose rice changes color

I have deviated from Huber's interpretation of the following stanza from story XXV discussed in in p. 226:

富貴饒財寶

貧者來請求

諸天同器食

飯色各有異

(T.4.201.276a27–28)

The rich abound in riches

The poor come to beg.

The gods eat from the same bowl,

But the color of the food is different for each.

Compare with Huber (1908,101): *Les riches, qui ont des biens en abondance,/ Les pauvres, réduits à la mendicité,/ Et les dieux se servent d'une écuelle identique,/ Mais la qualité du riz diffère pour eux.* Huber interpreted the characters in the first two *padas* as subjects of the predicate of the third, but I consider that the stanza should be understood as consisting of two independent clauses (i.e. it is only the gods who eat from the bowl) on the basis of an āgamic passages to which this verse

might allude. The cosmological *Shiji jing* 世記經 (**Lokasthānasūtra*?) of the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (T1.1.134a1–17) describes the rebirth among the gods of a meritorious man: the new god is not, strictly speaking, born in heaven, but appears suddenly in the lap of another god, already formed as a “one or two year old boy.” When the boy “becomes aware of hunger, a precious bowl appears, magically filled with pure food with a hundred divine flavors; if his merit is much, the food is white, if his merit is middling, the food is blue-green, if his merit is low, the food is red” (便自覺飢，當其兒前有自然寶器，盛天百味自然淨食，若福多者飯色為白，其福中者飯色為青，其福下者飯色為赤). An allusion to this image can also be found in the *Vimālakīrtinirdeśa*, but only, once again, as a term of comparison, in this case for the mahāyānic concept that the ability to see the qualities of a buddha’s world is a function of one’s “purity of mind”:

*tadyathā śāriputra devaputrāṇām ekapātryāṃ bhuñjānānām yathā
 puṇyopacayaviśeṣeṇa sudhādevabhojanam upatiṣṭhataḥ, evam eva śāriputra
 ekabuddhakṣetropannā yathā cittapariśuddhyā satvā buddhānām
 buddhakṣetraguṇavyūhān paśyanti* (Potala MS, 8a4–6)

“Just as, Śāriputra, when the sons of the gods are eating from one bowl, the ambrosia (*sudhā*), food of the gods, [appears] to the one standing near [it] (*upatiṣṭhataḥ*) according to the distinctions in [his] accumulation of merit, just so, Śāriputra, those people (*satva*) born in one sphere of activity of a buddha see the splendor of the qualities of the sphere of activity of a buddha according to the purity of their minds.”

The Tibetan parallel of this passage (Derge, *Mdo*, Ma, 181a5) seems to have been translated from a text that may have had something different here, since it makes **upa-√sthā* (*nye bar gnas pa*) the predicate of the “ambrosia, food of the gods” (*lha’i zas bdud rtsi*), yielding “the sons of

the gods eat in one precious vessel, but also when eating (*za yang*), the ambrosia, food of the gods, stands near (or “arises”?)—*nye bar gnas pa=*upa-√sthā*) according to the distinctions in the accumulation of merit,” (*lha'i bu rnams rin po che'i snod gcig tu zas za yang bsod nams ji lta bu bsags pa'i bye brag gis lha'i zas bdud rtsi nye bar gnas pa*). The Chinese versions of Kumārajīva and Xuanzang, although neither very literal, agree with this sense.

A1.2 The transmutation of unsubstantial body, life, and wealth into substantial body, life and wealth.

The triad of body, life and wealth discussed in pp. 231–236 may have been expressed in Sanskrit as *kāyajīvitabhoga*, cfr. *Vimālakīrtinirdeśa*, Potala MS. 23a6–7, 25b6. The second instance listed here is particularly interesting because it provides a formulation of the same idea that occupies us here and because it provides what might have been some of the Indic vocabulary involved in such formulations: *asārāt sārādānābhinirhṛtaḥ kāyajīvitabhogapratilambhaḥ* ‘the gain of body, life, and wealth is achieved (*abhinirhṛta*) by taking (*ādāna*) substance from what has no substance.’

The Tibetan version of this passage (Derge, Mdo, Ma, 196b7) adheres closely to the Sanskrit:

*snying po med pa las snying po len pas mngon par bsgrubs pa'i lus dang
srog dang longs spyod rnyed pa*

The gain of body, life, and wealth is achieved through the taking of substance from what has no substance.

The Chinese versions of Kumārajīva and Xuanzang are, on this point, either paraphrastic or reflect an Indic original different from the one reflected in the Potala MS. and the Tibetan version: 於身命財起三堅法 (T14, 475.543c19) ‘from body, life, wealth, one achieves three stable elements’; 以不堅實貿易一切堅實行相 引發證得堅身命財 (T14, 476.567a5–6) ‘elements not

stable and true are traded for such that are stable and true, so as to achieve the gain of stable body, life and wealth' [cfr. also Lamotte's rendering based on Xuanzang and the Tibetan version (1987, 214, §III.72): *les gains du corps, de la vie, et des richesses [...] résultant du fait de prendre du solide dans ce qui n'est pas solide [...]*].

A1.3. The five families or shareholders of wealth

In his French translation of the passage discussed in pp. 238ff., Huber reads *wu jia* 五家 'the five families' as if it were a homophonic variant spelling for *wu jia* 吾家 'my family' ("ma famille") (cfr. p. 132 line 19, p. 133 lines 18, 35, p. 135, line 34). An explanation of the term in Chinese occurs in what appears to be a different version of the story that Kumāralāta has retold here. This similar story is part of the *Liudu ji jing* (T3, 152.3b9–c11), whose Chinese translation, once again, can be safely placed in the mid 3rd Century (see p. 140): a French translation of the passage is available in Chavannes (1910–1924, i, 24–27). This story plays with the ambiguity between *wu jia* 五家 understood literally as 'five families' and the technical designation of this canonical list. Notably, in this case the 'government official' (*guan* 官) takes the place of the king, and death, the one of inimical heirs.

Another small *sūtra* of likely āgamic affiliation, listed as an "old anonymous translation" in the catalogue of Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518), the *Scripture on the Predispositions for Leaving Home* (*Chujia yuan jing* 出家緣經, T791) has a section that lists the same items as the Pāli *sutta*, only glossing the "inimical heirs" with "evil wife and children" (*e qi-zi* 惡妻、子). Most noteworthy in the passage of the *Scripture on the Predispositions* is that these items are not collectively called here the "five families," but, instead, we are told that, "as for wealth, there are five things that share it" (*cai, wushi gong zhi* 財, 五事共之 T17. 791.736b22). It is very likely

that the Indic text of the *Scripture on the Predispositions* had here the term *sādhāraṇa* or a cognate, and that makes it highly likely that the odd term “family” (*jia* 家) is only a fanciful rendering of *sādhāraṇa* ‘having a share’ in its implied meaning of “heir, relative,” which would match also the expression *fen* 分 ‘[they] share into [it]’ with which the *Liudu ji jing* passage expresses the relationship of the “five families” with worldly wealth.

As for instances of this list in Āryasūtra’s *Jātakamālā*, see 3.21a *dānaṃ nāma mahānidhānāmanugaṃ caurādyasādhāraṇaṃ* (Kern 1891, 18.12) ‘Charity is a great and lasting treasure, immune to theft and to everything else’ (tr. Khoroché 1989, 21); 5.8cd *na dasyubhirnaiva jalānalābhyāṃ na rājabhiḥ saṃhriyamāṇavittāḥ* (Kern 1891, 24.10) ‘neither kings nor thieves nor fire nor water have deprived you of your fortune’ (tr. Khoroché 1989, 28); 21.1+ *rājacaurodakadahanavipriyadāyādasādhāraṇatvād* (Kern 1891, 122.10) ‘[material preoccupations are subject] to the exactions of kings and thieves, to the accidents of fire and water, and to unpleasant relatives’ (tr. Khoroché 1989, 133); 31.32 *dīpaḥ śrutaṃ mohatamaḥpramāthī caurādyahāryaṃ paramaṃ dhanam ca* (Kern 1891, 214. 13–14 ‘Sacred knowledge is a lamp that scatters the darkness of delusion. It is the best kind of wealth, beyond the reach of theft or anything else’ (tr. Khoroché 1989, 233).

Although Khoroché’s translation is generally faithful to the Sanskrit, it might not be superfluous to remark that the term *sādhāraṇa* ‘having a share’ in the first and third occurrences, variously rendered by him, repeats the vocabulary of the Pāli *sutta* and also, apparently, of the Chinese passages on the five dangers of wealth, on which see the previous note. Further points of comparison might be a cliché that occurs twice in the *Avadānaśataka* and describes the sudden thoughts that assail wealthy *grhapatis* regarding the pressing need to effect hefty donations to the Buddhist monastic assembly:

*ime bhogāḥ jalacandrasvabhāvāḥ marīcisadṛśā anityā adhruvā anāśvāsikā
vipariṇāmadharmāṇaḥ pañcabhir ugradaṇḍaiḥ sādharmaṇāḥ / yanv aham
asārebhyo bhogebhyaḥ sāram ādadyām iti*

(Speyer 1906–1909, i.139. 8–10, 144. 7–9)

These riches have the nature of the moon in the water, the same as a mirage, impermanent, unstable, unreliable, with decay as their norm, shared (*sādharmaṇa*) by the five terrible punishments (*ugradaṇḍa*). What if now I should take substance from [these] insubstantial riches?

This also compares to passage in the Pāli *Kaṇhajātaka* that describes the thoughts of the Bodhisattva incarnated as a wealthy donor:

*na kho pana sakkā dhanam bhaṇḍikaṃ bandhitvā paralokaṃ netum,
pañcasādharmaṇabhāvena asārassa dhanassa dānaṃ sāro*

(Faussbøll 1877–1899, iv. 7. 22–24)

Wealth cannot be taken into the next world by packing one's things: since they are shared by the five, the substance of insubstantial wealth is the religious gift (*dāna*).

On this, compare the rather free and possibly misleading English translation by W.H Rouse in Cowell 1805-1907 iv. 5: “We cannot tie our wealth in a bundle and take it with us to the next world. Seeing that it is connected with the Five Sins, to distribute in alms this vain wealth is the better part”.

Appendix 2, 24 Unedited Fragments of the Kucha Manuscript SHT21/131–40; 161–174.

Fragments SHT 113–174 of the Kucha manuscript were left unedited by Lüders: their small size makes the identification of the stories very difficult. I have edited here 24 of these small fragments, and succeeded in proposing an identification only in one case (SHT 21/135). The fragments, however, contain single words, compounds and verbal forms that can inform our knowledge of Kumāralāta’s literary idiom.

SHT 21/131

r

1. [gha]nanīle nā -i
2. ca 1 sthā(n)[e]
3. (pre)kṣāsu -ai

v

1. naipuṅ(ya)
2. ... kaṅṭhana...
3. -e ketum ārā...

Notes

r1 See *ghananīla* ‘deep blue’ in Kalidāsa, *Ṛtusamhāra* 3.19a, 4.16c, *Kumārasaṃbhava* 7.51.

SHT 21/132

r

1. ...ṇā

2. sa paśy(a...)

3. labhya...

4. ++ -ī

v

1. ++ m- +

2. (tathā)gatacait[y...]

3. ...1 || ca -i

4. [ja]gad i [-i]

Notes

v2 *tathāgatacaitya* or an inflected or compounded form of it is extremely likely; see SHT 21/81

v2 for another occurrence.

SHT 21/133

1. (ska)ndhasya

2. [d]u(m)dubhi(s)

3. naiva ś...

v

1. [-ā/-ī] rājñā

2. na si...

3. [v-/c-] ba +

Notes

r1 (*a*)*ndhasya* or a compounded form of it is also likely

r2 Either *[d]u(m)dubhi(s)* or a *saṃdhi* form of it.

SHT 21/134

r

1. -y- + l- m- śr-
2. niyat(a) +
3. (...)manam deś...

v

1. +
2. ⊙||
3. (bh)[ū]tas tasya ke...

SHT 21/135

r

1. (āśī)v[i]sa iti
2. sa bhak[s]an-...
3. -i

v

1. ...gra...
2. t[i/e] prakāśi(t...)
3. l- tu p(r)i...

Notes

r1–2 *āsīviṣa* ‘poisonous snake’ (or *āsiviṣa*, on which see Oberlies, *Pāli*, p. 10) seems very likely here. We might have here *bhakṣana* for *bhakṣaṇa* ‘food’ (on which see SHT 21/92 v2) or else a compound form on the archaic or poetic form *bhakṣa* ‘idem.’ If those possibilities are the case here, at least the recto must contain part of story XXXIV (“The laborer and the hidden treasure”), as shown below:

而作是言：“沙門所言是毒蛇者，乃是好金”即取此金，還置家中。其人先貧
衣食不供。

(T 201, p. 289c8–10)

Alors il dit: «Ce que les Çramanas ont appelé un serpent venimeux est du bon or.» Puis il s'empara de cet or et le porta dans sa maison. Auparavant cet homme était pauvre et il manquait de vêtements et de nourriture.

(Huber 1908, 171)

SHT 21/136

r

1. ...danta kim et[a](t)

2. ...m ity ato [gh-...]

v

1. t(a)tas tay[ā]

2. ...mya bhikṣūṇ(ām)

3. -e

Notes

r1 Read perhaps an archaic/poetic form (Vedic, Purāṇic) *avadanta*, 3.pl.impf.mid. on √*vad* ‘say’?

SHT 21/137

r

1. [ṣ]i vikasitamu(kha)

2. (c)it kiṃcid- v- -ī

v

1. n... kaścid (i)ha

2. [th]āc cāsyotp[ād-]

Notes

r1 *vikasitamukha* ‘with open mouth’?

SHT 21/138

r

1. tārādyahrta -i

2. -i -e [ṇ-] [bh-]

v

1. [s]t- +

2. (-a)śrusampū[rṇ](a)

Notes

v 2 See *aśrusaṃpūrṇavādanām* ‘with a face full of tears’ (referred to Sitā) in *Rāmāyaṇa* 5.35.19b.

SHT 21/139

r

1. gacchaṃ[t...]

2. + dhanu

v

1. + +

2. jānanti

3. (j)[ñ](a)s tape(d) [ā...]

SHT 21/140

r

1. śr(o)[tu]k(ā)(m)[e]

2. ṇā bauddhaṃ va

v

1. gamukhapras(+i)

2. [p]ā[b-][v]ī

Notes

v1 Perhaps read either (*mṛ*)*gamukha*-or (*nā*)*gamukha*-?

SHT 21/141

r

1. ...n na y[ā]taṃ saparigra[h-]

2. + ...i +++++

v

1. + buddh(ā)n nā[r]has[i] ka(r)tu(m)

2. [m](ū)rkhas[y]a hi yad au...

Notes

r1 This would be an unusual form of *yā*, with the diacritic springing from the leftward vertical stroke as in *ghā* instead of from the middle one. I do not see however for the moment another way to understand it.

SHT 21/161

r

1. d[+]ṃ [ya] t 13

v

1. kuḍyakṣititale +

Notes

v1 For once the reading is reasonably clear, but the compound seems incongruous. Perhaps *kṣititala* stands here for generic ‘surface,’ thus yielding ‘surface of the wall’?

SHT 21/162

r

1. ++ -y ++
2. [c]aṇḍālas taṃ
3. -ī -i ++ -e

v

1. v- p- m- k-
2. (mṛ)davam api saṃ...
3. -e ++ -i

v2 *mārdavam* impossible on account of the lack of superscript *-r* on the *da*.

SHT 21/163

r

1. + sadbh[ā]v(ā)d [ā]dhy(o) bh(avati)
2. ś(ra)ddhādhana...

v

1. śraddhāchr...
2. bh- -ā -ā + -e -i

SHT 21/164

r

1. (rū)p(a)v(i)[j]ñ(āna)

2. ...ṣita[m]

v

1. śaraṇā[g](ata)

2. viśālā

r2 pausal form of *m* looks like this, see SHT 21/36 r1 (*-m yātāsmi*)

SHT 21/165

r

1. + + n 1 +

2. ...hiṭaḥ kath-

3. -i 1 tatas ta+

4. + -o d- +

v

1. [m] 2 [||⊙](||)

2. ...tha kadācit s-

3. saṃbhavati t-

4. [y]ā + +

SHT 21/166

r

1. [d]evāvadānaḥ provāca

2. [l-][l-]

v

1. [y-] + + me[ru] -r- t-

2. ṣ- bho [n/r]o [g/ś]-ṃ [ṣ-] [t]i

Notes

r1 The correct reading of what appears to be the grammatical subject of *provāca* would be essential to identify this fragment, but a valid personal name has eluded me. What I have read as *na* could also be a *ka* with its lower portion gone. *[d]evava(m)dākaḥ?*

v2 Perhaps read *me[ru](p)r[at](imā)?*

SHT 21/167

r

1. + + [ji] + + m-

2. + + +

v

1. tatas t- +

SHT 21/168

r

1. ma + +

2. bhagi[n]i

v

1. ta buddh- +

2. + ca 1 y- +

SHT 21/169

r

1. ...m ṅ... +

2. [lo]kadha(r)[m]ai(s)

v

1. yan me [n]y

2. uvāca

r2 In all likelihood read *lokadharmais* or a *saṃdhi* form of it.

SHT 21/170

r

1. -t- -th- -r-

2. [r dvi]ṣaṃ ca pra...

v

1. (lo)kagurur atra

2. || [y-] + + + +

Notes

r2 See *rddi* in SHT 21/51 r2 and *dvi* in SHT 21/88 r4, *dveṣa* is also possible.

SHT 21/171

r

1. 15 atha +
2. (a)rtham aho b[r](ū)[h]i

v

1. ...kam bahunā 1
2. (ma)dh[u]raślakṣṇo (ʻ)tt(r)ā...
3. [-e] + [-i]

Notes

v1 In spite of the irregular *saṃdhi*, if find no other sensible way to parse these *akṣaras*.

SHT 21/172

r

1. bhagavatā śa...
2. [ś]īlam ad(r)iś...

v

1. ma taṃ c- r- t- +
2. lokam iti 15

SHT 21/173

r

1. + hā muniḥ +

2. kaiḥ s[ph](u)to g- n-

v

1. ...m anubhūtavān 1

2. [n/r]- t- p- [bh-] + -ṃ

SHT 21/174

r

1. ...ṣitata(n)[u]

2. (rā)gadoṣa[mo](ha)

3. gandha +

v

1. + da na

2. sarvvaj[ñ-]

3. (sa)tv(e)ṣu n...

Notes

r1 Read perhaps *vibhūṣitatānu* 'with adorned body'?

Appendix 3. Some Newly identified Fragments of Kumāralāta’s Garland in the Schøyen Collection

What follows are the preliminary results of my survey of the photographs of unpublished Brāhmī manuscripts in the Schøyen collection, on the website “Bibliotheca Polyglotta – Thesaurus Litteraturae Buddhicae” (<https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=volume&vid=795>).

I include these preliminary results with the authorization of Dr. Jens Braarvig, head curator of the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī manuscript holdings of the Schøyen collection.

Among the thirteen fragments considered below, I am persuaded that at least nine bear the text of Kumāralāta’s *Garland*. The fragments, all written on birchbark, have been arranged by estimated paleographical age, and belong to at least four manuscripts:

- I. Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63, Gupta Alphabet Type i.
- II. Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318+2382.319, Gupta Alphabet Type i.
- III. Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.5, Gupta Alphabet k.
- IV. Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.45, Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type 1.

Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63 and Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318–19, both in Sander’s Gupta Alphabet Type i according to my assessment, might conceivably belong to different scribal hands within the same manuscript, which would bring the manuscript count to three. Both manuscripts share the feature of having their versos stripped of their top layer. What we have here are perhaps the leftovers from the process of splitting birchbark to reuse one side, with the presumably thicker stripped layer having presumably been rewritten and the remaining stripped shavings being what we have here.

Dr. Gudrun Melzer has independently identified another set of fragments of the *Garland*, and we are working together towards an edition of the fragments.

In what follows I have presented my preliminary readings of the fragments together with overlapping portions of the Kucha and Turfan manuscripts of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, with the corresponding passages in the Chinese version (Taishō 201) and with some minimal commentary. I have accompanied the Chinese quotations with my own English translation, but I have also provided references for Édouard Huber’s French translation (1908). I have yet to undertake a serious examination of the metrical portions.

The fragments range through paleographical time. Although MS I might not represent quite the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* but a compilation that incorporated material from it, MS IV, which contains parts of two stories, in all likelihood represents the collection as known from the Sanskrit manuscripts from the Tarim Basin (Kizil, Toyoq, Khādalik) and from the complete Chinese version. Besides this, MSS II and III bear text from to the same story, XLIII (“The Buddha and the dung-bearer Nītha”), one of the longest and most elaborate pieces in the collection. In light of this situation, I estimate that the collection, or at the very least some of the stories that originally belonged to it, may have been popular in Bāmiyān, and that many more fragments may be present in the collection.

Gupta Alphabet Type i

MS I, Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63A–E

——Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63A+B (folded edges in A unfolded and fragments repositioned digitally with Photoshop)³⁹¹=*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dr̥ṣṭāntapañkti* LXIV (“King Śibi and the Dove”)

³⁹¹ View from the blank side of the folded frayed edge

r

1. ///... .. ///

2. /// b[r]ā tū st(ā)[g]ra[h](a)[s]t(a)gaja iti | ||⊙|| [parama](k)[r] ///

3. ///.. [k](a)p[o][t](a) .. [d](a)[r]ś[a]nam udāhara(m)ti yad asmābhiḥ svakaḥpanālaṃkṛtam evam
abhidhīyamānaṃ śo[bh](e)[t](a)///

4. /// .t. + + + + + cāryair asarvajñaiḥ sarvajñaiḥ pratijñair asakṛd asakṛt parivaṃdito nāst[i]
samyaksaṃbuddha iti saś. ///

5. ///.. uktasūtragranthita iva ni[m] + + .m [apa](ryava)sitasamkalpo vaici[k]i[t](s)ī [ka]thaṃkathī
acaran dīrgham adhvānam anveṣamāṇa[s ta]thāga(taṃ)///

6. /// ... m auśīnaraṃ śibim a[n]i[m] .///

v blank

Comparanda:

1a) SHT 21/76 (Kizil MS of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapañkti*), Lüders 1926, 180; §*206.

v

[...]

4⁻⁻⁻ (35) /. tavān=iti — ||⊙|| paramakṛcchrādhigato=yam

bhagavatā dharma i vyaś=tadyathā

5 i . ir=anyatīrth(y)ācāryair=asarvajñaiḥ

sarvvajñapratijñair=asakṛd=a[n] (nā)sti samya[k](sam)

r

1 (aparyava)sitasamka[l]p(o) vaicikitsī kathamkathī
acarad=dīrgham=adhvā[n](am) - - - - (tathāga)tam 1 śrama[n]

2 mam paryupāsītum=iti vistaraḥ 2 atha śakrasya
devendrasya viśvakarma[n] devendra viśāda

1b) SHT 638w (Toyoq MS of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapañkti*), Lüders 1926, 204; §V₁.

v

[...]

4 ttra vairāgyapadasthāma bhūtam=iti na manojñadarśanād=viśīditavyam
tadyath=ās[th]i

5 svakalpanālañkrto=smābhir=evam=abhidhīyamānah
śobheta · tadyath=ānuśrūyate ·

2) Chinese version, *Da zhuangyan lun* 大莊嚴, Taishō 201.

復次，佛法難聞，如來往昔為菩薩時，不惜身命以求於法，是故應當勤心聽法。我昔曾聞
鴿緣譬喻，有邪見師為釋提桓因說顛倒法，彼外道師非有真智，自稱為一切智，說言無阿
耨多羅三藐三菩提。爾時帝釋聞是語已，心懷不悅極生憂愁。爾時帝釋見諸世間有苦行者，
盡到其所推求一切智，如帝釋問經中偈說：

我今意欲求， 不能得滿足，

晝夜懷疑惑， 莫識是與非。

我於久遠來， 恆思廣推求，

不知大真濟， 今為何所在？

毘首羯磨白帝釋言：「處於天上不應憂愁，世間拘尸國王名曰尸毘，精勤苦行求三藐三菩提，智者觀已，是王不久必當成佛，可往親近。」

(T4.201.321a26–b12)

Now, the Law of the Buddha is difficult to study; when in the past the Tathāgata was a *bodhisattva*, he did not spare his life to search the Law, and for this reason one must intently listen to the law with a diligent heart. As I have heard in the parable of the dove, there were teachers of evil views who preached to Śakra, emperor of the gods, a corrupt Law: those non-Buddhist (外道 *waidao*) teachers were not omniscient, and called themselves omniscient, and said that there was not such a thing as unexcelled perfect enlightenment. At that time when Śakra heard this, his heart harbored unhappiness, and gave rise to intense worry. At that time Śakra saw that in the world there were ascetics, coming to all the places where they were to look for an omniscient one, as it is said in the *Sūtra of the Questions of Indra*:

Now the quest of my mind's desire
Cannot obtain satisfaction
Day and night, I nurture doubt,
And do not know what is and what is not
I am on a long journey
Constantly seeking to broaden my quest
I do not know. The great true savior,
Where is he now?

Viśvakarman said to Śakra: “Dwelling up in the sky you should not worry, in the world the king of the country of *Kuḍḍi (*Jushi* 拘尸 = Kuṣi[nagara]) whose name is Śibi, who diligently practices

asceticism looking for perfect enlightenment. The wise have examined him: that king in short will become a Buddha; you should visit him. (=Huber 1908, 330–331)

Commentary

r1 b[r]ā tū st(ā)[g]ra[h](a)[s]t(a)gaja iti:

The fragment SHT 21/76 of the Kizil MS of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (Lüders 1926, 180; §*206₁, v1–4, see 1a above), whose text overlaps with the one of this fragment, contains the very end of the preceding story, LXIII, and it corresponds well with the Chinese version. In there the last word of the story ends in *-tavān*: the last word or words of the preceding story in this fragment, *b[r]ā tū st(ā)[g]ra[h](a)[s]t(a)gaja*, however read, preclude a reading ending in *-tavān*. The final element *gaja* ‘elephant’ is clearly readable, and judging from the Chinese version, this could conceivably represent the end of story XXXII:

修集於正道， 是意捉結使，

如象絕鞿鞵， 自恣隨意去。

(Taishō IV.289a20–21)

Practise and gather the right path,

Let this mind seize its defilements and entanglements

Like an elephant breaking the bonds of its reins

And carefree walks away according to wish (=Huber 1908, 168)

How or why, though, the collection would have been rearranged remains a difficult question: we might be dealing here not with a manuscript of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* but instead of a compilation that incorporated some stories from it.

r2 [k](a)p[o](t)(a) .. [d](a)[r]ś[a]nam udāhara(m)ti:

As a rule, the stories of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* start with a moral apophthegm followed by the formula *tadyathānuśrūyate* ‘as it has been heard,’ rendered misleadingly in Chinese as *wo xi ceng wen* 我昔曾聞 ‘[as] I once heard’. This formula introduces the narrative in the proper sense. Lüders remarked that in a few stories this formula does not occur: in LXII we have instead (*tadyathā pū*)*rṇikodahāraṇam udāharaṃti*; in LXVII, *tadyathā śrīguptacaritam u(dāharanti)*; a third occurrence of at least (*udā*)*haraṃ(t)i* might have occurred at the beginning of story LXV (Lüders 1926, 47). Since the Chinese version of story LXIV, represented in this fragment, is the only one that has not the usual *wo xi ceng wen* 我昔曾聞 ‘[as] I once heard’ but instead *wo xi ceng wen geyuan piyu* 我昔曾聞鴿緣譬喻 ‘I heard once the parable of the dove,’ Lüders speculated that story LXIV must have started with something like **tadyathā kapotodahāraṇam udāharanti*. The defaced fourth *akṣara* of this sequence has so far eluded my efforts, and the reading proposed here is tentative, but it would lend support to Lüders’ conjecture if one assumes *darśana* to be at least functionally equivalent to *udāharaṇa*. As for the term *udāharaṇa*, Lenz (2003, 159–160; 90–91) has carefully treated it in connection with the occurrence of its Gāndhārī cognate *udaharana* in one British Library collection of previous-life stories, noting the striking parallelisms with the usage of the term in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* and suggesting that it “alludes to the specific moral that a story is meant to illustrate.” While the diversity of grammatical objects that the verb *ud-ā-√hr* ‘tell, narrate’ takes in these clichéd expressions remains unexplained, it is interesting to note that all the four known instances of the phrase *tadyathā ... udāharanti* in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* cluster in the sixth decade (LXII, LXIV, LXV, LXVII), which might thus be devoted to reworkings of well-known stories.

r3 yad asmābhiḥ svakalpanālaṃkṛtam evam abhidhīyamānaṃ śo[bh](e)[t](a):

The presence of this clause in this fragment seems to settle an old dispute between Lüders and Lévi. The core of the clause is attested also in the Toyoq manuscript of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (Lüders 1926, 204; §V₁, r5, see 1b above). The instance in the Toyoq manuscript occurs at the beginning of story XX, which deals with a beautiful woman turned into a skeleton by a Buddhist monk in order to teach her the impermanence of physical beauty. Lüders (1926, 197) had proposed to understand this clause as an authorial insertion meaning “*so dürfte zum Beispiel (die Geschichte von dem) Skelett ... die nach eigener Phantasie ausgeschmückt ist, wenn sie in folgender Weise von uns vorgetragen wird, einen guten Eindruck machen*” suggesting that it bore an echo or reference to the title of the work (*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*=“*die mit dichterischen Erfindungen Geschmückte*”, p. 26); Lévi (1928, 197) had instead proposed that the clause was specifically meant in relation to the plot of the story: “*C’est ainsi qu’une (charpente d’) os ... quand notre imagination l’orne à son goût et que nous lui appliquons telle désignation [de beauté], devient chose charmante.*” That the clause *yad asmābhiḥ svakalpanālaṃkṛtam evam abhidhīyamānaṃ śobheta* occurs here, in yet another story, seems to lend support, once again, to Lüders’ conjecture. The reconstructed initial phrase of story LXIV might then be something like **tadyathā kapotasya darśanam udāharanti yad asmābhiḥ svakalpanālaṃkṛtam evam abhidhīyamānaṃ śobheta* ‘As people narrate the parable of the dove, which adorned with our own fantasy, so told, should seem well, ...’

r4 sarvajñah pratijñair:

The reading in the Kizil manuscript, *sarvajñāpratijñair* (v5) is a close match with the Chinese *zicheng wei yiqie-zhi* 自稱為一切智, ‘[who] called themselves omniscient’ against the one in the fragment considered here.

r5 [apa](ryava)sitasamkalpo [...] anveṣamāṇa[s ta]thāga(taṃ):

This is a quotation of an āgamic verse, on which see Lévi 1908, 96–97 and Lüders 1926, 61,

apariyositasamkappo vicikicchī kathamkathī

vicarī dīgham addhānaṃ anvesanto tathāgataṃ

y’ assu maññāmi samaṇe pavivittavihārino

sambuddho iti maññāno gacchāmi te upāsituṃ

(*Sakkapañhasutta*, Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1889–1910, ii 287)

The fragment has *acaran* in the beginning of the second *pada*, where the Pali Text Society edition of the Pāli has *vicarī*, but is perhaps closest to the Thai edition’s (witness “K”) *vicaraṃ*, against the incongruous *acarad* in the Kizil text (r1). The fragments also add to our knowledge of the Sanskrit text the word *anveṣamāṇas* to match Pāli *anvesanto*.

r6 auśīnaram śibim=jushi-guo wang ming Shibi 拘尸國王名曰尸毘: The Indian tradition of Śibi as king of the Uśīnaras is fairly consistent; the Chinese statement of Śibi as king of a country called **Kuśi* probably reflects a fanciful contamination with the well-known Kuśinagara.

—Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63 C=*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapañkti* LIV (“Māra and Upagupta”)?

r

1. /// .r. .y. + .ṛ ///

2. /// kṣ[o]bha(m) kuryā j. n. m. t. r asa(m)jñasya manasaḥ kim u tvaṃ pāpīya[m]sa

3. /// .. re le vanar[e]ṇ[u]sa[m]yu[g.]-[lū] o [sa]ḥ kā [da r.] .i ///

v blank

Commentary

Fragment C certainly belongs to the same manuscript, but that it does not belong together to the same folio with A is made clear by the overlap that is visible from the backside photograph.

It is uncertain, although unlikely, whether the fragment belongs to story LXIV: if the sequence *pāpīya[m]sa* represents *pāpīyaṃsam*, acc.sing. of *pāpīyas* ‘the Most Evil,’ a frequent epithet of Māra, in all likelihood it does not, but it could belong somewhere in the original version of story LIV, which features Māra prominently and may have at least once referred to Māra as *pāpīyas* (see Lüders 1926, 168.13).

—Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63 D, unidentified.

1. /// [ḍh]. cch. c(ā)[la][y](i)tum — na me ///

2. /// .. t. .. patir [y]ā .ā y. .ai sā .i .. ///

—Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63 E, unidentified.

1. /// ddh. .. + t. .. ///

2. /// .ai [va] t. (ga)veśaṇād bhayava ///

Commentary

Fragments D and E certainly belong to the same manuscript, but the remaining text, and the laxity of the Chinese translation make it difficult to assign them a place.

MS II

Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318 A–D; Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.319 A–B

—Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318 B=*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapañkti* XLIII (“The Buddha and the Manure-sweeper Nītha”)

r

1 /// pūrvakarmamabhir [e]va .. ///

2 /// .. rtum iti dahyate me [h]ṛ(day) ///

3 /// .. i ///

v blank

Comparanda

1a) SHT 21/49 (Kizil MS of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapañkti*), Lüders 1926, 159; §*131₂.

v

[...]

5 [nya]ḥ pūrvva(ka)r[m]a[bh]ir=evam m=anena=nīcena

ka [sa]rv(v)asatvābhi[gama]nī(ya)

r

1

v1 dahyate [m]e (h)r[day]am [...]

2) Chinese version, *Da zhuangyan lun* 大莊嚴, Taishō 201.

「我於先世不造福業，為惡所牽今受此苦。我今不愁斯下賤業，眾人皆得到於佛前，我今見臭穢故不得往。」以是之故懊惱焦心。(T4.294b27-c1)

“[...] in a former life I did not do good deeds, and dragged by evils, now I obtain this suffering. I now do not mind this lowly occupation, [but] when people are able to be in front of the Buddha, I now see my foul filth and am not able to go. For this reason my heart burns. (=Huber 1908, 197)

Commentary

r1 pūrvakarmabhir:

Read *pūrvakarmabhir* with the Kizil manuscript's *pūrvva(ka)r[m]a[bh]ir* (v5).

—Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318 A=*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti* XLIII (“The Buddha and the Manure-sweeper Nītha”)

r /// .. + t. .. ///

2 /// .. hy atha nītham anye[na] m. .. ///

3 /// .. eva bha[ga]vān āgacchati ti .. ///

4 /// [t]. + + + + pa ra ma dva .. ///

5 /// gan[dh]odakaiḥ sicyate · tasyāhaṃ ///

6 /// .ā tam imāṃ [ra]thā .. ///

Comparanda

2) Chinese version, *Da zhuangyan lun* 大莊嚴, Taishō 201.

「尼提見已復生驚怖：「我向避佛今復覩見，當何處避？」驚怖憂惱而自責言：「我甚薄福，諸佛香潔，我當云何以此極穢逼近於佛？若當逼近罪益深重，先世惡業使我乃爾。」

即說偈言：

「天以栴檀香， 上妙曼陀花，

種種眾供具， 持來奉世尊。

佛來入城時， 香水以灑地，」

(T4.201.294c8–15)

Nītha saw this and was frightened: “I have just avoided the Buddha, and now I see him again: through where should [I] avoid [him now]?” In fear and worry he blamed himself, saying: “My merit is shallow. The buddhas are fragrant and clean: how could I, with this extreme foulness, approach the Buddha? If I were to approach him [my] sin would be full and deeply onerous. The evil deeds of former lives have led me to this.” Then he said in *gāthās*:

The gods, use sandal perfume,

Raise *mandāra* flowers,

[And] many kinds of perfect offerings,

And hold them to present them to the World-Honored

When the enters the city,

[They] sprinkle the ground with perfumed water (Huber 1908, 198)

Commentary

r2 Nītham:

The Chinese rendering of this personal name is **Nidej* 尼提, which led Huber to render it as “Ni-t’i” (1908, 193ff). The Kizil MS. attests the name only in one place (SHT 21/50, Lüders 1926, 160, 132a, r3), where all that is left are the lower portions of the *akṣaras* *n* and *th*. Lüders edited this as *N[ī]th[ir]* on the basis of the Chinese, but remarked that *N[ī]th[o]* (i.e. Nītha) would be possible too (1926, 69). The name Nītha is confirmed by the transcription 尼陀 **Nida* in two separate mentions to this story in the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (Taishō XXV.1509.248a10; 310a18).

——Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318C=(“The Buddha and the Manure-sweeper Nītha”)

r

1 /// .y. m. ... ///

2 /// .āmy aham akṛtapu[ny]aḥ ///

3 /// .. .o .i pādābhy. .. nam ///

Commentary

r2 *aham akṛtapu[ny]aḥ*

This could perhaps match *wo shen bo fu* 我甚薄福 ‘I have but shallow merit’ in the Chinese version (T4.201.294c9–10, Huber 1908, 197), in which case one should assume that this fragment belongs to the same folio as A, as the text overlaps.

—Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.319 A=*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapañkti* XLIII (“The Buddha and the Manure-sweeper Nītha”)

r

1 /// .v. .y. ///

2 /// [nī]tho buddham abhyāgatam avekṣya lajjāt krānt[a] ///

3 /// .āraṇidharaṇi śruṇ[v] .. e + .i + + .. ///

v blank

Comparanda

1) Chinese version, *Da zhuangyan lun* 大莊嚴, Taishō 201.

既觀佛已慚耻却行

(T4.201.294c28–29)

And when he saw the Buddha, he stepped back from shame and walked away (=Huber 1908, 198)

Commentary

r3 āraṇidharaṇi:

This sequence remains unclear.

—Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.319 B=*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapañkti* XLIII (“The Buddha and the Manure-sweeper Nītha”)

r

1 /// .u + [t]krū ra t. c. ...v. ++ .. dh. ///

2 /// manah sveṣv ivāṅgeṣv avalīya .. ///

3 /// ... pp[ra]yaccha viva[ra]ṃ [bhaga] .. .i ///

v blank

Comparanda

1) Chinese version, *Da zhuangyan lun* 大莊嚴, Taishō 201.

「汝今能持一切眾生，願開少處容受我身。」(T4.201.295a18–24)

“You who sustain all the living, may you wish to open some space for my body to pass” (=Huber 1908, 200)

Commentary

manah sveṣv ivāṅgeṣv avalīya...:

I have not been able so far to relate this portion convincingly to anything in the Chinese version.

The preceding lines a18–19 do contain a metaphor of the Buddha as a physician who examines the patient’s belly and without regard for caste administers medicine (譬如醫占病/ 看病腹鞭軟/ 隨

患投下藥/ 亦不觀種族). The Chinese version might contain a fanciful or culturally influenced rendering of the original Indic figure of speech.

——Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.319 D, unidentified.

r

1 /// .y ///

b /// .ai yasyāmi bhagavāṃ t. ///

c /// .o + .e .āṃ vi .. ///

v blank

Commentary

2382.318D belongs to the same manuscript as the preceding fragments, but once again small remaining text and the laxity of the Chinese translation make it difficult to assign it a place.

Gupta Alphabet Type k

——MS III, Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.5=*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti* XLIII (“The Buddha and the Manure-sweeper Nītha”)

r

1 /// [m]ū kā ś[a] mā .. t. n. + .dh. ++ .v ///

2 /// .. saṃv[r]taḥ pravrajitaṃ ca nītham ājñāya śrāvastakā brāhmaṇagrhapataya kṣ(o)bdh(u).. .. ///

3 /// (visar)j(a)yati viṭvālitany asmākaṃ grhāṇi dūṣītāni ca śayanāsanāni yatra śramaṇāḥ ///

4 /// .. kṣobham ājñāya prasenaḥ rājā nāgarān uvāca gamayaṃtu bhavaṃto yāvad a .. bhagavaṃ

5 /// .iti · sa nīthappravrajanajanitāmarṣo jetavanam abhigato nīthaś ca śilātal(e) niṣaṇṇa[h] ///

6 /// thok[t]aṃ sūtre : || śāntendriya paśyatā īryamāṇaṃ traividyaaprāptam asahāryatharmam
sa(rv) ///

7 /// .ā [u]dārā brāhmād vimānād u[p]asaṃkramitvā · āhvayanīyaṃ veda .. ///

h /// ty abhijānatā sa eva nīthaḥ prokto gaccha tā[v]ad bhagavate mama ///

8 /// gamaṇaṃ nivedaye .. ///

v

1 /// g. .. . t śc. n. v. ///

2 /// t. laṃbhitvā samutpātito rājānam uv(ā)[ca] (p)r(a)viśa mahārājety avavasy[a] .. ///

3 /// māyaṃ bhi .. . sy(a)yam īdrśaḥ prabhāva iti sa [bh]agavaṃtam abhigamya kṛtāñja[lī] ///

4 /// ṇ. y. d. (a)v(e)kṣya kiṃ ta kathitāṃ tatkāraṇaṃ tiṣṭhantu · śrotuṃ tāvad idaṃ manas tvarati
///

5 /// yan · sa bhagavatābhihitam eṣa sa nītho nāma kulaputro yasyārthe tvam āgata iti .. ///

6 /// h(a)m [i]drśe mahātmani sthalita iti · sa idānī buddhaśāsanajanitavis[m](ay...)

7 /// vihago mṛgo vā haimaḥ sa jāyata iti : śrutimātram etat* · sā .. ///

8 /// .ā + + .i + vāṃ na vekṣate dehinām ārogyāya .. m u[d]yato n. [h]i ///

Comparanda

1) Chinese version, *Da zhuangyan lun* 大莊嚴, Taishō 201.

爾時尼提即奉佛教，尋便出家得阿羅漢。時舍衛城中長者婆羅門聞尼提得出家，皆生譏論瞋忿嫌恨，而作是言：「彼尼提者鄙穢下賤今得出家，若設會時尼提來者，污我舍宅床蓐。」舉國紛紜，遂至上徹波斯匿王。時王聞已語諸臣言：「汝等今者勿用紛紜，我今當往詣世尊所啟白如來」更不聽斯下賤者使得出家。時王將侍從往詣祇洹，見一比丘坐大石上縫糞掃衣，有七百梵天在其左右，有合掌禮敬者，有取縷者，有貫針者。如修多羅中廣說，時諸天等說偈讚言：

「觀察諸根寂， 容儀威德盛，
得具於三明， 利根不退轉，
眾善悉備滿， 容納糞掃衣。
七百威德天， 上從梵宮來，
歸命來敬禮， 度於彼岸者。」

時波斯匿王不識尼提，而語之言：「汝今為我往白世尊，波斯匿王今在門外欲來見佛。」時彼尼提聞已即從石沒，如入於水踊身佛前，而白佛言：「波斯匿王今在門外，欲見世尊。」世尊語言：「還從本道可往喚前。」尼提奉命還從石出喚波斯匿王。時波斯匿王頂禮問訊白世尊言：「向彼比丘是何大德？為諸天供養奉侍左右，又能於石出入無礙。」說偈問言：

「佛智淨無礙， 無事不通達，
我欲所問者， 佛已先知之，
先事且小住， 我欲有所問。
向見一比丘， 石上而出入，
如鷗在水中， 浮沈得自在。」

爾時世尊告波斯匿王言：「向者比丘若欲知者，是王所疑鄙賤尼提即其人也。」王聞是已，悶絕躃地，即自悔責而作是言：「我為自燒，云何乃於如是大德生於譏嫌？」見是事已，於佛法所得未曾有，倍生信心即禮佛足，而說偈言：

「譬如須彌山，眾寶所合成，
飛鳥及走獸，至山皆金色。
昔來雖曾聞，今始方證知，
佛如須彌山，無量功德聚。
有來依佛者，變為貴種族，
佛不觀種姓，富貴及名聞。
猶如醫占病，亦不觀種姓，
但授諸良藥，令其病得愈。」

(T4.201.296b8–c23)

Then Nītha, having received the teaching of the Buddha, left the house (=became a monk) and became an *arhat*. When the brahmins and notables (*zhangzhe* 長者=*grhapati*) of Śrāvastī learned that Nītha had left the house, they all gave rise to critical talk, were angered and spiteful from suspicion, saying: “That Nītha, lowly, filthy, inferior, now has been allowed to leave the house: if at the time of the meeting Nītha comes, he will soil our homes, our bedding and mats.” As the confusion in the kingdom mounted, in time it came to the attention of King Prasenajit. After the king heard this, he said to his subjects: “Be not confused. I will today go visit the World-Honored, interrogate the Tathāgata” And not willing to hear that that inferior person had left the house, then the king with his entourage visited the Jetavana, and saw a *bhikṣu* stitching the clothes of a manure-sweeper, with seven hundred Brahma-gods to his sides, their hands cupped in veneration: some

took the thread, some threaded the needle. As it is said in extenso in the sūtra, then the gods uttered *gāthās* of praise saying:

See that one, his senses stilled

His countenance full of majestic splendor

Endowed with the triple knowledge,

His senses perfected, not returning.

Perfect in all goods,

Wearing the clothes of a manure-sweeper

Seven hundred splendid gods

Coming from the palace of Brahma

Take refuge and come to venerate

Him who has crossed to the other shore

Then King Prasenajit, without recognizing Nītha, said to him: “Go on my behalf to the World-Honored and announce that King Prasenajit is at the door and wishes to see the Buddha.” Then after Nītha heard this, he sunk into the rock as if he had plunged into water he was before the Buddha. He said to the Buddha: “King Prasenajit is at the door and wants to see the World-Honored. The World-Honored said: “Go back the way you came and call him to come forward.” Nītha received this order, appeared again through the rock and called King Prasenajit. King Prasenajit paid homage to the World-Honored with his forehead and asked: “What a man of such great quality is the *bhikṣu* of earlier? The gods by his sides worship him, and he can come in and out of the rock without obstacle.” Then he said in *gāthās*:

The wisdom of the Buddha is pure and without obstacles

There is no issue it cannot penetrate

What I desire to ask

The Buddha knows in advance.

Some time ago something made me stop for a moment

And there is something I want to ask

I saw a *bhikṣu*

Able to come in and out of a stone

Like a gull in the water

Diving at ease

At that time, the World-Honored said to King Prasenajit: “If you want to know about the *bhikṣu* of a moment ago, he is the person the king doubted about, the ‘lowly and inferior’ Nītha.” When the king heard this, he was despondent and stomped the ground, and spoke with remorse: “I have burned my own self: Why have I given rise to critical talk in regard to a person of such quality?” Seeing this, what he felt in regards to the Law of the Buddha was unprecedented, and he redoubled his *prasāda and venerated the feet of the Buddha, saying:

That mount Sumeru

Is made of all treasures:

Flying birds and walking beasts

Reaching that mountain become golden

Having heard it from long ago

[I] begin only now to be a witness

The Buddha is like mount Sumeru:

A gathering of virtues without measure.

Those who seek refuge in the Buddha

All become of noble caste

The Buddha does not observe caste

Wealth or erudition

Like the physician ascertaining an illness

Who also does not observe caste

Only procuring good medicine

To make illness heal. (=Huber 1908, 206–208)

Commentary

r2 śrāvastakā:

This adjectival form is, as far as I can tell, mostly epic, and in any case rare in Buddhist usage; see

Mahābhārata 3.193.4ab, *jajñe śrāvastako rājā śrāvastī yena nirmitā*.

r6–7 śāntendriya [...] āhvayanīyaṃ veda... :

This is again a passage of āgamic verse. A close parallel was quoted, without specification of source, in the Pāli *Nettipakaraṇa*:

santindriyam passatha irīyamānam

tevijjappattam apahānadhammaṃ

sabbāni yogāni upātivatto

akiñcano irīyati paṃsukuliko

taṃ devatā sambahulā ulārā

brahmavimānam upasaṅkamtivā

ajanīyaṃ jātibalanisedham

n-idhā namassanti pasannacittā

(*Nettipakaraṇa*, Hardy 1902, 151, see also English translation in Ñāṇamoli 1962, 201)

The readable but linguistically obscure sequence *asahāryatharmaṃ* (r6) would correspond to the equally obscure Pāli *apahānadhammaṃ; āhvayanīyaṃ veda...* (r7, *-aya-* likely to scan monosyllabically) to Pāli *ajanīyaṃ jāti...* The element *purisa* in the Pāli, Ñāṇamoli's English version of these verses rely too much on the Pāli exegesis, and the version quoted here might eventually add to our understanding of it.

Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type 1

—MS IV, Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.45=*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti XII-XIII* (“The Monk and His Disciple at Sea”+“The Brother of the *Arhat*”)

r

1 /// [du]rrlabhaṃ ... vācaḥ [p]r[ath](ā)[bh](ā)[gy.] śāstus tat prāpya śākyam a[nu]ra[kṣi]tum . ///

2 /// tt. re yāma ... āṃ plavenādya mahā[rṇa]vaṃ bu[d]dhājñāplav. + [c]āt[t]urottare ///

3 /// nda bhavagato vi .. + .. ya bbhraṣṭaḥ syāṃ sugatisukhād bhavakṣayāc ca · ta .. ///

4 /// .. d eva t[ā]y[ā] [sa]lilam . + .yād utthāya sa bhikṣu[r u]tkṣipyā sthale nyastaḥ kamalay[a] ///

5 /// .. vratayas tvayīdṛṣe 'p[i] .. + krame buddhasyājñām a .. + r. yasīti · [e]v. ///

6 /// .. naiḥ rak[ṣ]itaḥ siddhayātra : ev. dh. ra [p]rati jai .i ///

7 /// [t]ā naiva śā .. bhinatte · kṣemastho vā vratiy.///

v

1 /// [h]i dayitā iti · tataḥ sa bhikṣuḥ saha sa .e///

2 /// tavyaṃ · tadyathānuśrūyate dvau bhrāta[r]au pravrajit(au) [t]. ///

3 /// vā caṣa karomīti · sa tenārhatābhihitaḥ kim. + + tā ... t. .ū ///

4 /// me 'nyena mṛtyunā · aham api te vatsa bravīm[i] || ko[āṃ] k[ā] gaṃtavyam · ka ///

5 /// pratīkṣayā · mṛtyuvyāghreṇa sahasāvyāghreṇ[e]vābalaṃvitāḥ tat tathā kṛ .. ///

6 ///saṃgena viṣ[a]ktisāarakam idaṃ pravacanaṃ ^xśrutapara[m]eṇa bhavi[t]///

6a [interlinear]: ^xśrutasāarakam tasmān a

7 /// tīti viditvā satyadarśana iha prayatasva · siṃhavat sadasi ///

Comparanda

1) Chinese version, *Da zhuangyan lun* 大莊嚴, Taishō 201.

「為順佛語故， 奉板遺身命，
若不為難事， 終不獲難果。
我若持此板， 必渡大海難，
若不順聖旨， 將沒生死海。
我今沒水死， 雖死猶名勝，
若捨佛所教， 失於人天利，
及以大涅槃， 無上第一樂。」

說是偈已，即便捨板持與上座。既受板已，于時海神感其精誠，即接年少比丘置於岸上。

海神合掌白比丘言：「我今歸依堅持戒者，汝今遭是危難之事能持佛戒。」海神說偈，讚

比丘曰：

「汝真是比丘， 實是苦行者，
號爾為沙門， 汝實稱斯名。
由汝德力故， 眾伴及財寶，
得免大艱難， 一切安隱出。」

汝言誓堅固， 敬順佛所說，
汝是大勝人， 能除眾患難。
我今當云何， 而不加擁護？
見諦能持戒， 斯事未為難，
凡夫不毀禁， 此乃名希有。
比丘處安隱， 清淨自謹慎，
能不毀禁戒， 此亦未為難；
未獲於道跡， 處於大怖畏，
捨己所愛命， 護持佛教戒，
難為而能為， 此最為希有。」

(一三)

復次，若不見道跡，雖復多聞，不能得拔生死之苦，是故智者應求見諦。我昔曾聞，兄弟二人俱共出家，兄得羅漢，弟誦三藏。時彼羅漢語三藏言：「汝可坐禪。」三藏報曰：「我當坐禪。」羅漢比丘復語之言：「汝寧不聞佛之所說，夫行道者如救頭然？」即說偈言：

「今日造此事， 未必到明旦，
人命不可保， 宜速修善業，
死大軍來至， 無可求請處。
若其命終時， 不知從何道？
冥冥隨業緣， 莫知路遠近。
命如風中燈， 不知滅時節，
汝言明當作， 斯言甚虛妄。
死虎極暴急， 都無有容縱，

一旦卒來到， 不待至明日。
死王多殘害， 汝應生怖畏，
當知身危脆， 命速難可保。
應勤觀內身， 捨棄多聞業，
求離世解脫， 超拔生死根。
死若卒至時， 悔熱無所及，
今若見道跡， 後無悔熱患。
佛法中堅實， 所謂得道跡，
多聞業虛偽， 應捨莫愛悞。
雖多聞博達， 不獲道跡者，
譬如盲執燈， 照彼自不覩。
若欲求自利， 必須見道跡，
處眾師子吼， 言辭善巧妙，
敷演諸法相， 分別釋疑難。
能令聽法眾， 皆發歡喜心，
又使一切人， 悉得於調順。
雖有如是事， 臨終心錯亂，
墮於惡道中， 智者所嗤笑。

(T4.201.270a14-c20)

To comply with the teaching of the Buddha

I offer this plank and relinquish my life

If once cannot achieve difficult deeds

In the end, one cannot obtain the fruit difficult [to obtain].

If I hold on to this plank,

I could venture the hardships of the sea

I will now sink in the water and die

Although dead, I will achieve a glorious name

If one abandons the teaching of the Buddha

One loses the advantages of human and divine [birth]

As well as that of *nirvāṇa*

Unexcelled and foremost joy.

Having said these *gāthās*, he let go of the plank and gave it to his senior. When that one had received the plank, the god of the sea, reacting to such excellent honesty, took that young *bhikṣu* and deposited him at the shore. The god of the sea, with cupped hands, said to the *bhikṣu*: “I today take refuge and will firmly uphold the restraints; you, having today encountered this hardship, have succeeded in upholding the restraints [laid] by the Buddha.” Then the god of the sea spoke these *gāthās* in praise of the *bhikṣu*:

You are a true *bhikṣu*

You are a true ascetic

I call you a *śramaṇa*

You can truly be called this name

From the power of your qualities

All your companions and their wealth

Were spared the great calamity

They all escaped into peaceful safety

Your proclaimed oath was firm,
In obeisance to what the Buddha said
You are now a superior man
Who was able to avert all hardships
Now, how could I
Not offer my protection?
That, after seeing the Truth one can uphold the restraints,
This is not hard [to come by]
But that a common man, unrestrained [do so]
This is what is called rare
Bhiksus dwell in peaceful safety,
Pure and cautious in regard to their selves:
That they be able to not break the restraints
Is also not [hard to come by]
That one still unsheltered on the path,
Dwelling in the great fear
Might relinquish his beloved life
To observe the restraints taught by the Buddha
When one can do this, which is hard to do,
This is supremely rare.

[XIII]

Now, if one has not seen the path, in spite of great learning, one cannot rise above the sufferings of birth and death, and for this reason the wise must strive to see the Truth. As I heard once, two

brothers left the house together; the elder became an *arhat*, the younger recited the Three Baskets. Once the *arhat* said to the [reciter of] the Three Baskets: “You should sit in meditation.” The [reciter of] the Three Baskets said: “I will sit in meditation.” The *arhat bhikṣu* added: “Is it that you truly have not heard what the Buddha said, that a man going on the Path does as if saving one’s head from a burning fire?”

And then he said in *gāthās*:

Do so today;

It is not certain you will reach tomorrow’s dawn

Human life cannot be protected

Then in all haste practice the good deed

When the great army of death arrives here,

It will be impossible to plead with it to stop

When life be ended,

In the dark one will follow the entanglements of deeds,

Nobody knows if the road is far or short

Life is like a lamp in the wind

One does not know the time or season in which it will be spent

You say you will do it tomorrow

But this talk is absurd

The tiger of death is extremely violent

It does not have any leniency

One morning it will come suddenly

And will not wait for tomorrow

The king of death is very cruel
You should harbor fear
You should know the body is fragile
Life goes fast, it is hard to protect
One must duly inspect the inner body
And give up the work of erudition,
Seek the liberation that leaves behind the world
To surpass and uproot birth and death
If when death comes suddenly
Regret does not attain a thing
If today you see the Path
You will not suffer from regret
Being steadfast in the Law of the Buddha
That is what is called attaining the Path
The work of erudition is empty and false
One must forsake it and not crave it
However erudite and clever,
If one does not observe the Path
As a blindman holding a lamp
Even though it sheds light, one would not see
If one is to seek one's benefit
One must see the Path
Dwelling among the lion's roars

With clever and wonderful words
Expounding all things
Discerning and explaining doubts and difficulties
One can make to listen the assembly of the Law
They all feel a joyful heart
Making all men
All become able to obey
Although one might accomplish such a thing
In the end, one is confused and misguided
And falls into an evil path
The wise scorn that. (=Huber 1908, 69–72)

Commentary

v5 vābalaṃvitāḥ:

Read *vāvalambitāḥ*.

v6 viṣ[a]ktisāarakam:

Conjectural reading. On the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit expressions *viṣakti* and *viṣaktikā* see Edgerton 1953 ii, s.v.

v6–6a ^xśrutapara[m]eṇa bhavi[t]...:

This sequence has under it an interlinear annotation. The *akṣara śru* in the main text is preceded by a small superscript mark, badly defaced. The *akṣara śru* in the interlinear passage is also

preceded by a mark, which could be a *na* but is a bit too small and could be instead just a small saltire used as a reference mark to match the one in the main text.

The interlinear passage has *^xśrutasāraḥ tasmān a*, which should probably be read as *^xśrutasāraḥ tasmān na*. If the purpose of the interlinear passage was introducing text skipped in the copying, the amended passage would read *^xśrutasāraḥ tasmān na para[m]eṇa bhavi[t]...*

Appendix 4. The Sanskrit Manuscripts of the *Garland* in Charts

A4.1. The Kucha manuscript

The Kucha manuscript (2.2.1.1.), the single most significant source of the Sanskrit text of the *Garland*, is now preserved in the collection of the Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin. As of 2019 it is held in the “Morgenländische Handschriften” room of the Haus zu Potsdamer Straße of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

The biggest and most readable fragments were edited by Lüders (1926, 137–193), and they appear in his edition according to attested or conjectural folio numbers when available or inferrable: this information is mostly not supplied by Lüders in the fragments edited in appendix (“Anhang”). Below I have presented a concordance of shelf numbers (used throughout this dissertation) with folio numbers, the stories contained in each, and occasional notes:

Shelf number	Folio or reference number	Stories	Notes
SHT 21/1	*6	I	
SHT 21/2	*7	I	
SHT 21/3	*10	II	
SHT 21/4	*13	II	
SHT 21/5	*15	II	
SHT 21/6	*17	II	
SHT 21/7	*22	III	
SHT 21/8	*23	III	

SHT 21/9	24	III	
SHT 21/10	*26	III	
SHT 21/11	*27	III	
SHT 21/12	*30	IV	
SHT 21/13	*31	IV	
SHT 21/14	*35	VI	
SHT 21/15	*36	VI	
SHT 21/16	37	VI	
SHT 21/17	*39	VII	
SHT 21/18	*40	VII	
SHT 21/19	*41	VIII	
SHT 21/20	*42	VIII	
SHT 21/21	43	VIII	
SHT 21/22	*44	VIII	
SHT 21/23	45	VIII	
SHT 21/24	*46	VIII-IX	
SHT 21/25	*47	IX	
SHT 21/26	*48	IX	
SHT 21/27	4(*9)	IX-X	
SHT 21/28	*71	XVI-XVII	
SHT 21/29	*80	XX	
SHT 21/30	*86	XXI-XXII	

SHT 21/31	103	XVII	
SHT 21/32	*104	XVII-XVIII	
SHT 21/33	*105	XVIII-XIX	
SHT 21/34	*106	XXIX	
SHT 21/35 +Anhang *107	*107	XXX	
SHT 21/36	108	XXX	
SHT 21/37	*109	XXX	
SHT 21/38	*111	XXX-XXXI	
SHT 21/39	*113	XXXI-XXXII	
SHT 21/40	*114	XXXII	Missing
SHT 21/41	*115	XXXII	Missing
SHT 21/42	*120	XXXV	
SHT 21/43	1(*23)	XXXVII- XXXVIII	
SHT 21/44	*125	XXXIX-XL	
SHT 21/45	*126	XL-XLI	
SHT 21/46	*127	XLI-XLII	
SHT 21/47	1(*28)	XLII	
SHT 21/48	*130	XLIII	
SHT 21/49	*131	XLIII	
SHT 21/50	*132	XLIII	

SHT 21/51	141	XLV-XLVI	
SHT 21/52	*146	XLVII	One fragment missing
SHT 21/53	*147	XLVII	
SHT 21/54	*153	XLIX-L	
SHT 21/55	154	L	
SHT 21/56	*161	LI	
SHT 21/57	*163	LII	
SHT 21/58	*164	LII	
SHT 21/59	16[5]	LII-LIII	
SHT 21/60	1[6][*6]	LIII	
SHT 21/61	*167	LIII	
SHT 21/62	*172	LIV	
SHT 21/63	*179	LVII	
SHT 21/64	*181	LVII-LVIII	
SHT 21/65	*183	LVIII	
SHT 21/66	184	LVIII	
SHT 21/67	*185	LVIII	
SHT 21/68	*187	LVIII-LIX	
SHT 21/69	*188	LIX-LX	
SHT 21/70	19(*2)	LX-LXI	
SHT 21/71	*193	LXI	
SHT 21/72	196	LXI-LXII	

SHT 21/73	201	LXIII	
SHT 21/74	204	LXIII	
SHT 21/75	205	LXIII	
SHT 21/76	206	LXIII-LXIV	
SHT 21/77	2(*08)	LXIV	
SHT 21/78	*212	LXIV	
SHT 21/79	*213	LXIV-LXV	
SHT 21/80	*214	LXV	
SHT 21/81	222	LXVI	
SHT 21/82	*223	LXVI	
SHT 21/83	*226	LXVI	Fragments under SHT 4181
SHT 21/84	*227	LXVII	One fragment missing; fragments under SHT 4181
SHT 21/85	*231	LXVII	
SHT 21/86	*232	LXVII	
SHT 21/87	*233	LXVII	
SHT 21/88	235	LXVII	
SHT 21/89	*240	LXVII	
SHT 21/90	*241	LXVII	
SHT 21/91	*283	LXXVII	

SHT 21/92	*284	LXXVII	
SHT 21/93	*297	LXXXIV- LXXXV	
SHT 21/94	298	LXXXV	
SHT 21/95	*301	LXXXVII- LXXXVIII	
SHT 21/96	*302	LXXXVIII	
SHT 21/97	[3]03	Uncertain	
SHT 21/98	*308	XC	Missing
SHT 21/99	Anhang A	II	
SHT 21/100	Anhang B	XLVI?	
SHT 21/101	Anhang C	LXVII	Missing
SHT 21/102	Anhang D	LXVII	
SHT 21/103	Anhang E	Uncertain	
SHT 21/104	Anhang F	Uncertain	
SHT 21/105	Anhang G	Uncertain	Missing
SHT 21/106	Anhang H	Uncertain	Misplaced as SHT 810/36; see Franco 2004, I 46, 337;
SHT 21/107	Anhang I	Uncertain	Missing
SHT 21/108	Anhang K	Uncertain	
SHT 21/109	Anhang L	Uncertain	

SHT 21/110	Anhang M	Uncertain	
SHT 21/111	Anhang N	Uncertain	
SHT 21/112	Anhang O	Uncertain	

The fragments SHT 21/131–40 and 161–174 have been preliminarily edited in this dissertation (Appendix 2), but the fragments are so small that I have been able to propose an identification with a story only in one case, SHT 21/135. Fragments SHT 21/113-130 and 175-274 remain unedited

A4.2. The Khotan Manuscript

The Khotan Manuscript (see 2.2.1.2.) is currently held in the collection of the British Library in London. The four extant folios are presented below according to shelf number:

Shelf Number	Edition	Stories	Notes
IOL San 761	Wille 2013, §5.3	XXVII	
IOL San 1242	Wille 2005, 62–64	XXVII	
Or.15010/130	Karashima 2006–2015, ii 494–495	LXIII	
IOL San 1256	Unedited, but see Wille 2005, 62–64	Uncertain	Very damaged, contents possibly irrecoverable

A4.3 The Turfan Manuscript

The extant folios of the Turfan Manuscript (2.2.1.3.) are partly held in the collection of the Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin (as the Kucha Manuscript, in the “Morgenländische Handschriften,” room of the Haus zu Potsdamer Straße of the Staatsbibliothek) and partly in the Institute for Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg. The Berlin fragments were edited by Lüders (1926, 201–208). Unlike the fragments of the Kucha Manuscript, Lüders numbered the fragments of the Turfan Manuscript with Roman numerals, indicating extant folio numbers as a secondary reference. In the chart below, arranged by shelf number, extant folio numbers are presented in parentheses:

Shelf number	Reference and folio numbers	Stories	Notes
SHT 638s	I	IV	
SHT 638t	II (294)	XI-XII	
SHT 638u	II (297)	XIII	
SHT 638v	IV	XIV-XV	
SHT 638w	V	XIX-XX	
SHT 638x	VI	XX	
SHT 638y	VII	XXV-XXVI	
SHT 638z	VIII	LXVII	
SHT 638aa	IX	LXVIII	

SHT 638bb	X	LXIX	
SHT 638cc	XI (4[1>(*9))	LXIX-LXX	
SHT 638dd	XII (421)	LXX	Missing
SHT 638ee	XIII ([4>(*2)[2])	LXX	

The two St. Petersburg were edited by Hori (2011):

Shelf number	Stories
SI 2Kr/9.4	XXX
SI P/152.2	XXXVI

A4.4. The Four Bāmiyān Manuscripts

The four Bāmiyān Manuscripts (2.2.1.4) have been tentatively edited in this dissertation (Appendix 3), but a proper edition is under preparation together with Dr. Gudrun Melzer (Munich). They belonged in the early 2000s to the Schøyen Collection in Oslo, Sweden, but fragment Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.45 has been since returned to the Afghan National Museum in Kabul, Afghanistan.

Tentatively, the manuscripts are the following:

Shelf number	Stories
Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63	LXIV
Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318+2382.319	XLIII

Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.5	XLIII
Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.45	XII-XIII

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Abhidharmakośabhāṣyā of Vasubandhu=Pradhan 1967

Aṅguttaranikāya=Hardy and Morris 1885–1900

Āpastambadharmasūtra=Bühler 1892

Arthasāstra (“*Treatise on State Interest*”)=Kangle 1960

Atharvaveda=Roth and Whitney 1856

Avadānaśataka=Speyer 1906–1909

Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa=Johnston 1936

Cūlavagga=Oldenberg 1880

Daridracarudatta (“*Poor Carudatta*”)=Esposito 2004

Dharmasamuccaya=Caube 1993

Dīghanikāya=Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1889–1910

Gautamadharmasūtra=Stenzler 1876

Jātakamālā of Āryasūra (“*Garland of Previous Birth Stories*”)=Kern 1893

Jātakamālā of Haribhaṭṭa=Hahn 2007

Jātaka[tthavaṇṇanā]=Fausbøll 1877–1899

Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Drṣṭāntapaṅkti of Kumāralāta (“*Garland of Examples*”)=Lüders 1926

Kaumāralāta of Kumāralāta=Lüders 1930

Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali= Kielhorn 1880–1885

Mahāpariṇirvānasūtra=Waldschmidt 1950-51

Mahāvamsa (“*Great Chronicle*”)=Geiger 1908

Mahāvastu=Senart 1882–1897

Majjhimanikāya=Chalmers and Trenckner 1888–1902
Mānavadharmasāstra (“*Laws of Manu*”)=Olivelle 2005
Milindapañha=Trenckner 1880
Mrcchakaṭikā (“*The Little Clay Cart*”)=Acharya 2009
Nettipakarāṇa=Hardy 1902
Prātimokṣasūtra (Mahāsāṃghika)=Pachow and Mishra 1952–1953
Prātimokṣasūtra (Mūlasarvāstivāda)=Banerjee 1954
Ṛgveda=van Nooten and Holland 1994
Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (“*Lotus Sūtra*”)=Ogihara 1934
Samghabhedavastu=Gnoli 1978b
Sattasāi=Weber 1881
Saundarananda of Aśvaghōṣa Johnston 1928
Śayanāsanavastu=Gnoli 1978a
Suttanipāta=Andersen and Smith 1913
Sūyagada=Bāṃṭhiya and Caṇḍālīya 2005
Uvāsagadasāo=Hoernle 1890
Uvavāiyya=Leumann 1883

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